(REGIONAL HISTORY) – HISTORY OF CHENNAI

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UNIT I

Early History of Madras – Consolidation of the British rule in Madras - Establishment of Madras City – Formation of Madras Presidency– Fort St.George - Thomas Pitt - Elihu Yale - Thomas Munro –Ripon – Pennycuick.

UNIT II

Administration – Chennai Corporation –Police – Banking – Industries: Parry's – Spencer's – Addison& Co. – P. Orr & Sons – Trade Union Movement in Madras

UNIT III

Education –Formal Education - Elementary Education – Higher Education – Technical – Engineering – Non-Technical - University of Madras – Arts and Science Colleges – Medical Education – Women Education

UNIT IV

Cultural Renaissance in Chennai – Art – Music – Dance – Drama – Cinema – Theatre – Business Houses – Tamil Isai - Cultural Organisation – Press - English and Vernacular – Chennai's Architectural Heritage

UNIT V

Development of Transportation – Tramways – Roadways — Railways – Airways – Buckingham Canal – Chennai Port Trust.

Unit – I

Learning Objectives

1. To understand the early history and origin of Chennai (Madras).
2. To explain the role of Fort St. George in the establishment of British power.
3. To analyse the process of consolidation of British rule in the Madras Presidency.
4. To study the administrative contributions of Thomas Pitt, Elihu Yale and Thomas Munro.
5. To examine the reforms introduced by Lord Ripon and developmental works of John Pennycuick.
6. To evaluate the importance of Madras in British administration and urban development.

Course Outcomes

1. Students will describe the early historical development of Madras.
2. Students will explain the significance of Fort St. George in British expansion.
3. Students will analyse the stages in the formation of the Madras Presidency.
4. Students will assess the contributions of Thomas Pitt, Elihu Yale, and Thomas Munro.
5. Students will evaluate the impact of Lord Ripon's administrative reforms.
6. Students will explain the role of Pennycuick in irrigation and development.
7. Students will examine the consolidation of British rule in South India.
8. Students will develop a clear understanding of colonial administration in Madras.

The beginnings of the City of Madras go back to the earliest stages of English commercial enterprise in India. The English East India Company was started in 1600. Twelve years later a Trading House or Factory was built at Surat on the West Coast under the protection of the Mughal Governor of Gujarat. On the Coromandel Coast the English first attempted a landing at Pulicat. The place is about 25 miles north of Madras and its great backwater, the Pulicat Lake, afforded a safe shelter for the shipping of those days. But the Dutch, who were the bitter rivals of the English, had already been settled at the place and had the ear of the local Nayak. Hence the English found it impossible to ply their trade advantageously at that place.They then attempted to settle at Peddapalli or Nizampatnam, which was at the mouth of a small channel of the Krishna Delta. But the climate of the place was deadly to the English merchants and this settlement had also to be abandoned after a few years of hopeless struggle.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH

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The English pitch upon the Site of Madras

With Masulipatam unprosperous and Armagaon hopeless, the English traders anxiously looked out for a new site that would be more propitious for them. Mr.Francis Day, the future founder of Madras, who was then a Member of the Masulipatam Council and the Chief of theArmagaon Factory, made a voyage of exploration in 1637 down the coast as far as Pondicherry with a view to choose a site for a new settlement. At that time the Coromandel Coast was nominally under the Rajah of Chandragiri who was a descendant of the famous Rayas of Vijayanagar. Under the Rajah, local chiefs known as Nayaks, ruled over the different districts. One of these Nayaks had given permission to the Dutch to build a strong fort at Pulicat where they had grown to be powerful enough to deal on equal terms with the Nayaks of the neighborhood.

Damarla Venkatapathy Nayak ruled all the coast country from Pulicat to the Portuguese settlement of San Thome now included within the City of Madras. He had his head-quarters at Wandiwash and his brother Ayyappa Nayak resided at Poonamallee, a few miles to the west of Madras, and looked after the affairs of the coast. It was probably this Ayyappa Nayakthat made overtures to Day, inviting him to choose a site in the territory of his brother. The offer looked good; and Day wrote to Masulipatam for permission to inspect the proposed siteand examine the possibilities of trade there. The results of his personal inspection were apparently favourable; and he wrote that the calicos woven at Madraspatnam which was the place offered by the Nayak for the site of the proposed factory were much cheaper than those at Armagaon. Day secured a Grant (copies of which endorsed by Cogan, the Chief of the Masulipatam Factory, are even now preserved) giving over to the English the village of Madraspatnam for a period of two years and empowering them to build a fort and castle at that place. The Grant is dated August 1639

The English Factors at Masulipatam were satisfied with the action of Mr. Day and resolved that he should proved again to Madras and contact the Nayak until the sanction of the superior English Presidency of Bantam (in java) could be obtained for their action

The chief difficulty, as usual with the English in those days, was lack of money. At last, in February 1640, Day and Cogan accompanied by a few factors and writers, a garrison of about 25 European soldiers and a few other European artificers, besides a Hindu powder-maker by name Naga Battan, proceeded to Madras and started the English factory. They reached Madraspatnam on the 20th of February; and this date is important because it marksthe first actual settlement of the English at the place

Extent of their First Settlement

The extent of land transferred to the English under the Nayak's Grant is not found specified anywhere. But it was the whole area contained within the traditional village limits of Madraspatnam. This nucleus area appears to have extended along the coast from a point a few hundred yards north of the mouth of the Cooum River, right up to a little beyond the northern end of the present Geroge Town. In the interior, the area included the island groundon the west and its western line ran along the present Cochrane's Canal, then known as the North River, right up to the north-western corner of the present George Town. To this area, surrounding villages were added from time to time in the customary British fashion

In those days, the Cooum River which had a winding course through the villages of Chetput, Nungambakkam and Chintadripet, had, as it still had a common outlet to the sea along with the North River at some distance to the south of the limits of the Madraspatnam Village. The North River (or Elambore River as it was called in those days) flowed parallel to and a mile distant from the coast along the western side of Madraspatnam Village. At the site of the present General Hospital, the river took a sharp bend to the east and, when near the sea, it again took another bend to the south; and it then flowed on for about three-fourths of a mile parallel to the shore and joined the Cooum at its mouth. The two streams formed a wide and shallow backwater at their joint outlet. At the point where the North River bent east, there was only a narrow neck of land about 300 yards in length that separated it from the Cooum as it curved towards the sea. At this point a cut was made several years after the foundation of the City, probably with the object of equalising flood levels; and thus the Island ground was literally converted into an Island.

The site of the Fort planned by the English settlers was on the bank of sand between the North River and the sea, just in the southern end in the village of Madraspatnam and three-fourths of a mile north of the river mouth.

The Building of the Fort by Day and Cogan

he Fort was planned nearly square, with a bastion at each corner and the Factory House was in the centre of the Fort and was built diagonally to the square so that each face of the house opened on the gorge of a bastion. The building of the Factory House was taken up onMarch 1st, 1640. A portion of the structure was presumably completed by St. George's Day (23rd April) of that year and the name Fort St. George was consequently given to the Fort.

The bastions were first built and erection of the curtain walls connecting them proceeded more slowly as funds permitted. The whole Fort took fourteen years to construct and was finished only in 1653. It measured about 100 yards by north to south and by 80 yards east towest. On its northern and southern sides buildings and streets sprang up and constituted what came to be known later as the White Town.

Indian merchants and artificers were attracted to the settlement and encouraged to build houses therein under a promise of exemptions from import taxes for a period of thirty years. It is said that within the first year of the life of the settlement, there arose some seventy to eighty

substantial houses to the north and south of the Fort while in the village of Madraspatnam nearly four hundred families of weavers had come to settle permanently

Day had made himself personally responsible for payment of interest on the loans got for thebuilding of the settlement. Charges of private trade were however brought against him and he was sent to England in 1641 to answer them. He successfully faced these charges and returned to the Coromandel Coast as Second-in-Council at Madras. Cogan had been meanwhile made the Agent of Madras. He remained in the settlement for more than three years during which time he nursed the Fort into some strength and the town into some measure of prosperity. He was also charged with extravagant expenditure on the fortifications and resolved in disgust to resign his position to Day and sail away. Day becamehis successor in the Agency in Madras but did not enjoy his position long. He also departed for England within a year of his assumption of the Agency (1644).

Day had proposed and planned the settlement and secured the Grant of the Nayak for it. Cogan had been useful from the beginning and was mainly responsible for the erection of the Fort and for the colonization of the place. Both were taken to task by the Court of Directors of the English Company, Cogan for unauthorised expenditure and Day for private trading. The memory of neither is kept green in Madras whose foundations they helped to lay. "Neither Cogan nor Day is kept in memory by Statue, Portrait or Place name. Not even does the Secretariat Building in the Fort, the successor of the old Factory House, bear a tablet to commemorate the achievements of the joint Founders of Madras".

The Names Madraspatnam and Chennapatnam

We saw the Damarla Venkatapathy and his brother Ayyappa gave the English the grant of Madras. The Rajah of Chandragiri was Venkatapathy Rayalu. From this Rajah the English got a confirmation of the Nayak's Grant. Venkatapathy was succeeded by his nephew Srirangarayalu in 1642. To the new Raya, Thomas Ivy, the successor of Day in the Agency of Madras, sent Factor Greenhill on a mission which resulted in the issue of a new Grant to the English (copies of this grant are available now). It is dated October-November 1645. It confirmed the Grant of the Raya's predecessor and empowered the English to administer justice and gave them an additional piece of land known as the Narimedu (Jackal-ground) which lay to the west of the village of Madraspatnam. All these three grants, viz., of Damarla Venkatapathy Nayak, Kind Venkatapathy and his successor Srirangarayalu, were engraved on gold plates but none of them is now extant.

In Srirangaraya's Grant of 1645 the Town of Madras is expressly called "Srirangarayapatnam, My Town," and a distinction is made between the town of Madraspatnam and the new town growing round the Fort which is expressly called Srirangarayapatnam. The first Grant of Damarly Venkatapathy Nayak makes mention of the village of Madraspatnam. Both Venkatapathy and his brother Ayyappa desired that the nameChennapatnam should be given to the new Fort and settlement of the English after their father ChennappaNayak. Srirangarya desired that the name Srirangarayapatnam should be given to the Fort and settlement of the English in the place of Chennapatnam. The fact that the family of Damarla Venkatapathy, son of Chennappa, was disgraced by Srirangaraya, probably explains the reason why the Raya offered his own name to be given to the settlement and declared that it was a mark of his special favour.

In all the records of the times a difference is made between the original village of Madraspatnam and the new town growing round the Fort. Thus we may say that the village of Madraspatnam existed under that name prior to the English settlement of 1639-40 and thesite of Chennapatnam was that of modern Fort St.George. The original village of Madraspatnam lay to the north of the site of the Fort and within a few years of the founding of Fort St.George the new town which grew up round the Fort was commonly known to the Indians as Chennapatnam, either in deference to the wishes of Damarla Venkatapathy or because the site originally bore that name. The intervening space between the northern Madraspatnam and the Southern Chennapatnam came to be built over rapidly so that the two villages became virtually one town. The English preferred to call the two united towns bythe name of Madraspatnam with which they had become familiar from the first while the Indians chose to give it the name of Chennapatnam. In course of time the exact original locations of Madraspatnam and Channapatnam came to be confused. Madras was regardedas the site of the Fort and Chennapatnam as the Indian town to the north

Origin of the Name Madras

The origin of the name Madraspatnam has long been a puzzle. The name Madras occurs in many forms like Maddaraspatnam, Madras Patnam, Madraspatnam, Madrapatnam, Madrazpatnam, etc. According to one version there was a village of fishermen on the site, the headman of which was a Christian named Madaresan who persuaded Day to call the settlement after his own name. But we know that the name was in use even before the English came on the

scene. Otherwise writers have derived the name from the term Madrassa (a college) and think that there might have been an old Muhammadan College at the place; or there might have been a Church of St.Mary (Madre de Deus) at Madras prior to1640, probably founded by the Portuguese of San Thome which had been in existence from the previous century and the church might have given name to the village; or there was an Indian rules, Maddarazu, who might have been some local chief in the region in the past after whom the village might have been named Maddarazpatnam

The Very Revd. Mgr. Teixeira, Bishop of Mylapore, has decently put forward a suggestion based on his discovery of some tombstone inscriptions that the name might well have been after Madras, a Portuguese family of the village and that the family gave their name to the place. Still another view is that Madras was so called because it produced a kind of calico cloth of the name. None of these seems to be very convincing, while the derivation of Madras from the Persian word Madrassa is somewhat fanciful. There is a curious resemblance between the names of the English Town of Madraspatnam, the southern DutchFactory of Sadraspatnam at the mouth of the Palar river and the northern settlement of Durgarazpatnam (Armagaon)

The First Years of Madras

The growth of Madras in its first thirty years was all that could be desired. Very soon after thesettlement was founded, a Hindu temple was constructed in the heart of the Indian village that grew up. It was dedicated to Chenna Kesava Perumal and built on part of the grounds ofthe present High Court. Thus the temple was coeval with the birth of the town. In 1646 and endowment was made to it by Naga Battan, the Company's powder-maker; and two years later another endowment was made to it by Beri Timmana who is said to have assisted the English in building the settlement and who was employed as the Company's broker and merchant. It is presumed that this Pagoda had twin shrines in it, dedicated to Vishnu (Chenna Kesava) and Siva (Chenna Mallesvara) even as its present day successor is. Besides these two Indians, we hear of Raghava Battan who was first living in the Portuguesesettlement of San Thome and helped the English to get from the Nayak the site of Madras. Acowle (lease or grant in writing) was said to have been given to him by Cogan and Day appointing him the Kanakkupillai (Scrivener) of Madras in 1640 and it was later produced by one of his dependants in a claim that he put forward to the office.

Within a few years after the English settled at Madras, the authority of the Rajah of Chandragiri disappeared. The Rajah himself was forced to flee to Mysore and the forces of the Sultan of Golconda came to occupy the region surrounding Madras. The Kingdom of Chandragiri was hemmed in one side by the advancing troops of Golconda and on the other by the forces of the Bijapur Sultan who invaded the Carnatic from the Mysore Plateau and occupied the coast between Jinji and Tanjore. Nawab Mir Jumla, who was the Prime Minister of Golconda at this time, played an important part in this conquest of the Carnatic. He was originally a famous diamond merchant and was said to be the richest subject in all India. He had in his service a number of European gunners and cannon-founders and well appreciated the advantages of European aid. The English at Madras lent him the services of their gunner and several of their best soldiers when he went to blockade San Thome in 1646. In return for this help he confirmed all the privileges that they had obtained from the previous Hindu rulers of the Country and also lent them a large sum of money free of interest.

Thus the English contrived to maintain good terms with the Rajah of Chandragiri to the last and yet to preserve the friendship of the Mussalman, conqueror from the first, a characteristic worship of both the rising and the setting sun.

Early Stages of the City's Growth

In 1652 Fort St.George was created a Presidency and its Agent came to be known as President. In those early years the Indian town was governed by three chief officials who were hereditary, viz., the Adhikhari, who dispenses justice, the Kanakkupillai, who assisted the Adhikari, and the Padda Naick, i.e., the Chief Watchman who was the head of the Talaiyaris and who kept order in the streets, arrested thieves and evil-doers and brought them to trial. Many Indians were merchants of the Company and the contractors for the supply of cotton cloth that was needed for export and for the sale of the European goods of the Company. The seniors among them were termed the Company's Chief Merchants; and the agents and brokers of individual English merchants came to be later on known as Dubashes

From time to time, factious fights rose between the right-hand and left-hand castes of the City. Such factions were much prevalent in the country round Conjeeveram. In Madras the Beri Chetties, artisans, Cil-mongers, weavers and leather workers were the chief elements inthe left-hand faction, while the Vellalas, the Arya Vysias (Komatis), the Vannias and the Adi-Dravidas belonged to the right-hand division. The grounds of quarrel were mostly with reference to the

particular routes that the marriage and funeral processions of these castes should take, and the symbols and the trappings that should adorn their processions and pandals on occasions of festivity; and they were as ready to fall out with each other on the smallest provocation ' as Orangemen and Ribbonmen were in Ireland or the Montague's andCapulets in Verona, or the clans in Scotland.'

The earliest dispute between the castes seems to have occurred in Madras in 1652-53, which was settled by an award wherein the name of Chennapatnam first occurs in an official document. The result of this award was that the eastern half of the Hindu town came to be generally occupied by left-hand castes and the western half by the right-hand ones.

For a long time the country round Madras was in a great turmoil on account of the rebellion of Mir Jumla against his Golconda master and also because of the general weakness of the Golconda Sultan who was finally destroyed by the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb in 1687. During these troubled years, Madras was frequently threatened by the exactions of successive local chiefs who ruled over the Poonamalle region on behalf of the Muhammadans. The worst of them was Bala Rao who stopped the Indian traders coming to Madras, raised the customs duties they had to pay at the Great Mettah where there was a regular customs-house and thus increased the prices of grains and other provisions. On one occasion the Muslim troops entered the settlement and burnt some houses. Later, Madras had to encounter a regular siege for several months at the hands of Bala Rao and his colleague, Tupaki Krishnappa Naick. Fort St.George was reduced from the rank of a Presidency to an Agency, temporarily in 1655, owing to a fit of economy that seized the Directors of the Company at the time. However, it was restored to its Presidency status threeyears later; and this it has continued to enjoy ever since. The Dutch were envious of the growing prosperity of the City and both the Dutch and the Golconda Sultan had an eye on San Thome. On one occasion the English expected that San Thome would be ceded to them by the Portuguese instead of Bombay, for whose cession negotiations were then goingon.

Sir Edward Winter, Governor (1661-65), got a permanent agreement regarding the English right to Madras. Winter was a bold and bad man who imprisoned his successor in office, Fox-Croft, on the ground that the latter was of decidedly Puritanical and anti-Royalist tendencies and could be suspected of having made treasonable utterances against King Charles II. He was in enjoyment of his usurped authority for nearly three years and during allthis time Fox-Croft languished in prison. Even when punishment finally came to him, he contrived to make his own

terms and stayed on in Madras for a few more years after he was deposed. Fox-Croft, the unfortunate imprisoned Governor, was the first to he given the title of Governor of Fort St.George a title which has been transmitted to a long line of distinguished successors. The title came to be given by an accident, as it were. The Company's letter constituting the Madras Agent and Council 'Our Governor and Agent and Consul in Fort St. George' and empowering them to execute judgment in all cases, civil and criminal, was occasioned by the difficulty that arose as to the jurisdiction of the Madras officials over capital cases. This difficulty was solved by the new title and ' to modern occupants of the gubernatorial chair it is probably unknown that they owe their designation toa Madras murder.'

San Thome

Madras and San Thome were generally on friendly terms. The latter fell into the hands of theSultan of Golconda in 1662 and was taken possession of by the French ten years later. But they were not to enjoy it for long. It once again went back into the hands of Golconda and the English urged the Sultan to demolish the fortifications of the place as they were afraid that the French might recover the Fort either by force or by purchase. One important consequence of the French surrender of San Thome was the withdrawal of Martin, the Captain of the French soldiers, with a few followers to Pondicherry, where he founded the famous settlement that was to have a glorious, but short-lived, prominence in the next century.

The fame of San Thome rests upon its close association with the Apostle St. Thomas, who isdeclared to have suffered martyrdom at St.Thomas' Mount and to have been buried originally at San Thome, that it, in Old Mylapore, part of which now lies under the encroaching sea. There is not much doubt that there existed at the place a Christian colony from the early centuries of the Christian era. It was known to the Arab travellers and geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries as Betumah, that it, the house or Church of St. Thomas. And from this word was derived the name San Thome. To this Church it is said thatKing Alfred the Great of England sent some emissaries about 883 A.D. Subsequently, Persian merchants who were Nestorian Christians, established a Church of their own at the place, built a Chapel over the tomb of St. Thomas and a monastery on the top of St. Thomas' Mount. The place was visited by Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveller, who touched the Madras coast towards the close of the thirteenth century. But the town decayed later on; and its revival was the work of the Portuguese who settled therein in 1522. As the Portuguese were rebuilding the old Chapel, they stumbled on the

grave of the Apostle, besides which they built a small church which has now grown into the San Thome Cathedral.

The Luz Church situated a mile to the west of the Cathedral is associated with an ancient tradition, that some mariners saw a light beckoning to them from that place when they tossed about in a storm near the coast. Steering towards this guiding light, they landed safely, and following it came to the spot where the church is built. The church is thus dedicated to 'Our Lady of Light'. But it was not built in 1516 as the inscription on its base claims but only a few decades later

At St. Thomas' Mount the Portuguese came across the famous Bleeding Cross, that is, a Stone Cross bearing an Old Pehbir inscription, with some spots on it resembling, blood stains; and a church was erected at the place, the Stone Cross being built in the wall behind the Altars. The inscription is similar to that engraved round the Crosses found in some of the Syrian Christian churches on the Malabar Coast. In those days a beacon fire was lighted nightly on the Mount for the benefit of mariners. In the church itself, which is dedicated to ourLady of Expectation, there is a picture of the Holy Virgin and Child which is believed to be one of the seven portraits painted by St. Luke and brought by St. Thomas to India.

Between St. Thomas' Mount and Madras and a little to the east of the southern end of the Saidapet Bridge is the Little Mount or Chinnamalai. This contains a cave to which St. Thomas is said to have fled when he was pursued by his persecutors. A church was built in 1551 at this place by the Portuguese. There is pointed out here a cleft in the rock where St. Thomas caused a spring of fresh water to gush forth, by hitting the stone with his staff, and the multitude who came to hear his preach quenched their thirst therein. The water was believed to have had healing properties and the church itself is dedicated to Our Lady of Health. Both the Big and Little mounts are outside the limits of Madras City, But the Big and Little Mounts are outside the limits of Madras city. But they have been closely associated with Madras both in the past and in the present epoch.

Mylapore

Mylapore, a village adjacent to San Thome to its west, has always gone hand in hand with the latter and was included in its jurisdiction. It is a place of ancient importance and has long been famous as a Siva Shrine. It is closely associated with Thiruvalluvar, the great author of the Kural, and also with the activities of the Saiva Nayanar, the great Gnanasambandar.

Thetemple of Sri Kapaleesvarar contains a sculpture depicting one of the miracles wrought by Gnanasambandar. There are bronze statues within the temple of the 63 Saiva Nayanmars, in whose honour a grand festival is conducted annually. Mylapore is also associated with one of the Vaishnavite Alvars. After the Portuguese town of San Thome came into being Mylapore was absorbed in it. When San Thome fell into the hands of the Mussalmans, a number of its rich Portuguese merchants settled in Madras. The English themselves endeavoured to get that place for a nominal rent from the Sultan of Golconda. After the latter's kingdom was annexed by the Mughal Empire in 1687, the Mughal Governor of the Carnatic threatened to develop it at the expense of Madras, frequently visited and resided in it and built a rampart round the town. The place continued under the rule of the Mussalmans with very little trade and a decaying population till 1749 when it was taken possession of by the English in the name of their protégé, Nawab Muhammad Ali Wallajah.

First Attempts at Conservancy

The gradual growth of Madras, though interrupted from time to time, was steady and vigorous. It was when Governor Streynsham Master was in power (1678-81) that the first serious attempt was made at the conservancy of the streets. A scavenger was appointed who was empowered to collect a house-tax and to remove the dirt and filth of the town and draw up a roll of the houses. This post was held by a civil servant of high rank. Watchmen were appointed for going round the streets in the nights. Tavern-keepers, places of entertainments and others had to be licensed. The Indian inhabitants had long fought vigorously against tax saying that it was their privilege to be exempted from any taxation.

Master also framed rules for the better administration of justice. Two English official were appointed as Choultry Justices to administer justice to the Indian inhabitants and their number was increased subsequently. The Governor himself began to sit as a Judge thus forming an Appellate Court.

St. Mary's Church in the Fort

It was also in Master's time that the church of St. Mary within the Fort was built. The foundation was laid on Lady's Day in 1678 and hence the Church was named St. Mary's in honour of the Blessed Virgin. It was finished in 1680 and was consecrated on the 28th of October that year. It stands much the same as it was when built, except for the spire and thetower which were subsequently added. It is full of mementoes of men who have helped to make

Madras history; and its narrow yard is literally paved with tombs of various ages and with inscriptions in several languages. The stones were removed from the stately tombs which were erected over the graves of dead Englishmen in the old English burying-place of the settlement which lay in the present Law College compound.

The Vestry of the Church was organised at the same time and it continued to exist down to 1805. It conducted a Charity School which subsequently became the nucleus of the Male and Female Orphan Asylums. After Master's time there was a reorganisation of the Police arrangements in the so-called Black Town which had grown up close to the White Town and which occupied the site of the present northern glacis of the Fort, part of the western glacis and the grounds of the Law College and the High Court. During the Governorship of Mr.Yale (1687-92) a Mayor and Corporation were instituted in the City by a Charter of the Company under permission from King James

Acquisition of Suburban Villages

It was in Yale's time that the Mughul authority spread over the Carnatic. He was very anxious about the safety of Madras from Mughul injury. And he applied to the Nawab ZulfikerKhan, the Mughal General for the free Grant of the villages of Egmore, Purasawalkam and Thondiarpet. These villages were at first rented out and were directly taken over by Government in 1720. They were known in the English records of the time as the "Three Old Towns". Triplicane was the earliest acquisition and came first into English occupation in 1668 though it was resumed a few years later by the Mussalmans. It was only in 1672 that Triplicane was definitely given over to the English for an annual rent of fifty pagodas. Including Triplicane these three villages were known as the 'Four Old Towns'. Shortly afterwards, the English petitioned for permission to occupy five other villages in the vicinity composing of Tiruvatiyoor, Kathiwakam, Nungambakkam, Vyasarpady and Sathangadu. These places were given over by a Mughal firman in 1708 and they were hence forward known as the 'Five New Towns'.Wedged in between Egmore and Purasawalkam which had been acquired by the English, were two small villages, viz., Periamet where the Mussalman authorities collected tolls, and Vepery, which were acquired by the English only in 1742; along with Vepery the Company got Perambore, Pudupakkam, Ernavore and Sadyan Kuppam together with a confirmation ofthe right of coining Arcot rupees and pagodas. San Thome and Mylapore continued to be under Mussalman rule till 1749 when Madras was restored to English after three years of occupation by the French who

captured it in 1746. Soon after they got back Madras, the English contrived to occupy San Thome in the name of their new ally, Nawab Muhammad Aliwho was opposed by Chanda Saheb, the ally and champion of the French.

Acquisition of Suburban Villages

From the time of Governor Yale down to the outbreak of war with the French in 1746, the growth of Madras was continuous and was seen not only by the expansion of its trade and wealth but also in the steady political power of the English. Of the Governors of the period the most famous was Thomas Pitt who was originally a bold interloper and in the opinion of the Directors, a desperate fellow. Pitt was Governor for the unusually long term of 11 years-1698-1709- and his term of office proved to be the 'Golden Age' of Madras. He resisted the demands of the Mughal Nawab, successively acquired the five new villages and built fortifiedwalls round the Old Black Town. It was in his time that the Island ground was embanked, drained and improved. He also provided for an accurate survey of the City with a view to the allocation of definite streets and quarters for the right and left-hand factions. Copies of his map and plan are now available. They show us that the Old Black Town was more than a mile and a half in circumference and various gates in its walls led into the suburbs of Muthialpettah to the north and Peddunaicken-pettah to the west. A canal ran along the present Broadway which separated Black Town and Muthialpettah from Peddunaickenpettah.

Weavers' Villages-Collettpettah and Chintadripettah

As trade increased the number of weavers and painters had steadily to be increased. Governor Collett (1717-20) founded a new pettah near Tiruvottiyur which was called, as the inhabitants desired, after him as Collettpettah. The inhabitants were mostly weavers and painters of cloth which the Company required for export to Europe. The present suburb if Washermanpet lying to the north of George Town grew up about the same time. The Company had in their employment a large number of washers, bleachers and painters of cloth which came from the weavers' looms. A large open space and plenty of good water were necessary for their work. They were first settled in Peddunaickenpettah to the north; but they complained that the water of the river was not pure. They were subsequently removed to the north of the Black Town where the ground was rich in fresh springs. The place where they settled was, therefore, known as Washerman Town and its present appellation of Washermanpet is apt, as in the case of Collettpettah, to convey a wrong meaning as to its origin. The growth of these suburbs indicates

a period of great prosperity inthe cotton trade which was the chief investment of the Company. The Dubashes and chief merchants of the Company engaged in the supply of cotton goods to the Company rose to great prosperity. One of them be name Alangatha Pillai founded and built the Ekambareswarar Temple, and another of them, Sunkurama had a large garden in the bend of the Cooum river south of Periamet which was taken over in 1735 for a new weavers' village known as Chintadripettah. By that time Sunkurama had fallen into disgrace and was succeeded by his colleague Thambu Chetty as the chief merchant. Government resolved in October 1734 to erect a weaving town in the site of Sunkurama's garden and to permit only spinners, weavers, washers, painters and the necessary attendants of the temple to settle in the village. A cowl was granted on these terms and Bemala Audiappa Narayana helped in the peopling of the village, which grew to contain nearly two hundred and fifty families within two years after its foundation.

The Carnatic fell into confusion after 1740 when the Mahrattas invaded it. Several disputed successions to the Nawabship occurred, out of which emerged Anwaruddin Khan. During all these years the English were seriously engaged in strengthening the Fort, particularly its western walls. The Fort as it had grown up by now enclosed the houses of the White Town, but was much smaller than the present Fort. On the north the houses of the Old Black Town encroached almost up to the very wall, the river on the west ran very much more to the east than it does now. In 1743 plans were prepared for enlarging the Fort on the west side and fordiverting the course of the river further west. This diversion was not, however, immediately carried out.

French Occupation of the City and its Results

The French capture of Madras by Labourdonnais in 1746 is a great event in the history of the City. The French were in occupation of the City for three years till August 1749. They planned to retain it permanently. They demolished the Indian houses of Old Black Town which adjoined the north wall of the Fort and formed a glacis with the debris. The southern portion of the Old Black Town was consequently destroyed. Soon after Madras came back into English possession, the Company began plans for remodeling and strengthening the Fort. The river on the west side was diverted to its present course, and its old bed was built up and included in the Fort. The west wall was strengthened with bastions which were named after the Governor George Pigot, Major Lawrence and Nawab Muhammad Ali Wallajah. The temple of Chennakesavaperumal which stood in Old Black Town, was also demolished and compensation was given by Government and a new site was offered in China Bazaar where Manali

Muthukrishna Mudaliar, the Dubash of Governor Pigot, built the new temple now known as the Town temple. He became the first warden of this temple whose management has continued to remain in his family. Count Lally's siege of Madras (December 1758 to February 1759) the next crisis in the History of the City was successfully resisted by the English; but they abandoned Old Black Town and the suburbs which were occupied by the French; while the Fort itself was a sand wreck after the siege. Black Town was ruthlessly plundered by the enemy who also burnt the village of Chepauk to the south ofthe mouth of the Cooum and lying between the Island and Triplicane.

Building of the Black Town Walls

After the siege, the Directors resolved that the Fort should be rebuilt upon the most modern plan. Hyder Ali of Mysore was growing powerful at the time. In 1767 he made an expedition to the neighbourhood of Madras, plundered San Thome and burnt several villages in the neighbourhood. Two years later, he again appeared before Madras with a formidable cavalryforce. Hyder's raids threw the inhabitants into a state of panic; and the result was the erection of permanent walls to protect the New Black Town, as Muthialpettah and Peddunaickenpettah together came to be called, after the demolition of the Old Black Town. The rampart walls that were constructed covered the northern and western fronts of modern George Town and ran a course of 3½ miles, being equipped with bastions and flanking works at intervals. The north wall presented a slight convex front towards Tondiarpet. The west wall ran on close to the North River (Cochrane Canal). On the outer side of the walls the ground was cleared for a width of six hundred yards and afforded a field for fire. These spaces were known as Esplanades. The southern part of the Western Esplanade was converted in the middle of the nineteenth century into the People's Park, and the northern part into Salt Cotaurs. The walls had numerous gates, of which the one known as Elephant Gate still had its name preserved for the site on which it stood. Wall Tax Road also is reminiscent of those times. It was designed to have a good road running on the side of the western rampart and its cost was met be means of a tax which was imposed on the house-holders nearby. But the tax was never collected through an officer, known as the Collector ofTown Wall Tax, was appointed for the purpose. It is also said that arches in the western wall were occupied by Indians who paid a rent or tax and hence arose the name of Wall Tax Road which runs for two miles and was close to the western wall. Debtor-prisoners were confined in the bastions in the north-west angle of the wall, which criminals were

put in another bastion in the northern wall; and even to-day the street next to the demolished north wall, of which some remnants remain in the compound of the Royapuram Hospital is called the Old Jail Street. The walls were pulled down about the middle of the nineteenth century when swords had to be turned into ploughshares. The remnants of its bastions and curtains that remain on the north indicate how substantially the construction work was made. The walls were finished about 1772.

Final Formation of the Fort

About the same time the work of remodeling the Fort was also finished. Many of the private inhabitants who lived within it were compelled to sell their houses, and barracks for British troops were built on their sites. The Fort in its enlarged shape was completed in 1783 when Lord Macartney was Governor. This enlarged Fort stands perfect to-day as a typical example of the ideal fortress of the eighteenth century. It is the last of the four phases of growth which was settlement has passed through. It began as a small castle of Cogan and Day which was enclosed in a square of bastioned walls. In the next stage the White Town inhabited by English, Portuguese and Armenian merchants which grew round the nucleus came to be protected by walls. This survived almost up to the date of French Capture of Madras in 1746. The filling up of the old bed of the North River, the extension of the west front of the Fort and the consequent increase in its area formed from third stage. The last stage was completed in 1783 when the outer walls were totally rebuilt and provided with ample out-works, glacis, reveling and lunettes.

It was in this epoch also that most of the buildings and barracks in the western portion of the Fort were erected. The Palace Street, so called because Nawab Wallajaj first planned to have a place erected for himself in that street, the Arsenal, the Hanover square and the Western Barracks were all constructed about this time. The streets in the eastern side of the Fort were also altered. Lord Pigot who was twice Governor of Madras, distinguished himself by strengthening the fortifications and defending it successfully against Lally. The weakness of his successors led to his reappointment for a second time as Governor. But he quarreled violently with his colleagues, was imprisoned by them and died in confinement. He was buried in a nameless grave in St. Mary's Church in the Fort.

Modern George Town comes into Shape

In the time of Governor Macartney (1781-85) Black Town assumed the shape that it now has. There was a low-lying region between Muthialpettah and Peddunaickenpettah along which

ran a drainage channel. This channel was filled up and the waste land on both its sides were raised; and gradually houses came to be built over the whole area. The main north and south street which traverses this area known as Popham's Broadway is commemorative of the efforts of Mr.Popham who reclaimed all this region. It was also now that the inhabitants of Peddunaickenpettah living in the south and south-east portions of it were removed elsewhere as their houses were considered to be dangerously near the Fort. The ground which was somewhat elevated was cleared and was converted into an Esplanade of the Fort and is now occupied by the Ordnance Lines. The removal of these houses, accounts for the present curiously broken outline of Peddunaickenpettah on its south-east side and for the abrupt termination of some of its north and south streets

Mr. Popham also submitted a plan for the establishment of a regular police force for Madras and for the building of direct and cross drains in every street. He also advocated measures for the naming and lighting of streets, for the regular registration of births and deaths and for the licensing of liquor, arrack and toddy shops. A Board of Police assisted by a Kotwal was subsequently formed. The Kotwal was to be the officer of the markets under the Superintendent of Police. For long, there was difficulty about the collecting of quit rent and scavenger's duty and it was held that the Company had no power to impose these taxes. A Parliamentary Act of 1792 finally gave the Company the power to levy municipal taxes in the City and it was resolved to order an assessment of five per cent to be collected from the inhabitants on the estimated annual rents of the houses. It was now that the Town cleaning duties were entrusted to the Officers known as Surveyors and Collectors, under whom conservancy work was to be done by contract.

Consolidation of the British rule in Madras

The consolidation of British rule in Madras (present-day Tamil Nadu and parts of South India) was a gradual and complex process that unfolded over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was not achieved through a single event but through a combination of military conquests, diplomatic strategies, administrative reforms, and economic control. The English East India Company, which initially came as a trading organization, slowly transformed itself into a political power, establishing firm control over the Madras Presidency. This transformation marked a crucial phase in the history of colonial India, particularly in South India.

The foundation for British power in Madras was laid with the establishment of Fort St. George in 1639. Initially, the British presence was limited to trade, especially in textiles, spices, and other goods. However, the political instability in South India during the decline of the Mughal Empire and the weakening of regional powers provided the Company with opportunities to expand its influence. The Carnatic region became the focal point of British expansion, particularly during the Carnatic Wars of the mid-eighteenth century. These wars, fought between the British and the French with the support of local Indian rulers, played a decisive role in establishing British supremacy in the region.

The Carnatic Wars (1746–1763) were essentially a struggle for dominance between the British and the French in South India. The British East India Company allied with local rulers such as the Nawab of Arcot, while the French supported rival claimants. The eventual victory of the British, especially after the Treaty of Paris in 1763, marked the end of French ambitions in India and gave the British a clear advantage. This victory enabled the British to control the political affairs of the Carnatic and laid the groundwork for further expansion.

One of the key strategies used by the British to consolidate their rule was the policy of supporting and controlling local rulers. The Nawab of Arcot, who was initially an ally of the British, gradually became dependent on them. The British provided military support to the Nawab in return for financial concessions and political influence. Over time, the Nawab's authority weakened, and the British assumed direct control over the administration. This indirect rule allowed the British to expand their influence without immediate direct governance.

Another significant phase in the consolidation of British rule in Madras was the series of wars with Mysore. The Mysore kingdom, under the leadership of Hyder Ali and later Tipu Sultan, posed a serious challenge to British expansion. The four Anglo-Mysore Wars (1767–1799) were crucial in determining the fate of South India. Hyder Ali was a formidable ruler who resisted British encroachment, and his son Tipu Sultan continued this resistance with great determination. However, the British, with the support of allies such as the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad, eventually defeated Tipu Sultan in the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War in 1799. The death of Tipu Sultan and the fall of Srirangapatna marked the end of Mysore's resistance and allowed the British to establish their dominance in the region.

The annexation of Mysore territories significantly strengthened British control in the Madras Presidency. Although a part of Mysore was restored to a Hindu ruler under British

supervision, the Company retained key territories and established a system of subsidiary alliance. This system required Indian rulers to accept British troops within their territories and pay for their maintenance, effectively making them dependent on the British for security and governance. This policy was instrumental in expanding British influence without direct annexation.

The British also faced resistance from local chieftains known as Poligars (Palaiyakkarars) in Tamil Nadu. These local leaders controlled small territories and maintained their own armed forces. The Poligar Wars (late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries) were a series of conflicts between the British and these chieftains. Leaders like Veerapandiya Kattabomman resisted British authority, particularly their attempts to impose taxes and control local administration. The British suppressed these revolts through military action, dismantling the power of the Poligars and bringing their territories under direct control. This marked an important step in consolidating British authority at the grassroots level.

Administrative reforms played a crucial role in the consolidation of British rule in Madras. The British introduced a centralized system of administration, replacing traditional systems of governance. The Madras Presidency was organized into districts, each under the control of a Collector who was responsible for revenue collection and law and order. This system ensured efficient administration and strengthened British control over local affairs. The introduction of the Ryotwari system of land revenue by Thomas Munro was another significant development. Under this system, the British dealt directly with the cultivators (ryots), bypassing intermediaries. While this system increased revenue for the British, it also placed a heavy burden on the peasants, leading to economic hardships.

The legal and judicial system introduced by the British further consolidated their control. They established courts, codified laws, and introduced a uniform system of justice. Although these reforms brought some degree of order and standardization, they also undermined traditional systems of justice and governance. The British legal system was often alien to the local population and primarily served the interests of the colonial administration.

Economic policies were another important aspect of British consolidation. The British transformed the economy of the Madras Presidency to serve their interests. Agriculture was commercialized, with an emphasis on cash crops such as cotton and indigo. Traditional industries, particularly handloom weaving, declined due to competition from British

manufactured goods. The integration of the Indian economy into the global market benefited the British but led to economic exploitation and impoverishment of local communities.

Infrastructure development also played a role in consolidating British rule. The construction of roads, railways, and ports facilitated the movement of goods and troops. Madras (Chennai) emerged as a major administrative and commercial center. These developments strengthened British control and integrated the region more closely with the colonial economy.

The British also used diplomacy and alliances to maintain their dominance. The Subsidiary Alliance system, introduced by Lord Wellesley, was widely applied in South India. Indian rulers who accepted this system lost their sovereignty and became dependent on the British. This policy was instrumental in bringing large parts of South India under British influence without direct annexation.

Despite their efforts, the British faced resistance from various sections of society. Peasant uprisings, tribal revolts, and local rebellions challenged British authority. However, the British suppressed these movements through military force and administrative measures. The Revolt of 1857, although largely confined to North India, had some impact in the Madras Presidency as well. The British strengthened their control after the revolt, leading to the transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown in 1858.

Education and cultural policies also contributed to the consolidation of British rule. The introduction of Western education created a class of educated Indians who were employed in the colonial administration. While this facilitated governance, it also led to the emergence of new ideas and the growth of nationalism. Missionary activities and the spread of Christianity had social and cultural implications, though their impact was limited in the Madras region compared to other parts of India.

In the consolidation of British rule in Madras was a multifaceted process involving military conquest, political manipulation, administrative reforms, and economic exploitation. The British successfully established their dominance by defeating local powers, forming alliances, and introducing systems of governance that ensured control over the region. While these developments brought about certain changes in administration and infrastructure, they also led to economic exploitation and social disruption. The legacy of British rule in Madras continues to influence the region’s political, economic, and social structures even today.

History of Madras during 1803-1827

This represents a period of consolidation by tbe British in South India. Lord William Bentinck who later became the Governor General of India was the Governor of Madras for four years. His rule saw the Sepoys' Mutiny at Vellore and a quarrel between the Government and a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature. Towards the end of his rule at Madras, Army Officers gave him trouble. Lord Bentinck was recalled by the Court of Directors of the Company because of his inability to deal with the situation effectively.

Sir George Hilaro Barlow was Madras Governor for six years from 1807 to 1813. In the beginning of the 19th century there was faction among several groups, the administration was not good. the authority was not powerful enough, army was in chaos, and merchants were eager to make money. Press criticised the Government by anonymous letters and pamphlets.

An English observer Lord Valentia who spent a few days in Madras during 1802-1811 has given his impression of Madras. "In appearance", he wrote, "Madras differs widely from Calcutta, having no European town except a few houses, which are chiefly used as ware-houses in the fort.'-

Sir Edward Elliot was the next important Governor of Madras. He gave his name to Elliot's Beach, Adyar, and to Edward Elliot's Road, Mylapore. He appointed a judicial commission with Munro as its president in 1814. Several reforms in the administrative system were made by the commission. The neW regulations transferred the control of the Police and the functions of the District Magistrate from the Judge to the Collector. The employment of the hereditary village officials for police work was allowed. Panchayats were created and they were the courts of arbitration for villages and larger areas. Rupee replaced the star pagoda ar the standard coin of the Madras Presidency and the exchange rate was three and a half rupees per pagoda.

The Madras Literary Society was started in 1817 by the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Sir Thomas Newbolt. The oriental manuscripts of this Library were transferred to the Board for the Fort st. George College created in 1812. Col. Colin Mackenzie who made historical and antiquarian research in India had a good collection of manuscripts, historical records, documents and inscriptions. The Government Oriental Manuscripts Library now housed in the Madras University Library contained the huge collection of Col. Mackenzie.

Sir. Thomas Munro who became the Madras Governor in 1820 and continued till 1827, was both a great soldier and an administrator. He was the father of the Ryotwari System. He contributed substantially to the system of administration. His statue was raised by the people of Madras City which can still be seen in the city. There were 12,500 schools of indigenous origin for over 12 million people. Munro tried his best to improve literacy. He initiated English education i n Madras. A Body called Board of Public Instruction was established and its responsibility lay in assessing the educational facilities and to improve and direct public education.

Improvements to Madras City during tbe first quarter of tbe 19th century

Old Fort Square was dismantled and wings were added in 1825 to accommodate the Secretariat. The council building was added to the east of the Secretariat later. No other structural change has been made within the 19th century. The beautiful St. George's Cathedral was built in Mount Road in 1814-1816. Many garden houses were constructed between Triplicane High Road and the Long Tank of Mylapore now Madras City occupied by the suburbs of Thiruvatteeswaranpettah, Royapettah, Nungambakkam and Teynampet. St. Andrew's Kirk in the Poonamallee High Road was built during 1813-21. With Government support it was built by Scotchmen. It was followed by the Wesleyan Chapel in Broadway and St Mathias Church at Vepery. Thus rapid construction of buildings, churches, etc., and educational reforms were significant during the early part of the 19th century.

S. R. Lushington was the Governor of Madras during the period 1827 to 1832. During his period the Madras Club was started which was the only one of its kind in India. In 1830 a directive from the directors was received stressing the need 'to train a body of natives qualified to take a larger share and occupy higher situations in the Civil administration of the country besides improving the intellectual and moral condition on the people.' In 1834 an elaborate scheme was proposed to open an En~1ish School and make improvements in class books. A Committee of Native Education with five officials was appointed and the education reforms were entrusted to this Committee consisting of 5 officials. The Tahsildari and Collectorate schools which were established previously were abolished. Four suburban English Schools were proposed to be started and each school was to have an European Headmaster.

Lord Elphinstone issued his minute in 1839 in which he proposed the establishment at Madras of a College or University to teach literature, philosophy and science and a High School

which were to be a department of the University. In April, 1841 the High School was started. The College however WaS not fully organized until 1853. In 1854 all educational activities were entrusted to the newly created Department of Public Instruction.

On 1st January 1841 a new Light House was opened for use. It was an imposing structure and was 120' above the ground. This was abandoned when a new one was erected in the new High Court' Buildings. Reorganisation of the Mint also took place in 1841 and was located in the Mint Building at the northern end of the Mint Street or Salai. Progress was made in the establishment of institutions meant for professional and technical education. A private School of Industrial Art was started.in 1850 by Dr. Hunter which was taken by Government in 1855 and it is the present school of arts. In 1834 the Civil Engineering College was started which became a college in 1862. Madras Medical College was started in 1835 in the name of Madras Medical School. It began as an institution to impart instruction in medicine and surgery to AngloIndian and Indian youths. A missionary, John Anderson opened in 1837 a General Assembly's School in George Town area. A Hindu institu~ tion was also started during the period by the Hindu trustees who administered the charitable endowments left by Pachaiyappa, a Madras merchant of the 18th century. It grew into Pacbaiyappa's College which is now located in Chetput. The foundations of good educational institutions were thus laid durjng the first half of the 19th century,

Madras City during 1842 to 1859

An important event was the abolition of Carnatic Nawabship in 1855. The Military forces of the Nawab were disbanded. The Indian Mutiny of 1857 did not affect Madras. The Education Despatch dated 19th July 1854 issued by the Court of Directors was an important landmark in the field of educational reform in the subcontinent and it was as the 'Magna Carta of English Education in India, and as 'the intellectual charter of India'. The medium of education was English in higher classes and local language in the lower classes. The Department of Public Instruction was created. The University was re-organized as the Presidency College with an attached Law Department. A Training School for teachers was established in 1855-56. The Madras University was started in September 1857 under Act No. XXVII of the Indian Legislative Council. It was modelled on the London University.

Madras during the middle and later part of 19th century

The condition of the Madras City by the middle of the 19th century is revealed by the picture of the city published in 1855 in the Gazetteer of South India. The lOW-lying Black Town had three broad streets running north to south. The buildings in the area consisted of the Free Church, Mission house, Black Town Church, Wesleyan Chapel, Church Mission Chapel, Male and Female 3 17 Orphanage, Pachaiyappa S(;hool, European shops. the Jail, the Com~issariat Office etc. There were besides a number of irregular streets of different dimension;; where the Indians lived. The Indian houses were not good and most of them did not have even good ventilation. Drains existed on both streets and common sewers went towards the sea. Drainage was on the whole poor and imperfect. The city had good pure and ample water supply through the medium of weils. There were two reservoirs in the city. One was in the Fort, the other was in between the Fort and Black Town and these reservoirs were supplied through pipes from the wells.

The Madras markets were still supplied with grains, vegetables, mutton, fish provisions etc., and the prices were also moderate. There was a respectable club and three family hotels in the city. In the field of education the advantage offered to Indians was not fully utilised and the educational progress was comparatively poor in the Madras region. There was an infirmary for medical relief to the poor natives. There Were a General Hospital, a Lunatic Asylum, an Eye Infirmary, a Lying-in-Hospital, a Military Orphanage each for males and females, Missionary, Protestant Charity, Free and Grammar Schools, a Polytechnic, Friend-in-Need and Temperance Societies also. The social life of Europeans in the city was not good according to John Bruce Norton. The use of hookas slowly declined and the number of palanquins also gradually decreased. Such was the picture of Madras City in the middle of the 19th Century.

Charles Trevelyan tecame the Governor of Madras in 1859. His administration was successful in all respects. He was succeeded by Governors Ward and Denison. Ward died within a month of his assumption of office. Denison who was not favourably disposed towards local people was in office between 1861 and 1866. The Madras High Court was created in June 1862. There were a number of journalists during this period. The foremost among them was Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty who published the 'Crescent' from October 1844. It was the earliest Hindu periodical. It was intended to act as a corrective to the missionary journal called 'Record'.

The earliest political group was the Madras Native Association which wa~ to be the for~runner of Madras Mahajana Sabha and Lakshminarasu Chetty took a chief role in the association. Mr. M. V. Sadagopacbarlu, a talented Madras Lawyer was nominated to the newly formed Madras Legislative Council. In 1863, Mr. Lakshminarasu Chetty became a member of the council, on the death of Mr. M. V. Sadagopacharlu. Another prominent personality of the period was Mr. C. V. Ranganatha Sastri a great scholar in Sanskrit and Law. Press was revitalized by Mr. G. Subrahmanya Ayyar and the 'Hindu' the prominent newspaper was started by Mr. V,raraghavacharya and this was guided and controlled by late Mr. S. Kasturi Srinivasa Ayyangar. 'The Hindu' became powerful instrument of)ublic opinion. Sir T. Muthuswami Iyer became the first Indian Judge of the Madras High Court.

The Railway Company in Madras was formed in July 1845. The first construction work began on 9th June, 1853 and in 1858, South Indian Railway was formed. Madras was the railway headquarters. A line from Arcot was opened in 1856. Lord Hobart who was the Governor from 1872 to 1815 initiated the Madras Harbour Project. He was also responsible for the drainage system in the city. Next permanent Madras Governor was the Duke of Buckingham and Chand os and his rule lasted for 5 years from 1875 to 1880. A great famine occurred in South India during]876-78. He built a beautiful Government House in Ootacamund.

The first regular Census was made in 1871. Prior to this, several quinquennial enumerations of population were made; they were mostly based on guess work. The population of Madras City in 1871 was 397,552 and in 1822 the popUlation was recorded as 462,051

Sir Mountstuart EJphinstone Grant-Duff who governed Madras for five years from 1881 constructed the Marina which extends from the mouth of the Cooum river in the north to San thorne in the South. The Congress Party came to life during the period 1881-90. The Indian National Congress was held in Bombay in 1885. It held its session in 1887 at Madras. The Governor, Lord Connemara gave a garden party in honour of the delegates at the Government House. The Public Madras City LIbrary in Egmorc was named after Lord Connemara. The buildings of Madras Museum and the Library were built during his period. In 1889 the new buildings of the High Court were constructed. The provision of water supply to the City was made in the latter half of the 19th century by the Corporation together with drainage works. Madras City was assured of good drinking water from the Red Hills Lake Reservoir located at a distance of 7 miles from Madras City. A new scheme was introduced later by which the water

from the reservoir at Red Hills was taken first to the pumping station at KiJpauk, where it was filtered and distributed through pipes by means of mechanical power. A thorough drainage scheme was also executed. Besides regulating drainage, the Municipal Act of 1884 provided for the prevention of infectious and dangerous diseases. Thus Madras City had grown gradually throughout the century under the British Government.

Establishment of Madras

The advent of the English in Madras in 1640 led to the establishment of settlements and acquisition of territories. The charter of 1683 gave full power to the company to declare war or make peace with any of the heathen nations of Asia, Africa and America within the charter limits to the raise, arm, train and muster such military forces as seemed requisite and necessary and to execute material law for the defence of their forts, palaces and plantations against foreign invasion or domestic insurrection or rebellioni . It was necessary to keep law and order in Madras, if attempts were made to break peace by word or deed. This charter reflected the political power granted to the company. In the same year the king of Golconda granted a firman to the Governor of Madras, confirming all the privileges with additional powers.

On 13 April 1986 James II, the king of England empowered the Company to extend constitutional government in its Indian territories by the establishment of municipal constitution for Madras. The grant was noteworthy in two respects. It made the development of territorial character of the Company's rule in Madras and it also signalized the readiness of the Crown to accord more powers to the Companies. The charter of 1686 confirmed all former grants given to the Company with additional powers of coinage and exercising the Law Material. Hence the English declared that they had to advance the English interest and make the Companys formidable martial government in Madras. The mutinous soldiers who refused to go to the Bay and ring leaders who plotted mutiny, treasons and rebellions were sent to the gallows. It was done in a bid to establish an orderly government at Fort St. George and to make the people sensible of their being subject to the laws and punishments of Great Britainvi .

In 1686 the Company resolved to maintain the honour of the English nation and their king. If the king of Golconda claimed any control over the city of Madras he was told in plain terms that the English had him as a good friend, ally, confederate sovereign and Lord Paramount of all the countries, excepting the small territory of Madras. The English maintained and defended in against all and governed it by their own laws without any appeal to any prince

except their Sovereign Lord, the King of England. They paid their agreed tributevii of pagodas 1200 per annum to the king of Golconda. If he broke the terms, the Directors advised the Governor of Fort St. George to defend yourselves by Arms and from that time renounce paying him any more tribute. “It was the opportune time for the English to assert their own kings right and prerogative to the important place” , when the king of Golconda was oppressed by the Mugals on one side and the Dutch on the other. The English asserted that they paid “1200 pagodas rent for Madras not capitulated at our first settlement.

In 1686 the Dutch had commenced a war against the ruled of Golconda, who was also under the oppression by the Mughal forces and that was the suitable time for the English to fall into a strict confederacy with him and to give him private assistance for his money and to think of whatever was necessary to get by a fireman from him. In fact situation was wisely utilised for the best advantage of the English. They began to resist the activities of the Dutch and resolved to resist force with force and to settle matters by arms .

The English at Fort St. George were happy to see that the natives were obedient to the English laws. The Nawab of Golconda had no naval strength to attack the English on sea. The creation of Municipal Corporation was motivated by the desire to secure taxes. But strike and non-co-operation movement greeted the imposition of a house tax in 1686. Hence Josiah Child conceived the idea that a mayoralty and municipality for Madras would meet the case and that the people would submit to taxation more readily if it came from themselves instead from the company. He hoped that the pageantry of power would cajole the natives into parting with the money for the public goodx . In 1687 quit rent was collected for every house in Madrasxi. In the same year Madras witnessed the preparation of census for the first time. The company resolved to assume independent jurisdiction within their own settlements and to act as self-governing body within their own limits.

In 1687 the English proclaimed that they intended to establish such a policy of civil and military power to create and secure large revenue, as it would be the foundation of a large. Well grounded English domination in India. All the orders of the Company had the force of law and all the people under the Government of Fort St. George should obey them. In 1687 all the servants swore in before they entered upon the exercise of their office to be true to the Sovereign Lord, the King of England.

Gaining confidence in their power, the English decided in 1688 that they should pay injury with injury on the enemies who committed injuries on the English. Thus in the words of Sir Josiah Child the Company was being transformed from a body of mere trading merchants into conditions of a sovereign estate of India. The civil servants in Madras were trained in the use of arms from 1688. The English tried to establish their civic rights in Madras and to govern and protect their own servants, merchants and inhabitants who were originally the royal subjects but by he virtue of the cowle they became the English subjects. They hoisted the Union jack in the place of the St. Georges standard at the Fort on 12th June 1688, soon after Yale's succession as the Governor of Fort St. George. Madras was declared in independent of the settlements and allowed to exercise the sovereign powers.

Formation of Madras Presidency

The formation of the Madras Presidency was a gradual process that evolved over nearly three centuries as the British East India Company expanded its political and administrative control in South India. Initially, the English came to India purely for trade, but over time, political circumstances and military victories enabled them to establish territorial authority. The Madras Presidency eventually became one of the three major administrative divisions of British India, along with the Bengal Presidency and the Bombay Presidency.

The foundation of the Madras Presidency can be traced back to 1639, when the British East India Company obtained a strip of land from the local Nayak ruler of Chandragiri. This agreement was negotiated by Francis Day and Andrew Cogan. On this land, the Company established Fort St. George in present-day Chennai. Fort St. George became the nucleus of British power in South India and served as the administrative headquarters of the emerging Madras Presidency.

In the early phase, Madras functioned merely as a trading settlement under the authority of the East India Company. However, the Company gradually strengthened its position through diplomacy, alliances, and military engagements with local rulers. The decline of powerful South Indian kingdoms such as the Vijayanagar Empire and the political fragmentation that followed created favourable conditions for British expansion. The Carnatic region, ruled nominally by the Nawab of Arcot, became an important area of British influence.

A decisive stage in the formation of the Madras Presidency occurred during the Carnatic Wars fought between the British and the French in the 18th century. These wars, particularly the

struggle between the British East India Company and the French East India Company, were part of a larger global conflict. Leaders like Robert Clive played a crucial role in establishing British supremacy. The defeat of the French removed a major European rival and enabled the British to consolidate their control over South India.

Following the Carnatic Wars, the British gained increasing influence over the Nawab of Arcot, who became dependent on them financially and militarily. By exploiting this dependency, the British gradually assumed administrative control over the Carnatic region. The Nawab's inability to repay debts led to agreements that transferred revenue collection rights to the Company. Thus, political authority passed into British hands without direct annexation in some cases.

Another significant phase in the formation of the Madras Presidency was marked by the Anglo-Mysore Wars. The powerful Kingdom of Mysore, under rulers like Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, posed a serious challenge to British expansion. After a series of four wars, the British defeated Tipu Sultan in 1799 and annexed large parts of Mysore territory. This victory significantly strengthened the territorial base of the Madras Presidency.

Similarly, the Anglo-Maratha Wars contributed to British expansion in South India. The defeat of the Marathas enabled the British to acquire territories in the Deccan region, further enlarging the Madras Presidency. The Company also followed policies such as Subsidiary Alliance, which brought many Indian states under indirect British control.

By the early 19th century, the Madras Presidency had taken a more definite administrative shape. It included vast territories covering most of present-day Tamil Nadu, parts of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Kerala. The Presidency was administered by a Governor and a Council, headquartered at Fort St. George. The administrative system introduced by the British included district divisions, revenue collection methods like the Ryotwari system, and a structured bureaucracy.

The introduction of the Ryotwari system by Thomas Munro was a key feature of the Madras Presidency's administration. Under this system, land revenue was collected directly from the cultivators (ryots), bypassing intermediaries. This system aimed to simplify revenue administration but had mixed effects on peasants, often leading to heavy taxation and indebtedness.

The Madras Presidency also became an important centre for British political, economic, and educational activities in South India. The development of infrastructure such as roads, railways, and ports facilitated trade and communication. The city of Chennai emerged as a major urban centre and administrative hub. Western education and missionary activities also spread through the Presidency, leading to social and cultural changes.

The formation of the Madras Presidency was not a single event but a gradual process shaped by trade expansion, military conquests, diplomatic alliances, and administrative reforms of the British East India Company. Starting from a small trading post at Fort St. George, it evolved into a vast administrative unit covering much of South India. The Presidency played a crucial role in consolidating British rule in the region and laid the foundation for modern administrative structures, though it also brought significant economic exploitation and social transformation.

Fort St. George

Fort St. George was founded in the year 1639—40. The reason for its -foundation must be sought in the history of the preceding century. The European world was astir with the discovery of America, and the new route by the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies. Bartholomew Diaz rounded the "Cape of Storms," as he called it, in i486. When the King of Portugal heard of his exploit he recognised its true import, and renamed it the "Cape of Good Hope." Led by Vasco de Gama, the Portuguese arrived on the West coast of India at the end of the fifteenth century. The legend of their landing and the greeting they received is curious. De Gama carried a small body of condemned convicts who were destined to play the part taken by the rabbit and the guinea-pig in vivisection; they were to form the subjects of experiment, and were to be sent ashore on arrival at any strange port where the sentiments of the natives were not known. If the experiment proved fatal it would merely be the execution of their sentences. If they escaped assassination, so much the better for them. Fortune favoured the handful of men sent ashore at Calicut; and the worst that awaited them was the incorrigible gaze of curiosity from the mild Hindu, which gaze survives to this day in all its pristine vitality. Imagining that they were Moors, with whom the natives had been familiar for centuries, the West Coast fishermen conducted them to the house of an Arab from Tunis. He recognised them as Europeans at once, and addressed them in Spanish with the thoroughly European greeting of, "Devil take you! What brought you here?"

Following on the steps of the Portuguese came the Dutch,acentury later ; and close on the heels of the Dutch, the English.The Englishman, however, made his way to the East as aprivate individual long before any company was formed. ' ThePortuguese trader was no stranger at Bristol, to which placehe brought spices, silk and other Indian commodities for sale.Under the wing of the Portuguese merchant the Englishmanleft his native shores and took passage to the East to try hisluck on his own account. Very modest indeed was his firstappearance in India. He took no armed soldiers with him, andmade no demand in his sovereign's name. No national jealousieswere excited by his presence; and if he survived the dangersof the voyage, he returned to his native land rich in gems andvhighly prized spices, and full of tales of all the wondershehad seen. The sight of his wealth was convincing; the enthu-siasm of his fellow-merchants was fired. Why should they not|do as he had done?

In 1589 a body of merchants petitioned Queen Elizabeth forileave to trade in India, with a monopoly of Indian goods. Theleave was granted, and three ships sailed in 1591 under the",command of Captain George Raymond. Unfortunately, the littletfleet met with bad weather and only one of the vessels ever^reached India. It was probably not more than three hundredvtons, if so much, and it was under the command of CaptainIJames Lancaster. The venture was of a private nature, theifmoney being subscribed by a small body of merchants, who|divided the profits on the return of the ships and closed theaccounts. This plan was adopted by the East India Companyfor the first few voyages, and the profits sometimes amountedto more than two hundred per cent on the outlay. But it wasfound better in the end to turn the funds into common stock,as it was difficult to separate the accounts of each voyage whenthe ships assisted each other abroad and worked, as it wasconvenient to do, into each other's hands.

In 1600 the first East India Company was formed, and it obtained a charter giving it the monopoly of the East Indian trade. The Company consisted of some two hundred and fifty members, knights, aldermen and merchants of London. ^ They sent out their first fleet under the same Captain, James Lancaster, who had sailed in 1591. He was called the General of the expedition; and besides merchants, factors and agents, he had a surgeon and chaplain on his staff. He ruled in the name of the Company absolutely; and on him rested the responsibility of the expedition. His orders were to trade, and to found, if possible, a factory on some spot where the natives were friendly and trade was brisk. There seemed no great difficulty in getting cargoes, although it required some patience and perseverance. The jealousy of the Dutch and Portuguese,

and the grasping character of the natives were the chief hindrances ; but the merchants succeeded all the same in exchanging their English broadcloth and bullion for calicoes on the West coast, and in trading the cotton goods away at Bantam in Java for cloves, nutmegs and spices, which brought such rich returns in England.

The establishment of a factory was a far more difficult matter to accomplish. Captain Lancaster succeeded in planting one at Bantam in Java, where he left Mr. William Starkie in charge, in the year 1602—3. With this the Company had to be content for a few years; for though other attempts were made to establish centres, they did not prove permanent until 1612, when a footing was obtained North of Bombay, at Surat

In 1611 the Globe, one of the Company's ships, rounded Cape Comorin and came up the Coromandel Coast. It was feeling its way with the hope of discovering some place where a permanent settlement might be made by rent or purchase, and where the holding rested on a firmer foundation than the caprice of the native ruler, or the tolerance of the Dutch and the Portuguese. It arrived before Masulipatam, a seaport between Madras and Calcutta, two cities that were not in existence then, only tofind that the Dutch, as usual, were before them. Captain AnthonyHippon, who was in command of the vessel, had two Dutch-men on board, who were in the employ of the English Company. He sent one of these, Peter Williamson Floris, ashorewith Mr. Robert Brown, an English factor, in the ship's skiff, having no notion what the surf on the Coromandel coast coulddo. They were upset, and Brown, who was far from w^ell, was nearly drowned. They were favourably received by thenative port-officer, and they sent back at once to the ship forMr. Lucas Antheunis, the other Dutchman, and Mr. ThomasEssington. By this time the President of the Dutch Companyhad heard of their arrival. He came forth in great wrath, flour- ishing his cowle or permission from the native ruler to trade, and bade the strangers depart ; an order they refused to obey.A quarrel ensued and the native port-officer or shahbunder,who evidently had good reason for welcoming the English,asked the gentlemen to refer the matter to the native ladywho ruled Masulipatam in the name of her Sultana or Queen.When she arrived, she declared herself in favour of theDutch, and would give no assistance and grant no cowle tothe English.

But the Briton was not to be so easily beaten off the field. Essington and Floris determined to remain at Masulipatamwhilst the ship went on a further voyage of discovery up thecoast. When it returned, another effort was made to obtainpermission to open a trade with the

place; and this time theCompany's servants were rewarded with some success, althoughthey did not get all that they wanted. ^ They were permittedto trade on the payment of custom; and to leave some oftheir men to establish a factory. But tlrey were not allowedto purchase land, and might at any moment be told todepart. Brown, Essington, Floris, Antheunis and SymonEvans were the five men chosen to work the first factory onthe Coromandel Coast. Lucas Antheunis wrote from Masuli-patam, "We are arrived here, upon the coast of Coromandel in PettipoH ^ and in Masulipatam, in which two places we do hold our residence this loth September, i6ii." The intention was to stay there three months to buy calicoes, and then to proceed to Bantam in Java, returning again to the new factory. Robert Brown was the chief; he had had experience in the Java trade, having been one of the Council of Merchants in the second expedition sent out under Sir Henry Middleton in 1604. Middleton left Brown at the factory at Bantam with Gabriel Towerson, whom he was to succeed in case of Towerson's death. "

Brown was a valued servant, much respected and trusted by the Directors; but he did not live long to serve them. Whilst at Bantam he contracted dysentery, which he was never able to throw off. The water of Bantam was known to the Dutch to be deleterious in its effects, and this fact they carefully con- cealed from their rivals, the English. Middleton took a supply on board his ship with the most disastrous results to his crew on the journey home; and Brown received his death-warrant from the same source. He did not long survive his arrival at Masulipatam. He died and was buried September 8th, 1611, the first victim claimed on the Coromandel Coast from the ranks of the Company's servants. The second was Thomas Essington, who followed him shortly afterwards, May 17th, 1614. Their names head a long list, an innumerable army of able men, who have laid down their lives in the work of making an Empire, the like of which Asia has never seen before within her borders.

The ships in which these pioneers of the English trade in the Eastern Seas set sail were no larger than the yachts of the present day, with which pleasure-seekers sail roun our coasts in summer; and they were not nearly so well found. The ship'builders had no notion what a tropical climate could do in the way of decay. Cables rusted and cordage rotted with incredible rapidity ; even the ships themselves were attacked by worms, which riddled their timbers in a manner unknownin England. The drinking-water was kept in casks, whichdecayed before the journey was ended; and the food becameweavilly and unfit for consumption. The merchants and factors who travelled as passengers had none of the luxuries whichare to be found on a modern

passenger-boat. A man wasgiven a perfectly bare cabin in which he often placed,—unfor- tunate landsman that he was,—an ordinary English bedstead; it is to be hoped for his sake that he found some means of lashing and steadying it. He provided himself with lookingglass, wash-basin or anything else of that kind which he mightthink necessary for his toilette. If he required a bath he got a sailor to give him a douche of salt water from a bucket. One advantage he possessed over the traveller of to-day ; hehad his cabin to himself, and he was allowed to fill it up very much as he pleased. He carried his clothes and personal effects in strong sea-chests, which he was glad to keep underhis immediate eye, safe from the thieving fingers of the sailors. He also provided himself with a store of provisions and wineto supplement the very plain fare of salt junk, mouldy bread and boiled pease, which constituted the rations of the ship. He bought fresh fish, meat, vegetables and fruit at the differ- ent ports, the fruit being especially acceptable as it helped to mitigate the evils of scurvy, that curse of sea-voyaging.

The trip out took six or seven months, and was tedious, andfull of dangers without and within. Of the former, storms andpirates were the worst; whilst those within were disease andfire. In one of the earliest records of a voyage home, the captain relates how the cook, o'er-guzzled with drink", dug ahole through the brick fire-place into the wooden side of the ship and set it on fire; "Thereby," the Captain plaintively observes, "giving us much trouble." The ships were absent from England two years, and it is a marvel how they survived their many perils.

Whenever a trading centre was opened by the Company, the community, however small, was organised and placed under definite rules previously laid down by the Court of Directors. Accordingly, the little Agency at Masulipatam was put under a Chief; and a Council was chosen from among the merchants. In spite of the permission accorded to them to trade, matters did not progress very favourably. They succeeded, however, in establishing two other stations on a smaller scale at Armaghaum and Pulicat, places lying between Masulipatam and Madras. As far as the market was concerned there was no lack of goods. The eagerly sought diamonds, the valuable silks, calicoes and saltpetre, were all there ready for exchange with the Englishman's broadcloth and bullion. But the jealousy of the Dutch increased yearly ; and they undersold their rivals in the market, and did all they could to make mischief with the natives. The native ruler, presuming on the unprotected state of the English, blackmailed their goods under cover of exacting custom; and commercial enterprise was in imminent danger of being paralysed. It was distinctly recognised that if trade was to be developed with any success, a new and unoccupied

field must again be sought, where a holding could be bought or rented from the native sovereign. The matter was reported home to the Directors, who responded by commissioning Mr. Francis Day, one of the members of Council at Masulipatam in 1639, to seek for some spot where operations might be carried on under more favourable conditions.

The removal of a trading centre on a practically unknown coast was no easy matter. There were more requirements than one in choice of a new station. Good anchorage for ships was an essential; some natural protection from thieving hordes of horsemen was another; the proximity of good markets for exchanging commodities was a third ; and an easy inland communication was a fourth important consideration.

When Day set out to search for the spot which should combine all these advantages, he turned his face to the South. Avoiding the Dutch settlement at Pulicat, where an attempt had already been made, unsuccessfully, to gain a footing, he directed his attention to St. Toma, as it was then called, the St. Thome or Myliapore of the present day. It had been oneof the largest of the Portuguese colonies on the CoromandelCoast ; but its glory had departed with the decay of Portugalas a European power. A number of country-born Indo-Portii- guese remained, whose blood was mingled with that of thepeople of the land, and who regarded India as their home.They met Day with a warm welcome, seeing in him a manwho might infuse new life into the moribund trade of their town. The place was capable of renewed commercial activity. It possessed a strong fort which only needed repair; and thetown was thronged with Portuguese and native merchants, whoseexperience in dealing with Europeans made them valuable as interpreters and middlemen between the English buyer andthe Hindu producer. Day could probably have rented St. Thomehad he been so inclined; but he chose in preference a narrowstrip of land directly north of St. Thome, which seemed to himlikely to prove an easier and more permanent holding. Herethe Company could reign with greater safety and freedom, andmaintain its independence with a smaller force in troublous times, than would suffice to hold St. Thome. Here it could form its colony on its own lines, and it was unlikely from the appearance of the place that any other foreign power would ever covet its possession.

Aided by the friendly Portuguese, he effected the renting ofa piece of land along the shore, a mile broad and six miles in length. It had nothing apparently to commend it. It was devoid of beauty of scenery; it had no harbour, although there was good anchorage in its roads. It was nothing but a dreary waste of sand, on which a monotonous sea broke in double line of surf,

giving it an inhospitable look, which it retains to the present day. A shallow lagoon-like river, running parallel with the sea for a short distance, formed the protection needed on the land side from predatory tribes of horsemen but otherwise the river was useless. It afforded no shelter for ships; and its brackish waters were of no use for irrigation purposes. It often emitted an unpleasant and unhealthy effluvia from the rotting seaweed lying in its loathsome black ooze. The river, confined to narrower limits in the present day, with some of its mud banks reclaimed, is scoffingl))^ dubbed "The Silvery Cooum." To atone for its defects, it has a trick of assuming in the tropical sunset a fascinating beauty and fairness. Its smooth waters reflect the gorgeous colours of the sky; tire blue smoke of the wood fires in the native huts spreads an Etherial azure haze over the palms and banyan trees on its banks, and the eye of the artist is equally delighted as his nostril is offended when he gazes across its broad bosom. When the sky is purple with the gathering clouds of the monsoon, the Cooum ruffles its waters into a sheet of silvery grey ripples, and it gleams in its setting of dark green like a polished mirror of steel; even the black wet ooze glistens with delicate shades of pearl. But the Cooum is not remembered for its false and transient beauty ; it is indelibly stamped on the memory of the Anglo-Indian by its odors.

Neither the smell of the river nor the acres of sandy waste discouraged the persevering servant of the East India Company, and Day concluded his negotiations satisfactorily on the ist of March, 1639—40. And by his transaction his employers obtained their first territorial rights in India. The Rajah of Chandragheri, who received the cash paid down as rent for the ground, must have laughed in his sleeve at the folly of the English in parting with gold for that dreary waste of sand and mud. He could not foresee that the apparently worthless spot might hold a Clive and a Munro, and that it might send forth mandates for the deposition of princes stronger than himself; that it might shelter and despatch a Job Charnock to found Calcutta in the name of his masters, a city destined to extend its rule from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, and to stretch a powerful arm over the length and breadth of the country to protect the weak from the tyranny of the strong. Early visitors to Fort St. George thought scorn of the bargain; but afterwards, when the advantages of its strategical position were proved, Englishmen recognised the fact that Day had chosen well.

The price of the grant was a yearly rent of about six hundred pounds. The agreement was drawn up on a plate of gold, and it was dated March ist, 1639 (old style). It was carefully preserved by the Company in Fort St George until 1746. In that year the Fort was handed over to

the French by treaty. During the occupation of the French between 1746 and 1749 the gold plate disappeared, and the Company lost a valuable historical memorial of the founding of Fort St. George, and the acquisition of the first bit of Indian soil by the English.

THE INFANCY OF FORT ST. GEORGE

Francis Day's task was only half finished when he obtained possession of the land. There were no buildings upon it but a half-dozen mud huts belonging to the muckwas or fishermen; he had to set about raising a warehouse for the Company's goods, and a house for the offices, wherein the Company's affairs might be transacted. Dwellings were also needed for the Company's servants, and it was necessary to attract the country-born Portuguese merchants who were the link between the exporter and the producer.

When the Dutch took Cochin on the West Coast a few years later, they committed the grave error of driving out all the Roman Catholics from the city. These men were the descendants of the Portuguese traders and native women, and they held the commerce of the inland country in their hands. When they were gone, the Dutch found themselves an isolated colony of exporters cut off from their channels of supply.

Day made no such mistake. Sinking his religious scruples, if he had any, he invited the Portuguese traders from St, Thomd, and also any Englishmen not already in the Company's service who were trading tliere, to come into the Fort under certain conditions and settle. He gave then! permission to build houses for themselves, and promised them the protection and coun- tenance of the Company so long as they conformed to its rules. The advantages of such an offer were seen at once, and numbers of the traders availed themselves of it without delay. They were only too glad to leave a place which could no longer shelter them from the rapacity of the native ruler nor compensate them for a lost commerce.

Before long, substantial houses began to rise in the North Westcorner of the Fort, which looked towards a small native town;and at the same time the walls of the Fort itself were beingerected on the North, South and East sides. The houses werebuilt along the banks of the river, which then ran parallel withthe sea coast ; the walls of the houses, flanked as they were by the river, formed a kind of fortification, and were a part of the Fort wall. The North West corner of the original Fort wascalled Caldera or Caldere Point, Caldera being a Portuguesesurname which occurs in the rent-rolls later on, as the nameof one of the owners of a house in the Fort. It is also to befound in the Register books of St. Mary's church. Between Caldera Point and the

point by the sea named Fisher's Point, a curtain or wall was erected, about one hundred yards longon the North, which was pierced by two narrow gateways. They led out to the native settlement called, at first, GentuTown, and afterwards Blacktown, from the colour of its inhabitants, a name it retains to the present day. The colony inside the Fort was called White Town, but the White Town was dropped as soon as the English began to build houses for themselves outside the Fort. The gates in the North wall werecalled the Choultry Gate and the Middle or North Gate.

One of the first to avail himself of Day's invitation was anEnglishman named Clarke, He came from Masulipatam, wherehe held office under the Company, He built his house immediately after the concession of the land, and chose a site near Caldera Point. His name was given to one of the gates in the North, wall, which gate is mentioned in a petition sent into the Governor as "Tom Clarke's Gate". He had a son whowas afterwards Portuguese interpreter to the Company, andwho succeeded to the property. In 1675 the Company w^as obliged to deprive Clarke of his house.

The fortifications at Caldera Point and on the West along the river bank, consisting only of house and garden walls, werenot strong enough to resist any attack made under the direction of a European power. In 1672 the French arrived at St. Thomewith a strong force, and threatened the English ; and it became necessary to place Fort St. George in a suitable state of defence such as would resist their attacks. The houses at Caldera Point had to be pulled down, Tom Clarke's amongst the number. After it was done he sent in a quaintly worded petition to the President in Council, asking for an indemnity, in 1675. He admitted the necessity of the destruction of the house which was " built thirty-four years since, when neither bulwarks nor scarce a house of noate appeared" ; he claimed consideration on the score of his "ancestor having been ye first Inhabitant through ye invitation of ye then Agent, who removed about that time from Armagon", (near Masulipatam).

In reply to his request he was assigned a sum of money, which was to be raised by a house-tax levied on the inhabitants of Blacktown. But they were not used to this mode of raising-revenue, although they had had more than sufficient experience in various other ways of taxation, and they strenuously resisted its imposition. It is to be feared that Clarke never received his indemnity. He died at Fort St. George, and was buried in the English cemetery lying between the Fort and Blacktown, a piece of ground which may veritably be called English soil from the

number of our country-men who lie there. His tombstone was removed with others from the cemetery to the compound of St. Mary's church in the Fort, after the attack by the French in 1758 under Lally. The old tombs in the cemetery gave cover to the enemy and enabled the P'rench to bring their guns close up to the Fort walls; so the burial ground was levelled and cleared in its whole length, and some of the stones bearing inscriptions were preserved.

The inscription on the stone which commemorates Thomas Clarke says that he was the son of Thomas Clarke, an Englishman, who was formerly President of the English Company in the town of Masulipatam ; and that he (Thomas Clarke, Junior) died October 6th, 1683. The stone lies on the north side of the church, and is cemented with others into a pavement, which is overshadowed by the oleanders growing so luxuriantly within the compound railings. The slab is broken in four pieces, the effect probably of a cannon-ball when the Fort guns were turned on the cemetery against the French. The inscription is in Latin, and it is surmounted by a coat of arms and a crest, manifestly hewn by a native sculptor. The tinctures are not given. The arms are:—On a field —a fesse—two plates. In chief two Maltese crosses. The crest is: —On the helmet of a Knight a Maltese cross. At the end of the 17th century a Captain Thomas Clarke, Master of a ship, is mentioned in the records of the Company at Fort St. George; and there were Clarkes at Masulipatam contemporary with Thomas Clarke, the Portuguese interpreter.

The first agent of Fort St. George was its founder. Like Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, he received no encouragement nor praise from the Directors for what he had effected. They were willing to pay custom and subsidise a native prince and to build a factory under the shelter of his wing. But they were not prepared to become territorial lords and to possess a fortified seaport of their own, where they might export and import their goods free of all charge. They did not know what political difficulties it might lead them into. A Fort seemed an expensive and dangerous luxury which was quite unnecessary. They were alarmed at the very word "Fort". It was diametrically opposed to the policy they had pursued for the first half century of their commercial existence, a scrupulously conciliatory policy of peace at any price. They therefore ex- pressed their disapproval of his action, little knowing the true conditions of trade in the East.

One of the first lessons learnt by the merchant when he arrived in the country was the insecurity of property, and the necessity of building a stronghold for the safe warehousing of his goods. There was a time for buying, when the market, according to the season, was well stocked

with merchandise; and there was a time for lading and despatching the ships, when the trade winds, or monsoons, as they are called on the coast of Hindustan, were favourable. These times did not accord, and the goods brought in by the merchants on contract had often to He some months before they could be shipped. The merchants in Leadenhall Street never seemed able to grasp the state of affairs in those early days, nor to com- prehend the many difficulties which beset their servants in the execution of their duties. Nothing shows this fact more plainly than the requests made by the Directors thirty years later, when they elaborated new rules for the government of the growing agency.

There was the dilatoriness and want of faith on the part of the native producer; the roguery of the middleman or broker, who swore that goods were not procurable when he wanted to raise the price; and the grasping dishonesty of the native ruler, who blackmailed and blockaded the Englishman whenever he wanted a little ready cash. Not only did the Court of Directors expect their servants to manage their commercial affairs with punctuality, as though they were trading in a well- ordered European market, and to safeguard their property, but they also asked them to control matters between foreign powers and the natives. They inquired what immunities from custom the Dutch had procured for themselves at the different native ports, and expressed a hope that the Governor and Council would prevent the grant of any ‘‘which might be to our prejudice”. Considering that the Governor and Council could barely protect their own merchandise, and ensure fair treatment for themselves at the hands of the natives, it was hardly likely that they would run their heads into the lion’s mouth by attempting to dictate terms on which the Dutch were to be allowed to trade. The Directors requested their servants to put a stop to blackmailing, and prevent native merchants from supplying inferior calicoes ; also to see that the masters of English ships, whether in the Company’s service or not, did not carry merchants of other nations to trade in the Southern Seas, where the Company claimed the monopoly of trade. Yet with all this they were constantly reiterating their peace-at-any-price policy. They did not appear to understand that an army-corps would have been needed to enforce the stipulations, they wished to impose upon the Indian world. They also asked to be told the true price of commodities sold by the natives, a matter which to this day has not been ascertained satisfactorily; as the habit of the native dealer, from the merchant to the pedlar-hawker, is to ask one-third more than he hopes to get, and two-thirds more than he will take. A fixed price was ever the will-o’-the- wisp to the European in the Indian market.

When directions such as these reached the Governor he was apt to grow impatient, and his frame of mind evidenced itself in the replies he sent home. He then had to submit to reproof; and was told that the Directors highly disapproved of the tone of his letters; “and for the future we expect you will manageyour pen with more respect,” they said

In spite of the disapproval of the Court, Day and his successors hastened on the completion of the Fort. He secured a small garrison of soldiers, whose duty, amongst other things, was to form an escort for the Company’s property as it was carried in or out of the Fort. A small colony of merchants, factors and writers in the Company’s service, was formed under the usual rules, and the Agency commenced its commercial life. It was governed from Bantam; its trade consisted chiefly in Indian calicoes and muslins which were needed for the Bantam market. It was a very small beginning, with not even the countenance of the Court to help it; and it speaks volumes for the pluck and judgment of its promoters that the little settlement ever maintained its existence at all. Certainly trade was very bad in England at the time. Society was disorganised by the Civil Wars, and merchants were generally idle and dis- heartened, excepting those who dealt in the necessaries of war, such as arms, ordnance and gunpowder. However, in 1652 the place was raised to the dignity of a Presidency, and Mr. Aaron Baker arrived from Bantam as its first President. The first general letter sent home to the Directors is dated November 5 th, 1642, ten years before the place was raised to this rank. As the records of Fort St. George do not date back earlier than 1670, there is not much material for the formation of a detailed history of its first years. A few facts may be gleaned here and there which suffice to give a general outline of its rise ; and the monuments afford a few personal details of the men who passed a portion of their lives, and ended their days, within the walls. The story of the growth of the place mayeasily be guessed. It was the record of a struggle beriveen a handful of English merchants, who were bound down to a peace policy, and the native ruler, who already wanted to break faith over the bargain his predecessor had made.

The Agency was small and weak ; but the men who ruled it were quick to perceive the advantages it offered, if they were given a freer hand and had the command of men and money; and this was the burden of the cry sent home. Baker could do no more than his predecessors, but he probably added his voice to the entreaty for ships, bullion and soldiers. One of the mementoes of Baker’s Presidentship is to be found in St. Mary’s compound. It is the saddest domestic tragedy that can happen in a man’s live. He lost his wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Baker, at Bantam, just

before he left the island. She is described as having travelled far over foreign seas, and having fallen a victim to the unhealthy climate of Java in 1652. This stone also bears a quaintly carved coat of arms without tinctures. It gives, on a field—a saltire engrailed ; in chief a lion passant ; Impaling on a field—a fesse embattled—between three Catherine wheels. There is no record of Baker's death; it may therefore be supposed that he survived the climate and lived to enjoy his wealth at home.

Associated with Baker was a Mr. Henry Greenhill, who had been Agent before the place was raised to a Presidency. He signed a document with Baker in 1652. It was issued by the President for the purpose of settling some caste disputes which came before ‘’‘President Aaron Baker, Agent Henry Greenhill and William Gurney." There is a curious epitaph on a mottled marble slab, which is let into the outer wall at the North West corner of the church. The inscription is in Latin, and its tone conveys the complacent self-importance of the old East India merchant, an importance he had every right to assume by virtue of his pluck and endurance. It says "Wayfarer, whoever you are, stand still, stand still for a little while, nor shall I ask in vain if you are a good Christian. Not even tears will pay the price of your grief, when you know that the greatest ornament of his distinguished family, Henry Greenhill, who was the sole Agent of the Honourable Company of English Merchants trading in the East and second to none, lies here. For ten years, with the greatest attention and the strictest probity, he carried on his business. He died in the year of Christ 1658, aged forty-five."

He was one of the first settlers in the Fort, and built his own house, which he placed on the river bank. It was known as Agent Greenhill's house, and was occupied in 1672 by William Jearsey, a free trader. Jearsey asked for leave to raise it by a third storey, but his request was not granted. No houses were allowed to be above a certain height, lest they should obstruct the view of the surrounding country from the Fort House, as it was then called. Jearsey also built a pier into the river, which he was ordered to clear away. Greenhill, like Clarke, left descendants. A Thomas Greenhill owned a house in the Fort in 1687, and the name occurs in the register books in the following century.

THE EARLY GROWTH OF FORT ST. GEORGE

In 1655 the Directors ordered the reduction of the Fort to an Agency again. The garrison was also reduced from twentysix to ten men and the Company's servants to two factors. This was cutting Fort St. George down to the smallest dimensions possible short of annihilation. The

promoters of its establishment must have regarded the action of the Directors with anxiety and dismay. Over two thousand pounds had been spent on the buildings and fortifications, not including the private money laid out by the inhabitants in dwelling-houses. Within its walls the merchants had found at last the asylum they had so ardently desired ever since their arrival on the Coromandel Coast Were their efforts to be of no avail? Was all their work to be undone ?

Thomas Chambers, who held office as Agent after the reduction, must have had a good deal to say on the matter, and a good deal to do with the preservation of Fort St. George as a Presidency. Fie had gained a bitter experience at Masulipatam, where he had been serving from the year 1652 to 1659, at which date he was sent to Madras. The Factory at Masulipatam, unprotected by proper fortifications, had been through the usual vicissitudes of misfortune and humiliation, which attend an unarmed colony of foreigners in a treacherous land. He also knew what the animosity of the Dutch could effect, and he bad felt the galling oppression of the native sovereign. A fort was to him the one desideratum of the merchant. He seemed determined to keep up the prestige of the one of which he now found himself the ruler; and ignoring the reduction, hewrote himself down as President of Fort St. George.

To him belongs the credit of organising the first Policearrangements for the protection of property in Madras. Fromthe earliest times a kind of watchman duty had been performedby a native called the Pedda Naik. This man contracted toprovide twenty men for a certain sum to watch over the propertyof the inhabitants. But both the Fort and Blacktown weregrowing in size, and the Pedda Naik's duties increased. Hecomplained that the sum of money was insufficient to supplythe requisite number of watchmen. His petition for a larger subsidy was entertained, and he was assigned certain paddyfields together with some small customs on common articles ofconsumption. For this he provided fifty watchmen, who wereto be refsponsible for the orderliness of Blacktown, and for thegood conduct of all the native inhabitants of the Fort, especially with regard to theft. These arrangements, made by Chambers,served very well for the next quarter of a century, when theyhad to be reorganised on account of the bribery and corruption that went on.

Besides organising the first Police corps, Chambers laid the foundation of the Governor's Body Guard. The Pedda Naikengaged to supply the Governor with a hundred and fifty to two hundred peons to attend him whenever he went throughthe native town, or abroad to take his pleasure, or on anystate occasions. They were a very different set of men fromthe fine troop of

mounted sowars who now accompany HisExcellency the Governor whenever he appears in public, butthey were the nucleus from which the present Body Guardwas evolved.

The written orders establishing the Police and Body Guardare signed by "Thomas Chamber" in June 1659; and in themhe calls himself "We, the President," as though he fully under- stood the dignity and power of the office, and were anticipating a speedy restoration of the Agency to a Presidency. TheDirectors manifestly approved of his general behaviour, for onhis retirement the status of Fort St. George was restored, andChambers, as he is more frequently called, received the honour of knighthood. His name appears subsequently in the records in connection with commercial transactions. He was the last Agent, although the term is used in the Company's books for several 'succeeding years; and he was succeeded by Sir ^ Edward Winter, who was appointed President in the year 1661.

In 1660 the Restoration of the Monarchy brought peace at home and the revival of trade; and with the appointment of Sir Edward Winter, the Directors plucked up heart to put a little fresh life into their operations in the Bay. Fort St. George was once more made independent of Java, and held directly responsible to the Court for its actions. The lesser factories on the Coromandel Coast and Bay were again placed under its jurisdiction. Bantam was too far off to maintain discipline, and all the factories on the east coast of India had got a little out of hand for want of a Chief on the spot.

There were two matters which troubled the Court. One was the difficulty which so often occurred with the native ruler, who governed the country round Madras in the name of the King of Golconda. He was called the Nawab and was a most rapacious individual, always looking for presents, (or piscashes,) for himself, which were nothing more than bribes. At the same time he demanded increased rent and customs for his sovereign. When his demands were refused, he seized upon the supplies of food and merchandise going into the Fort, half starving the Company's servants with a kind of blockade, and paralysing trade. The old account books of Fort St. George are studded with items of piscashes given to grasping natives, who were too strong to be resisted. The Directors grudged the expenditure over bribes even more than over fortifications. But it was impossible for the President to assure an independent front with no army at his back. There were actually at that time not enough men to man the guns on the walls; and, much against the grain, conciliatory measures had to be used, when the President would fain have tried the effect of powder and shot. The private trade of the Company's servants was the

other trouble, and it was a more difficult matter to deal with; forthe Court of Directors and the Company's agents did not viewit in the same light. The Company claimed by its charter theexclusive right to trade between India and Great Britain,except so far as it should grant concessions to those whowould enter into a covenant to observe its rules. It paid its servants small salaries and expected them to profit by its concessions with regard to inland trade in India; but eventhere it laid down certain arbitrary restrictions which tied thehands of the merchant. Small salaries suited the Directors.They looked well in the accounts and reduced establishmentcharges to a minimum, which was highly satisfactory to theshareholders. But the difficulty arose in regulating the privatetrade to the limits the Company deemed legal. The merchant,factor or writer readily subscribed to the rules of the covenantat home before starting, and entered into a bond to observethem. But when he arrived in the country and saw on all sides of him men of different nationalities engaged in a lucrativetrade which was denied to him alone, he felt 'that his ignorancehad been taken advantage of, and that he had been dealt unfairly with by his superiors. Sometimes he left the Company'sservice, sacrificing his bond ; but he more generally stayed,and traded just so far as his individual conscience would allow.The foreign merchants recognised no Company's rights. Theylaughed at rules made by a handful of unknown men on theother side of the globe ; and it was impossible for the Directorsto establish any right to any branch of trade in the East, suchas they claimed in calicoes in the Southern Seas. Portuguese,Dutch, French, .Spaniards, Danes, Moors and Gentus were all buying and selling in the great Indian market as they chose.And the market seemed to the new-comer broad enough, in truth, to hold half a dozen companies and yet leave room for the English free trader. He saw no reason why he should notdo as others did, and take his share of the good things. It was an open and fair field; why should he be the only manexcluded ? Arguing on these lines, most men succumbed to thetemptation. Some boldly carried on their transactions in their own names. Others went into partnership with the Portuguese, into whose families they sometimes married. Some traded under the wing of the native merchant or through him, merely placing their money in his hands; and one gentleman went so far as to conduct his commercial affairs in the name of the King of Bantam ; a piece of British impudence typical of the nation.

When irregularities came to the ears of the Directors they meted out punishment in the form of recalling or dismissing the offenders. Naturally, in the scramble for the plums of the private trade, there were many heart-burnings, and men often fell out. A common method of

retaliation was the despatch of private letters to those members of the Directorate who happened to be personal friends of the writers. The letters made insinuations, or openly accused the obnoxious person of illicit private trade. It was like a red rag to a bull with the Directors until they learnt to be wiser. They were only too ready to listen to any tale concerning the infringement of their rights ; and many a man was recalled, or suspended from office, on the mere testimony of an enemy, without being given an opportunity of explaining matters. When he arrived home he had his tale to tell ; and he did not spare the man through whose instrumentality he had lost his post. It was quite a case of the pot calling the kettle black. But neither the pot nor the kettle were so very black after all, and the Directors would often have done better to have attended to their own business, and taken no notice of the private affairs of their servants, so long as there were no graver evils in their ranks, such as embezzlement and falsification of accounts. It is due to the Directors to record the fact that they gave their servants a fair hearing on their return home, and made every endeavour to discover the truth of the accusations against them. If they found that they had treated a servant harshly, they reinstated him. But it was extremely difficult to arrive at the truth; for the men who bore witness took such different views of the question; v/ith regard to the inland trade in the East and the traffic in the Eastern and Southern seas, what constituted legiti- mate trade could only be a matter of opinion, and it was impossible to draw a hard and fast line between it and contra- band dealing.

Sir Edward Winter, who had been for some years past inthe Company's service, was sent out with despotic powers toexamine into the whole question. He was at liberty to dismissand even imprison, and to confiscate the goods of any personswhom he detected in unlicenced trading, whether they werefree men or the servants of the Company. He set himself tohis task with a zeal and energy which alarmed the little community of Fort St, George. They were soon made aware thattheir own private ventures would not bear the searching lightof Sir Edward's investigations, armed as he was with newpowers and a fresh code of rules drawn up for his guidance and they did their best to hide their delinquencies and throw dust in his eyes. With such a man at the head of affairs life was not worth living, they thought ; and they fell back on their old plan of trying to tar their Chief with the same brushes they were tarred with themselves. Voluminous letters were sent home containing hints that Sir Edward Winter was indulging in free trade himself, and feathering his nest to the detriment of the Company. There was no

sympathy between the President and his subordinates at the commencement of his rule; and disgusted with society in general, and his thankless task in particular, he sent in his resignation.

The Directors accepted it, giving credit to the tales that had gone home as usual; and believing that their experiment had been a failure. The next President was chosen from their commercial ranks at home; he was a Mr. George Folcroft anda business man to his backbone. He was accustomed to the desk and the counting-house; and he took life with all the Puritanical seriousness of the day. He sailed for India in 1665,carrying his commission with him.

Between the time of Sir Edward's dispatch of his resignation and the arrival of his successor the atmosphere cleared, and the President, having realized what his position was worth withal its advantages, was no longer anxious to give up office; moreover, he had made good friends with his colleagues. However, he could not do otherwise than submit to the orders which he himself had originated. He accordingly received Folcroft with the respect due to the coming man, and handed over charge in the usual courtly manner of the Cavalier that he was. Folcroft's suspicions, if he had any, were lulled to rest; and he offered his predecessor a place on the Council as Second, until such time as it should be convenient for him to return home. Sir Edward hankered after his lost power; he could not wrest it by force from the hands of his supplanted, unless there were good reason for such an action. Could he find just cause for so doing He awaited his opportunity and watched his enemy. The man was an uncompromising old Puritan ; and it was not long before he expressed opinions about the King and his debauched court in words which were nothing less than treasonable in those days- Sir Edward was ready ; he denounced the astounded President and his son, who had come out with him, as traitors. The Garrison and the majority of the merchants were on Winter's side, and an attempt was made to arrest the Fox crofts. They resisted, aided by a few friends, and there was a fight between the two parties, in which one man was killed. The Fox crofts were overpowered and imprisoned, and Sir Edward Winter once more resumed the reins of government.

He had now to justify his conduct to tlie Directors- He wrote home and made out a good case of disloyalty and treason against Foxcroft, whilst the friends of the latter had their tale to tell. Not content with writing to the Court of Directors, Winter also sent his story to the King and to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It took a long time in those days to settle matters when they were referred home. Perhaps Sir Edward thought of this when he closed the prison doors on Foxcroft and his son. Those unfortunate men were kept under restraint, though not confined to a

felon's cell, for three years, in spite of the efforts made by their partisans to get them released. During that time Sir Edward ruled Fort St. George and its subordinate factories in the Bay, with a wisdom and judgment which filled the coffers of the Company.

Meanwhile the story that he sent home had had a very different effect on the recipients than he intended. It overshot the mark ; and, to the suspicious minds of the Directors, it told a tale of deep-rooted, wide-spread disloyalty. The King and the Archbishop, as well as the Directors, were convinced that nothing less than wholesale sedition permeated the entire community of the Fort, from Sir Edward Winter himself down to the youngest writer on the establishment. This impression was strengthened by an insinuation on the part of Foxcroft's friends, that Sir Edward intended to hand over the Fort to the Dutch

To the astonishment of Madras, at the end of three years a formidable armament arrived in the Roads, prepared to block- ado the place and take it by storm. Explanatory messages were exchanged between the President and the Commissioner son board, and it seemed to be a great relief to the minds of the latter, when they found that no such measures were required. Indeed, the whole aifair was only a storm in a tea-cup, the first of its kind, but by no means the last, in the Madras Council. The Commissioners took peaceable possession of the Fort; Foxcroft was released and reinstated as President; an investigation was held, and Sir Edward was exonerated formal blame. He was allowed to remain in Madras till he had settled his affairs ; an order was issued that he should be treated with every respect, and he was subsequently given a passage homein one of the Company's ships. Freight was also allowed for his property, the order being accompanied by a prudent clause to the effect that no prohibited goods were to be sent amongst them.

Foxcroft was permitted to reign for a year, when he was superseded in his turn by Sir William Langhorne. Foxcroft's son, Nathaniel, who was imprisoned with his father, was to have had a passage home also, but he did not live to claim it. He lies buried- outside the Fort; his tombstone has been placed by the side of that belonging to Aaron Baker's wife. The inscription is simple and touching. It echoes down to succeeding generations of strangers the bitter grief of the parent, who paid so large a price for the fortune he amassed on India's shores. It is as follows: "Here let the body of Nathaniel Foxcroft, son of George Foxcroft, Agent and Governor in Fort St. George. He was borne into this World the 6th of September,1635, and translated into a better to the Resurrection of the Just, the 26th October, 1670, after he had finished his pilgrimage

on the earth, of 35 years, having always exhibited all the honor due from a dear and dutifull son to his parents, and by his universal obliging and ingenious conversation obtained a good report, and left a good name with all men."

Mr. John Kelsall, I.C.S. (ret.) says that Winter was buried at St. Mary's, Battersea, the parish church. "The inscription on his monument states that he died in 1686, aged sixty-four, and that he was in India forty-two years. He was therefore born in 1622, and assuming that he went out when about twenty years of age, he can have returned home 'for good' only two or three years before his death." He may have come back to India after his deposition at Madras, but it was not to Fort St. George, as his name does not appear on the lists of the inhabitants, nor upon the nominal rolls of the Company's servants on the Coromandel Coast. Mr. Kelsall adds.

" There is an imposing monument to him on the wall of the south gallery. It is surmounted by a life-size bust of Sir Edward, in a full bottomed wig, and he appears a truculent and stolid-looking man with a heavy moustache, but otherwise clean shaven. At the bottom are two carvings in high relief; the one representing him, unarmed and alone, wrestling with a tiger on the sea-shore; the other on foot with a drawn sword, pursuing four natives, one of whom is mounted. These incidents in his career are referred to in the inscription below. This runs.

"Born to be great in fortune as in mind
Too great to be within our isle confined
Young, helpless, friendless, seas unknown he tried,
But English courage all those wants supplied.
A pregnant wit, a painful diligence.
Care to provide and bounty to dispense,
Joined to a soul sincere, plain, open, just.
Procured him friends and friends procured him trust.
These were his fortune's rise, and thus began
This hardy youth, raised to that happy man,
A rare example and unknown to most
Where wealth is gained and conscience is not lost.
Nor less in martial honour was his name
witness his actions of immortal fame
Alone, unarmed, a tyger he oppressed

And crushed to death the monster of a beast.

Twice twenty mounted Moors he overthrew

Singly on foot, some wounded, some he slew,

Dispersed the rest: what more could Samson do?

True to his friends, a terror to his foes,

Here now in peace his honoured bones repose.

'Sir Edward lived at York House, Battersea, which had once been a residence of the Archbishop of York, and has given its name to York Road, Battersea, There has always been some doubt what his actual rank was. In his evidence about the affray in Fort St. George he calls himself Knight and Baronet. His opponent Foxcroft writing in 1668, after his release, says fit is now out of doubt that the title of Baronet was assumed.' He appears in Courthope's Knights as < Edward Winter of Zidney, Gloucestershire, 1661. Captain E. 1. Service, Governor, Fort St. George. Died at Battersea.' It will be noticed that there is on this monument no reference to a Baronetcy, nor to his having been Governor of Madras."

Thomas Pitt

Thomas Pitt (5 July 1653 – 28 April 1726) was an English merchant, colonial administrator, and politician best known for his tenure as President of Fort St. George (Madras) and for acquiring the large uncut diamond that earned him the nickname "Diamond Pitt."Pitt built his initial fortune as an interloping trader in India starting in 1673, engaging in private commerce outside the East India Company's monopoly before aligning with the Company and rising to governorship in 1697, where he expanded trade in textiles and diamonds while navigating rivalries between the Old and New East India Companies.[1][3] His administration faced accusations of corruption and overreach, including disputes over Company privileges and personal enrichment, though he defended his actions as necessary for profitability and security against local threats. In 1701, Pitt purchased a 410-carat uncut diamond from an Indian merchant in Madras for approximately 48,000 pagodas, smuggling it back to England after initial cutting in India to yield a 140-carat gem, which he sold in 1717 to Philippe II, Duke of Orléans, Regent of France, for £135,000—nearly tripling his investment and funding family estates like Boconnoc Manor and Swallowfield Park.[4][5] This transaction, later recut as the Regent Diamond and set in French crown jewels, epitomized Pitt's opportunistic approach to high-value commodities amid the era's diamond

trade from Golconda mines.[4][5]Returning to England, Pitt served as MP for Old Sarum from 1695 to 1710, leveraging his wealth and connections—though often criticized for venality—to influence politics, and his descendants included William Pitt the Elder, whose career Pitt's fortune indirectly supported. His legacy reflects the ruthless pragmatism of early colonial enterprise, blending commercial acumen with ethical ambiguities in pursuit of profit.

Origins and Early Career

Birth, Family, and Upbringing

Thomas Pitt was born on 5 July 1653 in Blandford St. Mary, Dorset, England. He was the second surviving son of John Pitt, rector of Blandford St. Mary from 1645 to 1672, and his wife Sarah, daughter and heiress of John Jay of West Hemswood, Blandford. The Pitt family occupied a modest clerical position in rural Dorset, with John's role as rector providing a stable but unremarkable livelihood during the post-Civil War period. Little is documented about Pitt's early education or specific upbringing, though as the son of a rector, he likely received instruction in basic literacy, arithmetic, and classical subjects common to clerical households of the era, preparing him for mercantile pursuits rather than university. By his early twenties, Pitt had turned to commerce, joining the East India Company's service in 1674 as a writer, indicating an upbringing oriented toward practical trade over scholarly or landed gentility. The family's relative poverty underscored the self-made nature of his later success, with no inherited wealth or connections to elevate his start.

Entry into East India Trade and Independent Activities

Thomas Pitt entered the East India trade in 1673 at the age of 20, sailing to India aboard the East Indiaman Lancaster under the auspices of the East India Company. Upon reaching Balasore on India's eastern coast, he deserted the company's service and commenced independent trading as an interloper, defying the company's monopoly on commerce with Asia. This unauthorized activity involved private ventures in commodities such as sugar, horses, and other goods, marking the start of his freelance operations outside official company channels. By 1674, Pitt had settled at Balasore, where he built a network for his independent trade, prompting immediate resistance from the East India Company. The company's court of directors ordered his seizure on 24 February 1675, followed by further directives in 1676, leading to his arrest; he temporarily promised compliance but resumed interloping activities. His operations expanded to Persia, with voyages in 1677 and again from 1679 to

1680, allowing him to amass wealth through cross-regional commerce despite ongoing company opposition. Pitt's marriage to the niece of Matthias Vincent, a known critic and "false servant" of the company, further aligned him with interloping interests. Pitt returned to England around 1683, where the East India Company imposed a fine of £1,000 on him for his unauthorized trading, later reduced to £600 through abatement or to £400 by 1687 after legal proceedings. Undeterred, he undertook additional interloping voyages, including a return to India in 1682 and his final such adventure in 1693, during which he accumulated his first substantial fortune as a freelance merchant. These activities highlighted the tensions between private traders and the company's enforced monopoly, with Pitt exemplifying the "poacher" who later transitioned into official roles.

Service in India

Appointment as President of Madras

Thomas Pitt, having established himself as a successful independent merchant—or "interloper"—in the Indian trade during the 1680s and 1690s, frequently clashed with the English East India Company's monopoly.[1] His operations, which included private voyages and sales that undercut Company prices, prompted efforts by the Company to curb his activities, but recognizing his commercial acumen and local networks, they opted to integrate him into their structure rather than continue fruitless opposition. On 26 November 1697, the Court of Directors of the English East India Company formally appointed Pitt as President and Governor of Fort St. George, the principal British settlement in Madras (modern Chennai). This decision followed advocacy from influential Company figures, including Sir Thomas Cooke, who had observed Pitt's effectiveness in prior dealings. The appointment was strategic, aiming to leverage Pitt's experience in navigating Mughal trade regulations and rival European factories while binding his independent ventures to Company oversight amid growing competition from Dutch and French interests. Pitt departed England shortly thereafter, arriving at Madras aboard a Company vessel on 7 July 1698, where he immediately assumed command from the outgoing president, Nathaniel Higginson. His investiture marked a shift from adversarial freelance trading to official administration, though Pitt retained significant autonomy in commercial policy, reflecting the Company's pragmatic accommodation of his proven profitability in the Coromandel Coast trade.

Administrative Achievements and Challenges

Thomas Pitt served as President of Fort St. George (Madras) from 7 July 1698 to 17 September 1709, having been appointed on 26 November 1697 with a commission dated 5 January 1698.) During his tenure, he implemented strict retrenchment measures to reduce the number of officers and was granted authority to suspend officers for up to 12 months, aiming to streamline the administration and curb excesses.) He also proposed the establishment of a municipal government to better organize the settlement's governance.)Pitt's administration saw a continuous rise in factory revenues despite maintaining considerable pomp, reflecting effective financial management and expanded trade, including the shipment of new commodities such as neck-cloths and chintzes in 1700.) Militarily, he repelled a blockade by Daud Khan Panni from February to May 1702 through shrewd diplomacy and bold defense, securing a small subsidy from Mughal forces and the restoration of Company property.) In 1700, the government under his leadership banned cock-fighting and other traditional games, citing them as a primary cause of poverty among the population. Diplomatically, Pitt defended the Old East India Company's interests against the envoy of the rival New Company, Sir William Norris, in 1699, and negotiated a commercial arrangement with the successor to Aurangzeb in 1708–1709.)Challenges included persistent hostile criticism from within the Company and rivals, as well as personal health issues, such as a fever in May 1699.) Internal conflicts arose, notably a feud with council member William Fraser, whom Pitt suspended in 1707, contributing to his eventual recall.) Tensions with the New East India Company persisted until their union in 1702, during which Pitt expressed efforts to reconcile and gain favor.) Additionally, Pitt noted the growing number of dependents and interlopers straining resources, complicating administrative control.

Interactions with Mughal Authorities and Rivals

Upon his arrival in Madras on 28 August 1698 as President of Fort St. George, Thomas Pitt was charged with resolving lingering tensions from the Anglo-Mughal War (1686–1690, known as Child's War, by securing imperial favor and trade privileges from the Mughal court under Emperor Aurangzeb. His diplomatic efforts focused on petitioning for a farman (imperial grant) to affirm the East India Company's subordinate status while expanding commercial access, emphasizing ceremonial submission through gifts and compliance with Mughal protocols. In 1702, tensions escalated when Daud Khan Panni, the

Mughal subahdar (governor) of the Carnatic and de facto Nawab of Arcot, besieged Fort St. George for over three months, demanding tribute and enforcing imperial claims on coastal trade revenues. Pitt negotiated a resolution by offering substantial payments and gifts, including consignments of oranges and other commodities, averting escalation into full-scale conflict and preserving Company fortifications without military engagement. These interactions highlighted Pitt's pragmatic approach to local Mughal rivals, who often acted semi-independently to extract resources amid weakening central authority in the Deccan.Pitt's diplomacy intensified after Aurangzeb's death in 1707, targeting the successor Bahadur Shah I (r. 1707–1712). In 1708, he received a husb-ul-hukm (imperial command) via the noble Ziyauddin Khan, instructing obedience and promising a farman in exchange for service, including intercepting the rebel prince Kam Bakhsh. Pitt responded with letters affirming compliance, such as one to Ziyauddin Khan on 4 January 1709, and a formal petition to Bahadur Shah on 17 February 1709, underscoring loyalty and requesting continued imperial patronage.[12] He curated gifts per Ziyauddin's specifications—rarities, jewels, textiles, and firearms—dispatched via Masulipatnam by September 1709, though logistical delays and the emperor's relocation to Delhi postponed delivery. Further correspondence, including a 30 June 1709 letter to Zulfiqar Khan detailing gift preparations, sustained these ties amid succession uncertainties. Though immediate farmans eluded Madras under Bahadur Shah, Pitt's initiatives laid groundwork for later successes, with redirected gifts yielding duty-free trade exemptions in 1717 under Farrukhsiyar. These exchanges with Mughal elites, reliant on intermediaries like Ziyauddin and wazir Munim Khan, balanced deference to imperial hierarchy against local autonomy challenges from figures like Daud Khan, enabling Company expansion without overt confrontation.

Commercial Ventures and the Pitt Diamond

Private Trading and Conflicts with the East India Company

Thomas Pitt arrived in India in 1674 as an employee of the British East India Company but soon turned to independent trading, operating as an interloper in defiance of the Company's exclusive charter granting it monopoly rights over English commerce with the region. Settling at Balasore on the eastern coast, he established private ventures that directly competed with Company shipments, prompting immediate opposition from Company officials who viewed such activities as undermining their commercial dominance and revenue

streams. By February 1675, the Company's court of directors had issued explicit directives to suppress his operations, initiating a prolonged dispute marked by seizures of his goods and legal maneuvering. Pitt's interloping persisted intermittently through the 1680s and 1690s, including voyages that capitalized on gaps in Company enforcement, such as trading in the Bay of Bengal where he emerged as a prominent figure among freelance merchants. Upon returning to England around 1683, he faced retaliation from the Company, which secured his arrest and initiated lawsuits alleging breach of monopoly; he was bound over in recognisances totaling £40,000 to ensure compliance during ongoing litigation, which culminated in fines by 1687. These measures reflected the Company's aggressive stance against interlopers, who threatened its profitability by undercutting prices and evading duties, though Pitt's persistence highlighted the practical difficulties in enforcing the monopoly amid widespread private interest in lucrative Eastern commodities like textiles and spices. Despite these clashes, Pitt reconciled with the Company by the late 1690s, leveraging his experience to secure appointment as President of Fort St. George (Madras) in 1698, where official responsibilities coexisted with continued private enterprise. In this role, he orchestrated unauthorized trade links, notably dispatching his son Robert as supercargo on multiple voyages to China for direct exchanges bypassing Company oversight, amassing personal wealth through high-value goods while nominally advancing settlement interests. Such dual pursuits exacerbated frictions with Company purists, who accused governors like Pitt of prioritizing self-enrichment over collective monopoly adherence, yet his methods also injected capital and initiative into struggling outposts, illustrating the interplay between individual agency and corporate control in early British overseas expansion.

Return to England and Later Life

Political Involvement and Parliamentary Career

Thomas Pitt entered Parliament prior to his extended service in India, serving on committees related to East India Company affairs during the 1690s. Following his return to England in October 1709, he pursued a more active parliamentary role, initially aligning with Tory interests, including membership in the October Club in 1710. He was appointed a commissioner for subscriptions to the South Sea Company in 1711. Pitt secured election as Member of Parliament for Old Sarum in the 1710 general election, retaining the seat until 20 June 1716, when he resigned to accept appointment as governor of Jamaica; he was re-elected

there on 30 July 1717 and held the position continuously until his death on 28 April 1726. His unsuccessful candidacies in the 1713 general election for Wiltshire and Andover highlighted challenges in expanding beyond pocket boroughs like Old Sarum, which he controlled through prior purchase of the manor. By 1713, Pitt had shifted toward Whig positions, as evidenced by his vote against the French commerce bill on 18 June 1713. In parliamentary proceedings, Pitt introduced a bill on 27 May 1712 to extend the East India Company's charter, reflecting his commercial background. He voted against the "No Peace without Spain" motion on 7 December 1711 and opposed the expulsion of Richard Steele on 18 March 1714. Pitt spoke in April 1714 on Spanish trade matters and, on 22 April 1714, critiqued the Treaty of Utrecht for enhancing French influence, urging stronger safeguards for British interests. Later, from 1715 to 1726, he served as a commissioner for the scheme to build 50 new churches in London. His political maneuvers often prioritized family influence, with no major scandals recorded in this phase of his career**.**

Historical Assessment

Contributions to British Commercial and Imperial Expansion

Thomas Pitt's tenure as an independent merchant, beginning with his arrival in India aboard the Lancaster in 1673, exemplified the aggressive private trading that tested and ultimately influenced British commercial strategies in Asia. Operating as an "interloper" from bases like Balasore, he evaded the East India Company's monopoly, engaging in direct exchanges of goods such as textiles, spices, and bullion with local rulers and merchants. This approach, though contentious—resulting in a £1,000 fine upon his 1683 return to England, partially abated to £600—highlighted the profitability of unregulated trade and pressured the Company to adapt its operations for greater efficiency. Pitt's reconciliation with the Company culminated in his appointment as President and Governor of Fort St. George (Madras) from 1697 to 1709, where he transformed the settlement into a robust hub of British commerce and imperial projection. Administering amid rival New East India Company claims and Mughal imperial pressures, he amassed a £300,000 fortune through astute oversight of trade in calicoes, pepper, and saltpetre, while fortifying defenses and streamlining governance to curb corruption and enhance revenue collection. By his resignation in January 1709, Madras had evolved into what contemporaries described as "the jewel of all European settlements," with expanded warehouses, shipyards, and alliances with local nayaks that secured territorial

enclaves and trade privileges. Pitt further advanced British reach by initiating direct, regular voyages to China for tea and porcelain, dispatching his son Robert as supercargo on Company vessels starting around 1700, which bypassed intermediaries and diversified export markets. His administrative reforms and commercial acumen stabilized the presidency against external threats, fostering population growth and infrastructure that propelled Madras's prosperity post-1709, surpassing emerging outposts like Calcutta in scale and output by the 1710s. These efforts not only bolstered the Old East India Company's viability during its merger struggles but also entrenched southern India as a foundational pillar of Britain's Asian empire, enabling sustained territorial and economic expansion.

Criticisms, Controversies, and Modern Perspectives

Thomas Pitt faced significant contemporary criticisms for his defiance of the British East India Company's (EIC) monopoly on trade, engaging in private "interloping" voyages from 1674 onward, which led to accusations of subverting company interests and piracy-like conduct. Sir Josiah Child, a prominent EIC director, reportedly described him as "that roughling, immoral man" for these activities, resulting in legal actions including a £1,000 fine in 1687, later reduced to £400.)During his tenure as president and governor of Fort St. George (Madras) from 1698 to 1709, Pitt's administration drew complaints of arrogance and overbearing behavior toward subordinates and rivals, exemplified by his 1707 suspension of council member William Fraser, which contributed to his recall by the EIC in 1709 despite prior successes in defending the settlement and negotiating trade deals. The acquisition of the 410-carat Regent diamond in 1701 for 48,000 pagodas (approximately £20,400) sparked allegations of larceny, fueled by satirical works like Alexander Pope's, though records confirm its legal purchase from an Indian merchant and subsequent cutting into two pieces for smuggling back to England via his son Robert to evade duties.) Pitt's personal character was often critiqued as coarse and opportunistic, with historical accounts portraying him as an "eccentric, coarse-mannered adventurer" and "old buccaneer" who prioritized personal fortune—amassing around £300,000—over institutional loyalty, including shifting political allegiances from Whig to Tory and back. In Parliament, where he served as MP for Old Sarum from 1690–95 and 1710–26, he campaigned against EIC monopolies in 1691 with 16 articles of complaint but later supported its continuance in 1712 after reconciliation. Modern historical assessments view Pitt as a capable, if self-interested, administrator whose

governance marked the "Golden Age of Madras," transforming it into a prosperous European settlement through revenue increases and fortifications, yet exemplifying the era's ruthless commercialism and opportunism in challenging trade monopolies. Scholars note his success as a "poacher turned gamekeeper," leveraging private trade experience for EIC benefit, though his methods highlight early British imperial expansion's reliance on individual enterprise amid institutional conflicts, with his diamond remittances underscoring personal profit motives over collective enterprise. His legacy, while foundational to family fortunes that influenced figures like grandson William Pitt the Elder, is tempered by recognition of a "volatile" inheritance marked by familial and financial disputes among his heirs.

Elihu Yale

Since then, one name that has come under intense scrutiny in India is that of Elihu Yale, the man after whom the Ivy League university is named. Yale served as the all-powerful governor-president of the British East India Company in Madras in southern India (present-day Chennai) in the 17th Century and it was a gift of about £1,162 ($1,486) that earned him the honour of having the university named after him. "It's equivalent of £206,000 today if you adjust it for inflation," historian Prof Joseph Yannielli, who teaches modern history at Aston University in Birmingham and has studied Yale's links with the Indian Ocean slave trade, told the BBC.

It was not an enormous sum by today's standards, but it helped the college construct an entire new building. Often described as a connoisseur and collector of fine things and a philanthropist who generously donated to churches and charities, Elihu Yale is now in focus as a colonialist who plundered India and - worse - traded in slaves.

The university's apology comes after more than three years of investigation into its dark past. Led by Yale historian David Blight, a team of researchers delved into the "university's history with slavery, role of slaves in construction of a Yale building or whose labour enriched prominent leaders who made gifts to Yale", the university said in a statement. The apology was accompanied by the release of a 448-page book - Yale and Slavery: A history - by Prof Blight that gives an insight into just how much Elihu Yale profited from slavery.

"The Indian Ocean slave trade, which eventually matched the Atlantic [slave trade] in size and scope, did not become so extensive until the 19th Century. But on the Indian subcontinent, the trade in human beings along its coasts as well as inland and to islands was very old," he writes, adding that Yale "oversaw many sales, adjudications, and accountings of

enslaved people for the East India Company". Prof Yannielli says the Atlantic trade saw 12 million slaves sold over 400 years. The Indian Ocean trade, he believes, was bigger as it covered a much larger geographical area, linking South East Asia with the Middle East and Africa - and went on for much longer.

Yale is one of the major Ivy League universities in the US

The investigation of this past is important. Founded in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1701, Yale is the third-oldest institution of higher learning in the United State and counts a number of US presidents and other eminent people among its alumni. And it's well documented that starting in 1713, Elihu Yale sent hundreds of books on theology, literature, medicine, history and architecture, a portrait of King George I, fine textiles and other valuable gifts to the Collegiate School of Connecticut. The money raised by selling them was used to construct a new three-storey building which was named Yale College in his honour. Historian and family member Rodney Horace Yale who wrote a biography of Elihu Yale in the 19th Century says his "donation made the precarious existence of Yale college a blessed certainty".

It also bought Yale immortality - even though there are no direct descendants of his, the Ivy League university perpetuates his name. In its apology, the university said it would "work to enhance diversity, support equity and promote an environment of welcome, inclusion, and respect" and undertake work to "advance inclusive economic growth in New Haven" where 30% of the population is black. But it did not say that a name change was on the cards - and it has rejected calls in the past to do so.

Yale 'discriminates' against whites and Asians

Born in Boston in April 1649, Elihu Yale moved with his family to England when he was three. He arrived at Fort St George, the White colony in Madras, as a young man in 1672 with a clerical job with East India Company. The salaries offered by the company were "notoriously and ludicrously small - from the governor's at £100 a year down to the apprentices' at £5", Rodney Horace Yale wrote. He and other historians say its employees engaged in all sorts of trading of their own for private profit. Over a quarter of a century, Yale rose through the ranks, finally being appointed the governor-president in 1687 - a job he did for five years until 1692, when he was sacked for "using company funds for private speculation, arbitrary government and neglecting duty". In 1699 when he returned to England, the 51-year-old was a hugely wealthy

man. He built "a stately home" in Queen's Square on Great Ormond Street and filled it with arts and artefacts of great value.

Upon his death in July 1721, British papers described him as "a gentleman known for his extensive charity". But historians say he was also known during his time in Madras for his cruelty and greed. Elihu Yale arrived at Fort St George, the White colony in Madras, as a young man in 1672 with a clerical job with the East India Company

Advertisement

His successors accused him of corruption and unusual deaths of several of the council members when he was governor and, on one occasion, he was accused of ordering the hanging of one of his stable grooms "for riding a favourite horse of his without his permission", Rodney Horace Yale wrote. The historian says there's some doubt about the evidence in the case, but adds that it does not "disagree with his character". "His surroundings must be his most effective defence for a record of arrogance, cruelty, sensuality and greed while in power at Madras," he wrote. But Rodney Horace Yale glosses over his ancestor's role in the slave trade - something that many other biographers of Elihu Yale and recent historians are also accused of doing.

What is Black Lives Matter and what are the aims?

Prof Yannielli, who's combed through the colonial records of Fort St George, says "it's all there in black and white" and there's no denying that "Elihu Yale was an active and successful slave trader". Prof Yannielli wouldn't hazard a guess on how much money Yale made from slavery because it "ebbed and flowed" and also because he traded in other things such as diamonds and textiles which made "it hard to disentangle the profits he made from each trade". But, he believes, it was quite a substantial chunk of his fortune. "I can say his capacity to make money was enormous. He was in charge of directing the Indian Ocean slave trade. In the 1680s, a devastating famine [in southern India] led to a labour surplus and Yale and other company officials took advantage of it, buying hundreds of slaves and shipping them to the English colony on Saint Helena," he told me.

Yale, he adds, "participated in a meeting that ordered a minimum of 10 slaves sent on every outbound European ship. In just one month in 1687, Fort St George exported at least 665 slaves. As governor-president of the Madras settlement, Yale enforced the 10-slaves-per-vessel rule". Once the headquarters of East India Company's Madras settlement, Fort St George currently houses Tamil Nadu assembly and other government offices A former student at Yale,

Prof Yannielli first started digging into Elihu Yale's association with slave trading over a decade ago when he came across an image of the governor being waited upon by a collared slave. That famous painting, he says, is one of the most damning pieces of evidence that connects Yale to slavery. Dated between 1719 and 1721, it shows Yale with three other white men being served by a "page" - a term that generally means a servant but in this case, a euphemism for a slave.

"Slavery was ubiquitous in England at the time. It's not clear whether he owned the slave himself or was it a member of his family [who was the owner]. But the presence of the child in the frame, serving him and others wine, shows that slavery was integrated into his day-to-day life." Prof Yannielli says the reason why some of Yale's earlier biographers have underplayed his links to slavery could be because of a lack of access to historical material in the past.

Supreme Court overturns race-based college admissions

But since detailed minutes of East India Company's meetings are now available digitally, the more recent scholars who have chosen to overlook the evidence is "because either they didn't want to see it or may not have considered it important in the pre-Black Lives Matter era". Prof Yannielli also rubbishes claims that Yale was an abolitionist who ordered prohibiting slave trade from Madras when he was governor. "Saying that he actually ended slavery is an attempt to burnish his image. If you look at the original documents, it was India's Mughal ruler who told the company to shut it. But Yale was back at it soon, ordering transport of slaves from Madagascar to Indonesia a year later. "Resistance to slavery and imperialism started in the 15th Century and there were abolitionists. But Yale definitely wasn't one."

Thomas Munro

Munro one of the administrators under the British Crown who left his foot prints and legacy, not only by working hard but also by introducing innovative reforms and methodology in the areas of revenue collection and administration, taking into considerations the local people’s aspirations.. Such reforms and new changes in administration had a grip on the revenue and kept the overall management of the government under check. One such highly talented administrator was Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras Presidency on whose strong recommendation a Committee of public instruction was formed in 1826, which eventually led to the formation of Presidency College in Chennai that produced a galaxy of great men – administrators and scientists who served our country well.

Early life

Major-general Sir Thomas Munro, 1st Baronet KCB (May 1761 – July 1827), son of Tobacco merchant Alexander Munro was a soldier and later a well-known colonial administrator of Scottish decent in the employ of East India Company.

Born in Glasgow on 27 May, 1761 and educated at the University of Glasgow, Munro had developed in the early stages of his life with character and generous mind, besides athletics skill that stood him in good stead in the later years of his career in colonial India. While with his family's thriving Tobacco business, because of the inevitable American Revolutionary War (1775–1783 ; armed conflict between Great Britain and thirteen of its North American colonies, which had declared themselves the independent United States of America) and consequent collapse of the tobacco trade, his dad closed the business for good. In 1789 at the age of 18, Munro arrived in Madras (now Chennai), India and joined the East India Company as a cadet in an infantry.

Munro and Tipu Sultan

In the southern part of India, Hyder Ali and later his son Tipu Sultan gave heart burns to the English and literally blockaded them from expansion down south. Thomas Munro proved his ability and tactics during the battles against Haidar Ali (1780–1783), under the command of his older and distant relation Major Sir Hector Munro. Later he was with the regiment that for the first time fought against Tipu Sultan (1790–1792) of Mysore. It was at this juncture he got an opportunity to administer some territories acquired from Tipu. Cornwallis, the Governor-General gave the responsibility of administering the new territory of Baramahal (present day Salem and its surroundings) to Captain Alexander Read and his lieutenant, Thomas Munro. During this military tenure, he learned the essential principles of revenue survey and assessment which he later applied throughout the presidency of Madras. From his seven year work he learned that villagers were too poor to pay taxes. He and his colleague recommended the higher ups to reduce the taxes to a large extent and the loss of income could be made up by many ways one being better revenue collection system. After the death of Tipu in 1799 in the final Angelo-Mysore war at Srirangapatna, he took the duty of restoring law and order in some parts of Kanara (now Karnataka) and later for long consecutive years he administered (1800–1807) the northern districts (Northern Circars) ceded by the Nizam of Hyderabad. It was here he introduced the ryotwari system of land revenue as against Zamindari system; earlier the landlords fleeced the cultivators. During his long stay in Britain 1807, before the EIC directors and House of

commons he successfully argued about the new revenue collection methods and the difficulty faced by the cultivators with whom the government had to deal directly without interference from the greedy landlords. Upon EIC' s approval in 1814, he was back at Madras with the sole purpose of reforming the revenue, judicial and police systems to keep the administration in good nick.

Administrator

It was Munro who introduced the district administration with the Collector being the head of the district and besides his fundamental responsibility of revenue, he had to manage the police and was vested with magisterial powers. Under him worked a large number of tahsildars. They, besides revenue collection, also had quasi-judicial powers in their sub-districts. Munro's simple system of administration became popular and is still being followed. This method allowed good contacts between the government and the people. In time, Munro's methods became an absolute success and were extended all over South India. Yet another fact that many people are not aware of is Munro strongly recommended the use of local language in the administration and recommended Indians to the judicial posts. Without proper knowledge of the local language, justice system can not be run efficiently. Munro was against racial superiority among the British. He wrote: "Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence and often with great cruelty, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we ….. It seems to be not only ungenerous, but impolitic to debase the character of a people fallen under our dominion". As for independence of India Munro felt that British rule over India could only be transient. …."You are not here to turn India into England or Scotland".

In recognition of his success in the Pindari War in 1817, he was appointed as brigadier-general to command the reserve division formed to reduce the southern territories of the Peshwa and in 1819 he became a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath (KCB). He captured nine ports with a small army of five to six hundred men with some Europeans. Considering the powerful army of the Peshwas, it was a great feat on the part of Munro whose right military strategy proved effective. His appointment in 1819, as the governor of Madras Presidency, again gave him an excellent opportunity to implement his grasp of efficient revenue assessment and general administration methods which substantially followed into the twentieth century. He is regarded as the father of the 'Ryotwari system'. His official minutes were so good and effective.

Munro was made a baronet in 1825, taking on the name of Sir Thomas Munro of Lindertis from then on. He died of cholera at Pattikonda, 30 km from Gooty on 6th July 1827. while on official duty – touring the Northern Districts The epidemic was raging in the area; his name is preserved by more than one memorial. Munro was buried in Gooty, but four years later his remains were shifted to to Madras and interred in historical St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George. Munro, the British gentleman who really cared for the poor farmers of India, never failed to do his duties with a spirit of dedication and emulation, thus in letter and spirit he was a true Christian. That is the reason why in places where he worked more than 180 years ago, people still remember him and his deeds with gratitude.

Defender of the natives

As to the commonly felt perception that Indians in administration were corrupt. Munro also strongly deplored any attitudes of racial superiority among the British. "Your rule is alien and it can never be popular. You have much to give your subjects, but you cannot look for more than passive gratitude. You are not here to turn India into England or Scotland. Work through, not in spite of, native systems and native ways, with a prejudice in their favour rather than against them; and when in the fullness of time your subjects can frame and maintain a worthy Government for themselves, get out and take the glory of achievement and the sense of having done your duty as the chief reward for your exertions." Munro became Governor of Madras Presidency from (1761-1827). Sometime during his wanderings he heard of the temple to Sri Venkateswara in Tirumala and instituted the offering of pongal each day to the deity in a vessel known as the Munro Gangalam. He assigned the revenues from a village in Chittoor District for the continuance of this offering. The temple authorities have ensured that the tradition is maintained. He is also credited with waiving all taxes from the Raghavendra Swami Mutt in Mantralayam.

The admirers and friends of Munro both in India and England, with the assistance of Munro's wife, raised funds through public contributions in 1831 and decided to perpetuate the memory of Thomas Munro by erecting his statue in Madras. Sir Francis Chantrey (1781-1841), an outstanding, self-taught English sculptor, was commissioned. He was a painter as well; his canvases are at the National Portrait Gallery in London.

Munro Statue On seeing the imposing completed statue of Munro, Lord Wellington, a friend of his, is reported to have exclaimed: "A very fine horse; a very fine statue, and a very

extraordinary man." The bronze statue weighed six tonnes and was in three parts — the man, the horse and the base. These were separately packed to be reassembled in Madras, and sent by the ship The Asia in 1839. In Madras it was erected on a granite pedestal built to specifications laid down by Chantrey. His assistant, Allan Cunningham, supervised the installation. It was unveiled on October 23, 1839.

Death of Munro

After serving as Governor for about seven years, Munro wanted to return to England for a while. In June 1827 he went on a farewell tour to Rayalaseema, where he had worked as Collector. Unfortunately, there he passed away on July 6, 1827 of cholera, at Pattikonda, 30 km from Gooty. The epidemic was raging in the area. Munro was buried in Gooty, but four years later his remains were removed to Madras and interred in St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George. At Pattikonda a mango grove was planted and a step-well built. At Gooty a choultry was constructed; here, for many years food was distributed free for the poor in the name of Munro. Newly married Christian couples visit Munro Choultry to invoke his blessings.

Ripon, Lord (1827-1909) Governor General and Viceroy of India (1880-1884). Before he came to Calcutta to join as Governor General and Viceroy of India George Frederick Samuel (Earl of Ripon) was a member of parliament from 1852 to 1879. While in parliament he held the posts of Under Secretary for War (1859-61), Under Secretary for India (1861-63), Secretary of State for War (1863-1866), SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (1866), and Lord President of the Council (1868-73). He was made a Marquess in 1871.

Lord Ripon

The change of government in Britain with the Liberal Party of Gladstone in power led to a corresponding change in the top executive of India as well. Lord Ripon, who had previously held high posts in the India Office two times, was appointed the Governor General and Viceroy of India. Lord Ripon, a radical liberal among the liberals, set his reform programme in motion immediately after he assumed power (8 June 1880). His earliest measure was to end the protracted Anglo-Afghan hostilities. He entered into a peace treaty with the new Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman. The new Amir agreed, in return for an annual subsidy, to determine his foreign policy in consultation with the government of India.

Lord Ripon made remarkable contribution to the development of LOCAL GOVERNMENT. In 1882, he abandoned the existing system of local government by the officially nominated people.

His reform thought, as he declared, was directed to educating the people politically and educationally. According to his local self-government plan, the enormous Local Boards were split into smaller units to achieve greater efficiency. In order to ensure popular participation in the management of local affairs the existing nomination system was replaced by election system. But due to opposition from the British civilians, who believed the natives were not yet prepared for electoral system, Ripon could not implement his electoral ideas as fully as he intended to. The nominated members on the local committees, rural and urban, remained side by side with the elected members. However, Ripon's credit lies in the fact that it was he who introduced election system for the rural boards for the first time.

The famous bengal tenancy act of 1885, though enacted after Ripon's departure, got its origin from the Rent Commission which he established in 1880 in response to widespread peasant unrest in the country. Against the rack-renting ZAMINDARS and TALUQDARS, the Bengal RAIYATS were agitating for long. The Rent Commission was asked to study the agrarian problems and make appropriate recommendations for legislative actions. The upshot of the commission report (1882) was a long debate on the rights and liabilities of tenants and the eventual enactment of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 under which the raiyats got considerable rights in land which they lost under the permanent settlement.

For Ripon education was one favourite subject. As Lord President of the Council in the Liberal Government of Gladstone, Ripon had been responsible for bringing important educational reforms. As Governor General Ripon gave high priority on education, particularly primary education. He set up a committee called Indian Education Commission (1882) headed by WW Hunter for looking into the problems of primary and secondary education. In pursuance of the recommendations of the HUNTER COMMISSION, as it was commonly known, a new education policy emphasising primary and collegiate schools was adopted.

Ripon's administration was particularly marked by the most controversial Ilbert Bill issue. The controversy arose out of the question of the jurisdiction of native judges over European subjects. The Law member, Sir Courtney Ilbert, introduced a bill banning the protected status of the white and seeking equality of all subjects, native or otherwise, in the eye of law. The anglo indian community put up a strong resistance movement to the passage of the bill and forced the government to enact the bill by bringing substantial amendment to its original spirit and letter.

The liberal policy of Ripon met resistance again when he repealed in 1882 the controversial vernacular press act (1878) that required the editors of Indian newspapers either to give an undertaking not to publish any matter objectionable to government or to submit the proof sheets before publication for scrutiny. The native press hailed his action, but the Anglo-Indian press and the community were against the idea of granting freedom of press to the natives. However, Ripon's idea about granting freedom of press to all without showing any racial discrimination prevailed.

Ripon left India in December 1884. No other Governor General before or after Ripon was more dear to the natives as he was and conversely no other Governor General was possibly so detestable to the Anglo-Indian community as Ripon.

John Pennycuick (engineer)

Colonel John Pennycuick CSI (15 January 1841 – 23 September 1911) was a British civil and military engineer who served for 34 years in the Public Works Department of the Madras Presidency, specializing in irrigation infrastructure that alleviated chronic water scarcity in southern India. Pennycuick's most enduring achievement was the design and supervision of the Mullaperiyar Dam, constructed between 1887 and 1895, which harnessed the west-flowing Periyar River to channel water eastward via a tunnel into the Vaigai River basin, enabling the irrigation of over 100,000 acres of previously barren land in the rain-shadow Cumbum Valley and surrounding areas. This project, executed under challenging tropical conditions with manual labor and innovative masonry techniques, converted drought-afflicted regions into fertile zones supporting paddy, vegetables, and plantations, earning Pennycuick lasting veneration among local Tamil communities as a benefactor who delivered prosperity through engineering foresight. Trained at the Royal Indian Engineering College and commissioned into the British Indian Army after military education in London, Pennycuick advanced through roles in military engineering, including service in Abyssinia, before focusing on civil works that included multiple dams and canals enhancing agricultural output across the presidency. He later held administrative positions, such as nomination to the Madras Legislative Council in 1893 and presidency of the Royal Indian Engineering College, reflecting his influence in colonial engineering policy until retirement to England.[1][2]

Early Life and Education

Birth and Family Background

John Pennycuick was born on 15 January 1841 in Pune (then Poona), India, to Brigadier-General John Pennycuick, a British Army officer stationed in the region, and his wife Sarah Farrell.[2][6] He was the tenth of eleven children in a military family, with siblings including Jane Maria Pennycuick, James Farrell Pennycuick (later a major-general), and Alexander Pennycuick (the eldest brother).[2][7] In January 1849, when Pennycuick was eight years old, his father and eldest brother were both killed during the Battle of Chillianwalla in the Second Anglo-Sikh War, leaving Sarah to raise the family amid the uncertainties of colonial service in India.[1][8] This early loss occurred against the backdrop of the Pennycuick family's longstanding ties to British military engineering and administration in the subcontinent.[9]

Military Service and Entry into Engineering

Abyssinia Campaign and Early Postings

Pennycuick entered the Royal Engineers in 1858 following his training at Addiscombe Military College, where he qualified for commissions in the Madras Engineer Establishment. His early military postings were primarily in the Madras Presidency, involving routine engineering duties such as infrastructure support for British forces in India. In 1868, Pennycuick participated in the Abyssinian Expedition, a British military campaign to rescue European hostages held by Emperor Tewodros II. He commanded H Company of the Madras Sappers at the coastal base of Zoulla (modern Zula, Eritrea), directing sappers in constructing roads, wharves, and other facilities essential for disembarking troops and supplies across difficult terrain. Official despatches commended his efficient handling of these responsibilities amid logistical challenges, including harsh climate and limited resources. For his role, he received mention in despatches and the Abyssinian War Medal.[1]Upon returning to India after the expedition's successful conclusion in April 1868, Pennycuick resumed engineering postings within the Corps of Royal Engineers, advancing to captain by 1870 while undertaking survey and construction tasks in support of colonial administration. These early assignments honed his expertise in field engineering, bridging military operations and civil infrastructure projects.

Transition to Public Works Department

After initial military postings, including the Abyssinian Expedition of 1868 where he commanded H Company of the Madras Sappers at Zoulla and was mentioned in dispatches for his efficient conduct of duties, John Pennycuick transitioned to specialized civil engineering within the Madras Public Works Department (PWD). This shift followed his earlier attachment to the PWD in 1862, shortly after his commissioning as a lieutenant in the Madras Engineer Group around 1860. The move from regimental military engineering to the PWD—initially a militarized body staffed by Royal Engineers and sappers—enabled Pennycuick to apply technical skills to permanent infrastructure, particularly irrigation systems vital for famine-prone regions of the Madras Presidency. Military engineers like him were routinely seconded to PWD for such works, reflecting the colonial administration's reliance on uniformed expertise for economic development amid limited civilian engineering capacity.In the PWD, Pennycuick advanced steadily, becoming a captain in 1870 and superintending engineer by October 1881, while continuing to hold military rank. His expertise in hydraulic engineering, honed through early postings, positioned him for leadership in major projects, culminating in roles as deputy chief engineer and under-secretary to the government. This phase marked his enduring focus on practical, data-driven solutions to water scarcity, informed by empirical observations of local topography and seasonal flows rather than speculative theory.

Engineering Career in Colonial India

Irrigation and Infrastructure Projects

John Pennycuick entered the Madras Public Works Department (PWD) in 1862 as a lieutenant engineer, where he developed expertise in irrigation over the subsequent decades. His early assignments focused on water management systems critical to agriculture in the arid regions of colonial India, including the maintenance and enhancement of irrigation tanks that supported rice cultivation and other crops in the Madras Presidency. By 1881, promoted to major and superintending engineer, Pennycuick oversaw broader infrastructure initiatives, managing tank restorations amid growing demands for reliable water supply. These efforts addressed seasonal droughts and flood risks, employing masonry and earthen works to store monsoon runoff for dry-season use, thereby stabilizing local economies dependent on subsistence farming. Pennycuick's work in the PWD emphasized practical engineering

solutions derived from local topography and hydrological data, prioritizing durable structures over expansive but fragile networks. As an irrigation specialist, he contributed to incremental improvements that irrigated thousands of acres, though specific project scales prior to major diversions remain documented primarily through departmental records. His advancements in these foundational projects informed later large-scale endeavors, demonstrating a commitment to empirical assessment of soil capacity and water yield.

Leadership Roles in Madras Presidency

Pennycuick progressed to senior positions within the Madras Presidency's Public Works Department (PWD) after initial engineering postings. He was appointed Superintending Engineer in October 1881, overseeing irrigation and infrastructure initiatives across the region. Subsequently, he served as Deputy Chief Engineer and Under Secretary to the Government in the PWD, roles that involved administrative oversight of departmental operations and policy advisory functions. Promoted to Colonel in 1887, Pennycuick assumed the position of Chief Engineer in 1890, becoming responsible for directing major public works projects province-wide. From 1890 to 1896, he concurrently held the office of Secretary to the Government of Madras in the Public Works Department, coordinating between engineering execution and colonial administration. In November 1893, Pennycuick was nominated as a member of the Madras Legislative Council, where he contributed to legislative discussions on infrastructure and development matters until his retirement in January 1896.

The Periyar River Diversion Project

Conception and Feasibility Studies

The conception of diverting the Periyar River eastward to irrigate the arid Madurai district in the Madras Presidency originated from local proposals dating to the 18th century, notably advanced by Muthu Irulappa Pillai, prime minister of the Ramnad kingdom, and revived by British engineers in the early 19th century. In 1808, Captain James Caldwell of the Madras Corps of Engineers conducted initial surveys, taking levels across the watershed but deeming the project infeasible due to the required 100-foot elevation rise for diversion. A minor attempt in 1850 to build a small dam and channel on the Chinna Muhyar tributary was abandoned amid high labor costs, fever outbreaks, and logistical difficulties in the forested terrain. Renewed feasibility assessments gained urgency following the 1876-1878 Madras famine, which highlighted chronic water scarcity in the region despite the Periyar's

substantial monsoon discharge—estimated at 29,670 million cubic feet annually through 1869-1873 surveys of rainfall and river flow. In 1862, Major Joseph Gore Ryves proposed a 162-foot earthen dam at Site No. 1, with an initial cost estimate of Rs. 4,04,000, but this was critiqued for flood risks. By 1872, R. Smith advocated a 175-foot silt dam at Site No. 4, incorporating a 7,000-foot tunnel through the watershed divide, projecting irrigation for 150,000 acres at Rs. 63,99,700—though safety concerns from General George Warren Walker and Colonel John Halsted led to rejections. In 1874, Smith collaborated with Major John Pennycuick to propose a masonry gravity dam alternative, yet it faced similar dismissal over structural stability in seismic-prone ghats. Pennycuick's pivotal 1882 report shifted focus to a rubble-and-concrete gravity dam at Site No. 4, selected for its 47-foot lower elevation relative to Site No. 1, enabling doubled storage capacity while addressing river control via low-level escapes and syphons—though trial pits revealed foundational challenges like a 50-80-foot-wide chasm. Estimating Rs. 9,59,000 for the main structure, Pennycuick's design incorporated monsoon discharge data (up to 120,000 cubic feet per second) and emphasized diversion over storage to mitigate flood vulnerabilities. H.F. Clogstoun's concurrent 1876 analysis projected Rs. 7,00,000 in annual revenue from irrigating 150,000 acres, bolstering economic viability despite critiques from the Inspector-General of Irrigation on overflow mechanisms. Negotiations with the princely state of Travancore for leasing 8,100 acres—resolved in 1887 at Rs. 40,000 annual rent for 999 years—cleared land access hurdles, leading to formal sanction that year after revisions addressed topography, health risks from jungle fever, and prior proposal flaws.

Design Principles and Innovations

The Mullaperiyar Dam embodied gravity dam principles, leveraging the structure's inherent mass—primarily uncoursed rubble masonry with concrete hearting, front and rear walls, and buttresses—to counteract hydrostatic forces and minimize settlement on its solid rock foundation. Dimensioned to a height of 155 feet, with a top width of 12 feet tapering to a base of 115.5 feet, the design followed Molesworth’s empirical formula, capping vertical pressures at 18,000 pounds per square foot to ensure stability amid the V-shaped gorge's topography. This approach prioritized diversion over extensive storage, impounding approximately 6,815 million cubic feet of water to redirect surplus Periyar flows eastward via canal systems, yielding an estimated 29,670 million cubic feet annually for irrigation without

relying on large reservoirs that risked submersion in the malarial jungle terrain. Material innovations centered on lime-surkhi mortar for the concrete core, mixed in proportions such as three parts sand, two parts hydraulic lime, and one part surkhi (calcined brick powder) or variants with 25 parts lime, 30 parts sand, and 100 parts broken stone, achieving a density of about 150 pounds per cubic foot. This locally sourced composition, slaked and matured for one to three months before use, proved resilient in the tropical climate while circumventing the high costs and logistical hurdles of importing Portland cement through inaccessible forests, as masonry alternatives to earthen embankments were selected to avoid flood-induced erosion risks.[13][14] Rubble from hard syenite and gneiss quarries, supplemented by granite for tunnel linings, formed the bulk, with total volumes reaching 3,330,571 cubic feet of concrete and 2,406,183 cubic feet of rubble masonry. Engineering ingenuity manifested in the diversion infrastructure, including a 5,704-foot watershed tunnel—12 feet wide by 10 feet high, graded at 1 in 75—blasted through granite using gelatine explosives to convey up to 1,600 cubic feet per second eastward from the Periyar-Mullayar confluence, bypassing the Ghats' steep gradients. Construction techniques innovated with a wire ropeway transporting 40 tons of materials daily over 1,250 feet of elevation gain, turbine-driven machinery for efficiency, and modular coffer-dams featuring masonry piers, trestles, sandbags, and wrought-iron semi-cylindrical shutters to isolate work sites amid torrential flows, enabling phased river diversion through progressive vents and culverts up to +60 feet. Surplus escapes, totaling 920 feet across both banks and sized for floods of 127,000 cubic feet per second, further underscored the design's emphasis on hydraulic control and flood resilience.

Construction of Mullaperiyar Dam

Timeline and Key Phases

Colonel J. Pennycuick, Chief Engineer, Public Works Department][float-right]Construction of the Mullaperiyar Dam commenced in September 1887 under the supervision of Colonel John Pennycuick, following the approval of his revised rubble-and-concrete design in 1882 and a lease agreement with the Travancore state in October 1886. The project involved over 3,000 workers initially and proceeded in phases limited to dry seasons between monsoons, from late August to mid-October and December to April each year, due to heavy rainfall risks. The initial phase focused on preliminary works, including site clearance, road construction to access the remote 3,000-foot elevation location, and establishment of

worker camps, completed by March 1888. Foundation work resumed in June 1888, employing cofferdams and pumping to excavate 15-18 feet deep for concrete placement up to the +0 level by 1890-1891, despite a major flood in March 1889 that destroyed central masonry sections. Pennycuick traveled to Britain in 1888 to procure machinery, enabling systematic progress. Subsequent phases involved progressive dam raising through repeated river diversions using temporary upper and lower dams, rubble masonry with surki mortar, and concrete additions, sealing foundations by April 1891. Annual progress included 818,753 cubic feet of material in 1891-1892 and 1,552,650 cubic feet in 1894-1895, elevating the structure from +68 to +115 feet, amid setbacks like floods in April 1892 and August 1894, and a cholera epidemic in February 1894 that halted work and caused 45 deaths. The final phase encompassed completion of the main 155-foot-high dam, left bank extension in February 1896, and right bank escape by late 1894, culminating in formal inauguration on October 10, 1895, by Lord Wenlock, with initial irrigation supply achieved in 1896-1897. The process integrated tunnel diversion and distribution canals, transforming the site despite environmental and logistical adversities.

Engineering Challenges and Solutions

The construction of the Mullaperiyar Dam presented formidable engineering obstacles due to its remote location in the Western Ghats, approximately 11 kilometers from the nearest road and 128 kilometers from the closest railway station, amid uninhabited jungle terrain riddled with dense forests, rocky hills, and wildlife. Transporting heavy materials, such as limestone quarried from distant sites like the Gudalur hills and Thekkady, proved particularly arduous, with initial attempts using barges and tugboats on the Mullayar River failing amid operational and weather constraints. Pennycuick addressed these logistics by constructing access roads in 1887–1888, employing bullock carts through forested paths, utilizing temporary bunds to create navigable water stretches for boats, and installing a 3-mile wire ropeway system to convey an estimated 80,000 tonnes of limestone to the site. Pulleys and winches further facilitated the movement of large stones over uneven ground, enabling progress despite the absence of modern machinery. Adverse weather exacerbated delays, with heavy monsoons from July to August and November to December confining construction to a roughly nine-month dry season from September to May, while unseasonal floods in March 1889 and late 1889 destroyed preliminary structures and threatened worker safety. These

events underscored the challenges of working in a high-rainfall gorge prone to sudden water surges from the Periyar River, a west-flowing waterway that required diversion eastward via tunnel to the Vaigai basin—a feat that deterred prior British surveyors since 1800 due to the perceived risks and inexperience with such river redirection. To mitigate flooding, Pennycuick implemented cofferdams featuring wooden shutters supported by masonry piers, completed by December 1889 after earlier temporary stone dams were washed away, alongside vents to control flow during the 1892–1895 tunnel excavation phase. River diversion demanded precise engineering, as the 5,704-foot tunnel through the Ghats had to align accurately to channel water without leakage; Pennycuick achieved this using a tacheometer for surveying, resulting in the opposing tunnel faces meeting within two inches upon breakthrough. The dam itself, a gravity structure rising 173 feet high and 1,241 feet long, relied on rubble masonry bound with lime-surki concrete produced from local kunkur limestone, processed via stone-crushing machines powered by water turbines to ensure structural integrity against reservoir pressures. Labor shortages compounded the difficulties, as local recruitment was scarce in the isolated region, necessitating the importation of Portuguese workers and temporary deployment of British army units from 1889 to 1890, with operations commencing in September 1887 using an initial workforce of 3,000. Harsh conditions led to significant casualties, including hundreds of deaths from floods, malaria, and cholera between 1892 and 1895—totaling at least 483 documented fatalities—prompting the establishment of camps and basic medical measures, though jungle fevers remained a persistent threat limiting sustained operations. Pennycuick's oversight, informed by his prior surveys, ensured continuity through meticulous planning and adaptive techniques, culminating in project completion by 1895 despite these human and environmental tolls.

Technical Specifications and Materials

The Mullaperiyar Dam is a composite gravity dam constructed primarily from rubble masonry, designed to withstand hydrostatic pressure through its mass and weight rather than tensile strength. It measures approximately 53.6 meters in height from the lowest foundation to the crest and spans 365.7 meters in length along the crest, with a base width varying from 42.2 meters at the foundation to about 3.6 meters at the top. The structure incorporates a trapezoidal cross-section, with the downstream face battered at a slope of about 0.7:1 and the upstream face vertical or near-vertical to optimize water retention. The dam's core consists of an inner

hearting wall, comprising roughly 62% of the total volume, built with lime-surkhi mortar—a traditional binding agent made from slaked lime mixed with surkhi (finely powdered burnt bricks or clay) to enhance tensile strength and durability in tropical conditions. This mortar was selected for its hydraulic properties, allowing it to set underwater and resist erosion from the Periyar River's flow. The outer shell employs uncoursed rubble masonry bonded with lime mortar, using locally quarried granite and gneiss stones for the bulk fill, supplemented by river sand for aggregate. Lime and surkhi components were imported from regions like Trichinopoly due to local scarcity, ensuring consistency in quality despite logistical challenges in the forested Western Ghats terrain.Key innovations in material application under Pennycuick's oversight included the use of joggle joints between masonry blocks to interlock stones and prevent sliding, along with careful proportioning of the lime-surkhi mix (typically 1:2:6 lime:surkhi:sand by volume) to achieve a compressive strength suitable for the dam's 142-foot full reservoir level. No modern reinforcements like steel or concrete were employed, relying instead on the inherent mass of over 2 million cubic meters of masonry to provide stability against seismic and flood forces. These specifications reflect 19th-century British engineering practices adapted to local geology, prioritizing longevity over rapid construction.

Immediate and Long-term Impacts

Agricultural Transformation in Tamil Regions

The Periyar River Diversion Project, operationalized following the completion of the Mullaperiyar Dam in October 1895 under Colonel John Pennycuick's direction, channeled surplus monsoon waters from the Periyar River eastward through a 5.7-mile tunnel to augment the Vaigai River basin, addressing chronic water scarcity in rain-shadow regions of southern Tamil Nadu. Prior to the diversion, districts such as Madurai, Theni, Dindigul, Sivaganga, and Ramanathapuram suffered recurrent droughts, limiting cultivation to sporadic rain-fed crops on marginal soils and rendering vast tracts barren or suitable only for dryland farming. The influx of approximately 2,000 million cubic feet of water annually enabled the expansion of canal networks, including the Periyar Main Canal and Thirumangalam Canal, irrigating over 200,000 acres initially and fostering perennial irrigation that reduced dependency on erratic northeast monsoons. This hydraulic intervention catalyzed a shift from subsistence dry crops like millets to intensive wetland agriculture, with paddy emerging as the

dominant staple, supplemented by cash crops such as sugarcane, bananas, and vegetables in the Cumbum Valley and surrounding taluks. By the early 20th century, the project supported double-cropping in over 100,000 acres across Madurai and Dindigul, where previously single-season yields were constrained by water deficits; for instance, paddy cultivation expanded to cover more than 2 lakh hectares in peak years post-1895, yielding multiple harvests and boosting per-acre productivity through assured supply. Horticultural diversification followed, with coconut groves, flower gardens, and fruit orchards proliferating in Theni and Madurai districts, transforming erstwhile wastelands into verdant agricultural belts that sustained population growth and rural economies. Long-term metrics underscore the causal link between the diversion and agrarian output: the Periyar-Vaigai system ultimately commanded 63,200 hectares (about 156,000 acres) under modernized canals by the mid-20th century, with gross irrigated area growing from 24,280 hectares in 1896 to encompassing 68,558 hectares benefiting from reservoir storage, enabling sustained increases in crop yields—such as paddy production rising amid stabilized water credits exceeding 4,000 million cubic feet seasonally. Soil moisture retention improved, mitigating erosion and salinity in alluvial plains, while economic analyses attribute radical socio-economic upliftment to enhanced farm incomes from diversified cropping, though challenges like siltation and equitable distribution persisted without negating the foundational productivity gains. Empirical records from colonial irrigation reports and subsequent assessments confirm these outcomes stemmed directly from Pennycuick's engineering, averting famine risks and underpinning regional food security.

Economic and Social Benefits

The Periyar River diversion project substantially expanded irrigation in the Madras Presidency's Madura district, with a designed capacity to supply water to 150,000 acres across Madura and Melur taluks, enabling year-round cultivation in regions previously limited by the Vaigai River's seasonal flows. This infrastructure supported 90,000 acres for the first crop season and 60,000 acres for the second, directly boosting agricultural revenue through enhanced land productivity; projections estimated annual gross returns of Rs. 6,94,000, yielding net profits of Rs. 5,99,000 after deducting 10% for maintenance. Beyond direct farming, the diverted water improved ancillary economic activities, including higher well yields for supplemental irrigation, expanded pastures for cattle rearing, and nascent fisheries in

reservoirs, collectively stabilizing rural economies prone to volatility. Socially, the project addressed chronic water scarcity that had precipitated near-biennial famines in Madura, as evidenced by the 1876-77 crisis which incurred over Rs. 12 lakh in relief costs, including Rs. 4,32,170 for public works and Rs. 7,92,047 in direct aid. By providing a reliable 1,600 cubic feet per second through the diversion tunnel, it curtailed famine-induced distress, migration, and mortality, securing food supplies for a population historically vulnerable to alternating seasons of plenty and want. Local communities experienced improved livelihoods, with the transformation of arid valleys into fertile zones fostering population retention and social stability, as reflected in enduring tributes to Pennycuick among farmers in beneficiary regions. These outcomes, realized post-1895 commissioning, underscored the initiative's role in converting precarious subsistence into sustainable prosperity without reliance on erratic monsoons.

Later Career, Honors, and Retirement

Post-Dam Contributions and Promotions

Following the completion of the Mullaperiyar Dam in October 1895, Pennycuick was appointed Companion of the Order of the Star of India (CSI) that year, recognizing his engineering achievements in irrigation infrastructure. In 1896, he received the Telford Gold Medal from the Institution of Civil Engineers for his contributions to the dam's design and construction. Pennycuick departed India in 1896 and assumed the role of President of the Royal Indian Engineering College at Cooper's Hill, where he oversaw training for civil engineers destined for colonial service, serving in this administrative and educational capacity for three years before resigning in 1899. That same year, he accepted a consultancy invitation from Queensland authorities in Australia to advise on flood mitigation strategies for the Brisbane River, applying his expertise in hydraulic engineering to propose preventive measures against seasonal inundations. These endeavors marked the culmination of his active professional career, after which he retired to Camberley, Surrey, England, without further documented engineering projects or military promotions beyond his existing rank of colonel attained in 1887.

Awards and Official Recognition

Pennycuick received a medal for his service in the Abyssinian Expedition of 1867–1868, where he commanded H Company of the 2nd Madras Sappers and Miners at Zoulla,

demonstrating efficient conduct across challenging terrain. He was also mentioned in dispatches for this military engineering role during the campaign. In recognition of his leadership in the Periyar Irrigation Project, particularly the Mullaperiyar Dam, Pennycuick was appointed Companion of the Order of the Star of India (CSI) in 1895, an honor signifying distinguished civil service in British India.[10][2] This accolade, the highest chivalric order available to civilians in the Indian Empire at the time, underscored his contributions to public works infrastructure. Professionally, Pennycuick was awarded the Telford Gold Medal by the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1896 for his paper detailing "The Diversion of the Periyar," which chronicled the engineering feats of the dam project, including masonry construction and water diversion techniques. This prestigious prize, named after engineer Thomas Telford, highlighted innovative civil engineering advancements in hydraulic diversion and dam-building.[2]Official recognition extended to his nomination to the Madras Legislative Council in November 1893, affirming his expertise in public administration and engineering policy.

Interests and Character Traits

Pennycuick was a dedicated cricketer who actively promoted the sport in India. Upon arriving in Madras in 1860, he joined the Madras Cricket Club and served as its secretary in 1865, contributing to the acquisition of land for the Chepauk cricket ground.[6] [2] He played for teams including Cheltenham College, Marylebone Cricket Club, Bangalore, and the Madras Cricket Club, amassing over 12,000 runs and taking more than 2,000 wickets in his career, and instituted the J. Pennycuick trophy to further the game's development.[6] [2] In retirement at Camberley, he continued to enjoy cricket, having long been instrumental in establishing it as a popular activity among British personnel in India.[2]His character was marked by perseverance and independence, traits reflected in his professional tenacity but also in personal relations described as "prickly" with the British-Indian establishment, where he frequently challenged prevailing views.[2] Contemporaries noted his statesmanlike approach to duties and amiable engagement in both work and recreational pursuits like cricket.[2] These qualities underscored a commitment to practical outcomes over bureaucratic conformity, evident even in non-engineering endeavors.[6]

Death and Enduring Legacy

Circumstances of Death

John Pennycuick died on 9 March 1911 at his home in Camberley, Surrey, England, at the age of 70, following a prolonged illness. He was buried on 11 March 1911 in the churchyard of St. Peter's Church in Frimley, adjacent to Camberley. Contemporary accounts of his death, including obituaries published in British engineering and military journals, described it as occurring after extended poor health but provided no further details on the specific medical condition or any unusual factors. These notices emphasized his military service and administrative roles in India, such as his tenure as Chief Engineer of the Madras Public Works Department, while omitting mention of major infrastructure projects like the Mullaperiyar Dam, reflecting the era's priorities in commemorating colonial officials. No evidence suggests foul play, accident, or other extraordinary circumstances; his passing aligned with the natural decline expected for a retired officer of advanced age.

Posthumous Commemorations in India and Abroad

In India, the Tamil Nadu government established the Colonel John Pennycuick Memorial at Lower Camp, approximately 8 km from Gudalur in Theni district, which was inaugurated on January 15, 2013, by Chief Minister J. Jayalalithaa; the site features a 7.5-foot-tall, 575 kg bronze statue of Pennycuick, along with historical photographs and exhibits detailing the Mullaperiyar Dam's construction under his supervision. Local farmers in the region, whose agriculture benefited from the dam's irrigation, regard the memorial as a site of reverence akin to a temple, reflecting ongoing cultural appreciation for his engineering feats. The Tamil Nadu Public Works Department maintains a life-size bronze statue of Pennycuick at its Madurai office and has installed at least three additional statues near the Mullaperiyar Dam site to honor his role in its 1895 completion. Infrastructure namings include the bus terminal in Theni district, designated as the Colonel John Pennycuick Bus Terminal, underscoring his enduring impact on regional development. Abroad, in Pennycuick's native United Kingdom, the Tamil Nadu government donated a bust to his hometown of Camberley, Surrey, as a gesture of gratitude for the dam's benefits to southern India; the installation was completed around 2022, with formal appreciation expressed by his descendants to Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.K. Stalin during a September 2025 meeting in London. A related memorial plaque and monument were placed in nearby Frimley, Surrey,

in 2018, jointly funded by the Indian states of Tamil Nadu and Kerala to commemorate his contributions to the Mullaperiyar project. These tributes highlight cross-border recognition initiated by Indian stakeholders, rather than native British initiatives.

S.N.	Questions (5 Marks)	LOCF Mapping		
1	Describe the early history of Chennai (Madras).	CO1	PO1	K1
2	Explain the importance of Fort St. George in the establishment of British rule.	CO2	PO2	K2
3	Write a short note on the establishment of Madras city.	CO1	PO1	K1
4	Briefly explain the formation of the Madras Presidency.	CO3	PO2	K2
5	Discuss the administrative role of Elihu Yale.	CO4	PO3	K2
6	Write a short note on Thomas Munro and his contributions.	CO4	PO3	K2
S.N.	**Questions (8 Marks)**	**LOCF Mapping**		
1	Explain the early history and establishment of Madras city in detail.	CO1	PO1	K2
2	Analyse the role of Fort St. George in the consolidation of British rule in Madras.	CO2	PO2	K3
3	Describe the process of formation and expansion of the Madras Presidency.	CO3	PO2	K3
4	Evaluate the administrative contributions of Thomas Pitt and Elihu Yale.	CO4	PO3	K4
5	Discuss the role of Thomas Munro in strengthening British administration in Madras.	CO4	PO4	K3
6	Examine the reforms introduced by Lord Ripon in local administration.	CO5	PO4	K4
7	Analyse the contribution of John Pennycuick to irrigation and development in South India.	CO5	PO5	K3
8	Discuss the consolidation of British rule in Madras with reference to administrative and economic measures.	CO5	PO4	K4

UNIT - II

Learning Objectives

1. To understand the administrative structure of Chennai during the colonial period.
2. To examine the origin and functions of the Chennai Corporation.
3. To analyse the role of police administration in maintaining law and order.
4. To study the development of banking institutions in Madras.
5. To understand the growth of industries such as Parry's, Spencer's, Addison & Co. and P. Orr & Sons.
6. To evaluate the emergence of the Trade Union Movement in Madras.

Course Outcomes

1. Students will describe the administrative system of colonial Madras.
2. Students will explain the structure and functions of the Chennai Corporation.
3. Students will analyse the role of police administration in urban governance.
4. Students will assess the development of banking in Madras.
5. Students will examine the growth of major industries like Parry's, Spencer's, Addison & Co., and P. Orr & Sons.
6. Students will evaluate the contribution of industrialization to economic growth.
7. Students will explain the origin and development of the trade union movement in Madras.
8. Students will develop an understanding of labour organization and its impact on society.

Origin of the Name Madras

The origin of the name Madraspatnam has long been a puzzle. The name Madras occurs in many forms like Maddaraspatnam, Madras Patnam, Madraspatnam, Madrapatnam, Madrazpatnam, etc. According to one version there was a village of fishermen on the site, the headman of which was a Christian named Madaresan who persuaded Day to call the settlement after his own name. But we know that the name was in use even before the English came on the scene. Otherwise writers have derived the name from the term Madrassa (a college) and think that there might have been an old Muhammadan College at the place; or there might have been a Church of St.Mary (Madre de Deus) at Madras prior to1640, probably founded by the Portuguese of San Thome which had been in existence from the previous century and the church might have given name to the village; or there was an Indian rules, Maddarazu, who might have been some local chief in the region in the past after whom the village might have been named Maddarazpatnam

The Very Revd. Mgr. Teixeira, Bishop of Mylapore, has decently put forward a suggestion based on his discovery of some tombstone inscriptions that the name might well have been after Madras, a Portuguese family of the village and that the family gave their name to the place. Still another view is that Madras was so called because it produced a kind of calico cloth

of the name. None of these seems to be very convincing, while the derivation of Madras from the Persian word Madrassa is somewhat fanciful. There is a curious resemblance between the names of the English Town of Madraspatnam, the southern DutchFactory of Sadraspatnam at the mouth of the Palar river and the northern settlement of Durgarazpatnam (Armagaon)

The First Years of Madras

The growth of Madras in its first thirty years was all that could be desired. Very soon after thesettlement was founded, a Hindu temple was constructed in the heart of the Indian village that grew up. It was dedicated to Chenna Kesava Perumal and built on part of the grounds ofthe present High Court. Thus the temple was coeval with the birth of the town. In 1646 and endowment was made to it by Naga Battan, the Company's powder-maker; and two years later another endowment was made to it by Beri Timmana who is said to have assisted the English in building the settlement and who was employed as the Company's broker and merchant. It is presumed that this Pagoda had twin shrines in it, dedicated to Vishnu (Chenna Kesava) and Siva (Chenna Mallesvara) even as its present day successor is. Besides these two Indians, we hear of Raghava Battan who was first living in the Portuguesesettlement of San Thome and helped the English to get from the Nayak the site of Madras. Acowle (lease or grant in writing) was said to have been given to him by Cogan and Day appointing him the Kanakkupillai (Scrivener) of Madras in 1640 and it was later produced by one of his dependants in a claim that he put forward to the office.

Within a few years after the English settled at Madras, the authority of the Rajah of Chandragiri disappeared. The Rajah himself was forced to flee to Mysore and the forces of the Sultan of Golconda came to occupy the region surrounding Madras. The Kingdom of Chandragiri was hemmed in one side by the advancing troops of Golconda and on the other by the forces of the Bijapur Sultan who invaded the Carnatic from the Mysore Plateau and occupied the coast between Jinji and Tanjore. Nawab Mir Jumla, who was the Prime Minister of Golconda at this time, played an important part in this conquest of the Carnatic. He was originally a famous diamond merchant and was said to be the richest subject in all India. He had in his service a number of European gunners and cannon-founders and well appreciated the advantages of European aid. The English at Madras lent him the services of their gunner and several of their best soldiers when he went to blockade San Thome in 1646. In return for this help he confirmed

all the privileges that they had obtained from the previous Hindu rulers of the Country and also lent them a large sum of money free of interest.

Thus the English contrived to maintain good terms with the Rajah of Chandragiri to the last and yet to preserve the friendship of the Mussalman, conqueror from the first, a characteristic worship of both the rising and the setting sun.

Early Stages of the City's Growth

In 1652 Fort St.George was created a Presidency and its Agent came to be known as President. In those early years the Indian town was governed by three chief officials who were hereditary, viz., the Adhikhari, who dispenses justice, the Kanakkupillai, who assisted the Adhikari, and the Padda Naick, i.e., the Chief Watchman who was the head of the Talaiyaris and who kept order in the streets, arrested thieves and evil-doers and brought them to trial. Many Indians were merchants of the Company and the contractors for the supply of cotton cloth that was needed for export and for the sale of the European goods of the Company. The seniors among them were termed the Company's Chief Merchants; and the agents and brokers of individual English merchants came to be later on known as Dubashes

From time to time, factious fights rose between the right-hand and left-hand castes of the City. Such factions were much prevalent in the country round Conjeeveram. In Madras the Beri Chetties, artisans, Cil-mongers, weavers and leather workers were the chief elements inthe left-hand faction, while the Vellalas, the Arya Vysias (Komatis), the Vannias and the Adi-Dravidas belonged to the right-hand division. The grounds of quarrel were mostly with reference to the particular routes that the marriage and funeral processions of these castes should take, and the symbols and the trappings that should adorn their processions and pandals on occasions of festivity; and they were as ready to fall out with each other on the smallest provocation ' as Orangemen and Ribbonmen were in Ireland or the Montague's andCapulets in Verona, or the clans in Scotland.'

The earliest dispute between the castes seems to have occurred in Madras in 1652-53, which was settled by an award wherein the name of Chennapatnam first occurs in an official document. The result of this award was that the eastern half of the Hindu town came to be generally occupied by left-hand castes and the western half by the right-hand ones.

For a long time the country round Madras was in a great turmoil on account of the rebellion of Mir Jumla against his Golconda master and also because of the general weakness of

the Golconda Sultan who was finally destroyed by the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb in 1687. During these troubled years, Madras was frequently threatened by the exactions of successive local chiefs who ruled over the Poonamalle region on behalf of the Muhammadans. The worst of them was Bala Rao who stopped the Indian traders coming to Madras, raised the customs duties they had to pay at the Great Mettah where there was a regular customs-house and thus increased the prices of grains and other provisions. On one occasion the Muslim troops entered the settlement and burnt some houses. Later, Madras had to encounter a regular siege for several months at the hands of Bala Rao and his colleague, Tupaki Krishnappa Naick. Fort St.George was reduced from the rank of a Presidency to an Agency, temporarily in 1655, owing to a fit of economy that seized the Directors of the Company at the time. However, it was restored to its Presidency status threeyears later; and this it has continued to enjoy ever since. The Dutch were envious of the growing prosperity of the City and both the Dutch and the Golconda Sultan had an eye on San Thome. On one occasion the English expected that San Thome would be ceded to them by the Portuguese instead of Bombay, for whose cession negotiations were then goingon.

Sir Edward Winter, Governor (1661-65), got a permanent agreement regarding the English right to Madras. Winter was a bold and bad man who imprisoned his successor in office, Fox-Croft, on the ground that the latter was of decidedly Puritanical and anti-Royalist tendencies and could be suspected of having made treasonable utterances against King Charles II. He was in enjoyment of his usurped authority for nearly three years and during allthis time Fox-Croft languished in prison. Even when punishment finally came to him, he contrived to make his own terms and stayed on in Madras for a few more years after he was deposed. Fox-Croft, the unfortunate imprisoned Governor, was the first to he given the title of Governor of Fort St.George a title which has been transmitted to a long line of distinguished successors. The title came to be given by an accident, as it were. The Company's letter constituting the Madras Agent and Council 'Our Governor and Agent and Consul in Fort St. George' and empowering them to execute judgment in all cases, civil and criminal, was occasioned by the difficulty that arose as to the jurisdiction of the Madras officials over capital cases. This difficulty was solved by the new title and ' to modern occupants of the gubernatorial chair it is probably unknown that they owe their designation toa Madras murder.'

San Thome

Madras and San Thome were generally on friendly terms. The latter fell into the hands of theSultan of Golconda in 1662 and was taken possession of by the French ten years later. But they were not to enjoy it for long. It once again went back into the hands of Golconda and the English urged the Sultan to demolish the fortifications of the place as they were afraid that the French might recover the Fort either by force or by purchase. One important consequence of the French surrender of San Thome was the withdrawal of Martin, the Captain of the French soldiers, with a few followers to Pondicherry, where he founded the famous settlement that was to have a glorious, but short-lived, prominence in the next century.

The fame of San Thome rests upon its close association with the Apostle St. Thomas, who isdeclared to have suffered martyrdom at St.Thomas' Mount and to have been buried originally at San Thome, that it, in Old Mylapore, part of which now lies under the encroaching sea. There is not much doubt that there existed at the place a Christian colony from the early centuries of the Christian era. It was known to the Arab travellers and geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries as Betumah, that it, the house or Church of St. Thomas. And from this word was derived the name San Thome. To this Church it is said thatKing Alfred the Great of England sent some emissaries about 883 A.D. Subsequently, Persian merchants who were Nestorian Christians, established a Church of their own at the place, built a Chapel over the tomb of St. Thomas and a monastery on the top of St. Thomas' Mount. The place was visited by Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveller, who touched the Madras coast towards the close of the thirteenth century. But the town decayed later on; and its revival was the work of the Portuguese who settled therein in 1522. As the Portuguese were rebuilding the old Chapel, they stumbled on the grave of the Apostle, besides which they built a small church which has now grown into the San Thome Cathedral.

The Luz Church situated a mile to the west of the Cathedral is associated with an ancient tradition, that some mariners saw a light beckoning to them from that place when they tossed about in a storm near the coast. Steering towards this guiding light, they landed safely, and following it came to the spot where the church is built. The church is thus dedicated to 'Our Lady of Light'. But it was not built in 1516 as the inscription on its base claims but only a few decades later

At St. Thomas' Mount the Portuguese came across the famous Bleeding Cross, that is, a Stone Cross bearing an Old Pehbir inscription, with some spots on it resembling, blood stains; and a church was erected at the place, the Stone Cross being built in the wall behind the Altars. The inscription is similar to that engraved round the Crosses found in some of the Syrian Christian churches on the Malabar Coast. In those days a beacon fire was lighted nightly on the Mount for the benefit of mariners. In the church itself, which is dedicated to ourLady of Expectation, there is a picture of the Holy Virgin and Child which is believed to be one of the seven portraits painted by St. Luke and brought by St. Thomas to India.

Between St. Thomas' Mount and Madras and a little to the east of the southern end of the Saidapet Bridge is the Little Mount or Chinnamalai. This contains a cave to which St. Thomas is said to have fled when he was pursued by his persecutors. A church was built in 1551 at this place by the Portuguese. There is pointed out here a cleft in the rock where St. Thomas caused a spring of fresh water to gush forth, by hitting the stone with his staff, and the multitude who came to hear his preach quenched their thirst therein. The water was believed to have had healing properties and the church itself is dedicated to Our Lady of Health. Both the Big and Little mounts are outside the limits of Madras City, But the Big and Little Mounts are outside the limits of Madras city. But they have been closely associated with Madras both in the past and in the present epoch.

Mylapore

Mylapore, a village adjacent to San Thome to its west, has always gone hand in hand with the latter and was included in its jurisdiction. It is a place of ancient importance and has long been famous as a Siva Shrine. It is closely associated with Thiruvalluvar, the great author of the Kural, and also with the activities of the Saiva Nayanar, the great Gnanasambandar. Thetemple of Sri Kapaleesvarar contains a sculpture depicting one of the miracles wrought by Gnanasambandar. There are bronze statues within the temple of the 63 Saiva Nayanmars, in whose honour a grand festival is conducted annually. Mylapore is also associated with one of the Vaishnavite Alvars. After the Portuguese town of San Thome came into being Mylapore was absorbed in it. When San Thome fell into the hands of the Mussalmans, a number of its rich Portuguese merchants settled in Madras. The English themselves endeavoured to get that place for a nominal rent from the Sultan of Golconda. After the latter's kingdom was annexed by the Mughal Empire in 1687, the Mughal Governor of the Carnatic threatened to develop it at the

expense of Madras, frequently visited and resided in it and built a rampart round the town. The place continued under the rule of the Mussalmans with very little trade and a decaying population till 1749 when it was taken possession of by the English in the name of their protégé, Nawab Muhammad Ali Wallajah.

First Attempts at Conservancy

The gradual growth of Madras, though interrupted from time to time, was steady and vigorous. It was when Governor Streynsham Master was in power (1678-81) that the first serious attempt was made at the conservancy of the streets. A scavenger was appointed who was empowered to collect a house-tax and to remove the dirt and filth of the town and draw up a roll of the houses. This post was held by a civil servant of high rank. Watchmen were appointed for going round the streets in the nights. Tavern-keepers, places of entertainments and others had to be licensed. The Indian inhabitants had long fought vigorously against tax saying that it was their privilege to be exempted from any taxation.

Master also framed rules for the better administration of justice. Two English official were appointed as Choultry Justices to administer justice to the Indian inhabitants and their number was increased subsequently. The Governor himself began to sit as a Judge thus forming an Appellate Court.

St. Mary's Church in the Fort

It was also in Master's time that the church of St. Mary within the Fort was built. The foundation was laid on Lady's Day in 1678 and hence the Church was named St. Mary's in honour of the Blessed Virgin. It was finished in 1680 and was consecrated on the 28th of October that year. It stands much the same as it was when built, except for the spire and thetower which were subsequently added. It is full of mementoes of men who have helped to make Madras history; and its narrow yard is literally paved with tombs of various ages and with inscriptions in several languages. The stones were removed from the stately tombs which were erected over the graves of dead Englishmen in the old English burying-place of the settlement which lay in the present Law College compound.

The Vestry of the Church was organised at the same time and it continued to exist down to 1805. It conducted a Charity School which subsequently became the nucleus of the Male and Female Orphan Asylums. After Master's time there was a reorganisation of the Police arrangements in the so-called Black Town which had grown up close to the White Town and

which occupied the site of the present northern glacis of the Fort, part of the western glacis and the grounds of the Law College and the High Court. During the Governorship of Mr.Yale (1687-92) a Mayor and Corporation were instituted in the City by a Charter of the Company under permission from King James

Acquisition of Suburban Villages

It was in Yale's time that the Mughul authority spread over the Carnatic. He was very anxious about the safety of Madras from Mughul injury. And he applied to the Nawab ZulfikerKhan, the Mughal General for the free Grant of the villages of Egmore, Purasawalkam and Thondiarpet. These villages were at first rented out and were directly taken over by Government in 1720. They were known in the English records of the time as the "Three Old Towns". Triplicane was the earliest acquisition and came first into English occupation in 1668 though it was resumed a few years later by the Mussalmans. It was only in 1672 that Triplicane was definitely given over to the English for an annual rent of fifty pagodas. Including Triplicane these three villages were known as the 'Four Old Towns'. Shortly afterwards, the English petitioned for permission to occupy five other villages in the vicinity composing of Tiruvatiyoor, Kathiwakam, Nungambakkam, Vyasarpady and Sathangadu. These places were given over by a Mughal firman in 1708 and they were hence forward known as the 'Five New Towns'.Wedged in between Egmore and Purasawalkam which had been acquired by the English, were two small villages, viz., Periamet where the Mussalman authorities collected tolls, and Vepery, which were acquired by the English only in 1742; along with Vepery the Company got Perambore, Pudupakkam, Ernavore and Sadyan Kuppam together with a confirmation ofthe right of coining Arcot rupees and pagodas. San Thome and Mylapore continued to be under Mussalman rule till 1749 when Madras was restored to English after three years of occupation by the French who captured it in 1746. Soon after they got back Madras, the English contrived to occupy San Thome in the name of their new ally, Nawab Muhammad Aliwho was opposed by Chanda Saheb, the ally and champion of the French.

Acquisition of Suburban Villages

From the time of Governor Yale down to the outbreak of war with the French in 1746, the growth of Madras was continuous and was seen not only by the expansion of its trade and wealth but also in the steady political power of the English. Of the Governors of the period the most famous was Thomas Pitt who was originally a bold interloper and in the opinion of the

Directors, a desperate fellow. Pitt was Governor for the unusually long term of 11 years-1698-1709- and his term of office proved to be the 'Golden Age' of Madras. He resisted the demands of the Mughal Nawab, successively acquired the five new villages and built fortifiedwalls round the Old Black Town. It was in his time that the Island ground was embanked, drained and improved. He also provided for an accurate survey of the City with a view to the allocation of definite streets and quarters for the right and left-hand factions. Copies of his map and plan are now available. They show us that the Old Black Town was more than a mile and a half in circumference and various gates in its walls led into the suburbs of Muthialpettah to the north and Peddunaicken-pettah to the west. A canal ran along the present Broadway which separated Black Town and Muthialpettah from Peddunaickenpettah.

Weavers' Villages-Collettpettah and Chintadripettah

As trade increased the number of weavers and painters had steadily to be increased. Governor Collett (1717-20) founded a new pettah near Tiruvottiyur which was called, as the inhabitants desired, after him as Collettpettah. The inhabitants were mostly weavers and painters of cloth which the Company required for export to Europe. The present suburb if Washermanpet lying to the north of George Town grew up about the same time. The Company had in their employment a large number of washers, bleachers and painters of cloth which came from the weavers' looms. A large open space and plenty of good water were necessary for their work. They were first settled in Peddunaickenpettah to the north; but they complained that the water of the river was not pure. They were subsequently removed to the north of the Black Town where the ground was rich in fresh springs. The place where they settled was, therefore, known as Washerman Town and its present appellation of Washermanpet is apt, as in the case of Collettpettah, to convey a wrong meaning as to its origin. The growth of these suburbs indicates a period of great prosperity inthe cotton trade which was the chief investment of the Company. The Dubashes and chief merchants of the Company engaged in the supply of cotton goods to the Company rose to great prosperity. One of them be name Alangatha Pillai founded and built the Ekambareswarar Temple, and another of them, Sunkurama had a large garden in the bend of the Cooum river south of Periamet which was taken over in 1735 for a new weavers' village known as Chintadripettah. By that time Sunkurama had fallen into disgrace and was succeeded by his colleague Thambu Chetty as the chief merchant. Government resolved in October 1734 to erect a weaving town in the site of Sunkurama's garden and to permit only spinners, weavers, washers,

painters and the necessary attendants of the temple to settle in the village. A cowl was granted on these terms and Bemala Audiappa Narayana helped in the peopling of the village, which grew to contain nearly two hundred and fifty families within two years after its foundation.

The Carnatic fell into confusion after 1740 when the Mahrattas invaded it. Several disputed successions to the Nawabship occurred, out of which emerged Anwaruddin Khan. During all these years the English were seriously engaged in strengthening the Fort, particularly its western walls. The Fort as it had grown up by now enclosed the houses of the White Town, but was much smaller than the present Fort. On the north the houses of the Old Black Town encroached almost up to the very wall, the river on the west ran very much more to the east than it does now. In 1743 plans were prepared for enlarging the Fort on the west side and fordiverting the course of the river further west. This diversion was not, however, immediately carried out.

French Occupation of the City and its Results

The French capture of Madras by Labourdonnais in 1746 is a great event in the history of the City. The French were in occupation of the City for three years till August 1749. They planned to retain it permanently. They demolished the Indian houses of Old Black Town which adjoined the north wall of the Fort and formed a glacis with the debris. The southern portion of the Old Black Town was consequently destroyed. Soon after Madras came back into English possession, the Company began plans for remodeling and strengthening the Fort. The river on the west side was diverted to its present course, and its old bed was built up and included in the Fort. The west wall was strengthened with bastions which were named after the Governor George Pigot, Major Lawrence and Nawab Muhammad Ali Wallajah. The temple of Chennakesavaperumal which stood in Old Black Town, was also demolished and compensation was given by Government and a new site was offered in China Bazaar where Manali Muthukrishna Mudaliar, the Dubash of Governor Pigot, built the new temple now known as the Town temple. He became the first warden of this temple whose management has continued to remain in his family. Count Lally's siege of Madras (December 1758 to February 1759) the next crisis in the History of the City was successfully resisted by the English; but they abandoned Old Black Town and the suburbs which were occupied by the French; while the Fort itself was a sand wreck after the siege. Black Town was ruthlessly plundered by the enemy who also burnt the village of Chepauk to the south ofthe mouth of the Cooum and lying between the Island and Triplicane.

Building of the Black Town Walls

After the siege, the Directors resolved that the Fort should be rebuilt upon the most modern plan. Hyder Ali of Mysore was growing powerful at the time. In 1767 he made an expedition to the neighbourhood of Madras, plundered San Thome and burnt several villages in the neighbourhood. Two years later, he again appeared before Madras with a formidable cavalryforce. Hyder's raids threw the inhabitants into a state of panic; and the result was the erection of permanent walls to protect the New Black Town, as Muthialpettah and Peddunaickenpettah together came to be called, after the demolition of the Old Black Town. The rampart walls that were constructed covered the northern and western fronts of modern George Town and ran a course of 3½ miles, being equipped with bastions and flanking works at intervals. The north wall presented a slight convex front towards Tondiarpet. The west wall ran on close to the North River (Cochrane Canal). On the outer side of the walls the ground was cleared for a width of six hundred yards and afforded a field for fire. These spaces were known as Esplanades. The southern part of the Western Esplanade was converted in the middle of the nineteenth century into the People's Park, and the northern part into Salt Cotaurs. The walls had numerous gates, of which the one known as Elephant Gate still had its name preserved for the site on which it stood. Wall Tax Road also is reminiscent of those times. It was designed to have a good road running on the side of the western rampart and its cost was met be means of a tax which was imposed on the house-holders nearby. But the tax was never collected through an officer, known as the Collector ofTown Wall Tax, was appointed for the purpose. It is also said that arches in the western wall were occupied by Indians who paid a rent or tax and hence arose the name of Wall Tax Road which runs for two miles and was close to the western wall. Debtor-prisoners were confined in the bastions in the north-west angle of the wall, which criminals were put in another bastion in the northern wall; and even to-day the street next to the demolished north wall, of which some remnants remain in the compound of the Royapuram Hospital is called the Old Jail Street. The walls were pulled down about the middle of the nineteenth century when swords had to be turned into ploughshares. The remnants of its bastions and curtains that remain on the north indicate how substantially the construction work was made. The walls were finished about 1772.

Final Formation of the Fort

About the same time the work of remodeling the Fort was also finished. Many of the private inhabitants who lived within it were compelled to sell their houses, and barracks for British troops were built on their sites. The Fort in its enlarged shape was completed in 1783 when Lord Macartney was Governor. This enlarged Fort stands perfect to-day as a typical example of the ideal fortress of the eighteenth century. It is the last of the four phases of growth which was settlement has passed through. It began as a small castle of Cogan and Day which was enclosed in a square of bastioned walls. In the next stage the White Town inhabited by English, Portuguese and Armenian merchants which grew round the nucleus came to be protected by walls. This survived almost up to the date of French Capture of Madras in 1746. The filling up of the old bed of the North River, the extension of the west front of the Fort and the consequent increase in its area formed from third stage. The last stage was completed in 1783 when the outer walls were totally rebuilt and provided with ample out-works, glacis, reveling and lunettes.

It was in this epoch also that most of the buildings and barracks in the western portion of the Fort were erected. The Palace Street, so called because Nawab Wallajaj first planned to have a place erected for himself in that street, the Arsenal, the Hanover square and the Western Barracks were all constructed about this time. The streets in the eastern side of the Fort were also altered. Lord Pigot who was twice Governor of Madras, distinguished himself by strengthening the fortifications and defending it successfully against Lally. The weakness of his successors led to his reappointment for a second time as Governor. But he quarreled violently with his colleagues, was imprisoned by them and died in confinement. He was buried in a nameless grave in St. Mary's Church in the Fort.

Modern George Town comes into Shape

In the time of Governor Macartney (1781-85) Black Town assumed the shape that it now has. There was a low-lying region between Muthialpettah and Peddunaickenpettah along which ran a drainage channel. This channel was filled up and the waste land on both its sides were raised; and gradually houses came to be built over the whole area. The main north and south street which traverses this area known as Popham's Broadway is commemorative of the efforts of Mr.Popham who reclaimed all this region. It was also now that the inhabitants of Peddunaickenpettah living in the south and south-east portions of it were removed elsewhere as their houses were considered to be dangerously near the Fort. The ground which was somewhat

elevated was cleared and was converted into an Esplanade of the Fort and is now occupied by the Ordnance Lines. The removal of these houses, accounts for the present curiously broken outline of Peddunaickenpettah on its south-east side and for the abrupt termination of some of its north and south streets

Mr. Popham also submitted a plan for the establishment of a regular police force for Madras and for the building of direct and cross drains in every street. He also advocated measures for the naming and lighting of streets, for the regular registration of births and deaths and for the licensing of liquor, arrack and toddy shops. A Board of Police assisted by a Kotwal was subsequently formed. The Kotwal was to be the officer of the markets under the Superintendent of Police. For long, there was difficulty about the collecting of quit rent and scavenger's duty and it was held that the Company had no power to impose these taxes. A Parliamentary Act of 1792 finally gave the Company the power to levy municipal taxes in the City and it was resolved to order an assessment of five per cent to be collected from the inhabitants on the estimated annual rents of the houses. It was now that the Town cleaning duties were entrusted to the Officers known as Surveyors and Collectors, under whom conservancy work was to be done by contract.

Police

Madras, Chennai in the present day, was not just a capital city, as it is now, but encompassed a huge and varied geographical area on which diverse people lived, who spoke different languages, ate distinct food and followed various religions. Madras Presidency was the most significant province of British Raj in South India, extending from present day South-coastal Orissa, coastal Andhra, covering a major part of Karnataka, down to Tamil Nadu and some parts of Malabar Coast in Kerala as well.

The history of South India dates to several centuries and since it is a peninsula surrounded on three sides by sea, it has always been, open to influence from outside lands. It had interdependent relations with North India, however, it succeeded in creating a rich historical tradition rooted in its literature, religion and environment. The first Europeans to arrive in India were the Portuguese who followed the steps of their legendary explorer and trader, Vasco da Gama, whose appearance in Calicut (Kozhikode) in 1498 on the Malabar Coast of India was the beginning of the long era of European presence in India.

For almost a century the Portuguese maintained their supremacy in trade on the west coast of India. Pulicat, 38 miles north of San Thome, was secured by the Dutch for trading activities in 1602.1 Dutch had the upper hand in eastern trade, becoming major rivals not only to the Portuguese but also to the British and the French. France, also a sea-faring country and buoyed by mercantilist ambitions was not far behind to secure bases in India. A French East India Company was established in 1644, which subsequently possessed fortified settlements at Pondicherry and Chandannagar.

The British were on the lookout for new pastures to trade as well. English East India Company received the royal charter to trade in India in 1600. East India Company, very soon, was to swamp all of India and establish its suzerainty, by defeating not only the native kingdoms but also by overpowering the rival European powers.

Founding of Madras: Madras presidency

English East India Company formally started trading in India from 1613, the first factory being set up in Surat.2 In South India, they acquired two ports on the eastern coast: Machilipatnam and Armagaum (1626), where they established their factory and conducted trade for some time. When these ports were unable to earn handsome profits, they started scouting for suitable trading base on the Coromandel Coast.3 Francis Day, the chief of Armagaum factory began this search, and after consultations with the Portuguese who were already entrenched in San Thome, and after negotiating with the local naik, he finally was able to zero in on a strip of narrow land, five miles in length which was originally the village of Madraspatam on the Coromandel Coast. On 22nd August, 1639, a descendent of the erstwhile illustrious Vijayanagar Empire, Venkata 111, granted the English, through a farman, a specific, not very large territory, contained within the limits of Madraspatam.4 It came to be known as Fort St. George. In 1661, the English King, Charles XI, through a Charter, granted the governors and councils of the factories, power to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction over both Indians and other inhabitants of the settlements, according to the laws of England. Madras started as a small establishment, but within a period of less than half a century, it had developed into a proper city.

Madras Presidency expanded over a period of time. By 1800, it had incorporated many districts ceded by the Nizams and some territories acquired from Mysore on the death of Tipu Sultan. In 1839, internal mismanagement on the part of the Nawab of Kurnool led to the annexation of his state. Tranquebar was purchased from the Danes in 1845. In 1862, the District

of North Kanara was transferred to Bombay.5 By the middle of the nineteenth century, Madras Presidency consisted of twenty-two districts and five dependent native states. The Laccadive Islands from administrative point of view were part of Malabar and South Kanara. The districts were as follows: Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari, Anantapur, Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Kistna Nellore, Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Tanjore, Madura, Tinnevelli, Salem, Coimbatore, Nilgiris, Malabar and South Kanara.

History of Police The Police, as being part of administrative machinery of the state to protect life and property came into existence with the 5 Imperial Gazetteer, Madras province. P24 6 W.W Hunter. Imperial Gazetteer of India; From Madras to The Police, in one form or the other has existed since society came into existence. The Police were considered as the primary tool of the state/ruling class. "A society dominated by a ruling class needs a coercive instrument to maintain this class control over basic resources and over a labour force necessary to produce surplus goods to support the ruling class.". "Indian Police history can be seen as the expansion and contraction of an imperial power always set upon an impermeable stratum of village institutions. Structures came and went, but there was no qualitative evolution from one imperial high-point to another." 'The government formed certain rules and regulations for promoting the welfare of the people and restraining the activities of the lawless elements.

Police as an institution, as it exists today, has evolved over several centuries, tracing its roots to the long gone period. Police as an independent administrative institution in India, however, developed only during the British colonial period, which to a great extent was an amalgam of various features prevalent during the Medieval ages and some borrowed from the British structure of law and order. The present Police system structurally and functionally owes its existing structure to the various Acts and Enactments promulgated by the colonial rulers.

History of Police in Madras Presidency

South India, as we can discern from historical evidence from the Vijayanagar Empire, had an evolved policing system. The duties of Police have been defined by Abdul Razzak as "to acquaint themselves with all the events and accidents that happen within the seven walls and recover everything that is listed, or that may be obstructed by theft, otherwise they are fined." "The traditional Police of South India were of two kinds-the Taliyaris and the Kavalkars." In pre-colonial South, feudal system provided the framework for Police systems. The feudal landlord through his retainers in the village, and by utilising the service of the taliyaris (village

watchmen), would ensure that law and order was maintained at the village level. The office of the taliyari was hereditary and he was remunerated with a share in the harvest or with a small rent-free land. The British muddled into the age-old system and created disaffection. Taliyaris were divested of their land and were in turn given a small stipend by the British. Then in 1802, Regulation XXXV introduced the Darogha system in Madras Presidency. Each district was divided into small Police jurisdictions with an area of about twenty sq. miles. In each division, a Darogha and a thanedar were employed who were under the supervision of the collector. This was a measure to supplement the existing rural system. However, it also failed in its objective of containing crime; Daroghas were corrupt and despotic. In 1816, after a thorough assessment, the Darogha system was abolished and the taliyaris were restored as the traditional watchmen under the supervision of the village headmen. However, the gradual decline of the taliyari system could not be stemmed. In a district Police report compiled by William Robinson in the 1850s, there were frequent references to the decay of the taliyari as being part of the Police institution.

Kavalkars were originally state appointees who also acted as local auxiliaries. They were, unlike the taliyaris, responsible for several villages and had the right to collect protection fees (kaval) for the task they performed as protectors. Very soon they became predatory and corrupt, assuming the role of 'robber Police'. J.H Nelson described the kavalkars as potential poligars who "gained an influence and authority over the ryots which was highly undesirable and indeed productive of the worst consequences.

The all-powerful 'poligar-warrior elite' (landlords) were at the helm of the hierarchy to maintain peace in their area, ensure trouble-free rent collection and prevent robbery and violence. East India Company came to South India for the highly beneficial trade in pepper and cotton textiles. Although, when the East India Company established its dominance in the South in the latter half of the eighteenth century, many were still convinced of the feasibility of retaining the indigenous Police system. Munro believed in the credibility of the 'ancient system of Police in India'.17 Restoring the indigenous system was according to Munro highly beneficial to the colonial interests. However, very soon it became clear that the precolonial system was ineffective and did not serve the purpose of the colonial rulers. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the East India Company had formed its ascendancy in South India. The province of Madras embraced a large area, including Tamil Nadu, parts of Andhra territory, and a small Kannada speaking area and some parts of Malabar Coast. The essentially military nature

of their acquisitions ensured that the East India Company relied heavily on the military troops. But in the 1850s, this overdependence on the army for maintaining their control over the populace was becoming unsatisfactory. “To maintain and consolidate its hold over the province, the Madras government needed to refine and to strengthen its civilian administration.” Apart from the usual misgivings about the continuation of the military Police, there were specific reasons to create civil Police in Madras. Madras was a huge province and there was inadequate supervision of European officers over the area. There were frequent complaints of torture the complaints. This Commission submitted its report in April 1855. In this report, it admitted that torture had been practiced in the country for long by Police and revenue functionaries.The remoteness of several interior districts of the Madras Presidency created additional problems. There was a spate of violent crimes which the Police were not able to control. The vulnerability of the European officers was revealed when there were a series of attacks on them. The case in point was the assassination of H.V Conolly, the District Magistrate of Malabar in September 1855. Conolly had ineffectively tried to subdue the Muslim Mappila community from targeting the rich Hindu landlords. In 1854, the Malabar Warknives Act was passed which authorized the confiscation of their weapons. The assassination was a backlash against these measures of Conolly. The assassination was a big blow to the prestige and credibility of the colonial rule. There was an implicit realization of the failure of the existing Police administration in the province; to assure security and uninterrupted flow of revenue, to create secure environment for trade and property. Thus, British policing models were deemed necessary in the Indian setting. committed by the local indigenous Police functionary. A torture Commission was instituted by the Madras Government in 1854 to investigate the complaints. This Commission submitted its report in April 1855. In this report, it admitted that torture had been practiced in the country for long by Police and revenue functionaries.The remoteness of several interior districts of the Madras Presidency created additional problems. There was a spate of violent crimes which the Police were not able to control. The vulnerability of the European officers was revealed when there were a series of attacks on them. The case in point was the assassination of H.V Conolly, the District Magistrate of Malabar in September 1855. Conolly had ineffectively tried to subdue the Muslim Mappila community from targeting the rich Hindu landlords. In 1854, the Malabar Warknives Act was passed which authorized the confiscation of their weapons. The assassination was a backlash against these measures of Conolly. The assassination was a big blow to the

prestige and credibility of the colonial rule. There was an implicit realization of the failure of the existing Police administration in the province; to assure security and uninterrupted flow of revenue, to create secure environment for trade and property. Thus, British policing models were deemed necessary in the Indian setting.

Madras Police Act of 1859

Functionally, Indian colonial Police was based on the Royal Irish Constabulary, which was more centralized, authoritarian, and militarized. It was felt that it fitted with the Indian colonial conditions better. "No system of Police has ever worked for the suppression of political agitation, or agrarian disorder, than the Irish Constabulary" , argued Sir Hugh Rose, Commander-in-chief of the Indian army in October 1861. It was Sir Charles Napier who had introduced the Irish model of Police in Sindh for the first time in India in 1843. Subsequently, bits and pieces of the Sindh model were introduced in Punjab after its annexation in 1849. The military element in the Sindh Police was strong, even though Police were separated from the army. There were some discussions about introducing this model in Madras too. But ultimately, it was found unsuitable. The Irish model seemed too military dominated for Madras. The more militarized Irish model was better fitted for the newly conquered provinces i.e., Sind and Punjab. Madras had long been subdued and a more balanced Police force was the need of the day.

The Madras Police Act of 1859 distinctly separated the unarmed Police from the armed sections of the Police. They hardened into two separate, distinct branches of the force "with no interchange of personnel below the inspectorate." Another major feature of the Act was the total integration of the Police force with the provincial state structure. Police were organised on a provincial, rather than an all- India basis. It was felt that the Madras Presidency was vast with huge regional variations which made it impossible to supervise Police work from a single centre. "In Madras, Act XX1V of September 1859, authorized the formation of provincial constabulary. The first district force was established in North Arcot in 1859 and by the end of 1860, fifteen of the twenty districts of the Presidency had been brought under the new Police." Through this Act, "three levels of supervision and control was enacted. First, was the supervision of the civil administration over the Police department; Second, the supervision of European officers over Indian subordinates and third, a rigid hierarchical division between the superintendency at the top, inspectorate in the middle and constabulary at the bottom." Europeans were posted in key superior posts whereas the Indians, though more in number were placed at subordinate positions.

Another way of keeping check on Police, was to make it answerable to the provincial government and civil service. There was integration between the Police and civil administration by bringing the Police under their supervision and control, both at the provincial and district levels. The Chief Secretariat acted as the nodal agency for Police in Madras province. A slight change occurred after the introduction of provincial autonomy by the Government of India Act of 1935. After the elections of 1937, an Indian minister took over the Police portfolio that coordinated with the bureaucracy through the Home department rather than the Chief Secretariat.

At the district level, the Police were subordinated to the District Magistrate/ Collector, although, in 1856, a post for Superintendent of Police was created. However, the Superintendent was outranked by the Magistrate in the District. The magistrate "would direct the distribution of the Police and call for their services when required, but he would have nothing to do with the interior economy of the force. That would be regulated by the [chief] Commissioner under the orders of the government

Establishment of Special Police force

20th century ushered in a period of renewed and more persistent nationalist agitations and disturbances throughout the country. Madras Presidency was no exception. Many areas of the province were rocked by rebellions and unrest. The existing district Police, though, expanded over a period, was not enough to bring control. Therefore, it was decided to constitute armed 'striking forces. Two major striking forces were formed in the Madras Presidency.

The Malabar Special Force

The Malabar region in Madras province had always been more volatile but in the second decade of the 20th century, the level of unrest and violence reached an unprecedented level which the local Police were unable to suppress. The physical features of the Malabar were unique. It had dense forests, interspersed with hills, backwaters and narrow passages. The network of communication and transportation was scanty. And, more significantly, Mappilas were becoming a huge problem. Mophlas were mostly, converted Muslim agricultura tenants who held antagonistic sentiments against their rich Hindu landlords. They also harboured fanatic zeal and regularly perpetrated acts of violence. In 1919, when the Khilafat movement was at its peak, the Mappilas used this as an opportunity for religious propaganda. And in August 1921, Mappilas started a rebellion in the southern taluks which alarmed the British government. It was a logical outcome of the "insidious propaganda of the non-co-operation and Khilafat

movements." Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Madras, interpreted the rising as "an organized effort to upset the British Raj and sought powers to deal energetically with the rebels to steady things elsewhere in the presidency.

They had limited options as calling the Army was to be avoided, Jallianwala Bagh had recently happened. The best solution was the formation of a special paramilitary force to fight against the rebels. On 30th September 1921, the Government of Madras constituted a body of armed Police, which was to be called the Malabar Special Force. They were equipped with the latest weapons and were successful in crushing the rebellion. As a future measure, it was decided that the MSP would not be restricted to the Malabar region but would be used in the whole province,ll as and when required. "In 1928, they were used alongside railway Police during the South Indian Railway strike and in 1928-29, were sent to Madras city to prevent disturbances during the visits of the Indian Statutory Commission."

The East Coast Special Police

Another region of concern for the Government of Madras in the early 1920s was the East Coast, particularly, the Telugu districts of Guntur, Kistna, and Godavari. Motivated by Gandhi's programme of nationalist movement, the people in this area were prone to agitations. Non-Cooperation Movement, especially, had drawn in several people in its fold. Madras government did not want to leave anything to chance. The East Coast districts were only "partly integrated into the economic and political system of the rest of the presidency." "It was cut off from the coastal plain by the mountains of the Eastern Ghats and it was mainly populated by tribal peoples." In 1922-24, there occurred a fituri rebellion in the Godavari area against the tyranny of the local officials. The existing Police structure was not equipped to quell the uprising. East Coast Special Police was formed which was modelled on the Malabar Special Police. However, by 1927-28, it was deemed as a failure. "The force was disbanded, and the district armed reserves strengthened in its place.

British rule in India faced graver challenges in the 1930s and 1940s. Gandhi's strategy of non-violent Satyagraha was bearing fruit. Millions of Indians took to the streets demanding self-governance. The Salt Satyagraha engulfed the whole of India in its frenzy. Madras was no exception. Madras Government was getting convinced about the necessity of permanent paramilitary force to deal with mass movements. "The new force called the Presidency General Reserve, was quickly recruited, trained, and equipped with muskets made available by the

rearming of the district reserves with new smooth-bores" Government of India Act of 1935 introduced Provincial Autonomy in British India. Under that provision, Provincial elections were held in 1937 and Congress came to power in Madras province. C. Rajagopalachari, as the Premier and the Home Minister was inclined against socialists and labour unions. Thus, during the two years of his government, repressive powers of Police were freely used. Rajagopalachari told the Madras legislature in I939 that since violence still existed in the presidency "there is therefore a need for counter violence on the part of the Government". With the spread and aggressiveness of the Quit India agitation in 1942, and the onset of the Second World War in 1939, the government perforce had to increase the strength of the Police reserves as well as paramilitary forces.

To sum it up, we can say that the Police systems in both the Madras Presidencies were initially based on the existing village Police structure. It was only after the 1857 Revolt, that the British Government brought about reforms to establish a uniform Police system in Madras. The Police Act of 1859 was implemented in all the districts of the Madras Presidency. The structure thus established remained in practice without any major changes, till 1947. History of Police in India is characterized by trials, errors, vicissitudes, and imperatives of an imperial government, changing priorities and changing context. India, after Independence, retained the basic structure of Police organization, though the nature of policing did change.

Banking

The banking administration in the Madras Presidency during the colonial period developed gradually as part of the broader economic policies of the British East India Company and later the British Crown. In the early stages of British rule, there was no organized banking system in South India. Financial transactions were largely handled by indigenous bankers such as sowcars, chettiars, and merchant communities who provided credit, remittance, and money-lending services. These traditional institutions played a crucial role in supporting trade and agriculture before the establishment of modern banking.

The foundation of formal banking in Madras began with the establishment of early European-managed banks to facilitate trade and administrative finance. One of the earliest institutions was the Bank of Madras, which was established in 1843 through the amalgamation of earlier banks such as the Madras Bank, the Carnatic Bank, and the Asiatic Bank. The Bank of

Madras became one of the three Presidency Banks in India, along with the Bank of Bengal and the Bank of Bombay. These banks were partly owned by the government and played a central role in colonial financial administration.

The Bank of Madras performed several important functions in the Presidency. It acted as a banker to the government, managed public funds, facilitated trade by providing credit to European merchants, and issued currency notes within the region. The bank also handled remittances between different parts of the British Empire, thereby supporting administrative efficiency. Its close relationship with the colonial government ensured that it primarily served British commercial interests rather than the needs of the local population.

The colonial banking administration in Madras was structured to support the economic objectives of the British Empire. The British introduced a regulated system of banking with legal frameworks, accounting procedures, and institutional controls. However, access to banking services was limited, and Indian traders and agriculturists often found it difficult to obtain loans from these formal institutions. As a result, indigenous banking systems continued to operate alongside European banks.

In rural areas of the Madras Presidency, agriculture was the main occupation, and credit needs were met largely by traditional moneylenders. The introduction of the Ryotwari system increased the burden on peasants, forcing them to borrow money to pay land revenue. Due to the absence of institutional credit facilities, many farmers became indebted to local lenders, leading to economic hardship. The colonial banking administration did little to address these issues, as its focus remained on revenue collection and trade finance.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, some efforts were made to improve banking access and regulate financial activities. The establishment of cooperative credit societies marked an important development. These societies aimed to provide affordable credit to farmers and reduce their dependence on moneylenders. Although limited in scope, they represented an attempt to address rural indebtedness within the colonial framework.

A major transformation in banking administration occurred in 1921 with the formation of the Imperial Bank of India through the merger of the three Presidency Banks. This institution became the central banking authority for British India, performing both commercial and quasi-central banking functions. The Imperial Bank had a strong presence in the Madras Presidency and further consolidated British control over financial administration.

The colonial period also witnessed the growth of Indian-owned banks in Madras, reflecting the rise of Indian entrepreneurship and nationalism. Institutions such as Indian Bank and Indian Overseas Bank were established in the early 20th century. These banks aimed to serve Indian customers and promote indigenous enterprise, offering an alternative to European-controlled banks.

Despite these developments, the colonial banking system remained uneven and discriminatory. It largely catered to the needs of British administration, while neglecting the financial requirements of the majority of the Indian population. The lack of rural banking infrastructure and limited access to credit hindered economic development and contributed to persistent poverty.

The banking administration in the Madras Presidency during the colonial period evolved from indigenous financial practices to a structured but limited modern banking system under British control. While institutions like the Bank of Madras and the Imperial Bank of India played a significant role in organizing financial administration, they primarily served colonial interests. The emergence of Indian banks and cooperative credit societies marked the beginning of a more inclusive financial system, laying the foundation for post-independence banking development in India.

Parry and Dare 1788-1838

Early in the year 1788 a young Welshman with a pale face, contemplative eyes and an exceptionally long chin waded or was carried through the last of the celebiated Madras surf and walked up the brick-and-mortar ramp and through the Sea Gate of Fort St. George. He had just completed a long and tedious voyage; some five months passed in what was by courtesy a “cabin” but was in fact no more than a sheeted-off slice of deck; unless he had been lucky, a good third of this meagre space had been taken up by a 22-pounder cannon and the whole had been subject to periodical inundations of dirty water. He must have been thankful to see the last of it and of the ten or twelve passengers who had shared his voyage, and he must have looked eagerly round the destination which he had survived these discomforts to reach. He would note with approval the decent, indeed stately architecture of the Fort, and Streynsham Master’s sizeable church under the bizarre pepper-pot which at that epoch served it as a spire and which a few years later was to be hotly debated as a possible pedestal for Madras’s first lighthouse. With less approval—because he had come there to trade—he would survey the apparently haphazard arrangements for the commerce of this port of Madras; the heaps of miscellaneous

merchandise dumped anyhow on the open beach, the merchants themselves reduced to carrying on their business in the exposed colonnade between the Sea Gate and the Governor's House with its black Tindivanam pillars that had been stolen by and recovered from the French. Yet there was stir and bustle in the place; it would seem to him—as was indeed the fact—that half the population of the Settlement had come down to greet his vessel. They were a prosperous-looking lot, well dressed and respectable; only a few were shrunken and drained by illness—or by their late session on the previous night. There were hardly any ladies. So this was Madras!

Perhaps, pausing a moment in the jaws of the Sea Gate, the young Welshman conjured up something of the storied past; saw the fabulous Clive kneeling devoutly in that same pepper-potted church; saw Lally's batteries—perhaps from that hummock of sand some three hundred yards to the north—hurling the shot that smashed down its spire. Less probably, he allowed himself to envisage the future; if he did, his picture was likely to be very wide of the truth. From his *masulah* boat to the Sea Gate had been a walk of fifty yards; he could not know that in the processes of time this brief interval would be expanded into a half mile of sand accretion and bounded by a broad and handsome thoroughfare electrically lit. He could hardly foresee, rising somewhere about the spot where he had just planted Lally's battery, a glittering edifice, golden in colour, six stories in height, and bearing in large letters the name of a man he was to know intmately but had never yet heard of. Nor could he guess that the site of that unimaginable building would be known to generations—perhaps for ever—by his own surname, "Parry's Corner".

The young Welshman, whose name was indeed Thomas Parry, had chosen for his arrival in Madras an hour in some ways fortunate, in others not. The hour was unfortunate in so far as it fell almost in the middle of that long trade recession which supplanted the first bright beginnings of the Honourable East India Company's venture and lasted from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. Trade in Madras, what with one thing and another, was to be very difficult during the next twenty-five years. On the other hand, he was enteing a city which was, after some false starts, hastening rapidly in the direction of civilisation, culture and a sense of responsibility. Only three years before his arrival, the Governor of Madras, no less, had fought a duel with his Third in Council and had been wounded; more fortunate than his almost immediate predecessor in office who had been forcibly deposed and arrested and imprisoned at St.Thomas's Mount where—from one cause or another—he had perished. The Governor who had just departed—the duellist—had infuriated his staff and subordinates by refusing, for the first time in history, a "good-will" gratuity of £30,000 from the

Nawab of the Carnatic, a *douceur* which his predecessors had pocketed without thought either of compunction or of quid pro quo. These were antediluvian doings. But in the last few years Madras had taken herself in hand; there being at the moment—and quite unusually—no current war, she had turned to the arts of peace. She had got herself a hospital and a post office and a circulating library; Dr. Anderson had established his "nopalry" (where he hoped to breed the cochineal insect for the large-scale treatment of scurvy) which was to grow into the Botanical Gardens; the Police Plan of Stephen Popham, Mrs. Fay's "perpetual projector", had set out to clean up the neglected Blacktown and restrain the "votaries of Cloacina" therein—or at least make some attempt to sweep up their prolific offerings. It was possible to attend the philosophical lectures of the good Dr. Bell who so conveniently combined benvolence with a nice judgment in speculative stocks; there was a newspaper, the *Courier*, which was to bcome, under the Byronic C. H. Clay, a very lively sheet indeed; there was the little Theatre on the Choultry Plain. Taverns—many taverns—dangled the lures of "Thrale's best old October in the Cask" and of hams and cheeses rather oddly recommended as "preserved in Tom Lincoln's godown for six years". In polite society one could smoke a hookah (though not yet a cheroot) but the chewing of betel was now frowned upon as *démodé*. One could have one's watch repaired or one's horse broken; one could buy a hat for oneself and a bonnet for one's lady. There were balls and musical evenings, dinner-parties, amateur theatricals and other appurtenances of civilised life in which Thomas Parry could participate. In fact, in many of its aspects, Madras was becoming not unlike his native Welshpool.

All the same, Hyder Ali's cavalry had raided the Madras suburbs as recently as 1782 and though Hyder was dead, Tippu's might do it again any day. And for the "Free Merchants", such as Thomas Parry was to be, there were other serious considerations. A "free merchant" was a merchant permitted by the Honourable East India Company to enter the Presidency—that is to say, Fort St. George—and trade there under licence; for in 1788 the Company were still sitting tight on their monopoly of the trade between England and India. The Company did not like the free merchants, complained bitterly about their competition and annoyed and harassed them in a variety of ways; they continued to license a few of them, however, because there was a considerable volume of trade they themselves could not handle and because there was something to be made out of licening free merchants. Few the free merchants certainly were; in 1710 they had numbered only twenty-nine and even supposing this to havebeen trebled by the time of Parry's arrival, there must still have been in Madras twice as many Civilians and five times as many Army officers; for every free merchant who sailed for India there were, according to the statistical records, 11 writers, 87 cadets, 11 surgeons and

110 “mariners”. It was only by standing together (which they did not always do) that the free merchants could make any show against the overwhelming preponderance of the civil and the military. They were tolerated, however, because they were necessary; while the civil and miltary gentlemen were making their fortunes they required some dependable person—British for choice—with whom to bank their takings; someone also had to undertake the offices of mayor, alderman and other “unofficial” duties. In these roles the free merchants were free indeed, but as vis-à-vis the Government, they had a constant struggle; it could be said that if a free merchant succeeded, it was because of his personal tact, his scruples—or lack of them, and his skill in spotting a stayer in the rapidly changing field of those whose interest was worth cultivating. Between sudden death, sudden disgrace and sudden caprice, it was difficult to depend on anyone.

Thomas Parry and his fellow free merchants had still graver obstacles to surmount. Francis Day had founded the settlement of Madras because it was a suitable place (or a not wholly unsuitable place, or at any rate the only place he could get) for the production and collection of those Indian “piece-goods” cotton stuffs and “paintings” on which in his time and for long afterwards the Company’s trade was principally founded. He did not foresee—what Thomas Parry was shortly to encounter—a rising cotton-cloth industry in Lancashire whose operators could bring pressure to bear in Parliament and squeeze out of it a murderous system of anti-Indian tariffs and duties. Sugar was in much the same plight; the West Indian interests—with, it was said, as many as ninety M.P’s in their pocket—were able to debar, by prohibitive tariffs, the East Indian product. For the rest of the trade, anything out of which money could be made turned out usually to be the Company’s monopoly. Add to all this the facts that seasons in India in 1788 were as malignantly unpredictable as they were in 1888 or will be in 1988; that Madras had no sort of harbour at all—not even a pier or a jetty, so that the losses between ship and shore were reckoned at ninety per cent of the losses of the whole voyage and at twenty per cent of the trade profit; that the anchorage, such as it was, was so exposed that sailings could be contemplated only in certain months and in certain other months could not be contemplated at all; that during the mid-October to mid-November monsoon the flagstaff on which vessels took their bearings was dismantled and while it was down no insurance could be effected on bottom or cargo and all insurances already existing were void. These are topics to which we will return; the immediate purpose is to set forth just what Thomas Parry, stepping ashore on that bright morning of 1788, had before him.

“There is no place in the world where money is so plenty or where traders have better credit”. So Thomas Parry might have read in a back number of the *European Magazine* in a “succinct account”

of Fort St. George. If, even already, he felt a little doubtful of this optimistic estimate, he could console himself with Alexander Hamilton's remark, made sixty years earlier but still eminently applicable, that in Madras "a few pagodas rightly placed" could achieve almost anything.

Parry's choice of a free merchant's career and his selection of Madras were not of course fortuitous. As to the former, his sister Elizabeth, nine years older than himself, had married Gilbert Ross, a member of the firm of Mill Ross and Burgie, East India merchants in London. No doubt when the question of a career for young Thomas became urgent and Thomas himself fancied the overseas adventure, it was thought that brother-in-law might help, and brother-in-law duly did. In the same way more than one of the progeny of another sister, Anne who married Thomas Pugh, were presently to find shelter under the wing of Thomas Parry. As to the selection of Madras, Gilbert Ross had an agent there and could rely on at least one extant relative in the person of Colonel Patrick Ross, Chief Engineer. (There was a George *Parry* in Madras at the time, who surveyed the property which eventually became Parry's Castle, but he was a Herefordshire Parry and there is no evidence that he was in any way related to Thomas.) Apart from these family connections the place had little to recommend it to an ambitious young man: its happy proximity to the diamond mines of Golconda, so warmly stressed by the older writers, had by this time become a little illusory.

For Madras in those days was rather looked down upon—and not without reason. Strategically it was of immense value as an outwork, however distant, of the Company's beloved Fort William and as holding down the French at Pondicherry; commercially its attractions were meagre. Its deficiencies in the way of a harbour impressed all visitors; in the words of Alexander Hamilton, "it fronts the sea which constantly rolls impetuously on the shore more here than at any other place on the Coast of Choromondel". If it persisted as a centre of business, it was only because it was already there and because, for several hundred miles on either side of it, there was nothing much better; indeed, with the Pulicat shoals to the north and those of Tranquebar to the south, there was much that was considerably worse. Again to its disadvantage, Madras was nicely set between the two principal potential marauders—France at Pondicherry, Tippu at Seringapatam; it lay at the mercy of any blockading fleet because so many of its necessities were imported—rice from Ganjam and Orissa, wheat from Surat and Bengal, even firewood from Masulipatam. It produced very little for export, having become, to quote Hamilton again, an "emporium, supplying foreign markets with foreign goods". Good money could be made in Madras and often was; one could point to Darke who had been the Nawab's biggest creditor, to Hope who had started as a private soldier and was now worthy £100,000, to Benfield who was owed

twenty-three lakhs on the Tanjore revenues and had been powerful enough—or so it was hinted—to engineer the arrest and imprisonment of the Governor whose policy had crossed his interests. But the fortunes of these financiers were the exception and were chicken-feed even at that; all the big money was still in Bengal. One must presume therefore that there were special circumstances which drew Parry's attention to the "coast of Choromondel".

This Thomas Parry was no rough adventurer; he was a Welsh gentleman—indeed he was perhaps too much of a gentleman for the Madras of his day. He was the seventh child and second son of Edward Parry of Leighton Hall in the Welshpool area of Montgomeryshire. Leighton Hall in 1788 must have been a dignified and charming house; the curious may see from photographs what Victorian Industrialism, whose beginnings smote Thomas Parry so heavily in Madras, could do to the home of his ancestors. The Welshpool region swarmed with Parrys—a fact which has confused some of Thomas Parry's biographers more than a little; but amongst these—teste Sir Edward Parry in *My Own Way*—the Edward Parrys of Leighton Hall stood high if not highest. Besides being a well-bred family they were also tough; a younger brother of Thomas's lived to be eighty-five, while two of his sisters registered eighty-six and ninety-four, one of them after the production of sixteen children—a record which in the circumstances of the times indicates very remarkable powers of resistance. Parry's own constitution was tolerably strong and might have carried him safely home to a carriage and pair in Welshpool had he not demanded of it, when it began to fail him, just one endurance too many. He had not the opportunity to study that terse epitaph of a later generation—"Simpson Sahib lies buried here; He was going to have retired next year".

Although the early records of the firm have been preserved at Dare House in considerable strength, they remain in the end tantalisingly inadequate. Apart from his ledgers and his one authentic portrait, Thomas Parry is an elusive figure; there is no disinterested contemporary account of him at all; even the miniature bought by Joseph Pugh in 1837 is lost. His letters which might have illumined him to us (those of 1806-1808 survive in some entirety) are disappointing; they are full enough of the charm of what must have been a sweet and loveable nature, but they are short on information. There is very little in them of the contemporary scene because they were written mainly to those familiar with it; one would so gladly exchange for a picture of Parry's daily life in Madras some of what we would now call railway-carriage comment on international affairs—often misinformed and requiring correction in the next letter. But then it was difficult to be knowledgeable in a place where vital news of the war with Napoleon was conveyed (wrongly) by word of mouth of an American ship's-captain who had spoken

(and misunderstood) another American in Lat. 25 South; the said news being, in any case, many months out of date.

What Thomas Parry did with himself during his first months in Madras is not known, though one may well surmise that it took him some little time to settle in and acquire his free merchant's licence. At any rate he joined very soon after his arrival in partnership with Thomas Chase, Gilbert Ross's Madras representative. The earliest surviving ledger in the archives at Dare House is that of 1789-90 which shows items in January of 1789 (John Menzies and Mill Ross and Burgie) "in account current with Chase and Parry". The rapidly-acquired partnership suggests more than strongly that Parry was sent out with this very end in view and that Chase's existence was the factor that decided his advisers on Madras. Chase was a civil servant, but the embargo on private trading by civil servants was not promulgated—or rather, an embargo long promulgated on paper was not enforced—till Clive's reforms in 1800; there is thus no ground for surprise in Chase's being a trader as well as a Civilian. Although Chase had been in the Service since 1782, he was probably not very much older than his new partner; the Company believed in catching them early. His face in John Smart's miniature of 1787 is a young face if a trifle haggard; it is embellished—unusually for those days—with a creditable moustache.

The business of Chase and Parry was nominally that of general traders and agents, but its staple—then as long thereafter—was banking. Deposits were taken in and utilised to finance the firm's transactions; advances were made at interest. "Interest", says Sir Gerald Hodgson in *Thomas Parry*, "was charged on all loans and debit balances at the uniform rate of 12½% . . . . In addition commission was charged at 1% on receipts, and in special cases, on payments—that is to say on payments to Bengal, Bombay and so . . . on Messrs. Chase and Parry also charged 1½% commission on premiums of insurance effected through them, and another source of profit was a charge of 2½% on freight booked . . . . It may be thought that an interest charge of 12½% was usurious, but it must be remembered that the East India Company and the Indian Princes—the latter, of course, in particular—were borrowers at high rates, and the security on the money lent by such as Messrs. Chase and Parry was often no more than the good faith of an individual who might succumb at short notice to the rigours of the Madras climate, or fall in battle". Or might, Sir Gerald could have added, lose overnight the favour on which he depended and collapse rapidly into insolvency, or might for his own reasons slip unobtrusively out of the Presidency, or might—quite simply—bilk.

At 30th April 1790 the partners closed their accounts and split fifty-fifty a profit of well over £4,000—certainly a bright beginning for the junior member of the firm who had little more than attained his majority. On the same date Chase took in as a second partner his brother-in-law Henry Sewell. Chase Parry and Co's first year of working showed a sharply increased profit at £7,500; but whether Parry's mind ran on the lines of the Scottish saying "What's a gill aman' three?" or whether his early success had gone a little to his head, he decided that he had had enough of the "Chase" and the "Co" and that "Thomas Parry" would look better on the billheads by itself. On the 1st of January 1792 he left the firm and set up on his own. The step was no doubt characteristically bold but it was dead against the trend of the times which was all towards associations and mergers; for surely two bank balances were better than one in the face of the unprecedented shortage of cash and the appalling risks that now overhung all business.

Parry, however, had some justification for a rosy outlook. For the background of Chase and Parry and of Chase Parry and Co. was the transition from peace to war. The beneficent and peaceful Governorship of Sir Archibald Campbell, under which Madras was learning to become a decent and self-respecting city, was cut short in 1789 by the failure of his health; it was succeeded by the brief but fateful interlude of the Hollond Brothers together with their *dubash* Avadhanam Paupiah—a name we shall encounter again. Tippu, taking advantage of the general confusion, corruption and incompetence, fell upon Travancore and the Third Mysore War was well and truly begun. The indolence or worse of the Hollonds had given Tippu a flying start, and it was long before he was brought to heel. In 1792, however, the year of Thomas Parry's secession, he *was* brought to heel and was obliged to furnish an indemnity of 330 lakhs—a very timely fillip for Madras business—and to surrender two of his sons as hostages. These last were to make what must have been rather an odd appearance among the audience at a record-breaking amateur musical entertainment given in St. Mary's Church in Madras two years later, over which that short-lived journal the *Hircarrah* waxed wildly enthusiastic; the performance in the *Messiah* of Lady Oakley the Governor's wife (and the mother of eleven children) was said to be outstanding. One wonders what the little Tippus made of it.

But the present point of all this is that the war was good for business. The army which eventually took the field against Tippu was, by the standards of the times, enormous—forty thousand troops and nearly half a million camp followers. There were large-scale pickings in that; if Chase and Parry were wideawake—and there is much evidence that they were—they should have done well out of it. Perhaps Parry, being young, thought that success once begun must last for ever; or perhaps he

supposed that his own genius and not the march of current events was responsible for the handsome profit and decided no longer to share the fruits of his personal abilities with Chase and Sewell; at all events he broke away. He was, as it turned out, well inspired; for the Chase firm was to become an early casualty in the black years 1805-1807. Thomas Parry was to survive them.

For the next three years, until the close of 1795, Parry worked single-handed except perhaps for an unidentified partner in 1795-96 when the firm was styled Thomas Parry and Co.: Mainprice thinks this may have been the Hugh Jones who appears in an old list of partners but is otherwise a shadow; Hodgson suggests George Garrow who did certainly come into the firm in 1797. There is no reliable evidence in support of either. Parry worked vigorously during these years, but the quick and easy profits of the Chase days would not return. On the contrary—as he said himself—he would have done better to retire with the " snug little fortune " he had already amassed. But then few men, in the long history of commerce, have been strong-minded enough to do that.

Difficulties and disappointments began to rear their unpleasant heads almost at once. In 1793, for instance, war broke out between Britain and France—that war which was to last more or less continuously till Waterloo. The island of Mauritius was a nest of French warships and privateers, nicely placed to catch Indiamen coming round the Cape. Parry, who had been embarking on shipping ventures on a considerable scale, lost ship after ship. They were probably not very big ships—the average trading ship of the day ran only to some 300 tons—but, such as they were, he lost them. The war was also a very arduous time for Marine Insurance—a form of business which in many hands (including Parry's) had flourished in Madras since 1688, small ship-owners insuring with large and the large with each other. It was comforting, no doubt, to reflect that one's ships, sunk by the French, were insured; not so comforting when one was oneself, in another guise, the insurer.

And 1793 brought another disappointment. In that year the East India Company's charter fell due for renewal and hopes ran very high that something would at last be done to break the Company's monopoly of the England-India trade. It might have been had not Cornwallis, as Governor-General, beheld the free merchant—as ignorant people at home beheld his successors long after—in the guise of a speculator, an exploiter, a general vampire and parasite. As the result of his mistrust, the free merchants saw themselves fobbed off for the next twenty years to come with nothing better than a concession of 3,000 feet of cargo space in the Company's vessels—*if* they could comply with the innumerable and irksome restrictions imposed.

The fact is, of course, that by this time the entire trade between Britain and India was going to pieces; this did not affect the Company who gaily ran India at a loss which they had every intention one day of transferring to the public debt, but it was not so simple for the free merchants whose losses the public would be disinclined to shoulder. An instance in this deterioration—although it did not reach the critical stage for another twenty years—was afforded by what had been Madras's staple export, namely piece-goods—the punjums, izalies, natchanatches, Rajabahadar cloth and Booramboor chintz of the old ledgers. The almost deliberate slaughtering of this established trade in the interests of the Lancashire and Scottish mills is a far from creditable chapter in British economics. The trade was very considerable, amounting to one-third of the total imports into Britain from India and one quarter of the Company's business; between the years 1793 and 1807 the total import value of Indian piece-goods came to twenty-six million pounds. In law and equity Madras was as British and as well entitled to protection as Manchester. But in hard fact Indian piece-goods could be sold in Britain at a price a clear 50% below that of the home-manufactured article; any squaring duties that were to give the home mills a ghost of a chance must therefore be crushing. This was faced, and crushed the Indian industry was. A duty which in 1783 had been *reduced* to 18% ad valorem began to soar again steadily; by 1814 it had reached, together with "war enhancements" the monstrous figure of 67½%. There was little inducement for Thomas Parry to load his 3,000 feet of homeward cargo space with his blue Nellore purcalahs or white succatoons.

His only consolation would be the reflection that piece-goods or any other form of miscellaneous trading was little more than the butter on the bread. The real bread of business itself still remained banking—accepting deposits and using them, advancing monies on security. Blacktown was full of "bankers" but too many of them could better be described as moneylenders or money-changers; they lived either by advancing to their fellow-Indians loans which *ex hypothesi* could never be repaid but on whose extortionate interest the lender could comfortably subsist, or by converting (at a profit) the miscellanies of curious coinage brought to their balances. (The coinage unification laws of 1835 which terminated this easy-money activity were a sad blow to them.) Neither of these methods quite accorded with British ideas of banking or satisfied the foreigner with money to invest. There was a lot of money going, one way and another, and those Europeans fortunate enough to possess it thought well to place it with persons not only of their own kind but of intelligence sufficient to comprehend the appallingly complicated exchanges and currencies with which the Mysore indemnities were distracting the market—Hydery and Ahumadee gold-mohurs; Shiddahee half-mohurs; Hydery pagodas; Vurayan,

Raja Gopaul, Gotta Gopaul, Tellicherry and Sultan fanams; Shampoor, Surat, Pondicherry, Maratha and Goondoovettoo rupees; Venetians, German crowns and Spanish dollars. As a result of all this, no British house of agency could have felt itself in tune with the times unless it included a Bank; and if the Europeans of Madras at the turn of the eighteenth century did not live by taking in each other's washing, they did very largely live by taking in each other's money. It was not a very exacting occupation and many of them bore it easily, justifying Grandpré's scathing comment that they left everything to their *dubash* (their confidential go-between), lived far from their offices and gave them but "two or three hours attention and that not regularly". Grandpré was writing almost in the year of Thomas Parry's arrival but Parry's methods, even thus early, must surely have been otherwise; if they were not, they certainly became so very soon.

But life was not all banking and business. In 1794, ere his rose glasses had quite lost their colour, Parry launched into matrimony—an expensive undertaking when, as was estimated, a wife cost £600 a year to keep, doubled or trebled household staff and necessitated a carriage. He married a widow, Mrs. Mary Pearce, the daughter of a civil servant James West; through no fault of Parry's, it was not a very fortunate union. As is abundantly clear from his letters, Parry was fond of his wife and of the son and daughter with which she presented him; but the health of the whole family was most unsatisfactory and they were obliged to pass—or at any rate did pass—long periods out of Madras. In 1805 the boy, John, was sent home by the *Sanson* with his now widowed grandmother Mrs. West; either Parry was able to pull some strings as to the passage-money or he did this passage rather iniquitously on the cheap; the cost was a mere hundred pagodas (roughly £35) which was about one-tenth of what a normal passage would have been. The boy took smallpox soon after his arrival in England, recovered from that and apparently succumbed to something else before he was very much older. He is not mentioned in Parry's very comprehensive will and indeed nothing more is heard of him. The fate of the daughter Eliza is still more uncertain—who, for instance, was the "Miss Parry" for whom a lottery ticket was purchased in December of 1813?—but it seems safest to conclude that she did not return to India and, since she too is absent from Parry's will, that she perished before its execution in 1823.

In 1806-07 both Mrs. Parry and the daughter Eliza had protracted illnesses—which do not, however, seem to have entirely annulled their capacity for enjoyment. In July of 1807 Mrs. Parry "came to the determination" (thus Parry himself puts it) "of proceeding to England in October"—and proceed she did, in the roundhouse of the *Dover Castle*, the best possible accommodation, at a cost of

2,000 pagodas for herself and Eliza. As Parry, at the moment, was in quite considerable financial difficulties, one feels that she might have put up with more humble quarters. Parry, writing to Neill, his then partner, on the 22nd of October, closed his letter with a pathetic paragraph: "I shall this evening see them for the last time in India—I hope we shall yet meet elsewhere". They did not. On the contrary, Parry had to endure the news of the deaths of both his children, and to endure that news in solitude, for Mrs. Parry, who was to survive at least till 1837, apparently did not deem her health equal to another visit to India. At any rate she never made one; and, as Parry could never bring himself to go home, the parting in 1807 was final and the "meeting elsewhere" took place, if at all, in another world.

In all these circumstances and in the social climate of the day, Parry could not be blamed for consoling himself—and he did. Madras was a city full of houris, from the mesdames of the Choultry Plain to the dancing-girls whose "eminently beautiful contours" so much delighted Wathen; it was no place for celibates—nor did it contain very many. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find Parry providing in his will (dated 4-3-1823) the sum of seventy rupees a month for a lady called Mary Ann Carr from whom, at the time of writing, he evidently expected offspring. Mary Ann Carr is straightforward; a more perplexing figure is the little ten-year-old boy George Parry Gibson who had been given Parry's name and was evidently very close to Parry's heart. The child was the son of Major George Melsom Gibson whose wife, before her marriage, was Miss Eliza Harriett Wilson. Parry was certainly interested in Miss Wilson for both he and his partner signed the register at her wedding. Hodgson, who has gone into this conundrum very carefully, concludes that George Parry Gibson was Parry's grandson—on the pertinent evidence that he is so described in the ledgers of 1822; in which case Eliza Harriett Wilson can only have been Parry's daughter; in *which* case. . . . . On the other hand, if "god" be read for "grand" in the incriminating ledger—"grand" being the error of an Indian copyist unacquainted with Church of England procedure—most of the facts are covered and some very awkward chronological hurdles are cleared.

It does not greatly matter. Parry certainly did not forget or neglect his lawful spouse; she is the first person for whom, and in detail, his will provides. If, alone in Madras, sick, disappointed, sometimes even on the brink of ruin, he took other comforters into his bosom, which of us will cast a stone?

Perhaps it was his recently assumed domestic responsibilities, perhaps his rather alarming losses at sea, perhaps only the general deterioration in business conditions that drove Parry into the service of the Nawab of the Carnatic; at all events, in November of 1796, he resigned from two

reasonably lucrative posts (Examiner to the Mayor's Court and Secretary to the Carnatic Insurance Co.) and proceeded to become Captain Parry of the Nawab's establishment at a salary of roughly £1,000 a year. This not very exciting stipend was but half Parry's share of the Chase-and-Parry profits of four years earlier and its acceptance may indicate Parry's business expectations at the moment; on the other hand, the Nawab's servants could look confidently to many sources of income other than the figures against their names on the payroll. The £1,000 was presently doubled but then, like most of the Nawab's salaries, it was never, during the Nawab's lifetime, paid and Parry had a long wait and a deal of correspondence before he eventually recovered it. Despite its martial title his new post involved no military engagements, being concerned with His Highness's treasury. It was a step Parry was to have some cause to regret. Meantime, for assistance in his business while he was thus otherwise engaged, he took in as partner George Garrow, a young recently-joined civil servant; thus the firm underwent yet another change in style and became, until 1800, Parry Garrow and Co. The "Co" may have been the unidentified partner of 1795-96 or—as indeed in that case—may have been merely a flourish.

The transfer to the Nawab's service was a move fraught with graver implications than might at first sight appear. The old Nawab Wallajah who had died in 1795 after a reign of forty-six years, had never been a wholly dependable friend to the Company; his son Umdat-ul-Umara who had more cause to feel grateful (since he would never have succeeded at all if the British had left his father to his own devices) was openly inimical. As the first known Indian Freemason one feels he should have made a better showing. He had inherited the old man's tortuous mind and spendthrift profligacy without that *noblesse* which, even in his worst moments, had gained Wallajah a certain amount of respect. His spectacular Ghepauk Palace had been built in 1768; it was originally to have been located in the Fort but the Directors came down against this—to the furious annoyance of Benfield who had the contract; now it stood on the very beach at the eastern margin of its enormous grounds, in which secluded spot it had become the nest and focus of anti-Government intrigue. For this last there was not at the moment, nor had been for generations, any lack of material. Wallajah carried big guns and had been able to play off Fort St. George against Whitehall and Leadenhall Street with some success; his son, deprived of these amusements, brooded and schemed in his Palace and worked himself up into tantrums. The "tumultuous" anti-British hooliganism of Triplicane was probably not unknown to the lord of Chepauk. To enter this potentate's service, as Parry now did and with his eyes open, was not only to enlist oneself with a disreputable regime whose financial position and methods were, to say the very least, questionable; it was in some degree to proclaim oneself a member of the anti-Government party. The

Nawab-Company feud had been running for half a century and was still vigorous; a score of minor feuds tacked themselves on to it. It was impossible not to be of one side or of the other. In no way was Parry openly subversive but he was there, in the Chepauk Palace, and he thus put himself in a position in which all his activities might well be suspect.

For a time all went well. Parry was even given a semi-Government appointment (as a Commissioner of the Court of Requests) which he treated somewhat cavalierly. But then began a most curious series of events.

In February of 1798 a certain Captain Robert Powney (also of the Nawab's service and perhaps a descendant of that "rogue named Powney" who annoyed Alexander Hamilton or of the Mrs. Powney who died in 1780 at the ripe and unusual age of 101) reported to the Governor in Council that Thomas Parry had been advancing large sums to the Nawab and taking as security the revenue from lands in the district of Tinnevelly. This was perfectly true; lending money to the Nawab, regarding it as thrown in the sea and making what one could out of the handsome securities offered was common Madras business at the time; Benfield had made his fortune out of it. Powney, who was departing for England and therefore had no reasons for reticence, said he knew Parry was doing it because he had been doing the same thing himself: indeed he had, for he had been ousted by Parry and his *dubash* Paupiah (of whom we have already heard once and will hear yet again) and to add insult to injury, Parry had been given the entire revenues of Tinnevelly as his security whereas Powney had been fobbed off with a part only. Hence no doubt the Captain's virtuous indignation. The Governor in Council swallowed Powney's allegations without even investigation and when presently the Captain, having been somehow squared in the interval, desired to withdraw his charges, "determined not to comply"; all of which would seem to suggest that Parry had already made himself some enemies in high places.

A chronological summary of the action taken on Captain Powney's report should hang in every Government office as an example of what can be done; it must be very nearly a record. Powney's letter of accusation was written on 13-2-1798; it was laid before the Council on 3-4-98 and a report on it was sent to the Court of Directors in London on 15-10-98. (This was not so bad as it looks; the report could not be sent till the October fleet was ready to sail.) The Directors replied on 31-10-99 ordering that Powney (who had of course gone home long since) and Parry should be "required to repair to Europe". This order was communicated to Parry—pretty promptly—on 20-5-1800 and he replied by return asking for information "why I have been accused, by whom, and to what extent"; papers, please! On 29-5-1800 the Government curtly refused but they did forward his letter to London. The intervals in the

correspondence, by no means brief even to date, now extend; London replied, hedging, on 23-9-1801, Fort St. George reaffirmed in 1802 and London at last closed the file in 1804, indefinitely deferring execution of their previous orders so long as Thomas Parry conducted himself "to your entire satisfaction". The exchange of these half-dozen despatches had occupied no less than six and a half years from the date of Powney's original letter of accusation.

During this long interval (which had allowed of the death of Umdat-ul-Umara, the consequent annexation of the Carnatic, the entire Governorship of Lord Clive and other relevant happenings) Parry had not greatly disturbed himself. The Carnatic with all its nefarious opportunities had ceased to exist and friends had represented that, in Umdat-ul-Umara's service, he had done his best to mitigate that potentate's anti-Company ardours; banking on these facts and on the processes of time, he apparently judged shrewdly and correctly that between London and Madras the affair would fizzle out. So in fact it had; but it left Parry with an uncleared stigma attached to his name, an order of banishment hanging over his head and—no doubt—a very sable mark against him in the books of the Governor in Council of Fort St. George.

Addison & Co. – P. Orr & Sons

Sprawled over 6,000 sq ft, this building on Mount Road has automatic doors and LCD screens. But the winding staircases, old-fashioned ceiling fans and long corridors are reminiscent of its long history that dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century. Two brothers, Peter and Alexander Orr, arrived in Madras in 1843 from Scotland. Alexander was a lawyer, while Peter was a watch and chronometer maker. After selling ice at four annas per pound, they joined the watchmakers, George Gordon & Co. They took over the business after the retirement of Gordon in 1849 and turned around the fortunes of the fledgling company until it became an institution in Madras.

The iconic building housing P. Orr and Sons was commissioned by Peter Orr in 1879. It was built by the then consulting architect to the Government of Madras, Robert Chisholm, in a mix of Indo-Saracenic and the Byzantine styles, characterised by its elegant archways and tall roofs. The three-faced clock tower which used to be connected to the Madras Observatory is still in perfect working condition.

Apart from watches, P. Orr and Sons had a flourishing business in gold, diamonds and silverware, especially known for their 'Swami' jewellery which was popular in the West.

Diamonds had become one of its more lucrative business ventures by the late 1880s with an illustrious list of patrons that included the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Prince of Wales.

Balaji, who has been with the company for 25 years in an administrative capacity, says, "Next to the watches, it was the jewellery that was in demand. Diamonds were particularly popular. We used to import gemstones from our branch in Rangoon. But we had to shut it down during War times."

"We made silverware, trophies, survey equipment, crockery, clothing, arms and at one point, we also assembled and serviced cycles. Peter Orr actually came up with a mechanical process, powered by steam, to fire up the city's 'punkhas'. So it was an assortment."

But sustaining such a diverse business was not easy, especially during the Second World War. Murugesan, 85, who has worked at P. Orr and Sons for 68 years, fondly recalls, "I joined the company in 1944 and at that time we were at the height of the War. We stopped manufacturing and servicing all non-essential commodities like jewellery, survey equipment and silverware. We started building aeroplane metres, arms, ammunitions, etc. I personally supervised the building of the plane metres. We also provided military training for men who were off to war. After the War, things slowed down and I was back to making and servicing watches."

Things took an inevitable turn for the worse after the War and Independence. The company was made into a private limited company and was eventually sold to Karumuthu Thiagarajar Chettiar in 1967. Those were the lean years and the company saw a downturn in profits. It was then that they started to phase out other businesses slowly. All imports were stopped, as was the manufacturing of firearms and survey equipment.

It was time to go back to their roots. "The world changed. The services we provided were no longer considered essential. We had to let go what would hurt the company and fine tune ourselves. The real challenge was identifying what needed to be pruned without hurting the company's identity," says G. Nithyanand, chief executive of P. Orr and Sons.

Murugesan, the oldest serving employee, adds succinctly, "We had to go back to the beginning, back to when we were just a simple watchmaking company. Because that's what we do; we're watchmakers."

Behind four rows of rigidly parked motorbikes is a signboard made of stone that is now turning black at its edges. In 1906, Haji Mirza Abdul Gani Namazi, whose family had come to Madras from Iran, began a small watch shop called the South India Watch Company. When it

didn’t take off the way they had expected, wellwishers suggested changing the name to something more Indian, upon which, in 1909, Gani and Sons began its journey.

“My grandfather was born and brought up here. He finished studying, went abroad to places like Korea, U.S, to work and eventually settled down here when he got married. That’s when he started this watch shop,” says M.M.J. Namazi, who has been in charge since 1974. Gani and Sons specialises in clock towers and grandfather clocks and has made clocks for the Royapettah Clock Tower, Anna University, Sterling Towers and Spencer’s Plaza to name a few. “We did a lot of clocks in the 1950s and 1960s. At that time, my uncle and dad were managing the store together. We sold watches, gift articles, clocks and also had a sales and service section. Now, while we do sell clocks and watches, we’re the service centre for a lot of international brands,” he explains.

The three-storey showroom that they moved into in 1914 is almost defunct, with only the ground floor open to the public as a showroom. “We’ve done clocks almost everywhere in the country and have a list of famous clientele who came to us to service their watches. Among them was MGR, who would come up in a car and put out his wrist. Our staff would then unbuckle his watch, service it and put it back, upon which he would drive away. I remember he had a lovely collection of watches,” says Namazi.

1. The assessee company has been a private limited company from 1915. Even during the period from December, 1936 to June, 1938, when it was in form a public company, no shares were issued to the public. After June, 1938 it reverted to its status as a private company. J.M. Smith was in management all through till March 1930, and it was never in dispute that the present sound position of the company was largely due to his management of its affairs.

2. The assessee company entered into a managing agency agreement, evidenced by Annexure A, with Smith Ltd. Smith Ltd. consisted only of Smith and his wife as share-holders, with a nominal capital of Rs. 300. Under that agreement Smith continued to manage the affairs of the assessee company. Clause (1) of the agreement provided ;

"The said private company, namely Smith Ltd. and its assigns and successors in business notwithstanding any change in the name, style or constitution of the said private company, hereinafter called also be the said managing agents, shall be managing agents of the company for a period of 20 years certain from the date of P. Orr and Sons Ltd., becoming a public limited company, i.e., from the 24th day of "December 1936, until the 23rd day of December 1956, and

thereafter unless and until the said managing agents shall resign of their own accord or be removed from office by a special resolution of the company ..... it being expressly agreed that no question, of removal from office of the said managing agents before the expiry of the period of 20 years aforesaid shall arise under any circumstances whatsoever save and except on the said managing agents being found guilty in a competent court of law of fraud in the management of the business of the company or in the discharge of their duties as the managing agents of the company."

"The said managing agents shall be entitled to delegate or sub-delegate all or any of the powers, authorities and discretions for the time being vested in them in particular from time to time to provide by the appointment of an attorney or attorneys for the management and transaction of the affairs of the company in such manner as they may deem fit."

4. When exactly the Directors of the assessed company, which included Smith, first entertained the idea of converting the company again to a public company is not clear. Nor does the evidence on record indicate whether the Directors contemplated any increase in the issue of the subscribed capital even after converting the company into a public company. The directors obviously came to the conclusion that the termination of the managing agency agreement was desirable before any steps to that end could be taken. There must have been a general measure of agreement between Smith and the other directors before the formal correspondence commenced between them with the letter marked annexure B, dated 16-8-1948.

"The directors of this company have been considering for sometime the advisability of your continuing as managing agents under the agreement entered into with you, dated 15-2-1937 in view of the proposal to make an offer of sale of shares to the public in the near future,"

What was required of Smith was (1) the termination of the managing agency with retrospective effect from 1-4-1948, which necessarily involved the loss of the managing agents' remuneration and commission payable for the year which commenced with 1-4-1948, and (2) waiver of the right to the, 25 per cent, commission earned during the year that ended with 31-3-1948. In return Smith was offered a lump sum of Rs. 1,25,000.

Smith was further offered a life directorship of the company, with charge of the London Office on a remuneration of . 1200 per year. By the time this letter was sent, the commission payable to Smith for 1947-48 bad not been ascertained. It was estimated at Rs. 31,000, but eventually it was found that Rs. 89,214 would have been payable tinder this head. Smith

accepted the terms offered to him (Annexure B. 1). The directors thereupon informed the share-holders of the proposal to terminate the managing agency (Annexure B. 2 dated 26-8-1948). There was no reference in that letter Ex B.2, to any proposal to convert the company into a public company. The relevant portion of that letter ran :

These proposals were accepted by the share-holders of the company at the meeting held on September 30, 1948. The share-holders decided further that after the death of Mr. Smith his wife should get a pension for her life at . 100 per month.

6. Thus the managing agency came to an end with effect from 1-4-1948. Smith Ltd., were credited with the sum of Its. 1,2-5,000 in the assessee's books on 30-10-1948. The assessee maintained its accounts on a mercantile basis. The sum itself was actually paid out later in instalments between 25-1-1949 and 28-9-1950.

7. In the assessment year 1949-50, for the year of account that ended with 31-3-1949, the assessee claimed this payment of Rs. 1,25,000 as an allowable deduction under Section 10 (2) (xv) of the Income-tax Act. That claim was disallowed by the Income-tax Officer. The assessee appealed with success to the Assistant Commissioner. The appeal preferred by the department was allowed by the Tribunal. The Tribunal, however, referred the following question under Section 66 (1) of the Art:

"Whether in the circumstances of the case the payment of Rs. 1,25,000 to the managing agents of the assessee company represented compensation for loss of office and not deductible under the provisions of Section 10 (2) (xv) of the Act"

In the appeal before the Tribunal, it pointed out that two questions arose for consideration (1) whether the payment of Rs. 1,25,000/- constituted an item of capital expenditure, and (2) if it was an item of revenue expenditure, whether it was incurred wholly and exclusively for the purposes, of the assessee's business. The "Tribunal answered the first of these questions against the assessee, and it refrained from considering the second question. When the reference under Section 66 (1) came up first before this Court, it directed by its order dated 17-4-1956, the submission of a further statement of the case with a specific finding on the second of the questions mentioned above. In the further statement of the case, submitted by the Tribunal it recorded:

"In the ultimate analysis we find that the reasons for the payment of the compensation in question are not business reasons motivated by any commercial consideration that was the urge

to the transaction. The amount in question cannot therefore .... be said to have been wholly and exclusively laid out for the purpose of the assessee's business for the year ended 31-3-1949." Apparently the Tribunal was of the view that no portion of this sum of Rs. 1,25,000/- was expended wholly and exclusively for the business of the assessee. Had even a portion of that expenditure been incurred out of business considerations alone, an apportionment would have had to follow, on which the tribunal did not embark.

"The aim and object of the expenditure would determine the character of the expenditure whether it is a capital expenditure or a revenue expenditure. The source or the manner of the payment would then be of no consequence. It is only in those cases where this test is of no avail that one may go to the test of fixed or circulating capital .....It has been rightly observed that in the great diversity of human affairs and the complicated nature of business operations it is difficult to lay down a test which would apply to situations.

10. Mr. Rama Rao Sahib learned Counsel for the department was right when he pointed out I that the object, to achieve which the assessee expended the sum in question (Rs. 1,25,000), should be gathered in this case from the circumstances attendant on the decision to pay. which was in August 1948, and not from the subsequent events. In form and in substance the payment was to secure the termination of the managing agency held under a binding contract by Smith on behalf of Smith Ltd. Annexure B. 2, which placed the proposal before the share-holders, made that quite specific.

Annexure B. 2 pointed out that 8 years were still left of the 20 year period, for which the contract provided, and that the proposed payment represented but three years commission payable to the managing agents. We shall leave out of account the fact, that while the commission payable for the year ending 31-3-1948 was then estimated at about Rs. 31,000 it actually worked out to over Rs. 89,000. The proposal to pay Rs. 1,25,000 was no doubt part of a composite arrangement, but none the less, as wt have stated, that payment in form and in substance was only to secure the termination of a recurring liability, an annual payment of the managing agents' remuneration, plus 25 per cent, of the net profits for 8 years certain and for an indefinite period thereafter.

Another proposal was that Smith should serve as managing director upto the end of March 1949 on a monthly salary of Rs. 3,000. He would have had the same amount as Smith Ltd., if the managing agency were not terminated with retrospective effect from 1-4-1948. No

doubt Smith actually continued as managing director for a year more, upto March 1950, but that was not, and could not have been, contemplated in August 1948.

11. Yet, another item of the arrangement was that when Smith quitted India after ceasing to be the managing director, he should be employed by the assessee company as a director in charge of the London office and its buying organisation on an annual salary of 1200. The Tribunal appears to have misconstrued the scope of the expression "retire." Smith did not intend to retire altogether from the business of the assessee company. He was to continue in the service of the company, but at London and not in India. That this arrangement benefited him did not alter the fact, that from the point of view of the assessee company it was an arrangement to its considerable advantage.

13. Mr. Rama Rao Sahib, submitted that, though Annexure B. 2 the notice to the shareholders, made no reference to that point, Annexure B, which had been addressed to Smith, made it clear that what the Directors had in view was the reconstitution of the company as a public company. We have already pointed out that the material on record did not disclose any intention at that stage of increasing the share capital. Annexure B only referred to the shares being made available for sale to the public in the near future.

We are unable to accept the further contention of the learned Counsel, that the expenditure, was incurred only to facilitate the proposed conversion of the company from a private to a public company. Even if that was one of the objects in view, that did not in any way affect the profit earning structure of the assessee company; nor could a mere conversion itself be viewed in the circumstances of this case as an acquisition of a capital nature. It should be remembered that even before the commencement of the negotiations with Smith for thy termination of the managing agency Cormac and Wood had been appointed as managing directors, obviously to continue the business built up by Smith.

"It is urged however that in so far as the expenditure was directed towards reducing current and future expenses ..... it did not increase assessable income ..... the mere reduction of expenditure though it decreases the expenditure side of a account, does not increase the receipts side of the same account. In my opinion the answer to this contention is to be found in a recognition of the fact that it is necessary, for income-tax purposes, to look at a business as a whole set of operations directed towards producing income.

No expenditure, strictly and narrowly considered, in itself actually gains or produces income. It is an outgoing, not an incoming. Its character can be determined only in relation to the object which the person making the expenditure has in view. If the actual object is the conduct of the business on a profitable basis with that due regard to economy which is essential in any well-conducted business then the expenditure (if not a capital expenditure) is an expenditure incurred in gaining or producing the assessable income. If it is not a capital expenditure, it should be deducted in ascertaining the taxable income of the taxpayer."

"It is a payment made in the course of business, dealing with a particular difficulty which arose in the course of the year, and was made not in order to secure an actual assct to the company but to enable them to continue, as they had in the past, to carry on the same typo and high quality of business unfettered and unimperilled by the presence of one who, if the public had known about it, might have caused difficulty to their business and whom it was necessary to deal with and settle with at once."

"I agree that the sum in question was wholly and exclusively expended by the company for the purpose of its business, in the sense that the sole object with which, the company made the payment was to enable the company to continue to carry on and earn profits in its business."
In that case it was an unwanted director, whose connection with the business had to be terminated in the interests of the business of that company. That in the present case Smith's services, both his past services and his services expected for the future, were valued highly should make no real difference in the principle to apply. To adapt the words of the learned Master of the Rolls it was a payment in the course of business, dealing with a particular situation which arose in the course of the year, and was made not in order to secure a capital asset to the company but to enable them to continue as they had" in the past, carry on the same type and high quality of business, unfettered by the obligation under the managing agency agreement to pay remuneration at a high rate (Rs. 3000 a month plus 25 per cent, of the net profits) to the managing agents.

"By agreements made in 1910 and 1914 the appellant company (the assesses) appointed another limited company as its agents in Persia and the East, for a period of years, upon terms (inter alia) that the agents should be remunerated by commission at specified rates.

With the passage of time the amounts payable to the agents by way of commission increased far beyond the amounts originally contemplated by the company, and, after negotiation

between the parties, the agreements were cancelled in 1922, the agent company agreeing to go into voluntary liquidation and the company agreeing to pay the agents 300000 in cash. This sum was in fact paid and the company .. .. ..'. . that it was an admissible deduction in computing the company's profits.."

"The company had appointed Messrs. Stack, Scott and Co. as their agents. They have now withdrawn that agency and are doing the business themselves. It seems difficult to accept the view that the appointment of an agent, or the withdrawal of an agency, in the very business belonging to the principals, creates or destroys a business of a separate nature or an asset which is to be added to the capital account ... where, as in this case the expenditure is to bring back into the hands of the company a necessary ingredient of their existing business -- important but still ancillary and necessary to the business which they carry on --the expenditure ought to be debited to the circulating capital rather than to the fixed capital, which is employed in and sunk in the permanent -- even if wasting -- assets of the business." in the present case the expenditure brought no .. permanent advantage into existence as the company might, at any lime, revert to its former method of conducting its business, and place the management of its business in Persia again in the hands of an agent. The change in the method of carrying on the company's business in Persia has, in fact, resulted in a more economical and efficient working of the company's trade, and in that sense has proved to be advantageous to the company's business, but it cannot be said that the expenditure in bringing about such a change has created, an advantage for the enduring benefit of the company's trade,"

We find this company finding itself in a situation of trading relationship with another company, which it wishes to get rid of because it is inconvenient to it.....The termination of a trading relationship in order to avoid losses occurring in the future through that relationship, whether pecuniary losses or commercial inconveniences, is just as much for the purposes of the trade as the making or the carrying into effect of a trading agreement."

"In the present case, if the trading relation was one that was disadvantageous to the company and, in order to get rid of it, the company had to enter into an agreement .....and if in order to secure that that agreement should be effective, it was necessary to make a payment .... it seems to me a payment that was made for and was directly connected with the procuring by the company of the advantage of terminating that trading relation and as such was wholly and exclusively laid out for the purpose of the company's trade."

20. Having reached the conclusion, that the payment in question constituted an item of revenue expenditure and not a capital expenditure, the next question is whether the other requirements of Section 10 (2) (xv) have been satisfied, that is, whether the expenditure was incurred wholly and exclusively for the business of the assessee. The view point is that of business expediency, what a normally prudent businessman could be expected to do in good faith. It should be remembered that the good faith of none of the parties to the transaction was ever in doubt. All of them acted in the best interests of the company. The share-holders approved of the proposals made by the Directors. Judged by the test of business expediency, it seems clear to us that the amount was expended wholly and exclusively for the business of the assessee company. What we have stated earlier should suffice to answer this question also in favour o the assessee.

.. it is not unreasonable to infer that the directors in making the proposals for termination were fully conscious of Smith's independent intention to retire from India whether with or without compensation."

What the Tribunal appears to have overlooked is that there was no indication that on quitting India Smith intended to throw away the valuable rights he could claim under the managing agency agreement. He could assign those rights; he could appoint some one to carry on the managing agency on behalf of Smith Ltd. Quitting India did not mean quitting business. We are unable to find on what basis the Tribunal came to the conclusion, that Smith contemplated complete retirement from business and without compensation. That Smith benefited by the transaction is not proof that the sole object of the company as that he should benefit. An employee obviously benefits by the salary that is paid to him for his services. But the expenditure cannot bo disallowed on that grounds. We have found that the arrangement which involved the payment of Rs. 1,25,000 was entered into to enable the assessee company to continue its business freed of the managing agency, freed of the liability to pay the managing agents a monthly remuneration and 25 per cent, of the net profits every year.

Trade Union Movement in Madras

Hence in 1921 N.M. Joshi as a representative of Labour interests unsuccessfully attempted to bring legislation in Central Legislative Assembly providing legal immunity to trade unions. The resolution of N.M. Joshi ran as follows:

This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in-Council that he should take steps to introduce at an early date, in the Indian Legislature, such legislation as may be necessary for the registration of trade unionists and trade union officials from civil and criminal liability for bonafide trade union activities (Legislative Assembly Debates (LAD).

One representative grasped the wider scope of the resolution, which sought to confer immunity on trade union leaders, trade unions and workers from any act of tort. Pickford speaking on behalf of European employers observed "we have no right to lay either the employers or the operative to the possibility of labour disputes being fomented by persons whom under the Act which he contemplates the law could not touch or touch with great difficulty". 94 In line with this criticism the resolution was amended and accepted seeking "such legislation as may be necessary for the registration of trade unions"

But debate in the Select Committee on the draft bill a few years later for registration of trade unions centered on mainly the use of union funds for political purposes and the union proportion in the Executive of officers actually engaged or employed in an industry with which the Trade Union was concerned.

The majority reduced the proportion of trade union officers actually engaged in those disputes from half to one-third in view of the low educational level of the ordinary labourers. B.N. Mitra and three others dissented from the view taken by the majority in regard to the last provision and observed: We see no justification for such a change. We recognize with the majority that in the infancy of the trade union movement in this country it may be essential for a trade union to have the assistance of outsiders and to include them in their Executive. What the original clause was intended to serve was that a number of the actual workers obtained all opportunity of education in the trade union affairs, and we regard with apprehension any change which may have the effect of restricting those opportunities.

But it was only in 1926 that the Government of India decided to pass legislation in the Central Legislative Assembly. As soon as the Act came into effect in June 1927, the Buckingham and Carnatic Mill Employees Union, which was the creation of the management, was registered on 20 June 1927, followed by the Madras Labour Union for textile workers, Madras on 24 June 1927. There were nine Unions by 1930 with a total membership of 13,774 including the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Employees Union. In the depression and

post-depression years the number of trade unions registered under the Act rose to 25 all over the Madras Presidency

In the joint memorandum prepared for the Royal Commission on Labour it was predicted by the Government that the average daily number of operatives employed in the total 1393 registered factories in the year 1928, was roughly 1,37,000 of who about 6,400 were children. All the industrial establishments containing more than 10 persons employed about 2, 00,000. This figure, the government noted, "Gives a rough idea of the industrial population which may be regarded as organisable for trade union purposes" (G.O 3031-32. L. 27/10/030, P.W. & L, TNA). But the number of unions and their membership always remained a small fraction of the number of workers in the various establishments in the Madras Presidency. A figure for 1929 was 45346 members and this high rate of unionization, can be explained in terms of the workers' anxiety to defend their employment by joining trade unions. The year 1935 saw only 24,204 trade union members.

LOW SUBSCRIPTIONS

Causes of lack of trade union membership among the workers in the establishments were impermanency of their employment, low level of wages and other factors. But some unions like the MLU were able to maintain a constant membership over the years. The Commissioner of Labour who was in charge of the registration of the Union complained that the accounts of the Union funds subscribed by the workers were not properly maintained. The Union leaders themselves complained of the workers' indifference to union activities and failure to submit their subscriptions. This problem was endemic also in the strong unions such as the MLA (File No. L. 1524 (2) of 1929, Dept. of I & L, NAI)

The problem of non-subscriptions was linked with the low wages of the workers. The problems of non-subscriptions were to some extent the result of wage cuts that were effected by the employers in the depression years.99 For the Government of Madras, the lack of proper maintenance of the union subscription accounts was a serious lapse and often the Commissioner of Labour complained about the absence of statutory powers directly investing him with powers to exact proper accounts from the unions. (G.O 3031-32. L. 27/10/030, P.W. & L, TNA.).

AUDITING

The Government of Madras made available the free audit of trade unions registered under the Trade Unions Act of 1926. But such a proposal was considered by the trade unions as official

scrutiny and interference in their internal affairs. Response from the unions to the government's offer for free audit was not encouraging (G.O. 2209. L. 21/10/32, P.W. & L, TNA) The Secretary in the Department of Industry and Labour, in the Government of India gave a liberal interpretation of the Act. Trade unions should not be unduly hampered by the imposition of elaborate requirements in respect of procedure, before the Registrar, for furnishing of returns for the audit of their accounts. The work of trade unions in this country is in nearly every case carried on by honorary officers at present and there is a danger that if trade unions are compelled to furnish elaborate returns or accounts their developments may be appreciably checked… The regulations will be so framed as to make the demands on trade unions as light as possible and administration of the Act and regulation in a liberal spirit (G.O 3031-32. L. 27/10/030, P.W. & L, TNA)

EMPLOYER'S RESPONSE TO REGISTERED UNIONS

Registration of trade unions did not automatically lead to their recognition by the employers. The attitude of the management of the Buckingham and Caryatid Mills on the question of according recognition to the MLU smacked of dogmatic opposition. The proceedings of the Royal Commission on Labour on which N.M.Joshi sat as a member prove this. Mr. Joshi: I want your opinion, if it is found by this Royal Commission or by an officer of Government that 2500 of your employees are paying subscriptions regularly to a union should it be refused recognition by the employers. Mr. Hargreaves: "If it is officered by the same officers as they have got now, personally I would not recognize it in view of what has happened in past years". The management's argument was that the MLU was headed by the outsiders who "from the President downwards [all the office bearers] have no connection whatever with the textile trade. The management would allow the outsiders as 'advisors' but not put up with the outsiders being "officers of the unions".

The management of the Madura Mills was determined not to reemploy the strikers unless they agreed to the disbandment of the union headed by S. Varadarajlu Naidu and to create a union headed by themselves with no links whatsoever with "the outsiders". The blatant opposition to the leaders by the colonial bureaucracy further complicated the problem. "Though a decade has elapsed since the introduction of the Act of 1926, genuine trade unionism seems to have gained but little ground in this province. Subscribing members of a Union rarely take a keen interest in its affairs and unions are in many cases managed and led by the honorary

members who form a majority in the executive. Honorary members frequently act on selfish motives and have not the interests of members really at heart. The spread of real trade unionism will take place only when paying members take a keen interest in the working of their Union and call on the service of honorary members only in special circumstances"(G.O.155, 19 January 1937. Development, TNA) A notable feature of this report is the failure to mention the victimization of the workers by the employers which factor more than anything else pushed the workers more closely into the fold of the leaders in the political movement. Illiteracy and poor organization despite the long existence of the unions added to the problems further.

S.N.	Questions (5 Marks)	LOCF Mapping		
1	Describe the early history of Chennai.	CO1	PO1	K1
2	Explain the importance of Fort St. George in British administration.	CO2	PO2	K2
3	Write a short note on the Chennai Corporation.	CO2	PO2	K1
4	Briefly explain the formation of the Madras Presidency.	CO3	PO2	K2
5	Discuss the growth of industries like Parry's and Spencer's.	CO5	PO3	K2
6	Write a short note on the Trade Union Movement in Madras.	CO5	PO4 4	K2
S.N.	**Questions (8 Marks)**	**LOCF Mapping**		
1	Explain the early history and establishment of Madras city.	CO1	PO1	K2
2	Analyse the consolidation of British rule in Madras.	CO2	PO2	K4
3	Describe the formation and development of the Madras Presidency.	CO3	PO2	K3
4	Evaluate the contributions of Thomas Pitt, Elihu Yale and Thomas Munro.	CO4	PO3	K4
5	Examine the administrative system including Chennai Corporation and police in Madras.	CO2	PO2	K3
6	Analyse the development of banking and industries such as Addison & Co. and P. Orr & Sons.	CO5	PO3	K3
7	Discuss the reforms of Lord Ripon and contributions of John Pennycuick.	CO5	PO4	K4
8	Evaluate the growth and impact of the Trade Union Movement in Madras.	CO5	PO5	K4

UNIT - III

Learning Objectives

1. To understand the concept of formal education in Madras Presidency.
2. To examine the development of elementary and higher education.
3. To analyse the growth of technical and engineering education.
4. To study non-technical education and arts and science colleges.
5. To understand the role of University of Madras in higher education.
6. To evaluate the progress of medical and women's education.

Course Outcomes (Students will)

1. Students will describe the structure of formal education in Madras.
2. Students will explain the development of elementary and higher education.
3. Students will analyse the growth of technical and engineering education.
4. Students will examine the role of arts and science colleges in education.
5. Students will assess the contribution of the University of Madras.
6. Students will evaluate the development of medical education.
7. Students will explain the progress of women's education.
8. Students will develop an understanding of the overall educational system in colonial Madras.

British came to India with a commercial purpose. However, in the process of colonising, they adopted an educational policy which aimed at cultural conquest and distributed towards political subjugation of the country. Two types of educational systems existed in India, to put it in simple terms, before the arrival of tht British. One for the Hindus and the other for the Muslims.

The education among the Hindus was restricted and the Brahmins alone had the privilege to study and interpret the religious texts or any other forms of knowledge. They studied in special seminaries established for the purpose, such as Tols, Vidyalayas and Chatuspatis where the medium of instruction was Sanskrit. There were vernacular schools for the common people. Apart from the religious instructions they taught mainly reading, writing and rudiments of arithmetic. These schools generally enrolled the sons of the traders. Women, "lower castes" and agriculturists hardly received any education.

Among the Muslims anyone could study at the Madarasa where education was imparted in Arabic, the language in which the Koran was written. There 'were schools which taught vernaculars, Persian and other subjects in addition to the Koran. At the same time many other subjects were also taught under both the religious ystems of education

Once the East India Company was transformea rrom a traamg company to the Extent of Colonial ruling power in Bengal, it started consolidating its position as a political power in other

parts of India. However, till 1812 it pursued a policy of indifference and non-interference towards education. This was because the Company itself was busy consolidating its power in post 1765 period. When Waren Hastings became Governor of Bengal in 1772 his first concern was to encourage oriental learning and research in order to earn the goodwill of both, the Hindus and the Muslims. In 1781, he founded the Calcutta Madarasa with the object "to qualify the sons of Mohammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the state"(Sharp, H : 1920, p.7). Muslim law and related subjects were taught there. The impact of the Madarasa was such that the court of Directors immediately took it under their control on a permanent basis. Another step in the same direction was the foundation of the Benaras Sanskrit College in 1791 by Jonathan Duncan, British Resident at Benaras. This college was established with the permission of Lord Cornwallis for the study of Hindu Law and Philosophy. Both these institutions were designed to provide qualified Indians to help in the administration of law in the courts of the Company

Hastings encouraged three scholars, Sir Charles Wilkins, Sir William Jones and H.T. Colebrooke to study Sanskrit. In 1784, Jones founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal to study and enquire into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia. In 1794 he translated the Law Book of Manu. In 1797-98 Colebrooke produced A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Succession in four volumes. Wilkins translated Bhagvada Gita into English. In 1800 Lord Wellesley set up the Fort William College at Calcutta to train the British civilians as administrators and included in the curriculum, courses on oriental learning. Pandits were appointed to teach them along with experts in oriental learning. This Unit takes into account the various steps initiated by the British in the fields of education and other social areas.

MISSIONARIES

Prior to 1765, the East India Company had been favourable to missionary activities. But later on it opposed all attempts at proselytisation as it wanted to consolidate its position as a political power. The differences between the East India Company and the missionaries continued to persist till 1813 when the Charter of the Company was renewed.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century numerous missionary groups strongly urged the company to introduce Christianity and English Education in India. In this context the lead was taken by Charles Grant, William Wilberforce, Henry Thornton and Edmond Parry. But their attempts were discouraged by the Company. In 1783 by an Act of Parliament the missionaries

were banned from entering India without license. The resolution was reinforced in 1793. The missionaries' attempts in particular of Wilberforce, a philanthropist, to have a clause inserted in the Company's Charter of 1793 for permission to missionaries to serve as "school-masters, missionaries, or otherwise" met with opposition from the group having a different view in the Court of Directors of the Company. It was argued "that the Hindus had as good a system of faith and morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed." (Sharp, H., 1920 p.17) Consequently, Wilberforce's proposal was not accepted by the British Parliament, specially when Mr. Randle Jackson, a member of parliament remarked, "We have lost our colonies in America by imparting education there; we need not do so in India too."

Charles Grant prepared the firstformal blue-print on language and education for India in 1792. It was a treatise called "Observations on the state of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals and the Means of improving it." In the treatise Grant argued in favour of the English language, education and Christianity. He quoted the example of the Mughals who had earlier imposed their language upon their subjects. He wanted English to be introduced in India as the medium of instruction in a western system of education. Moreover, he suggested English to be adopted as the official language of the Government for easy communication between the rulers and the ruled. Grant's Observations were published in 1797 in the form of a book and provided a basis to the opinion against the Company's policy in favour of Orientalist education. Grant covered all the aspects of imperialist education, religiocultural, commercial and political. No British thinker on Indian education from Macaulay to Curzon and later could improve upon his blue-print

What Grant failed to do through the Government, the Christian missionaries in India especially the Baptist missionaries like Carey, Marshman and Ward, accomplished through private efforts. They, in fact, were mainly responsible for the spread of English education as well as Christianity among the Indian people. They believed that their campaign to convert the Indians to Christianity was a civilising mission. They attacked polytheism and the caste inequalities among the Hindus, for Christianity stood for one God and social equality. In the name of imparting modern education, the educational institutions started by them also gave religious instructions in Christianity.

CHARTER ACT OF 1813

The missionaries achieved success when 850 petitions were laid on the table of the House of Commons at the time of the renewal of the Charter of the Company in 1813. They were now permitted to carry on their proselytising and educational activities in the manner they liked. Thus, 1813 saw a reversal of policy of 1783 and 1793 in this regard. Clause 43 of the East India Company's Act of 1813 provided that "persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for purpose of introducing useful knowledge and religious and moral improvement" (Sharp, H.. 1920. p.18) could seek permission for the same from the Court of Directors who in the event of refusal would refer it to the Board of Control for final disposal.

The Charter Act of 1813 marked a point of departure regarding the educational policy of East India Company towards its Indian subjects. Under it, the Company, for the first time, accepted state responsibility in the sphere of education. The Parliament by this act empowered the Governor General of India ''to direct that out of any surplus (of revenues) ... a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India."

In spite of the parliamentary sanction, there had been a lull in the educational activity and the money remained unspent. Nothing was done up to 1823 when a General Committee of Public Instruction was appointed. The Committee reorganised the Calcutta Madrasa and the Benaras Sanskrit College. In 1823 Lord Amherst founded the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. Two more oriental colleges at Agra and Delhi were also established. The Committee undertook the task of publishing Sanskrit and Arabic texts and translation of English books containing 'useful knowledge' into Oriental classical languages.

The introduction of English education in India was primarily motivated by the political, administrative and economic needs of Britain in India. It was not a mere accident that by the middle of the nineteenth century, especially under Lord Dalhousie, important beginnings of the inauguration of modem education in India were made. It was by that time that Britain brought under its rule a substantial portion of the Indian territory. It was also then that the industrial products of Britain began to flow into India and the trade between Britain and India acquired huge proportions.

The introduction of English education in India was primarily motivated by the political, administrative and economic needs of Britain in India. It was not a mere accident that by the middle of the nineteenth century, especially under Lord Dalhousie, important beginnings of the inauguration of modem education in India were made. It was by that time that Britain brought under its rule a substantial portion of the Indian territory. It was also then that the industrial products of Britain began to flow into India and the trade between Britain and India acquired huge proportions. The British government organised a huge, extensive, state machinery to administer the conquered territory. A large number of educated individuals was required to staff this immense machinery of political control and it was not possible to secure this supply of educated people from Britain. It, therefore, became necessary to establish schools and colleges in India to educate and train people in English education to staff the administrative apparatus. Key posts in this state machinery were entrusted to the British and the subordinate posts went to educated Indians. Further, clerks, managers and agents, who knew English, were also needed.

This political, administrative and economic necessity urged the British to establish schools and colleges in India, for imparting modern education. These educational institutions were to provide clerks for the government offices, lawyers versed in the structure and processes of the new legal system, doctors trained in the modern medical science, technicians and teachers, etc. Some of the British statesmen endorsed the introduction of modern education in India with other motives. They were convinced that the British culture was the best and the most liberal in the world and that iflndia, South Africa and later on the entire world, were anglicised culturally it would pave the way for social and political unification of the world. Macaulay belonged to this group. As early as 1838 Travelyan wrote in his brochure that English would provide a positive bond between rulers and ruled and lead to permanence and stability of the British raj. (Travelyan, C.E., 1838, pp.189- 90). Mountstuart Elphinstone held that English education 'would make the Indian people gladly accept the British rule.' It was hoped that 'the enlightenment due· to education would reconcile the people to British rule and even engender a sense of attachment to it. Education in English according to Elphinstone was a political necessity'.

ANGLO-ORIENTAL CONTROVERSY

The Charter Act of 1813 had defined the educational policy in broad and ambiguous terms without making any reference to the medium of instruction or the type of educational institutions to be established. Hence, for years a controversy raged in the country on the question

of direction that this policy should take. There were two schools of thought among the British in this regard.

The first school of thought known as the Anglicists believed in the wisdom of Grant's advice and advocated the spread of Western knowledge through the medium of English. This school included the missionaries and the younger civilians and became important when Macaulay came to India and assumed its leadership. It was also supported by Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

The second school known as the Orientalists, while agreeing to the programme of the dissemination of western sciences and knowledge among the Indians, staunchly advocated the encouragement of Sanskrit and Arabic literature. The adherents of this school were further split into two groups over the question of the medium of instruction. One group (consisted of the older officials of the Company in Bengal) suggested that western science and knowledge should be spread in India through the medium of classical languages such as Sanskrit and Arabic. This group was especially strong in Bengal and was influenced by the views of Warren Hastings and Minto. The other group (lec,i by Munro and Elplinstone and influential in Bombay) believed that western education could reach the mass of the people only of it was imparted in vernaculars or modern Indian languages.

These various schools of thought led to different educational experiments between 1823-1853 in the Presidencies and Provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, NorthWestern Provinces and Punjab. In Bengal, Oriental learning received encouragement through measures like publication of Sanskrit and Arabic books on a wide scale and translation of English books into classical languages. In Bombay the Government simultaneously encouraged the study of Sanskrit, English and modern Indian languages. Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, vide his Minute dated the 13th December 1823 stated that the objective was "to improve the mode of teaching at the native schools and to increase the number of schools

In Madras, Munro, the Governor vide his Minute dated 25th June, 1822 stated that it was not his intention "to recommend any interference whatever in the native schools" (Basu, A.N., 1952, p.177). But later on in 1826 he proposed for the establishment of two principal schools in each Collectorate, "one for Hindus and the other for Mahomedans." (Sharp, H, 1920; p.74). But these proposals could not be implemented and the idea of English education became more acceptable. In North Western Provinces, a system of mass education by promotion of the

indigenous school was built up. In Punjab, the school at Amritsar had Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Gurumukhee departments.

Though, to begin with, the classical languages or modern Indian languages received encouragement in the provinces of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, later on the demand for introducing western education through the medium of English gained momentum. Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay in his Minute dated August 5, 1832 argued for encouraging the study of English not only as an effective instrument of the progress of Christianity but also as a tool for the incorporation of India within the British Empire. (Basu, A.N., (ed). 1952, pp. 269-90, 297). In this context he stated: "I conceive that the study of English ought to be encouraged by all means, and that few things will be so effectual in enlightening the natives and bring them nearer to us." (Basu, A.N.,1952, p. 299. The demand for western knowledge through the medium of English got supportfrom Indians as well, prominent among whom were persons like Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal. He supported the cause of the Anglicists by declaring that "the Sanskrit system of education would be best calculated to keep this country in darkness." (Sharp. H., 1920, p.101). He submitted a memorial to the Governor General in 1823 wherein he urged the government to "promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy with other useful sciences"

During this time a wind of change was felt in England where the Court of Directors, under the influence of James Mill advocated western education. The Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 18 February 1824 (Sharp, H., 1920, pp.91-93) was in favour of western education and by 1829 it was declared that the policy of the British Government was to make English gradually and eventually the language for conducting public activities all over the country.

MACAULAY MINUTE

William Bentinck came to India, in 1829. He had already been convinced that the British language was the key to empowerment. In England he found support in James Mill and in Calcutta, in Ram Mohan Roy. In 1834 Bentinck's position was strengthened by the arrival of Thomas Babington Macaulay who came the first Law Member of the Governor-General's Council. What the British needed now was a "psychological transformation" of a subject people for effecting the cultural conquest and thereby ensuring political consolidation of the empire. Macaulay believed that the Indians were a race "so accustomed to be trampled on by the strong

that they always consider humanity as a sign of human weakness". Macaulay did not forget the commercial interests of the empire either. "To trade with civilised men", he said, "is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages". For him, if at all there was a choice between a British India but uncivilised, and a free India but anglicised, he would choose the latter.

Around this time, the thinking was that India was·going to remain a permanent servile part of the British Empire. Macaulay himself wrote a memorial that "India cannot have a free government, but she may have the next best thing, a firm and impartial despotism." (Bryant, A., 1932, p.36). The India of Macaulay's dream was to be a dependency of England, to be at war with our enemies, to be at peace with our allies, to be protected by the British navy from maritime aggression, to have· a portion of the English army mixed with the Sepoys.".

Macaulay was very much clear in his mind about the efficacy and power of English education for preserving British rule. As Chairman of the General Committeie of Public Instruction, he advocated the substitution of western culture for the Indian and set the aim of education the creation of a class of Indians who would be "Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" (Sharp, H., 1920. p. 116). He recommended English as a proper medium of higher education; questioned the usefulness of oriental languages and literature and considered expenditure on them as wasteful. He painted Sanskrit in the darkest colour and English in the brightest. He said that no Orientalist "could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia". (Sharp, H., 1920, p. 109). Sanskrit, he said raised "a breed of scholars who found their scholarship an encumbrance and a blemish", because after they had received their education, "they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives." (Quoted in Calcutta Univ. Com. Report VI p.17). His Minute on education sought to withdraw the encouragement that had been provided under Hastings to the Vernaculars and Sanskrit.

Bentinck approved Macaulay's Minute and rejected the proposals of Adam who had been appointed by Bentinck himself to make a survey of indigenous education of some districts of Bengal and Bihar. Adam in his third report had favoured the revival of the indigenous educational system. Though he wanted European knowledge to be the chief subject of instruction, he proposed that the medium of instruction should be the vernaculars and not English.

EDUCATIONAL DESPATCH OF 1854

The Macaulayan course regarding language and education underwent a review in Wood's Education Dispatch of 1854, described by some as 'The Magna Carta of Indian Education'. (Richey, J.A., 1922, p. 364). It reviewed the past educational policies and outlined a policy for the future. The occasion for this was provided by the renewal of the Company's charter in 1853. Educational dispatch of 1854 which was named after Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control resolved all controversies of the period around the subject of education into well defined attitudes.

The objective that the dispatch had in view, was to supply East India Company with reliable and capable public servants. To achieve this end the Despatch decided 'to confer upon the natives of India vast blessings which flow from the spread of Western knowledge, so that their intellectual as well as moral standard be raised.' The Western education was also expected 'to secure for England a large and more certain supply of many articles, necessary for her manufacture and extensively consumed by her population, as well as almost inexhaustible demand for the produce ofBritish labour.'

The Despatch observed, "The system of science·and philosophy which forms the learning of the East abounds with grave errors,·and Eastern literature 'is at least very deficient as regards all modern discovery and improvement," and concluded the discussion with the following declaration : "We must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved art, sciences, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short of European knowledge."

Regarding the controversy about the medium of instruction, the Despatch reached the conclusion that (1) English should be used as the medium of instruction in the higher branches, i.e. at the collegiate stage, (2) secondary education was to be imparted both through English and through modern Indian languages, and (3) modern Indian languages were to be encouraged with a view to making them the medium in course of time for imparting higher education. Aim of the Despatch was not to substitute English for the vernacular languages of the country and it was stipulated that English should be taught wherever there was a demand for it. The Despatch itself had stated: "We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages-of India together as the medium for the diffusion of European knowledge, and it is our desire to see them

cultivated together in all schools in India of a sufficiently high class to maintain a school-master possessing the requisite qualifications.

Thus, the Despatch failed to resolve the basic tension that existed between the supporters of English ·and Indian· languages. Although the traditional role of classical languages was recognised, the choice of English as medium of instruction in the highest branches of learning, and the spread of modern knowledge and education, could hardly give the vernaculars the importance and position which could help them grow and develop. The practical situation whereby English education helped secure a government job also came in the way of the vernaculars being chosen as the medium of instruction for higher learning. The Despatch also rejected the Downward Filtration Theory, as it was considered retrograde policy. It was stated in the Despatch that the government should assume direct responsibilities for the education of the masses and women.

The Despatch laid down the principles of graded educational system at the base of which were indigenous schools and primary schools and at the top were the universities. The system of education was well planned, Indigenous Primary Schools·, Middle Schools, High Schools, Colleges, Universities, all over the country. The Despatch also recommended a system of grants-in-aid to encourage and foster private enterprise in the field of education. It was thought that as government could never have the funds to provide for all the educational needs of the country, the bulk of its educational institutions would have to be organised by private bodies — whether missionary or Indian. However, the grant-in-aid was conditional on the institutions employing qualified teachers and maintaining proper standards of teaching.

For a systematic supervision of education system, it was recommended that the Department of Public Instruction should be created in the provinces. The Director of Public Instruction was held responsible for the working of this department and was to submit to the Government an annual report on the progress of education in his province. The Despatch made valuable suggestions as regards University education. It recommended that universities in the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay should be set up on the model of the London University. The structure of the University system provided for a Senate, a Chancellor, a Vice Chancellor and Fellows — all to be nominated by the Government. The Universities were to hold examinations and confer degrees. A University might set up professorships in various

branches of learning It was during the stormy days of the revolt of 1857-59, that Universities were founded in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

The Despatch emphasised the importance of vocational instruction and the need for establishing technical schools and colleges. It also recommended Teachers' Training Institutions on the model prevalent in England. The ideal and methods advocated in the Despatch dominated the education field for about five decades. The same period also witnessed a rapid Westernisation of educational system in India. The indigenous system gradually gave place to the western system of education. Most of the educational institutions during this period were run by European headmasters and principals under the Education Department. The missionary enterprise played its own part and managed a number of institutions. Gradually private Indian effort appeared in the field of education.

HUNTER COMMISSION (1882)

Education and Society In 1882 the Government appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of W.W. Hunter to review the progress of education in the country since the Despatch of 1854. It was appointed to enquire particularly into the manner in which the principles of the Despatch of 1854 had been implemented and to suggest such methods as it might think desirable, with a view to more completely carrying out the policy therein laid down. Another reason for the appointment of the commission was the propaganda carried on by the missionaries in England that the education system of India was not in accordance with the policy laid down in Wood's Despatch. The resolution appointing the Commission instructed the Chairman that 'the principal object of the enquiry of the commission should be to examine the present state of elementary education through out the Indian Empire and the means by which this can be extended and improved.' There were eight Indian members in the commission. It visited all the provinces and passed no fewer than 200 resolutions. The Commission mostly confined its remarks to secondary and primary education. Its main recommendations were:

The State's special care for the extension and improvement of primary education was emphasised. It was declared that "the primary instruction should be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular, in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life". While private enterprise was to be welcomed at all stages of education, primary education was to be provided without reference to local co-operation. The commission recommended the transfer

of the control of primary education to the newly set up: District and Municipal Boards. The local boards were empowered to levy cess for educational purpose.

Secondary education so far had been purely academic with no provision for vocational education. To remove this defect the commission recommended that in the upper classes of High Schools, there should be two divisions — one, a literary education leading up to the Entrance Examination of the Univetsity, the other of a more practical character intended to fit youths for commercial and non-literary pursuits

It was recommended that the Government should gradually withdraw from the direct management of secondary and collegiate education. "The government may establish secondary schools in exceptional cases, in place where they may be required in the interests of people, and where the people themselves may not be advanced or wealthy enough to establish such schools for themselves even with a grant-in-aid. The duty of the government was to establish one high school in every district and after that the expansion of secondary education in that district should be left to private, enterprise." An all-out effort was to be made to encourage private enterprise in the field of education. To achieve this objective, it recommended the extension and liberalization of the grants-in-aid system, recognition of aided schools as equal to Government institutions in matters of status and privileges etc.

The Hunter Commission drew attention to the inadequate facilities for female education outside the Presidency towns and made recommendations for its spread

The Commission's recommendations regarding the medium of instruction favored English. It did not make any recommendations to promote the study of modern Indian languages or to lessen the dominance of English. The object of the secondary course in 1882 was to spread a 'knowledge of English' and 'not European knowledge of a less high order' through English as well as through the mother tongue as laid down in the Despatch of 1854. The effect of this was that Indian languages crune to be neglected. The dominance of English in the secondary course grew unabated so much so that its study began even before the pupil had obtained a good knowledge of his mother-tongue and often students felt burdened by the difficulties caused by the medium of instruction and exrunination.

INDIAN UNIVERSITY COMMISSION (1902)

Being a die-hard imperialist Lord Curzon wanted to defend the Empire and extend its influence over the world in which, the role of the Indian dominion was crucial. Curzon had faith

in the aristocratic lineage by which men and nations to which they belonged rose in eminence and greatness. The English educated men in India were supposed to be members of the aristocracy shaped by the Universities. The common people were the sinews or a source of strength for the system but they did not try to alter it. They were to be looked after by the elite - buffers, interpreters and communicators. (Gupta & Kapoor, 1991, p. 45). In this political frame of reference Curzon developed his own view regarding the role education cold play in sustaining British Empire. The aim of the education of the Indian People for Curzon was loyalty to the Government and the Empire, whether it was elementary education or University education. Curzon believed as many others did around that time — "The Babus would not represent the people of India; they would only represent themselves." (Quoted in Tara Chand, Freedom Movement, Vol. II, p.511) His eyes rested on the Indian people, the poor peasants, the humble patient silent millions who read no newspapers because they could not read at all, and who had no politics but lived by "sweat of their brow". Hence they had to be looked after so that they could toil on with patience and defend the Empire.

Western education was a political necessity for Curzon, because through the conforming influence of western education on Indian mind, he would create a force to counter (check) the influence of the nationalists. He adopted the three dimensional political formula for governing India: improvement of the universities, education of the masses, and countering the Indian National.

Lord Curzon was not satisfied with the condition of Indian Universities which were set up in accordance with the London model by the Wood's Despatch. Though the London University had been remodelled in 1898, Indian Universities continued to follow the old model. They were all examining bodies. The Universities in India were all affiliating Universities. The expansion in higher education had been so great and so much burden was placed on each University that it was unable to discharge its duties efficiently. In 1901 Lord Curzon summoned the first All India Conference of Directors of Public Instruction and representatives of Universities at Simla. The deliberations of the Conference were a great help to him in planning his educational reforms. Then he appointed a Commission on Education known as the Indian Universities Commission with Sir Thomas Raleigh as its President on 27 January 1902 'to enquire into the condition and prospects of Universities in India and to recommend proposals for improving their constitution and working'. (Report Indian University Commission, 1902, p.1).

The recommendation of the Indian Universities Commission were incorporated in the Government of India Resolution 1904. The publication of the Government of India Resolution was followed by the passing of the Indian Universities Act. 1904..

The important changes brought about by the Act were as follows :

1) The size of the Senate was to be reduced. The number of fellows was to be between 60 to 100 and that they were to hold office for only 5 years.

2) The three older Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were to have 20 members on the Syndicate and the rest 15 only.

3) The importance of Syndicate was enhanced. It was recognised as the executive body of the university. University teachers were granted representation on the Syndicate.

4) The territorial limit of each University were defined by the Govemor- General-in Council.

5) Government was vested with additional powers. It was required to approve the regulations framed by the Senate. If the Senate failed to frame regulations within a specified period the·government was empowered to do so.

6) The functions of Universities were enlarged. They could now appoint their professors and lecturers, undertake research, hold and manage educational endowments, maintain their own libraries, laboratories and museums.

The Nationalist opinion (Basu, A., 1974, pp. 18-22 and Nurullah and Naik, 1962, pp.220-21) both inside and outside the Legislative Council opposed the Indian Universities Act of 1904. The refonns in the higher education were looked upon with suspicion because the Indian opinion was not invited to present it's view on the nature of reforms. What the country needed most was not provided for in these reforms. The strict regulations (Indian University Commission 1902, p.14) regarding affiliation of colleges were considered as a means to torpedo Indian private enterprise in the field of higher education. The Sadler Commission of 1917 commented that the Act of 1904 made the "Indian Universities among the most completely governmental Universities in the world." Curzon's reforming zeal aimed at the reduction of educational facilities in the name of efficiency. Moreover, he wanted to do it as a part of measures to control political unrest which had taken place after the partition of Bengal.

Lord Curzon's ideas (Basu, A., 1974, pp.62-63 and Nurullah and Naik, 1962, pp 228-31) about Primary education were liberal. He wanted expansion of primary education together with

its improvement. Regarding Primary education, particularly education of the children in the vernaculars, he noted among other things, how wrong it was to teach young children a foreign language when they were not given an opportunity to extend and deepen the knowledge of their own mother tongue. The Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1904, emphasised the importance of mastering the vernacular before the study of English was begun. Thus English was not recommended for study at the Primary level. Furthermore, premature introduction of English as the medium of instruction before achieving comprehension ability in it was criticised. Curzon sanctioned large non-recurring grants to primary education resulting in an increase in the numbers of primary schools and pupils.

Regulations for granting recognition to secondary schools were made stricter (Nurullah and Naik, 1962, pp. 224-227) than those that existed before. A further set back from the stand point of the expansion of education was caused by the revised grant-in-aid codes framed between 1904 and 1908. This adversely affected the growth of secondary schools. In 1906 the progressive State of Baroda introduced compulsory primary education throughout its territories. Nationalist opinion could see no reason why the government of India could not introduce compulsory primary education in British India. In 1910 control of education was transferred from the Home Department of the Government of India to the newly created Department of Education. During 1910-13 G.K. Gokhale made heroic efforts in the Legislative Council urging the Government to accept the responsibility for compulsory primary education. (Nurullah and Naik, 1962, pp. 250-52) But the bill for introducing compulsory elementary education was defeated by a large majority. Finally all hope of educating the masses were thwarted. In its resolution of 21 February 1913, the Government of India refused to recognise the principle of compulsory education.

THE SADLER COMMISSION

Mean while, in 1917, the Government of India appointed the Calcutta University Commission for enquiring into the working and needs of that university. Dr. Michael Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds was appointed its Chairman. The Commission included two Indian members, namely Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee and Dr. Zia-ud-din Ahmad. The Commission took into consideration the working of other Universities and submitted a comprehensive report in 1919. The Commission noted with concern the rapid increase in the numbers of University students, the growth of higher education at the cost and neglect of professional and vocational courses and the unsatisfactory condition in Universities and colleges.

Among other things the Sadler Commission recommended minimum government interference in academic affairs; sound principles of appointments to teaching posts in universities through Selection Committees, with external experts; great attention to student welfare; institution of Honours courses at degree level as distinct from pass courses. The Commission also recommended that Secondary and Intermediate education should be controlled by a Board of Secondary Education and not by the university.

The report of the Commission was published in August 1919, and in the following January the Government of India issued a Resolution drawing special attention to the following points — (1) High Schools fail to give that level of training which the development activities of the country and new avenues of employment demand, (2) the Intermediate Section of University education should be recognised as part of School education and should be separated from the University organisation, (3) the defects of the present system of affiliated colleges may be mitigated by the establishment of a strong central teaching system, the modification of the administrative machinery which would give better representation to local interests and supervision of different categories of institutions by several appropriately constituted bodies. From 1920, a number of universities came into being in different parts of India. Universities were established in 1920 at Aligarh, Lucknow, Dacca and Rangoon, in 1922 at Santiniketan and Delhi, in 1923 at Nagpur, in 1926 at Andhra, in 1927 at Agra and Annamalai.

HARTOG COMMISSION

The rate of progress in primary education began to decline after 1927, partly due to lack of funds and partly because of the recommendation of the Hartog Committee. In 1928 the Simon Commission appointed a sub-committee under Sir Philip Hartog to review the state of education in India. While praising the methods of teaching and research, the Hartog Committee complained about the falling standard of some of the Universities. It recommended a three years' Honours Course with emphasis on tutorial system. The Committee opined "so far as mere quantitative increase in the numbers under instruction in concerned, there has been a phenomenal advance since the inception of the Reforms of 1919." In short, education spread but deteriorated, more money was spent on it but less was taught through it, so that while some political advantage was gained, academic advancement and gain to the nation did not come up to the expectations which had built up after the formation of education ministries. The Committee recommended to the Government to concentrate on consolidation rather than diffusion of primary education.

In addition to the Indian control over the Department of Education, there were other factors which explain the expansion of education. The tremendous social and political awakening among the people during this period was one among these factors. The period between 1921 and 1937 witnessed a number of educational experiments by distinguished Indian educationists and outstanding leaders of Indian nationalism. Vishwa-Bharati started by Poet Rabindranth Tagore, the S.N.D.T. Wome 's University established by Karve, the Kashi Vidyapith, the Jamia Millia, the Gujarat Vidyapith and the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, were principal among these.

EDUCATION UNDER PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY (1937-47)

The Government of India Act, 1935, introduced provincial autonomy and popular ministries started functioning from 1937. The Congress assumed office in seven Provinces out of eleven. Larger funds were made available for education. Schemes were evolved for the expansion of primary education as well as making it compulsory. Steps were taken to remove adult illiteracy. A great fillip was given to physical and vocational education.

Basic Education

The Congress Party worked to evolve a national scheme of education for the Education and society country. In 1937 Mahatma Gandhi published a series of articles in his paper, The Harijan and proposed a scheme of education called Basic Education, better known as the Wardha Scheme. The main principle of Basic Education was 'learning through activity'. The Zakir Husain Committee worked out the details of the scheme and prepared a detailed syllabi for a number of crafts to be taught and made suggestions concerning training of teachers, supervision, examination and administration. The scheme centred round 'manual productive work' which was also expected to cover the remuneration to be given to the teachers. It envisaged a seven year course in which the medium of instruction was to be the mother tongue of the students. The scheme provoked a severe criticism from a section of intelligentsia as well as the non-Hindu communities.

But unfortunately this great experiment came to a sudden end when the Second World War broke out in 1939. The Congress ministries resigned in November 1939. Political 478 Colonialism and Empire developments of subsequent years particularly Quit India Movement of 1942 engulfed the country. Hence the caretaker governments which worked during 1940-45 did not introduce any new educational scheme. However, in 1944 the Central Advisory Board of Education drew up a national scheme of education, generally known as the 'Sargeant Plan'. It

prepared a plan of Post War Educational Development in India which was·estimated to cost Rs. 300 crores. The plan intended to take the stage of educational progress in India to the level which had already been attained in countries like England and the U.S.A. in a span of 40 years.

Elementary Education

The Madras Elementary Education Act, passed in 1920, was intended to facilitate the reorganisation of educational provision and encourage the introduction of compulsory education in local authority areas throughout the Madras Presidency. This was innovative on its own terms and stands in stark contrast to the complex and multifaceted opposition to compulsory education at an all-Indian level. Although still an optional, rather than required, function for local councils, it was part of a raft of measures that contributed to a wider re-conceptualisation of both Indian childhood and the relationship between the state, the family and the child in the interwar years. Compulsory education was a significant symbol of the progressive modernity of the Indian legislators and social activists, seen to be an essential component of the modern industrialising state and modern forms of governmentality to which these elites aspired. Underpinning this was a new normative characterisation of the child as a learner and in school, a sharp contrast to the manual and household labour that had previously been the experience of most children. The institutionalisation of children within the spatial, temporal and authoritative boundaries of government-approved learning demonstrated a commitment to a universal idea of children as malleable and vulnerable and as the responsibility of the modern state. Central to this conception of a normative childhood was the increasingly widespread belief that education should be free and accessible to all. The inherent contradiction that this would only be applied in areas with sufficient political will and sufficient funding and infrastructure was largely disregarded.

The first part of this chapter considers the figure of the normative modern child in school and the ways in which Indian politicians and officials increasingly conceived childhood as defined by chronological age boundaries. Yet, in practice, when the Education Act was implemented, children were more often imagined within the identity politics of the presidency, and compulsory education actually strengthened the production of educational communities based on social categories of caste, class, religion or gender. Historians such as Barnita Bagchi, Joseph Bara and Latika Chaudhary have already demonstrated how social hierarchies informed children's access to education and were used to maintain an elite's access to power, revealing how the diversity of communities in south India impeded the expansion of education.

Higher Education

Indian higher education as it developed in the nineteenth century was not surprisingly influenced by British models. Not only was India ruled by Britain, but the latter had emerged by 1815 as the political leader of Europe and the workshop of the world. Anglicist educational policies reflected the power and self confidence of Britain and were designed in Macaulay's words to create "a class who would be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indians in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" who would be consumers of British goods, provide recruits for the subordinate ranks of the East India Company's Civil Service and be loyal to the Raj.

English higher education in India can be said to have begun with the establishment of Hindu College in Calcutta in 1817, the first 'Europeanized' institution of higher learning. Here, as well as in similar colleges which sprang up in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the language of instruction was English and the aim was "the cultivation of European literature and European science.2" The first three universities established in 1857 were modeled on London University. Subsequently, when the government attempted to reform universities, the models sought to be emulated were always British. But what officials in London or Delhi formulated could not always be implemented. The actual relationship between state policies and social reality is dialectical and policies get altered in the very process of concretization. British models could not be replicated in toto because conditions and circumstances in India were different from those in Britain. As a result, Indian higher education developed certain peculiar features of its own. Lord Curzon was astonished to find how little resemblance the copy bore to the original.

English education was not forcibly imposed by the colonial regime. The Indian urban elite wanted it not only because it was the avenue to jobs, it also was felt that Western secular education had a special role to play in the social and political regeneration of India that would create the capacity for self-rule. The elites were the beneficiaries of this system and hence had a vested interest in its continuance

Though India became politically independent in 1947, many features of colonial education still persist. Many of the new scientific and technological institutes that have been established or new research programs that have been undertaken are inspired by Western models. While such dependency is probably inevitable, given the economic and technical superiority

enjoyed by the industrialized nations, it dampens creativity and innovativeness in our higher education system.

Technical

"It is aid that we oueht to secure the cooperation of the native public, and that we can do this only by tea.china Snacrit and Arabic. I can by no means admit, that, when a nation of hiah intellectual attainments und.ertakes to superintend the education of a nation comparatively ianorant, the learners are absolutely to prescribe the course which is to be taken by the teachers."

"The Natives must either b• kept down by a sense of our power, or they must willinaly submit from a conviction that we are more wise, more just, more humane and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could possibly have".

An official documentation of the need to provide technical education to the people of India be traced to the Educational Despatch of 18S4.

The first statement shows how some of the colonized felt about education per se while the second sums up succinctly the colonizers' point of view. Some interesting work has been done on the place and role of technology in the process of colonization' and a lot more on 'colonial education'? Colonization being a complex process, means that it is not only technology as a tool that is important. Technology as a form of knowledge (referred to somewhat loosely as technical education in the colonial records) is much more important. How was this knowledge to be generated, used or transferred, and to whom? Did these interests converge or did they remain largely incongruent? My argument is that though theoretically they seem to converge (with the colonizer using both education and technology to strengthen his position), in practice they appear ad-hoc, half-hearted and incongruent colonial imperatives, distorting and subverting the nature and purpose of scientific and technical education (or education itself) meaning that what a colony received was some sort of a low form of technical education administered under 'controlled' conditions.

Here it is important to note that under the East India Company, perhaps for the first time in Indian history, the state had emerged as the producer of knowledge and the sole arbiter of what was to be delivered and to whom. The recipients had limited options and a limited access. Moreover, they had their own prejudices and requirements which were not always congruent with those of the rulers. Rather they differed greatly. It is in the realm of education that cultural encounters take place and unfold the complications of civilizational interactions. From this point

of view the period 1830 to 1880 is perhaps more significant and eventful than any other period. It begins with the so-called Anglicist-Orientalist controversy3 in which the participants were the British themselves. Behind the facade of divergence there existed a remarkable unity-unity in views about the 'nature of the natives' and the purpose of British rule . An emerging Indian middle class was quick to perceive the benefits of Western knowledge and techniques. Ram Mohun Roy was one of the earliest to realize the importance of Western rationality as handed down by Bacon and Descartes. He did not refer explicitly to technology. His reference to Western science and knowledge perhaps included that. But for the colonial administrators technical assistance (not expertise) from the Indians was more important. Proper science education did not fit into the exigencies of the Company Raj.4 But the Company required a number of subordinates, assistant surgeons, overseers, etc., to help the British army and public works establishments. Importing them from Europe would have been uneconomical. So some sort of technical education for the Indians soon came on the agenda. Local support for the imperial edifice was vital in more than one sense. Medical and engineering education were thus important projects which deserve notice in some detail.

Engineering Education

The 1830's were important not only for medical and general education purposes. Talks about steamers, the telegraph, drains and railways and the expansion of survey and revenue operations had brought to the fore the necessity of raising a subordinate class of surveyors, mechanics, and overseers. During the last AngloMaratha war, Maitland had noticed how difficult it was to secure the services of local artificers, and later recalled "there was a terrible dearth of practical men for the public service, and [that] may account for the very great expenditure of artillery carriages, carts and machines in the ordinance departments".21 So in 1840, he on his own, without government assistance, set up in Madras a school for ordinance artificers. But in Bengal, the government took the initiative and an engineering class was instituted at the Hindu College in 1843. Two years later, Baird Smith started private engineering classes at Saharanpur.

The stage was thus set for a bigger experiment. The need for a vigorous prosecution of the building of the Ganges canal provided the pretext and in October 1847 a full-fledged engineering college at Roorkee was started. Three courses were offered. The first was an advanced one, the second was exclusively for European soldiers, while the third course was in Urdu for local youths. Unlike the medical ones, these classes were an instant success, and within

five years the college got a workshop for scientific instruments, an observatory and a geological museum.

The success at Roorkee inspired the Court to initiate a degree course in civil engineering in the proposed university curricula. It had been found that the Roorkee teaching was 'far more useful than other lectures' 23 In 1855 a separate engineering college at Calcutta was enthusiastically sanctioned 24 Bombay and Madras did not lag behind and here also the Roorkee model was followed. Maitland's Artificers' school was left untouched and a separate engineering college was established.25 Preparations were thus in full swing for the expansion of what was then termed 'public works'.

The college at Roorkee was an instant success. However, the official view concerning Calcutta was that it could not stabilize. It had a staff of only three persons, and its students were found good only in the book work of Euclid and not in geometry, etc. Thus, Roorkee was favoured and considered superior. Calcutta University had set a very high standard in examinations, in its Master of Civil Engineering (MCE), and its Licentiate in Civil Engineering (LCE). In 1862 it made FA the minimum qualification for appearing at an LCE examination. The result was that no candidate could be found eligible for the LCE 26 So in November 1864, this college was abolished and its classes were transferred to the Presidency College. This was a mistake. In a petition to the government, one of its ex-students B. N. Das refuted the official charge of local apathy. He rather argued that the system of guaranteed appointments had such a salutary effect that 'many students had their scholarships transferred from the colleges of general education, and the very best students of the Presidency College did not hesitate to throw away his metaphysics and law for the exact sciences'. This was not liked by the heads of the general colleges, hence the amalgamation of the Engineering College with the Presidency College, or rather its reduction from a position of rivalry to one of subordination.27 The guaranteed employments were subsequently withdrawn and engineering education in Bengal began to show signs of decline.

In England, three years were found sufficient to train an engineer, at Roorkee even two years sufficed whereas in Calcutta the students were asked to undergo two years practical training after completing the three years' theoretical course. This had a detrimental effect. As Das wondered, "it can not be that the Bengalis are so slow in acquiring a scientific education that they would take five years while the alumni of the sister college in NWP would take only two"

28 In early 1878 a committee was appointed by the Government of Bengal to look into the shortcomings in engineering education. This committee recommended the removal of engineering classes from the Presidency College and a separate engineering college was revived again, this time with a workshop and more facilities. Its educational aspects were to be looked after by the Educational Department while practical training was placed under the PWD. Four classes were opened, for civil engineers, mechanical engineers, civil overseers and mechanical overseers. The courses were revamped in 1882. Entrance was made the minimum qualification for entry. After a two and a half year course the students appeared at what was called the first Examination in Engineering. The papers were on mathematics, natural science, engineering construction, geodesy and drawing. One more academic year after this examination made them eligible for the LCE examination. An FA after passing the first engineering examination could sit for BCE. The syllabus for both LCE and BCE examinations were the same and an LCE, once he passed the FA examination also, could be admitted to the degree of BCE without further examination. The civil engineering branch had papers on mathematics, natural science, engineering construction and drawing. Mathematics had differential calculus, integral calculus and hydrostatics, while the paper on natural science concentrated only upon geology, mineralogy and metallurgy. Engineering construction called for a knowledge of the construction of buildings, bridges, roads, canals, and machines like turbines, steam engines, etc. The mechanical branch had a paper on machinery in place of the natural sciences and it dealt with different types of machines and workshop appliances 29 The whole course consumed four years and this was followed by one year of practical training. An apprentice department was also opened to train the foremen and overseers, etc.

In its enthusiasm for the revenue and cadastral operations, the Bengal Government wanted its executive wing to learn at least the rudiments of surveying and engineering. The mofussil colleges at Hughli, Berhampur, Patna and Dacca were asked to arrange for such a course. The principals of these colleges expressed their inability and the DPI himself pointed out that their object was to provide for a liberal general education, and not for the requirements of any special occupation or profession 30 So three survey schools were opened at Dacca, Patna and Cuttack. Simultaneously several industrial schools had also sprung up all over the province. The Principal of Shibpur College was authorized to visit and supervise these schools. His college

now functioned as a central technical institution to which these moffusil schools sent their best boys for final training and from which they received their supply of teachers.

In Bombay, the most important school was the Poona College of Science which had arisen out of a school established in 1854 for the purpose of educating subordinates for the PWD. This college was not an exclusive engineering institution, it held classes on agriculture and forestry also. The result was a hotchpotch of various types of instruction, and that too, without adequate staff. In a memorandum to the Governor of Bombay, a teacher of the college complained that:

most of the professors sent out from England when here have no other object in view than of teaching what they have learnt in their days but never or rarely of indulging in the luxury of keeping pace with the advancing science or engaging themselves in scientific research, with the result that their teaching becomes deplorably old

Only the inferior class of matriculates joined the engineering or agricultural classes, looking for guaranteed appointment in the government departments, while the arts colleges attracted more and better students. The workshop of the college did not get any financial aid; rather, it earned money for the government by executing different types of works assigned by the PWD and private firms. So its original function of instructing the students was lost.

The curriculum, the instruments, and the very organization of these colleges were geared to meet the requirements of only subordinate grades. Seldom did private firms of repute touch them. And for the supply of superior grades in government departments, there was an apex college at Cooper's Hill in England. This college was established by the secretary of State without consulting the Government of India, rather contrary to its wishes, in 1869-70. But the whole expense had to be borne by India without any Indian taking advantage of this education. Many officials did not like this superimposition of a 'super' class of engineers. The Lt. Governor of NWP viewed Cooper's Hill as detrimental to the healthy growth of the Roorkee college. He wanted its abolition and in its place he preferred only a limited import of European engineers, as and when the situation demanded. The practical portion of training at Cooper's Hill was found ineffectual in Indian conditions and its syllabi too non-professional and too academic. This college turned out foresters also and the IG of Forests, who absorbed them, held the training there 'inferior to the best continental education' 33 But the Home Government would not budge and the Government of India had merely to acquiesce. This college was finally abolished in 1903

only after much hue and cryIts more than 30 years of existence nevertheless symbolized the supremacy of metropolitan institutions over the colonial ones like those at Roorkee and Dehra.

The logic of the metropolis-colony relationship was not in favour of the latter getting anything like a higher form of scientific or technical education. What it got was some sort of a hybrid emerging out of a careless fusion between industrial and technical education. It meant different things to different people. Even in official hierarchy its connotations differed. E. Buck (Secretary, Revenue and Agriculture), for example, treated it as the equivalent of practical training. G. Watt (Reporter on Economic Products) discussed it as if it meant the general development of economic products, combined with research and practical training in particular industries. While Chatterton (Principal, Madras Art College) regarded it as a machinery consisting chiefly of workshops and a system of sales for developing manual industries The term generated lots of confusion. To Cambell, for example, the teaching of drawing and surveying appeared most important. The first of the technical sciences to be taught in schools, he urged, "should be a good handwriting . In former days Bengalis were celebrated for their English handwriting."

Non-Technical

The development of non-technical education in the Madras Presidency during the colonial period represents a crucial phase in the intellectual and social transformation of South India. Non-technical education broadly refers to disciplines outside engineering and applied sciences, including arts, humanities, social sciences, commerce, teacher education, and general literary studies. This form of education became the backbone of the colonial educational system, as it was closely aligned with the administrative and ideological needs of the British East India Company and later the British Crown. Though its spread was uneven and often limited in accessibility, non-technical education played a vital role in shaping modern society, fostering social reform, and contributing to the rise of nationalism.

Nature and Meaning of Non-Technical Education

Non-technical education in the colonial Madras region primarily included subjects such as literature, history, philosophy, economics, political science, and languages. It also encompassed teacher training, legal education, and clerical training. Unlike technical education, which focused on practical and industrial skills, non-technical education emphasized intellectual development, moral instruction, and administrative efficiency. The British promoted this type of

education to create a class of educated Indians who could assist in governance, maintain records, and serve as intermediaries between the rulers and the local population.

Indigenous Background of Non-Technical Education

Before the advent of British rule, the Madras region had a well-established system of indigenous education. Institutions such as gurukulas and pathshalas imparted knowledge in Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, and Persian. Subjects included grammar, logic, philosophy, literature, and religious texts. These institutions were supported by local communities, temples, and patrons. However, access to education was largely restricted by caste and gender, and the curriculum was predominantly traditional. With the arrival of the British, this system gradually declined, giving way to Western-style education.

Early Colonial Policy and Development

In the early phase of colonial rule, the British showed limited interest in promoting widespread education. Their primary objective was commercial expansion rather than social development. However, by the early 19th century, the need for educated personnel led to the introduction of formal education policies. The famous Minute on Education by Thomas Babington Macaulay in 1835 advocated the promotion of English education and Western knowledge. This policy had a profound impact on non-technical education in the Madras Presidency.

The introduction of English as the medium of instruction marked a significant shift in the educational landscape. It opened access to Western literature, science, and philosophy, but also created a divide between the educated elite and the masses. Non-technical education became increasingly oriented towards producing clerks, administrators, and professionals required for colonial governance.

Role of Missionaries in Non-Technical Education

Christian missionaries played a pivotal role in the spread of non-technical education in the Madras region. They established numerous schools and colleges, particularly in rural and underprivileged areas. Missionary institutions emphasized literacy, moral education, and religious instruction, often combining Western curricula with local languages.

Missionaries also contributed to the development of printing, publishing, and translation of texts. They prepared textbooks in vernacular languages and promoted female education, which

had been largely neglected. Their efforts helped in expanding the reach of non-technical education beyond urban centres, although their primary aim was often religious conversion.

Growth of Higher Non-Technical Education

The establishment of the University of Madras in 1857 marked a major milestone in the development of non-technical education. The university functioned as an affiliating and examining body, overseeing numerous colleges across the Presidency. It standardized curricula, conducted examinations, and awarded degrees in arts and sciences.

Non-technical education at the university level included subjects such as English literature, history, philosophy, mathematics, and political economy. The emphasis on liberal education contributed to the intellectual growth of students and exposed them to modern ideas such as democracy, liberty, and equality. Graduates of the University of Madras played important roles in administration, law, journalism, and public life.

Arts and Science Colleges

The expansion of arts and science colleges was a key feature of non-technical education in the Madras Presidency. Institutions such as Presidency College Chennai became centres of academic excellence. These colleges offered undergraduate and postgraduate courses in a wide range of disciplines. The curriculum followed Western models and emphasized theoretical knowledge. While this contributed to intellectual development, it often neglected practical skills and indigenous knowledge systems. Nevertheless, arts and science colleges produced a large number of educated individuals who formed the backbone of the emerging middle class.

Teacher Education and Training

Teacher education was an important component of non-technical education during the colonial period. The expansion of schools created a demand for trained teachers, leading to the establishment of teacher training institutions. These institutions provided instruction in pedagogy, classroom management, and subject knowledge. The training of teachers helped in improving the quality of education and standardizing teaching methods. However, the number of trained teachers remained insufficient to meet the growing demand, particularly in rural areas. Teacher education also reflected colonial priorities, focusing more on discipline and rote learning than on creativity and critical thinking.

Legal and Administrative Education

Non-technical education also included legal and administrative training, which was essential for the functioning of the colonial state. Law colleges were established to train lawyers, judges, and legal clerks. The study of British law and legal procedures became an important aspect of higher education. Administrative education prepared individuals for clerical and bureaucratic roles in government offices. Knowledge of English, accounting, and record-keeping was emphasized. This form of education created a class of government employees who played a crucial role in maintaining colonial administration.

Role of Language and Literature

Language and literature formed a central part of non-technical education in the Madras Presidency. English became the dominant medium of higher education, while vernacular languages were used at the primary level. The study of English literature introduced students to Western thought and culture. At the same time, there was a revival of interest in Indian languages and literature. Scholars and reformers promoted the study of Tamil, Telugu, and other regional languages. Printing presses and publishing houses facilitated the dissemination of literary works, contributing to cultural and intellectual development.

Women's Participation in Non-Technical Education

Women's education in the non-technical field saw gradual progress during the colonial period. Missionaries and social reformers played a key role in promoting female education. Leaders such as Periyar E. V. Ramasamy advocated gender equality and emphasized the importance of educating women. Girls' schools and women's colleges were established, offering courses in arts and humanities. Despite these efforts, female participation remained limited due to social constraints and economic factors. However, the progress made during this period laid the foundation for the expansion of women's education in the future.

Impact on Society

Non-technical education had a profound impact on society in the Madras Presidency. It led to the emergence of an educated middle class that played a significant role in social reform and political movements. Educated individuals challenged traditional practices such as caste discrimination and gender inequality. The spread of education also contributed to the growth of journalism, literature, and public discourse. Newspapers and journals became platforms for

expressing ideas and opinions. Non-technical education thus played a key role in the development of modern civil society.

Limitations of Non-Technical Education

Despite its achievements, non-technical education in the colonial period had several limitations. It was largely urban-centered and did not reach the majority of the population. The focus on English education created a divide between the educated elite and the masses. The curriculum was often theoretical and lacked practical relevance. Indigenous knowledge systems were neglected, and education was primarily designed to serve colonial administrative needs. As a result, it did not contribute significantly to economic development or employment generation.

University of Madras

The history of the University of Madras is an important chapter in the development of modern education in South India. Established during the colonial period, the university played a significant role in shaping higher education, intellectual life, and social transformation in the Madras Presidency. Though originally founded to serve colonial administrative needs, it gradually became a centre of learning that contributed to the growth of nationalism, social reform, and academic excellence.

Origin and Establishment

The origin of the University of Madras can be traced to the educational policies of the British in the 19th century. The famous dispatch of 1854, often called Wood's Despatch, laid the foundation for the development of modern education in India. It recommended the establishment of universities in major cities to promote higher education. As a result, the University of Madras was established in 1857, along with the universities of Calcutta and Bombay. The university was modeled on the University of London and functioned initially as an affiliating and examining body. It did not provide direct teaching in the beginning but supervised colleges, conducted examinations, and awarded degrees. Its jurisdiction extended over a vast area covering the entire Madras Presidency, making it one of the largest universities in India at that time.

Early Development

In its early years, the University of Madras focused mainly on arts and humanities education. Subjects such as English literature, philosophy, history, and mathematics formed the core of its curriculum. The medium of instruction was English, reflecting the colonial emphasis on Western knowledge. The university introduced a standardized system of examinations, which

became a model for other institutions in India. The affiliated colleges played a key role in imparting education. Institutions like Presidency College Chennai were among the earliest to be associated with the university. These colleges became centres of academic excellence and produced many distinguished graduates.

Expansion of Academic Disciplines

Over time, the University of Madras expanded its academic scope to include sciences, commerce, and professional courses. Departments in physics, chemistry, zoology, and botany were established, reflecting the growing importance of scientific education. The university also introduced courses in economics, political science, and sociology, contributing to the development of social sciences. The expansion of disciplines was accompanied by improvements in infrastructure and facilities. Libraries, laboratories, and research centres were developed to support teaching and research activities. The university gradually evolved from a purely examining body into a teaching and research institution.

Role in Social and Intellectual Development

The University of Madras played a crucial role in the intellectual awakening of South India. It provided access to modern education and exposed students to new ideas such as democracy, liberty, and equality. Many graduates of the university became leaders in various fields, including politics, law, education, and literature. The university also contributed to social reform movements. Educated individuals challenged traditional practices such as caste discrimination, child marriage, and gender inequality. The spread of education helped in creating awareness and promoting progressive ideas in society.

Contribution to National Movement

The University of Madras was an important centre for the growth of nationalism in South India. Many of its students and alumni participated in the Indian freedom struggle. The university provided a platform for the exchange of ideas and the development of political consciousness. Prominent leaders associated with the university played key roles in the nationalist movement. The education they received helped them articulate demands for self-government and social justice. The university thus became a breeding ground for political awareness and activism.

Development of Research and Higher Studies

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the University of Madras began to emphasize research and advanced studies. Postgraduate courses were introduced, and research degrees were awarded. The establishment of specialized departments and research institutions enhanced the academic reputation of the university. The university encouraged original research in various fields, including science, literature, and social sciences. Scholars contributed to the advancement of knowledge and the preservation of cultural heritage. The university also supported publications and academic journals, promoting intellectual exchange.

Women's Education and Inclusion

The University of Madras played a pioneering role in promoting women's education in South India. Initially, higher education was limited to men, but gradually women were admitted to the university and its affiliated colleges. This marked a significant step towards gender equality in education. Women's colleges were established, and female students began to pursue higher education in arts, science, and professional fields. The university contributed to the empowerment of women by providing them with opportunities for education and employment. Although progress was slow, it laid the foundation for greater participation of women in education.

Administrative Structure

The administrative structure of the University of Madras was based on British models. It was governed by a Senate, Syndicate, and Academic Council. The Governor of the Madras Presidency served as the Chancellor, while the Vice-Chancellor was responsible for the day-to-day administration. The university maintained a centralized system of control over affiliated colleges. It prescribed curricula, conducted examinations, and ensured academic standards. This system helped in maintaining uniformity and quality in education across the Presidency.

Challenges and Criticism

Despite its achievements, the University of Madras faced several challenges and criticisms. The emphasis on English education created a divide between the educated elite and the masses. The curriculum was often criticized for being too theoretical and not relevant to local needs. The university system also encouraged rote learning and examination-oriented education. There was limited focus on practical skills and vocational training. Moreover, access to higher

education remained restricted to a small section of society, particularly the urban and upper-caste population.

Transition in the Late Colonial Period

In the early 20th century, the University of Madras underwent significant changes. Reforms were introduced to improve the quality of education and promote research. The university expanded its activities and established new departments and institutions. There was also a growing demand for Indianization of education. Efforts were made to include Indian languages, culture, and history in the curriculum. The university began to reflect the aspirations of Indian society rather than purely colonial interests.

Art and Science Colleges

The British needed educated and qualified people to serve them in administration. The growth of higher education institutions in Tamil Nadu began from the middle of Nineteenth Century. The earliest British administrator who felt the need of the higher education institutions in the country was Sir Thomas Munro. He had an intimate knowledge of the people of South India and their intellectual equipment. This farsighted and liberal minded Sir Thomas Munro had insisted the necessity of higher education and also portrayed the subsequent benefits. He emphasized that by all means higher education was to be made available at least to the more affluent sections of the Indians. The Court of Directors appreciated his stand and warmly endorsed his suggestions.

HigherEducation in the Beginning The public of Madras made a petition with more than 70,000 signatures under the leadership of George Norton to the then Governor Elphinstone in November 1839 with an appeal to open a College at Madras. In response, a Central Collegiate Institution was established in 1840, which later developed into the Presidency College. It was the first higher educational institution in South India. In the passage of time, colleges maintained by the Government in different parts of the Presidency as well as those owned and managed by private bodies also came in to existence. By 1871, there were four Government colleges besides the Presidency College, and the number of non-government colleges was seven in Madras Presidency. Among the NonGovernment Colleges, the Free Church Mission Central Institution developed into a first grade college. It became the Madras Christian College. Two more colleges, one each at Madras and Masulipatnam were run by Church Missionary Society. The Gospel

Society established colleges at Thanjavur, the St. Joseph College at Nagapatnam and another college at Coimbatore.

The number of colleges in the Madras Presidency increased to 24 by 1881. By 1904 the number of higher education institutions increased to 62 due to the increasing demand for higher education. The growing enthusiasm among the students also led to the opening of new colleges by the British administration. The total number of colleges in the Madras Presidency rose to 100 by 1927. It included the Professional and Oriental colleges also.6 After independence, there was enormous demand for higher education. Therefore the Congress Government in the state adopted a policy of establishing one college in each district. The new policy also aimed at producing more number of graduates with the opening new colleges. These new graduates were to take up many administrative posts in the post-independence period. The Madras Presidency was reorganized in 1953. On the eve of reorganization of the state, the number of colleges both government and aided were 82 excluding Professional and Oriental colleges. In 1954 the number of colleges in the Madras State reduced to 53 due to reorganization. The number of colleges in the Madras State increased to 105 by 1967 with the opening of more Arts and Science Colleges.7 Though the Madras State's education policy emphasized on primary education, due importance was also given for the promotion of higher education by establishing new institutions and developing the existing ones.

During the Dravidian Rule

DMK came to power in 1967. To accommodate enthusiastic learners in the college, the Government had opened seven Government colleges in 1967, and to meet further rush for collegiate education, Government started four new colleges in 1968. Six private aided colleges were also started. With this the number of colleges in Tamil Nadu increased to 126 (Government 33 and Aided 93 colleges) by 1968. The evening courses were first started in colleges in Tamil Nadu in 1965-1966. There were eleven colleges offering evening courses in Tamil Nadu, out of which eight colleges were conducting PUC and degree classes and the remaining three colleges offered PUC alone. During 1968-1969 B.A. Economics course in the Evening College was started at Raja Serofoji Government College, Thanjavur. Three Teacher Training colleges were opened in 1968-1969, under the private management and thus the total number of training colleges had increased to 23 (Government, 7 and Private, 16).8 Further, to meet the growing demand, the government started six new colleges in 1969-1970, of which four were for men and

two for women. The government granted aid to seven colleges started by private management in 1969-1970. With this, total number of colleges in the state has increased to 141 (Government ,39 and aided ,102) 1n 1969-1970. The total number of colleges offering evening classes were increased to 12 (6 government colleges and 6 aided colleges) in 1969-1970.

1970.9 To meet the mounting demand, the Government of Tamil Nadu had decided to start few more new Government colleges and also encourage the private agencies to start colleges on aided basis. Accordingly the Government had started three more colleges for men and four for women and granted aid to sixteen private colleges started in 1970- 1971.10 Thus the total number of Arts Colleges increased to 161 in 1970-1971. Degree courses were opened in three government colleges which were so far functioned as PUC colleges. Additional Degree courses were started in five Government colleges. PUC and Degree courses were started in a few evening colleges. Thus the total number of evening colleges rose to 22 in March 1971, out of which nine colleges offered PUC and thirteen colleges, Degree courses. The total number of Teacher Training Colleges in the state continued to be 23 (Government 7 and aided 16).11 These regular and evening colleges helped to meet the growing demand for higher education, and enabled many middle class and lower middle class students to acquire graduation. Many employed persons enriched themselves as graduates and later as postgraduates because of these evening colleges.

Further, there was fascination for college's education among the students and employed people. So the government opened the avenue to higher education by starting new Arts colleges every year on the basis of the demand from 1971-1972 onwards. This led to an increase in the Government and Aided colleges, numbering 51 and 138 respectively and thus tallied to 189 Arts Colleges by 1974- 1975. Considering the local needs of the pupils of the area, evening colleges were started. During 1972- 1973 nine Government and Aided Colleges started evening degree courses. Master of Education, a part-time evening course, was started at the Teachers College, Saidapet, Madras and Government Training College, Komarapalayam in 1974- 1975. Thus the total number of colleges offering evening courses increased to thirty-one by 1974-75 including Teacher Training Colleges.12 Four private aided colleges were opened in 1975-1976 to meet the enormous demand for collegiate education. Government converted the oriental college at Rameswaram as Rameswaram Devasthanam Arts and Science College in 1975-76 on the request of Devasthanam. Thus the total number of private aided colleges rose to 143 by 1977-1978 and

the number of Government Arts Colleges continued to be the same. The number of Government and Private aided colleges and Teacher Training Colleges totaled 7 (men-5, women-2) and 16 (men-8, women-8) respectively in 1977-1978. The number of oriental colleges and physical education colleges were 16 and 2 respectively in 1977-1978. There were two Rural Education Colleges and two Social Education Colleges in Tamil Nadu in 1977-1978. There were also one music college under Government and one private aided Ayurvedic College in 1977-1978.

Due to the lack of interest of the students to study in evening college, the student strength in evening colleges drastically fell at Government Arts Colleges at Villupuram, Chingleput, Namakkal and also In the Presidency College, Madras. So the Government decided to close evening classes in the above colleges in 1976-1977, and thus the number of Government and private aided colleges evening classes was reduced to 9 and 16 respectively in 1977-1978.13 The government noted the lack of interest among students in studying in evening colleges. Hence it immediately stopped the evening classes in a few colleges and thus utilized the revenue for opening new colleges in the needy places. The drastic fall in the admission in evening colleges was also due to opening of correspondence courses in universities. In order to meet the needs of music learners of southern districts of Tamil Nadu, the Government opened a Music College at Madurai during 1978-1979. Thus the number of Music Colleges in Tamil Nadu increased to two.14 There were two Government Arts Colleges for men in Salem. In order to meet the needs of the local people, the Government converted Government Arts Colleges for men at Salem into Government Arts College for women in 1979-1980.15 The Government gave permission for starting one aided Arts College namely St.Jude's College, Thoothoor, Kanniyakumari district, during 1980-1981. Thus the number of Government Arts Colleges in Tamil Nadu continued to be 51 (men-37 and women14) in 1980-1981. The total number of aided colleges increased to 144 colleges in 1980-1981. Remaining other higher education institutions continued to function government colleges, offering evening classes were increased to 11 and private aided colleges offering evening courses were 18 in 1980-81.16 Thus the government of Tamil Nadu continued to extend patronage to the higher education by opening a few colleges in spite of financial burden in implementation of UGC scale of pay to the teaching staff. It also concentrated on qualitative development.

Medical Education

As the demands of subordinate health workers grew, a medical school was proposed in 1822 with the twin purposes of teaching both the Western and Indian systems of medicine. Medical classes were also started at the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Calcutta Madarsa. Similar experiments were made in Bombay and Madras as well. In early 1826 a medical school was founded in Bombay by Elphinstone, the governor, with a loftier objective of general diffusion of medical science among the natives by educating native youths to a knowledge of the European system and then sending them into the districts to practice.5 But since the government's needs were primarily of a military character, this utilitarian object sank into one of secondary and subordinate concern, and the education of hospital assistants, an object not mooted in the first instance, was taken up. But even this could not progress well due to the government's lack of interest and paucity of funds. After a brief and sick existence of six years, this school was abolished.

The progress of medical education through the only surviving Calcutta school, the experiments in Bombay and Madras having failed, took a curious turn in the year 1833, when the 'language controversy' arose. In this controversy, Dr. John Tytler, principal of the school, sided with the orientalists. He admitted that the indigenous systems were medieval, but he knew that they contained grains of truth. For him, the only solution was to allow the students to draw comparisons, sort out errors, and then work towards the improvement of their own system.6 The Anglicists, as expected, found no merit in Tytler's views. Tytler found himself in the soup when he started preparing Arabic translations of a few European textbooks. The problem of vocabulary was most serious, for in order to translate one word of English, he spent hours in searching through Arabic lexicons, only to find that its counterpart did not exist. He concluded that translations were unprofitable, and that many years would elapse before the Indians rejected the 'crude fallacies' which their medical system upheld . He thus provided the Anglicists a stick to beat around .7 The result was, in early 1835 the medical classes at Sanskrit College and Madarsa were abolished along with the Native Medical Institution itself, and a new college was founded wherein all pupils were required 'to learn the principles and practice of medical science in strict accordance with the mode adopted in Europe'.8 This was an important event, for henceforth, through syllabi and language, was to be fostered a 'dependent science' , and Indians were made to look for Western models in every field of medical science .

It was easier to dangle Western models and flaunt the superiority of Western systems, but when some financial investment was required in realization of its proclaimed objectives, the government would develop cold feet. To quote a despatch from the Court, "the plan of establishing a laboratory at the Presidency [College, Bengal] similar to that at Apothecaries Hall in this country [England], with an establishment of chemists, aided by a steam engine, and other expensive apparatus, will, we apprehend, be found an inexpedient and unnecessary measure and we desire accordingly that it be not carried into effect."9 This veto was given in the very year in which Madhusudan Gupta had become the first Indian to dissect a human corpse-an event thought worthy of commemoration and for which Fort William even boomed a 51 gun salute.

Pumping resources was thus no easy matter. The local rich came forward . The next year a magnificent galvanic battery was presented to the College by public subscription. D. N. Tagore offered annual prizes to the tune of Rs. 1000, and Mutty Lal Seal later gave a large piece of land. In 1845 four Indian medicos were sent to England for higher studies; two were sponsored by D . N. Tagore and one each by Dr. Goodeve and the Nawab of Murshidabad.

The progress was certainly steady and well-geared to meet the immediate requirements of the government. By 1838 the demand for 'Native Doctors' in the army became so pressing that a Hindustani class had to be opened in which anatomy, medicine and surgery were taught in Urdu, the original scientific nomenclatures, however, being retained. Later, in 1851, a Bengali class was also opened. Despite the Macaulayan verdict, subdued voices were still heard in favour of the vernacular. The Hindustani and Bengali classes were extremely popular, and many thought that only through them European science could be popularized. Academically, the students of Hindustani (Military) classes were often found better. In 1848 a teacher noted, 'the dissections of the English class were for the most part decidedly inferior to those of the Military class. Whereas the dissecting rooms of the Military class were found generally full of diligent dissectors, and the subjects were never thrown away only partly dissected; the reverse was the case with the English class.

The Medical colleges were fairly stabilized by the time the new universities assumed control over them. In 1858 the Calcutta Medical College had ten chairs in anatomy, physiology, zoology, chemistry, botany, materia-medica, medical jurisprudence, midwifery, surgery, medicine and opthalmic surgery. Around 900 bodies were being annually utilized for study purposes." In 1860 the students were divided into four classes: the Primary class, the Apprentice

class, the Hindustani class, and the Bengali class. Primary class students had the full course of five years in English and were eligible to sit for the Licence in Medicine and Surgery (LMS), the Bachelor of Medicine (MB), and the Doctorate of Medicine (MD) examinations of Calcutta University. Apprentice class was for the Eurasians and was like the other two classes of three years duration. In 1864 the Bengali class was subdivided into two: the Native Apothecary class which trained students for hospital assistantship and the Vernacular Licentiate class which gave more extended clinical training in order to fit the students for independent practice amongst the poor people.12 This sort of divided system of education effectively met the most pressing local needs, particularly that of the army.

The medical colleges at Bombay and Madras were also doing well. In 1856 the course of instruction given at Madras was recognized by the Royal College of Surgeons, London, and within a decade it had eight professors and five assistant professors.13 But Madras had no provincial school to impart medical education in the vernacular while Bombay had them in Poona, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad (Sind) and NWP at Agra and Lahore. A medical school was opened at Agra in 1855. This was meant to relieve pressure on the Hindustani class at Calcutta Medical College. But the very next year the proposal to establish a similar school at Beneras was turned down by the Court.14 Its chairman, Charles Wood, rather preferred elevation of the Agra school to the college level. The Lt. Governor of NWP jumped at the idea and formally asked for it in early 1862. The original function of these medical schools was to educate the natives as native doctors only, and with this in mind, the IG of the Medical Department refused any upgrading. Only the number of students, their scholarships and the salary of the professors were increased.15 Consolidation of British rule over Punjab and the army needs there, called for the establishment of a medical school at Lahore also. This was done in 1858. The pattern was the same, one English class in which Europeans, Eurasians and natives were trained as sub-assistant surgeons in five years, or as apothecaries in three years; and another, a Hindustani class which produced native doctors in three years.

In the mid-1870's medical schools were established at Dacca, Patna, and Cuttack to cater to local needs in the vernacular. Some officials were quite skeptical about these schools. Dr. Wise (Superintendant Mitford Hospital, Dacca), for example, regarded the whole scheme of establishing vernacular medical schools as: a most ill-judged and retrograde one... In a small provincial city, where everything that occurs is talked of and often misrepresented, the

introduction of a study which is repugnant to the feeling of all classes of natives must afford for many years to come a fruitful subject for exaggeration.

But there was certainly no dearth of students. At Patna, for example, about 80 boys applied for admission out of which 31 were taken. The real problem was that of finance and of incentives. Many were too poor to pay fees and many would leave before the completion of their studies. The principal of Patna Medical School asked the Bengal Government to double the stipendiary grants, and was supported by the deputy surgeon-general of Danapur circle. But the surgeongeneral was not in favour of such incentives and the plea fell through. As a result, the number of students gradually declined; in 1885 it fell from 151 to 92.

The products of these schools did labour under certain disadvantages. They were almost entirely debarred from improving their professional knowledge, being unable to consult English works, while those in the vernacular were few and elementary. They had to spend one year at a military hospital or a civil dispensary before going on to the professional LMS course. And there was no uniformity in the curriculum. At Sealdah, Patna and Cuttack medical jurisprudence was taught both in the second and third year while it found no place at the Agra school which rather preferred arithmetic for the first year students. The Agra syllabus was more practical oriented. Every session of the three years' course had lectures on what was then called practical anatomy, practical pharmacy, and practice of medicine. For final year students it prescribed even clinical surgery and clinical medicine. This was not done at the schools in Bengal. The Sealdah and Cuttack schools introduced separate courses on anatomy and physiology, but at Patna they were combined. Again, midwifery was made optional at Patna and was not taught at Agra at all, while at Sealdah, Dacca and Cuttack it formed part of the second and third year curriculum. Barring these differences, their common subjects were anatomy, chemistry, materia medica, medicine, and surgery.

Botany and other natural sciences were not taught in these schools, but the medical colleges did pay some attention to them. Before 1880 the difference between MB and LMS examinations in Calcutta consisted only in the absence of zoology in the course for the latter. This was often resented. Some thought that the medical colleges were wasting time on natural sciences while they should have concentrated only on 'professional skill, tact and practical knowledge' of the art that medicine was. The Sanitary Commissioner for Madras, Major Cornish, was opposed to what he called a meagre smattering of a few scientific subjects

Women Education

Through the review of multiple literatures about education systems which document the various stages of evolution of education in India, it is established that the period in which the Rig Veda was written also placed high importance to education of Indian women. There are many hymns supporting these claims in the Rig Veda which indicates the status of women in the society. During that period it was stated that there were more than thirty women sages with specific hymns related to them. Over the centuries it has been observed that these important position held by women have deteriorated, the prime reason for the same is attributed to the custom of child-marriage, confining women to do household chores, and lack of formal education in the formative years.

The colonial rule had brought many changes in the society as well as in the field of political and economic life of the people; the Britishers were not concerned about the educational reforms as they were involved in the Judicial and administration of Madras. But later we can see the efforts were taken by British with the help of missionaries to educate women and eradicate the social evils which were prevalent at that time. It was also noted that Madras was one of the most progressed cities in India especially in the field of education as compared to other northern states.

The education system at Pondicherry underwent significant reforms as soon as the French took over from the British, they gave a serious thought to the problem of education and wanted to improve the condition of the women in the society by educating them. Benoist Dumas (1735-1742) will be remembered as the first French Governor in Pondicherry took the initiative of setting up a school for girls; because of him Ursuline sisters came to India to start up school for girls.2 In the meanwhile missionaries had opened three primary schools, one in Pondicherry called Ecole de la rue Royale in 1820, another in Karaikal for teaching Tamil and French and a similar one at Mahe. Debassyns de Richmont through his vision to promote the cause of education took steps to in ensuring the promotion of female education at various establishments. In 1826 he invited the sisters of the Congregation of St. Joseph de Cluny to Pondicherry from Bourbon. The ordinance of 10th February 1826 authorised them to open Pensionnat de Jeunes Demoiselles in Pondicherry where primary and upper primary education was imparted. A free school was later added to the Pensionnat.

The royal ordinance of 30 September 1843 was a landmark and a turning point in the field of education because it sought to modernise education. It was turning point because it attempted to provide the same kind of education as in France with a view to bringing about the about the cultural assimilation of the local population through French education. Even though the system of education was biased in favour of French language, the study of local languages was not neglected.

The great poet Rabindranath Tagore in his poem showed us the The plight of women in medieval India and at the starting of modern India as :

"O Lord Why have you not given woman the right to conquer her destiny?

Why does she have to wait head bowed,

By the roadside, waiting with tired patience,

Hoping for a miracle in the morrow

Education of Women in Madras

A famous Indian philosopher 'Vatsyayana' wrote that women were supposed to be perfect in sixty four arts which included cooking, spinning, grinding, knowledge of medicine, recitation and many more. The condition of the women during the time of Pallavas was one of subordination, even though they were generally held in esteem. Women, who were dedicated to religious services in temples, were called devadasis or davaradiyars. These women were expected to please the deity in the temple by their service; but the temple was a public institution so these women were also naturally exposed to public privileges.

During the early part of the 19th century we can see some progress in the women education. In 1850 Carpenter, a reformer, at a meeting with the local leaders and the Director of Public Instruction, was informed about the great obstacle in the way of opening girl's school was to get the female teachers and it was impossible, still step was taken to infuse new life into the position of female education . The Hunter commission which was appointed in 1882 suggested to the Government that female education should be considered as a duty of the Government and they should take immediate action towards the education of women.7 The Madras Government also agreed with same and directed to implement the same. Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras in his findings stated that the women reading and writing was less as compared to the dancing girls in Madras,: "To the women of brāhmanas and of Hindu in general, they (reading and writing) are unknown, because of the knowledge of them prescribed and regarded as

unbecoming of the modesty of the sex and fit only for public dances, but among the women of Rajabundah and some other tribes of Hindus, who seems no prejudice of this kind, they are generally taught.

But still most of the girls were not allowed to study further because of the social evils which existed during that time (i.e. child marriage, the practice of pardāh system, devadassi) which were the main hindrance in their progress. Due to the Christian missionaries they were some changes and education became the main priority to remove the social evils and further work towards the women education and progress. A major step was taken in 1882 by the Education Commission which suggested that "Female education should be treated as legitimate charge alike on local, on provincial or municipal funds and must receive special encouragement. The greatest care was to be exercised in the selection of suitable text – books for girls' schools and that the preparation of such books must be encouraged. That female inspecting agency be regarded as essential to the full development of female education, and be more largely employed than hitherto".9 Following this three women's colleges were opened during 1900 (i) the Sarah Tucker College, Palancottah, (ii) The Presentation Convent college, Vepery, (iii)St. Mary's Presentation Convent College, Black Town, Madras in which there were was strength of 10 in each, the below table will show us the primary stage of education of girls because the parents did not want their gown up girls to be send to the college.

By the end of the 19th century, the Madras government had adopted the policy of advancing female education and encouraged private bodies and Christian missionaries to establish girl's elementary schools and women's colleges in the Madras Presidency.

It is interesting to note from 1897-1902, three women students from South India took the M.A. Degree at the Madras University and in 1901-02 only one Madras student was qualified for the B.A. Degree.12 During the twentieth century we can see more women taking up education in the field of medicine and law. Madras University is one of the first Universities which provided special courses only to women like B.Sc, M.sc in Home Science.

Post Independence we can see the changes and development of women because of the education which helped them to overcome the social evils in the society. "It may now be considered that anywhere in India, the need for the education of girls should be same like the boys without any discrimination and must be given equally opportunity for a country to progress

Education of Women In Pondicherry

Once the French occupied Pondicherry they laid the foundation of modern Pondicherry. The children of the French and these of the mixed race either of the Portuguese or the French required educational institutions therefore, the French company invited the Ursuline sisters in 1738 to come & start educational institutions in Pondicherry for girls.14 The French administration in Pondicherry seems to have given serious thought to the development of education in French India. Efforts were made in Pondicherry to re-open a college which was founded in 1787. In 1790, this college run by the missionaries was opened for public instruction. During the governorship of Monsieur le Vicomete Desbassyns de Richemont, this missionary college came to be known as the Royal College and was re-opened on 6th October 1826. Till then it was French missionaries who instructed the white population of French India. This instruction was mainly religious in nature. It was actually a primary as well as secondary school. However the Royal College like the earlier missionary college was meant only for the whites for many years, before Indians of all castes and creeds were formally admitted into it from 1879.

There was little improvement in the condition of women in the eighteenth century. They continued to confine within the housed and charged with the duties of looking after the needs of the family and appeasing their husbands. Separate schools for girls were also started. The first girl's school was started on February 12, 1827. There was a separate Girls Central School in Pondicherry; there were quite a few girls' schools in Pondicherry town alone. In 1900, there were 50 public and 222 private schools in the establishment. While the number of government schools increased to 56 in 1932. This included carrying out some improvements in College Calve, opening of a big school for girls in Pondicherry.

Education opened up many jobs for the youth in Pondicherry. With good fluency in French, English and the Indian languages, the job seekers stood very good chances of employment, especially in the vast French colonial empire and also for the women which we can see in the section of police –women is successfully functioning in Pondicherry. The French had made a significant contribution to the growth of education, but also the very name Pondicherry was given to the place by them. Rightly, as Jawaharlal Nehru says, 'the learning of French will continue in Pondicherry and make Pondicherry a centre in India of the French language, and a window of French culture, which is a great culture of the Western World.

S.N.	Questions (5 Marks)	LOCF Mapping		
1	Define formal education in the context of the Madras Presidency.	CO1	PO1	K1
2	Write a short note on elementary education in Madras	CO2	PO2	K2
3	Explain the development of higher education in Madras.	CO2	PO2	K2
4	Briefly describe technical and engineering education.	CO3	PO3	K2
5	Write a note on University of Madras.	CO5	PO3	K1
6	Discuss women's education in the Madras region.	CO5	PO4	K2
S.N.	**Questions (8 Marks)**	**LOCF Mapping**		
1	Explain the structure and features of formal education in Madras.	CO1	PO1	K2
2	Analyse the development of elementary and higher education in Madras.	CO2	PO2	K4
3	Describe the growth of technical and engineering education in the colonial period.	CO3	PO3	K3
4	Examine the role of non-technical education and arts and science colleges.	CO4	PO3	K3
5	Evaluate the contribution of the University of Madras to higher education.	CO5	PO4	K4
6	Analyse the development of medical education in Madras.	CO5	PO3	K3
7	Discuss the progress and challenges of women's education in Madras.	CO5	PO4	K4
8	Evaluate the overall development of the educational system in the Madras Presidency.	CO5	PO5	K4

UNIT IV

Learning Objectives

1. To understand the concept of cultural renaissance in Chennai.
2. To examine the development of art, music, dance, drama, cinema and theatre.
3. To analyse the role of business houses in cultural promotion.
4. To study the growth of Tamil Isai and cultural organizations.
5. To understand the role of press in English and vernacular languages.
6. To evaluate Chennai's architectural heritage.

Course Outcomes

1. Students will describe the cultural renaissance in Chennai.
2. Students will explain the development of art, music, dance, drama and cinema.
3. Students will analyse the role of theatre and performance traditions.
4. Students will examine the contribution of business houses to culture.
5. Students will assess the importance of Tamil Isai and cultural organizations.
6. Students will evaluate the role of English and vernacular press.
7. Students will explain the features of Chennai's architectural heritage.
8. Students will develop an understanding of cultural transformation in Chennai.

In the humid Coromandel Coast, December is more than just a month; it's a season that people talk about with respect and capital letters. Chennai, the sprawling capital of Tamil Nadu, sheds its reputation for being a dull industrial city and puts on the silk vestments of the Margazhi. This month-long celebration of classical music and dance has defined the city's cultural pulse for almost a century. But in the last few years, a new rhythm has started to play against the classical beat. It is a rhythm of canvas and installation, of architectural debate, and of avant-garde textiles. This movement doesn't want to replace the old; it wants to reframe it. Madras Reimagined is the theme for the 2025 edition of the Madras Art Weekend (MAW). It will return this winter to explore the heart of a city that lives in both the colonial past and the bright future.

The festival's fourth edition will take place from December 3 to December 6, 2025. It comes with the confidence of an institution that has survived its early years and is now ready to make a statement. The theme, "Madras Reimagined," is a deliberate reference to the city's two identities: Madras, the colonial port city of the British East India Company, and Chennai, the busy automotive and software center of modern India. The festival organizers say that the theme is an invitation to "reinterpret the familiar." They want artists, architects, and thinkers to see heritage sites and daily rituals not as fixed objects but as living things that can be "remixed and projected forward."

Madras Art Weekend founder Upasana Asrani has long engaged in this intersection of preservation and disruption. When she discusses the 2025 edition, she paints a picture that goes beyond the simple choice between tradition and modernity. Asrani says, “Madras Art Weekend has always been about celebrating the creative pulse of this city.” He goes on to say that the goal of Madras Reimagined is to “inspire a more nuanced understanding of Chennai—its stories, its makers, and its evolving identity.” It’s a big job for a four-day event, but the curation shows that they are really trying to deal with these issues. The festival’s goal is to connect the “timeless spirit of the city” with “bold, contemporary expressions,” creating a space where history is not “preserved in silence” but is instead a loud, active part of the present.

The location of the festival is just as important as the time it takes place. The events take place in different places, and each tells a different story about how the city has changed. For example, the Taj Coromandel has luxurious, modern interiors, while the British Deputy High Commission has a colonial-era weight. The Wild Garden Café at Amethyst has lush, restored chaos.

You can’t talk about reimagining a city without talking about its bones—the brick, mortar, and limestone that make up its physical history. The festival will switch to a discussion on Friday, December 5th. This is especially important in a city that is quickly tearing down its history to make room for glass-fronted high-rises. Pradeep Chakravarthy, a historian, will lead a panel called “Art of Restoration” that will include Abha Narain Lambah, an architect whose name has become synonymous with the careful restoration of India’s historic buildings.

Lambah’s presence means that the conversation is moving from simple nostalgia to strict technical and philosophical standards. The panel aims to discuss the intricacies of architectural conservation, a term that inadequately captures the intense conflict that frequently arises when attempting to preserve history within a burgeoning economy. In the context of Madras Reimagined, this conversation has a specific meaning: How do you keep the “Madras” of the Indo-Saracenic imagination while also making room for the “Chennai” of the twenty-first century? The session will be about “the art of preserving history in a modern world,” which is a challenge that has to do with both cultural identity and structural engineering.

Along with the discussion about the built environment, there is also a larger look at the curated space. On Thursday, December 4th, a panel on “Curatorial Cartography” will bring together a strong group of gallerists and artists to map out the changing landscape of the Indian

art market. Pallavi Khandewal is in charge of the panel, which includes big names like Tarana Khubchandani from Art & Soul and Uday Jain from Dhoomimal Gallery. It will be especially interesting that artist Ashok Bhowmick will be there to talk about his new book, Liminal Line, which he is going to release during the session. The title of the book seems to fit with the theme of the festival: being on the edge of something, in a space of change that is neither here nor there, just like the city itself.

Weaving Stories: Madras Reimagined Through Design

Textiles are like the skin of a city, while architecture is like the shell. Chennai is a city of cloth, with thick Kanjeevaram silks and crisp cotton veshtis. So, it's fitting that Madras Reimagined focuses a lot on the intersection of art, craft, and design. Jaipur Rugs, a brand that has successfully blurred the lines between fine art and floor covering, will have an exclusive "Art x Craft x Design" showcase at the 2025 event. This isn't just a commercial placement; it's a curatorial statement that the old hierarchy between "craft" (which is usually linked to the artisan) and "art" (which is linked to the individual genius) is no longer valid.

The height of this exploration of the textile narrative comes on the night of December 4th with an exhibition walkthrough called "Truths Our Clothes Told Us." The session, which took place at the Raw Mango store, which is a stylish take on traditional Indian handloom, featured the work of Kallol Datta. Datta is a designer who doesn't like the word "fashion." Instead, she sees clothes as a way to remember and express who you are. The show "Volume IV" works with Raw Mango to look at "how fabric, form, and memory intersect to express identity." It sees fashion as a real art form that can "blur the lines between textile, design, and discourse."

Datta's role is key to the "Designer as Disrupter" theme, which will be discussed in a panel on the festival's first day. This panel will take place at the private home of the British Deputy High Commissioner, Halima Holland, which has a strong connection to the Raj. Datta will be there with other creative activists like Tahir Sultan and Vivek Karunakaran. Madras Reimagined seems to love the ironic idea of talking about problems in the well-kept lawns of a diplomatic compound.

Gathering the Future of Madras Reimagined

The quiet machinery of patronage keeps any art week going. The idea of the starving artist is close to the truth of the market, and MAW 2025 deals with this directly with a "Collector Panel" on the first day. The session, called "The Impact of Private and Public Patronage," will

have speakers from around the world, such as Amit Khanna from Amaya Ventures in Singapore and Rhea Kuruvilla, a VIP Consultant for Frieze.

The fact that Madras Reimagined has hired international consultants shows that it wants to make Chennai not only a regional hub but also a part of the global art market. The discussion will look at the "evolving dynamics" of patronage, which is a polite way of asking who is paying for art in 2025 and why. Is it the government? The company's CSR program? or the new group of wealthy, tech-savvy private collectors? The answers will shape the city's cultural output for the next ten years.

The commercial side of this is balanced out by the fact that the gallery shows are so wide-ranging. After the VIP preview at the Taj Coromandel on December 3rd, the exhibitions open to the public. They feature works from a wide range of Indian galleries, such as Gallery G, Art Magnum, and the Dakshinchitra Museum. The range is wide, from Dakshinchitra's traditional preservationist work to Ink Art and Memeraki's more modern, edgy work.

The Unbecoming

The most moving interpretation of the Madras Reimagined theme might happen on the night of December 5th at the Wild Garden Café, which is surrounded by greenery. The multi-talented artist Lekha Washington will perform a poetic performance here called "Unbecoming, or Ways to Survive the Apocalypse." The title suggests that the self will be broken down, just like the city will be broken down. Washington's work often mixes the real and the imaginary, and this performance promises to "weave together art, poetry, and emotion."

"Unbecoming" tells a different story at a festival that is all about rethinking a city. Reimagining isn't always about building more. Sometimes it's about getting rid of the things that have built up over time to see what's underneath. It is a "fitting finale" to a weekend full of mental and sensory stimulation.

The festival will end on Saturday, December 6th, with public gallery walkthroughs and collector home tours. After that, people will have to go back out in the heat of Chennai. They will drive through the busy streets of Mount Road, past the Art Deco theaters and glass office buildings, and maybe see them in a new way. The 2025 edition of Madras Reimagined does not promise to fix the city's problems. Instead, it gives you a way to see the chaos not as a problem but as a beautiful, complicated, and changing work of art.

Dance

The South Indian music concert is called a Kutcheri, and its present form is more or less linked to the founding of the Music Academy in Chennai (then Madras) in 1927. The Academy organizes an annual conference which has become world-famous and a much looked forward to social event. Even those who are not particularly musical like to attend these concerts as they have become an important marker of social status. The music season in this institution and elsewhere in Chennai has an emphasis on South Indian cuisine and the display of various arts and crafts. It is therefore also a commercial event. Thus both the professional musician and the layperson find something in this season to look forward to.

A strict and methodical organization of the music concerts is another feature of the Music Academy event and no musician will take more time or sing less than the allotted time. Thus there is a pressure on the musician to fine-hone the concert and to time it scrupulously. Usually a concert is about two and a half hours, a far cry from the more expansive musical feasts of the Courts and temples in an earlier day. Karnatak music is to be distinguished from Hindustani music, the latter forming the North Indian Classical tradition. The term Karnatak also has strong connections with the state of Karnataka from where the chief Karnatak composer, Purandaradasa, came. Purandaradasa was responsible for systematizing the basic lessons from simple notes to gitams (short easily memorizable verses) and kirtanas (more elaborate compositions with at least three verses) and he provided the basis for the efflorescence in South Indian music which took place in the nineteenth century. So the concert proper is a modern variation or avatar of the larger and longer musical feats of an earlier day. It is also a modulation from the Bhajana (devotional group singing) tradition which is still alive and vigorous and which is known for its accelerating rhythms, naming of the Lord and devotion tending towards enthusiasm and frenzy. The classical Kutcheri on the other hand establishes a strict frame work of rhythm within which permutations and combinations are encouraged, the beat or tala remaining the same and constant. The Kutcheri then is a formal and stylized version of what used to exist prior to the establishment of the Music Academy and the Sabhas (organizations which promote music and musicians and organize events) and in its two or two and a half hours' duration a severe classicism is demanded from both the musicians and their audiences. There is a clear and well recognized way in which a Kutcheri may be organized (PGV Ramanan & Mohan Ramanan, in Marathe and Mukherjee, 1986). One begins with a varnam which is an exercise to

get the voice, tone and rhythm under control. Then follow kritis or kirtanas (a stylized composition) apostrophizing one or other Deity. A concert begins invariably with an invocation to Ganapati, the remover of obstacles, and then goes on to detail the qualities of other Deities like Kartikeya, the commander-in-chief of the army of the Gods, the brother of Ganapati, both of whom are children of Ambal, the Mother Goddess and Siva, the Destroyer. Then follow compositions on Vishnu, the Preserver, and His manifestations such as Rama, the hero of the Ramayana and Krishna, the great philosopher hero of the Mahabharata, and so on. After the bulk of these kritis have been rendered along with Raga Alapana (melodic variations of a limited number of notes which are distinct from other combinations of notes) and eraval (elaboration of a phrase from the kriti to bring out not only the poetic excellence of the phrasing but also to demonstrate the musician's imaginative grasp of melody and rhythm) and Swaram (rhythmic variations of notes with all kinds of mathematical calculations getting musical expression), we have the major piece which is the RTP or Ragam, Tanam and Pallavi. The Raga chosen for exhaustive elaboration is the main Raga of the concert ,while other Ragas chosen are detailed less comprehensively. The main Raga is sung for roughly double or triple the time taken for the elaboration of minor Ragas; the Tanam (musical rendering of the word Ananta - which means eternal in Sanskrit - in rhythmic variations) is sung, and a complicated rhythmic exercise called a Pallavi is demonstrated. After this we have the Tukadas (literally fragments and short compositions), the Javalis and the Padams (both forms usually associated with dance and celebrating divine love), but also part of a music concert. Then comes the mangalam or auspicious conclusion.

The trajectory has been, as Lakshmi Subramanian points out, from the Tanjore Court to the modern Sabha or the Proscenium stage (Subramanian, 2011). In the Court the musician sang under patronage and was well rewarded for his efforts. A class of performers in music and dance called the Devadasis, dismissed by the British ruling class as Nautch girls (derogatory for dancer), was also prominent in temples, but nationalist sentiment, combined with the moral posture of the British colonial masters, brought in legislation to ban Nautch and the practice of dedicating women to the Deity. The fear that Devadasis encouraged immorality and prostitution was responsible for this nationalist counter-attack (Saskia Kersenboom, 1987; Soneji, 2012). The evolution of the Karnatak Kutcheri must be seen in the context of the sanitizing zeal of the reformers. Dance which was originally the preserve of the Devadasi community and called Sadr

modulated in the twentieth century into Bharatanatyam. As the term suggests it is the dance of Bharata (the Hindu name for India), based on the principles of the aesthetician Bharata's atyasastra. From the overt body consciousness and emphasis on Srngara or Beauty in Sadr the emphasis was now on Bhakti or devotion and a stylized classical body language shorn of overt sensuality. It must be noted that Beauty and Devotion are in a dynamic mix in Bharatanatyam and should not be seen as binary opposites, but the emphasis was clearly on Beauty being subsumed under Devotion (Sriram, 2007; Leela and Samson, 2010). The connection between the Kutcheri and Bharatanatyam is close and the development of Sadr into Bharatanatyam and the Bhajana tradition into the Kutcheri may be seen as parallel phenomena. Both participate in national discourse. When we speak, as we will do now in this essay, about the Kutcheri, it will be necessary to remember this piece of historical sanitization and recognize the form with all its beauty as having elided the woman and the subaltern and foregrounded the Brahminical. The Brahmins are the intellectuals in Hindu society and they are at the top of the caste structure of Hindu society. When we say Brahminical we allude to their role in keeping the scriptural tradition intact and in our context anyone who preserves the essence of the artistic tradition is Brahminical. The Kutcheri was for a long time the preserve of the male and dominated by the Brahmins. But the subaltern element of women and male players of the wind instrument, the Nagaswaram, broke through caste taboos to set up a tradition of their own. This was made possible by the likes of Bangalore Nagarathnamma, who played a great role in enabling women artists to break the Brahminical male hegemony. One needs to also laud the work of eminent women artists like M.S. Subbalakshmi, M.L. Vasantakumari and D.K. Pattamal who broke through to enter a male bastion and took it by storm (T.J.S. George, 2004 and Indra Menon, 1989). Their careers enabled a large number of women to take up a career in music, and women performers now probably outnumber male ones at the Sabhas and at the annual Aradhana (observance of the anniversary of the death) of the saint Tyagaraja in Tiruvaiyar. Similarly non-Brahmin players of the Nagaswaram (a wind instrument associated with the lower-caste barber community) are now permitted to play inside the Samadhi (place of burial), which for a long time was not allowed by Brahminical orthodoxy (Sriram, 2007). The concert today bears the mark of these elisions and these inclusions. The Padams and Javalis, which were the Devadasi forte, are now sung as Tukadas at the end of a concert as light pieces after the heavy classical

fare has been exhausted. During the days of the Sadr and the Devadasis they were central to the repertoire.

By the mid-20th century, Bharatanatyam had emerged from disrepute and moved from temple to stage. This classical dance form had gained some acceptance, but giving it the credibility and respect it still needed were three leading proponents. In the concluding part of this series, we look at how three powerful women led the Bharatanatyam renaissance and helped it flourish as a performing art. Each had their roles and responsibility to/ towards , the flow of the momentum of Dance and Dance music.

The mid-20th century had witnessed the resurrection of Bharatanatyam, safely extricated from its obscure, denigrated origins, by the efforts of the great visionary E Krishna Iyer, fondly called 'EK'. Now it was time to propel the dance onto the national, secular stage. This journey was to be made under the able guidance of some of the greatest exponents of the art. One among them, spearheading the initiative, was Rukmini Devi Arundale (1904 --1986). Her tryst with dance began the day she attended a dance recital organized by 'EK' at the Music Academy in Madras, in 1935.

Featuring two Dasis, Varalakshmi and Bhanumathi, disciples of the dance teacher Pandanallur Meenakshi Sundaram Pillai, the dance transported her into another realm. Inspired by its beauty, she decided to learn dance from the same teacher. Initially reluctant to accept Rukmini Devi as a disciple, M Sundaram Pillaiwas persuaded to do so by E Krishna Iyer. Thus at the age of 30, Rukmini Devi began her sojourn into a new world of dance and music.

Rukmini Devi was already a well-known personality with contacts and influence, and connected to the famous Theosophical Society. As a high-caste Brahmin woman, she could lead the movement of dance from the front, to bring in the desired respectability.

Rukmini Devi too echoed the sentiments of EK, that the life of the Dasis as well as of the community needed to change for the better. It was men and social restrictions that were responsible for the present situation. In her passion, she was encouraged and supported by her husband George Arundale, who had become President of the Theosophical Society. So in pursuit of bringing dance to centre-stage, she decided to showcase her new-found talent at the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of the Theosophical Society in 1935, much to the discomfort of her dance teacher, who believed it was too early in her training for a public performance. Undeterred, Rukmini Devi danced and there was no looking back.

Rukmini Arundale: Reinterpreting The Traditional

Soon thereafter, she established the Kalakshetra institution in 1936. Based on the gurukul system, students and teachers lived in the same campus, in sprawling sylvan surroundings at Adyar, Chennai. In the years to come, students from all over the world will enroll here.

Rukmini Devi Arundale

Rukmini Devi's role in the resurrection of Bharatanatyam is monumental, as she picked up pieces of an existing tradition and pushed it into the wider public domain. Along with a stamp of contemporary reinterpretation, dance dramas were popularised. To ensure continuity and perfection, she invited Dasis like Gowri Ammal, and Meenakshi Sundaram Pillai, to reside and teach at Kalakshetra. Popularising the name of the dance as Bharatanatyam, she rendered innovations in its performance, rearranging the ensemble to be stationed on one side of the stage so that the dancer had freedom to move. Dance costumes were modified into colour coordinates. The stage was lit and had a new background of Nataraja, the Dancing Shiva, for the first time. All remnants of the vulgar or sensual were removed from expressions, gestures and song lyrics. The focus was on pure bhakti or devotion; was far removed from the amorous concept of love hitherto portrayed in earlier Dasi Attam.

Rukmini Devi Arundale

In the years to come, acceptance for the Dance grew, through her institution and Dance classes, concerts, lectures, dance demonstrations, exhibitions and publications. Publicity and documentation helped the tradition to reach the educated class and made it accessible to all. The great tradition set by Rukmini Devi has carried on since. Even today, Kalakshetra continues to showcase the legacy of dance through public performances, its vast library resources, and dance classes.

Balasaraswati: Divinity In Dance

Parallel to the relentless efforts of great stalwarts like 'EK' and Rukmini Devi, there were other luminaries who appeared on the scene, among them two names that stood out in distinction. They were Balasaraswati, seventh in line to the famed Tanjore Quartet, and Kamala Narayan, with her foray into cinema, and they would elevate the art to yet another level.

Balasaraswati

Balasaraswati (1918 – 1984) had an illustrious lineage. Her ancestors, Pappamal and Veena Dhanammal, had been famous dancers and musicians in the Court of Tanjore in the mid-18th century. Amidst the prevailing situation, with dancers reduced to a state of prostitution, her family wished to discontinue the family tradition and initially discouraged her interest in dance. ButBalasaraswati was to decide otherwise. She believed that there was nothing in Bharatanatyam that needed to be purified afresh—it was divine and innately so. Love and shringara, or erotic love, as shown in Bharatanatyam, was never carnal. It conveyed the presence of the inner as well as outer self, not just of the physical body of the dancer. A brilliant dancer from a young age, she preserved the purity of the tradition of the Tanjore Quartet. Those watching her dance could experience its inner divinity, as she could convey the complete presence of the soul.

Balasaraswati had been training in dance from the age of three under the famed Nattuvanar, Kandappa Pillai, who belonged to the traditional teachers of Tanjore. Daylong training with strict and rigorous discipline was adhered to. For instance, to get her head movements right, sandbags were placed on her head! A consummate exponent of music in dance, a legacy, which she had inherited from her grandmother and her mother Jayammal; she stunned the audience with her skilled portrayal of the shringara or erotic love at her arangetram, her debut performance at the age of seven! Her mother, a dedicated musician herself, had taught her to emote with music and not words. By the time she was 16, she was dancing in North India, one of the first dancers to bridge the cultural divide between the North and the South. As she performed in Calcutta at the invitation of the famous dance exponent and choreographer Uday Shankar, she crafted her dance to the tune of Ja Na Ga Ma Na, well before it came to be India's official national anthem. Among the audience were great luminaries, the likes of Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore. She later followed up with dances at Santiniketan and Varanasitoo.

Balasaraswati's career in dance thereafter continued in Chennai, where she also conducted dance classes at the Music Academy through the 1930s, with a mission to attune young minds to the purity of the dance.

Criticism & Contempt

The journey was tough. She and her family had to face severe criticism and contempt from conservative circles. So by the age of 29, even as she became famous at the national level as a member of the Dasicommunity, she was the target of gossip. This was not the end of her troubles. Balasaraswati was to suffer a phase of invisibility in the 1940s. From 1945 to 1949,

very few invitations to dance came her way. The thought that society had almost rejected her, rankled. But her deep spirituality gave her strength, and she continued learning her art. It was during that turbulent phase that her only child, Lakshmi, was born. The ’50s and the ’60s, however, turned the tide. Balasaraswati became a tremendous success as she returned to dance on the national and global stage, especially in the United States. Society was finally moving towards integration. Despite all her health problems, she danced, and Lakshmi managed her programs and finances.

Balasaraswati

Music, dance and dance music remained spiritually immersive experiences for Balasaraswati, taking her audience to a sublime level of happiness. Her rendition, "Krishna nee begane no" was her own timeless contribution to the movement of dance from the temple to stage. Her legacy is being carried forth by her grandson Anirudha Knight, a dancer himself. Her work continues through his foundation, the Balasaraswati Scripps Foundation based in Chennai.

Kamala Narayan

The next landmark in the evolution of Bharatanatyam was its foray into the world of Tamil Cinema, which opened a new platform for its revival in the 1930s. Carnatic musicians were now rendering compositions for movies.

Kamala Narayan

However, the stigma attached to Bharatanatyam remained, even with the Devadasi Dedication Abolition Act of 1947. The credit of rendering the dance as a respectable art form goes to an artiste like Kamala Narayan. Born in 1934, into a highly cultured and educated Brahmin family, Kamala began her foray into dance at the age of fivewith Kathak, a classical dance form popular in North India. During one of her stage shows in Bombay, Tamil film director A N Kalyanasundaram Iyer discovered her. Thus began her career in films with minor dancing roles, at first. By the late 1930s, she was known as ‘Baby Kamala’. Her dancing was noticed by other filmmakers and she moved to Hindi films, where she was presented as Kumari Kamala.

During World War II, her family relocated to Madras and Kamala began learning Bharatanatyam under the aged hereditary Nattuvanar, K Muttukumara Pillai. Later, under Nattuvanar Vazhuvoor Ramiah Pillai, Kamalabegan her training in the traditional Vazhuvoor style of Bharatanatyam. As a young prodigy in the 1940s, she trained both in dance and vocal

music. Her dance teachers imparted strong basic techniques of movement. A brilliant collaboration with Vazhuvoor Ramaiah Pillai led to the creation of short musical pieces for Tamil cinema and dance dramas with elegant dance poses. The structure of her dance ushered in a style that presented the vibration of joy and poetry in motion." Jumping like a gazelle, with her limbs moving in beautiful grace, sculpture came alive in her poses, which she could hold for half a minute with superb ease."

Film exposure also supported her stage performances to create awareness about Bharatanatyam in society. The combination was unique as her stage performances were traditional Vazhuvoor style of Bharatanatyam, unlike her film dances in Tamil cinema. The simultaneous exposure on the stage and in films helped capture the imagination of the discriminating middle class. Kamala rendered on average 200 stage recitals annually, besides several films like Aduvome and Vetri Ettu Dhikku among others. HerTamil film Naam Iruvar made a permanent impact. Replete with patriotism and Gandhian songs, its dances sparked a 'cultural revolution', legitimising Bharatanatyam and winning it acclaim. With Kamala at the helm and the power of Cinema, the transformation of dance from temple to stage reached its break-even point. From where, the stigma of contempt and scorn eased off, in the minds and hearts of the public.

Kamala Narayan

Thus Bharatanatyam finally began its new ground of acceptance. And widened in the new expansion, as mothers hoped daughters would dance like Kumari Kamala. Many sent their daughters to Vazhuvoor Ramaiah Pillai's school. Dance schools mushroomed everywhere. Young dancers wished for costumes similar to Kamala's; tailors had to make numerous costumes of the same pattern! Today, more than seven decades later, the legend lives on. At present, Kamala Narayan, at the age of 86, continues to be active and teaches dance at her school Shri Bharatha Kamalalaya in Long Island, USA.

Drama

Development of the Traditional drama The historicity regarding the Tamil performance art and dance after the age of sangam, was reduced in the registration of literature level. For this we may tell religion, rule over, politics as reasons. The art forms which were performed and the books regarding art, were ruined. We know the historicity regarding the drama from Silappathigaram and the inscriptions of the Chozha and pallavas age. The Marathi kings had a

great respeet on the arts. They respected for not only the perfect dance but also for the folk drama and dance. Because of their support the tamil land dramas like Kuravanji, Pallu, Keerthanai, became the theatre art. More over they were written as literature and got debutance.

Pallu Nadagam (Drama)

The pallu dramas are about the cultivation and the people related to that. The book reveals the life history, habit and customs of the pallavas, who belonged to the Marutham land, besides,. The books finally praise the God of that land. This drama was staged in the temple festivals.

The theme of the pallu drama:

The life the Marutham land people is the theme of the drama (Pallu). Pallar lives with his two wives in his fertile land. But he loves his second wife very much and shows no interest on his first one. Undigesting the state of her husband being with the second wife, she straightly goes to the land lord and tale bears that. because of his being in the house of the second wife, the cultivations goes in vain. Getting angry with him, the land lord Ties up her husband in the cattle. Than due to the love on him, she begs very much and redeems her husband after a long struggle. Then the two wives join together, forgetting their enmity. As a result, the cultivations goes on well now. And in final, praising the kings, they would finish the drama. This is the theme of the pallu drama. Pallu dramas have been created from sirumbantrupadai, Thirumurugattruppadai, which were the literature of age of Sangam (ancient). Those who got the shape of books are listed below.

1. Thiruvarur pallu
2. Irumbuli pallu
3. Mannar Mohana pallu
4. Mukkoodar pallu
5. Vaiyaburi pallu
6. Thillai pallu
7. Thirumalai Murugan pallu
8. Kuttralappallu

Kuravanji drama

The literature kuravanji is full of the dance, music and drama elements. It is about the Tribal people of Kurunji land, named Vettuvar(Huntar) and Kuravar (Fowler), their life style

habits and customs. It is filled with the qualities of the Kurinji Land. kuravanji consits of the songs like dialogues. The story teller's words are coming as interludes. it is a technique to prolong the duration of drama.

Charecters

The Kuranji dramas are the final literature of the age of sangam (ancient). The charetcres are Thalaivan (God/ King) Thalaivi (Goddess/ queen), Thozhi (female friend), Kuramagal, singar, Thozhen (Male friend). Moreover, Kattiyan karan (Penegyrist) take part in this. but Thalaivan is not picturised directly. That means he doesnot appear on stage.

The Story Of Kuravanji And Screen Play

On seeing Thalaivan, walking, thalaivi has got love at first sight and then she craves for him. Thozhi (Girl Friend) consoles her. that time, kurathi who comes there, comforts herby forcasting divinition. Then kuravan comes there to take his beloved wife, kurathi to his house

First part

There are greetings of playwright, praise the god, the coming of panegyrist in the first part.

Second Part

The narration of Thalavan's prolession. The speciality of Thalaivan's walking, Thalavi forgets herself because of love, being restless, All these things. happen. Thalaivi tells (Her friend) Thozhi and she goes to Thalaivan as messanger.

Third Part

The coming of Kurathi, dance and song, Thalaivi hears divinition from kurathi, Kuramahal tells the prosperity of mountain, country, town, telling the qualities of animals and birtds, Then she forcastes her future, she says, in advance that the love of Thalaivi will come true. Thalaivi, feeling happy, gifts her.

Fourth Part

Kuravar hunts with friend, singer comes in search of Kurathi, kuravar meets kurathi, argument, compromise, then going to their shelter and being happy.

Nondy nadagam (drama of a Handchapped man)

It is a mono acting drama. Only one person would appear on the stage, and he would act, narrating his past history and sing. Having oneSS hand and one leg, he would limp and dance,

limping and act, this drama is called nondy nadagam. This drama was supported by the palayakars around Madurai.

The Theme Of Drama

A robber lives by looting in many places feeling love on a girl he gifts her all that he has eooted and as a result, he comes poor. so he again goes to loot. while stealing the horse of the King, he is arrested b the gaurds, enquired by the Government his hand and leg are cut off. The robber , who is handicapped now, being in the street without any body's support. a saint, who goes by that way, takes him to his hut, and heals his wounds of hand and leg. After hearing the preaching of the saint both his wounds are heated and he respents himself. Then he becomes a holy man, who leads other people towards resentence. By telling the story and acting in called nondy nadagam.

Keerthani nadagam

Musical drama has three divisions. They are as follows

drama of poem 2) drama of psalm 3) drama of dance. out of these three, drama of psalm is different from others. It is full of songs with music. pslam is a kind of song adapted to karnatic music. In psalams these are three clemants like. pallavi, anu pallavi, saranam. some psalms are written without anupallavi. the first Tamil psalm was writtern the sirkazhie arunachala kavirayar named Rama Nadaga keerthani. The song consists of virutham, tharu, thibathai with various pan and Thalam to be composed with music. This drama caused for the creation of many operas. Nanthanar keerthani Nadagam was written by kobala krishna Bharathiyar. For this book also the above said rama nadaga keerthani is the root book and it is an exmple for the creation of sangaradoss swamimigal style dramas with songs, adapted to music.

Cinema

Cinema has no boundary, it is a ribbon of dreams defined by Orson Welles. India is home to one of the largest film industries in the world. Regional cinema can be said to be the soul of a region cause its concept, theme, culture, and existence are from their surroundings- what they have seen, experienced, and lived with. It can be as unique as a particular region. It represents the soul of a region: how people live, their customs, eating habits, their beliefs, and practices. Most of the time, these regional narrative becomes a window to learn about a particular land, its soil, history, struggle, and survival. To name the first Indian regional cinema, we can name Raja

Harishchandra, directed and produced by Dada Saheb Phalke, the father of Indian cinema. In the Indian context, 'regional cinema' is used as a marker of difference from Hindi cinema; the plural, 'regional cinema' indicates the diversity of national cinema. In the tradition of 'national' cinemas, 'regional' cinemas denote non-Hindi language cinemas, following models of nation formation, with language as the marker of difference.

'Regional cinema', as a way of indicating a linguistic tapestry of practice within the Indian nation came to be used with the restructuring of the film industries in accordance with the administrative reorganization of states, but this took time. The consolidation of these new geographies of cinema was initiated in the late 1960s and early 1970s when capital flows centered on colonial presidency cities were rechannelized to urban centres of the post-independence linguistic regions. The significance of the relationship between princely states and cinematic cultures in this history has been less attended to (Krishna, 2019; Menon, 2009). Through the columns of Times of India, Dheeraj Kumar says, We Indians, have made cinema an integral part of our lives, it's not just the kids in the millennium era who find it fascinating, but the tradition of cinephile was present since its inception. Suchin Mehrotra comments that regional cinema are known for their smaller budgets, but are also less frenzied about their star culture, with the exceptions of Telegu and Tamil cinema. This allows filmmakers to put the content and story at the center of the films and experiment with different kinds of narratives. Thus, we can say that the Indian film industry serves in making independent step-by-step based on efficient norms.

Theatre

The folk or traditional arts of India have from ancient times been used for moral, religious and socio-political purposes. Rarely have they been resorted to for pure entertainment although they are often packed with spontaneity, boisterousness and humour.

Advantages

The folktheatre is close to the hearts and minds of the people. Its familiar format and content, as also the local and colloquial dialects used, make for clarity in communication. Folk media, unlike the electronic media, involves and often invites audience participation. The Keerthana, Alha and various street theatre genres are good examples of this. The folk art forms satisfy our innate need or self-expression, for moral instruction combined with entertainment and

for the dramatic and the lyrical. The folk media preserve and disseminate in a lively manner, the traditions and culture of our forefathers.

Folk Theatre Forms:

Tamasha The Tamashais an extremely lively and robust form of folk theatre of Maharashtra, going back to over 400 years. The most celebrated patron of this folk form was Bajirao II, the last of the Peshwas, who introduced professional women singers into it for the first time. Another important development was the introduction of the jester, nicknamed Songadya who acted also as the 'master of ceremonies'. In the main, Tamasha (which means 'fun') is pure commercial entertainment, with the star performer being the female artist who has to sing the favourite songs for the patrons.

Powada or Powda

The Powada of Maharastra is a folk ballad form which shot into prominence during the 16th century. It is dramatic in nature, and is dominated by tales about the events of history. It is sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments like daph, tuntune, and Majira, generally by a group with a leading voice. While singing, the leader indulges in dramatic gestures, describing the heroic deeds, which lend effect to the whole performance.

The Keertana

The Keertanas (on Harikatha or Harikeertan as it is sometimes called) is a kind of concentrated drama, a monodrama in which one gifted actor enters swiftly a whole series of characters and moods. The ancient sage Narad is believed to have invented and practised the form with great success. It is believed to have spread from Maharashtra to Karnataka and Tamilnadu about 150 years ago. It is such a potent weapon in social education that Lokmanya Tilak is reported to have said that, if he were not a journalist, he would have been a Keertakar.

Yakshagana

Yakshagana is 'the song of the Yaksha', the most popular folk drama of Karnataka, first performed in the 16th century. Its themes are from the Bhagavata but with a lot of local flavour. As with other Indian folk drama genres, Yakshagana is full of song and repartee. The narrator here is known as the Bhagavata who sings verses and exchanges witty remarks with the players and handles the cymbals and songs. Besides, there is the jester, Hanumanayaka, as also kings, villains and demons all elaborately and frightfully made up. Girish Karnad's play Hayavadana employs the Yakshagana folk form.

Dashavatar

The Dashavatar is a religious folk theatre form of South Konkan. The Dashavatar is a re-enactment of the ten incarnations of Vishnu, and the story of the Lord and his devotees. It is generally performed within the precincts of a temple, for it is regarded as an act of worship. Male artists alone are allowed to play various roles, even those of women.

Nautanki

The Nautanki is a North Indian folk drama form performed on an open and bare stage. It got its name perhaps from the charming Rani Nautanki of Multan. Like other Indian folk drama forms, the nautanki has a simple dramatic structure comprising small units linked by a narrator. Music is of prime importance in this folk drama, for it provides the pace and tempo required. The main musical instruments used are the makkara (kettle drum) and the dholak.

Ramlila and Raslila

The Ramlila celebrates the story of the Ramayana, while the Raslila focuses on the exploits of Lord Krishna and his lover, Radha. The Ramlila is enacted all over north India in September and October during the Dashara festival; the Raslila, a dance drama, is performed on various occasions in Vrindaban, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Manipur and Kerala.

Jatra

Singing interludes by the chorus (juri), loud and light pitched acting and rhetorical flourishes characterise the form even today.

Bhavai

The Bhavai is the foremost folk theatre form in Gujarat: astylised medieval dramatic form. The Ranglo is the stock-character who is the jester or clown of the play, while the Naik is the Sutradhar or manager with whom he carries on a bantering dialogue. Like the courtjester, the Ranglo enjoys the privilege of poking fun at local leaders, of making satirical comments on current affairs.

Therukoothu

Tamilnadu, the traditional media include puppetry Puravi Attam (Horse Dance), Nizhal Attam (Shadow Dance), Theru Koothu (Street Drama), Kazhai Koothu, Kalatchem and Villupattu. The Therukoothu is the best known of these. The therukoothu is Tamilnadu's street theatre bringing together the classical literary forms-prose (iyal) music (isai) and drama (natakam).

Puppetry:

Puppetry has fascinated children and adults of all climes for centuries. In India, four styles of puppetry have proved popular in different parts of the country.

Sutradharika: Puppets are manipulated with long strings in Rajasthan, Orissa, Karnataka, **Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.**

Rod Puppets: Rod puppets are large in size and are fixed to heavy bamboo sticks which are tied to the puppeteer's waist.

Shadow Puppets: Shadow puppets are flat figures made from tanned hide and painted with vegetable dyes. They are illuminated from behind so that their shadows fall on a transparent cotton screen. The stories projected by shadow puppets are generally taken from the Hindu epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

Hand Puppets: Glover or hand puppet shows are most popular in Orissa, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. The free use of the puppeteer's strings lends a rare strength and vitality to the movements of a puppet's head and arms, and the wrist lends flexibility and power to a puppet's body. Hand-puppets are fashioned on Kathakali characters in Kerala, and are played in almost the same manner.

Street Theatre

There has been an explosion of 'street theatre' activity in India in the eighties and nineties. One study estimates the existence of about 7,000 'street theatre' groups in different parts of the country, with the largest number in West Bengal, Andhra, Tamilnadu and Kerala. The main groups involved in this type of popular theatre activity are 'social action groups' (SAGs), health and agricultural extension workers, student activists, political parties, religious reformers and women's organizations. The most influential proponent of Indian street theatre has been Badal Sircar, who argued for a 'theatre of commitment.' Sircar's work stands out for its emphasis on 'body language' on dialogue directed straight at the audience and on the involvement of the audience. It is to be noted that street plays are culture-specific and employ local folk theatre forms, local songs and dances, and the local dialect. For instance, 'Sahiar', a women's group in Baroda, uses Gujarati folk forms like bhavai and garba, and the Jan Natya Mandali (of Andhra Pradesh) uses local forms like 'ogerratha'. Women's groups in Delhi, Bombay, and in rural Andhra Kerala and Maharashtra have used street theatre to raise social consciousness on issues like suttee, dowry, sex discrimination in education and employment,

exploitative advertising and discriminatory laws of inheritance and divorce. In Kerala the KSSP has employed street theatre to popularize science and literacy.

Business Houses

The growth of business houses in Chennai represents an important aspect of the economic and commercial history of South India. From its early days as a colonial port city under the British East India Company to its present status as a major industrial and financial hub, Chennai has witnessed the emergence and expansion of several prominent business houses. These business groups have played a vital role in trade, industry, finance, and employment generation, contributing significantly to regional and national economic development.

In the colonial period, Chennai (formerly Madras) developed as a major trading centre due to its strategic coastal location. The establishment of Fort St. George laid the foundation for British commercial activities. Early business houses were largely European-owned firms engaged in export-import trade, dealing in textiles, spices, indigo, and other commodities. These firms operated as agency houses, representing British interests and facilitating international trade. Over time, Indian merchants and entrepreneurs began to participate in commercial activities, gradually establishing their own enterprises. Among the earliest Indian business communities in Chennai were the Chettiars, particularly the Nattukottai Chettiars, who became prominent financiers and bankers. They played a crucial role in providing credit and facilitating trade not only within India but also in Southeast Asia. Their financial networks and business acumen laid the foundation for indigenous business houses in the region. These traditional business groups coexisted with European firms, creating a diverse commercial environment.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the rise of Indian entrepreneurship led to the establishment of several notable business houses in Chennai. One of the most prominent among them is the TVS Group, founded by T. V. Sundaram Iyengar. Initially started as a transport company, the TVS Group expanded into automobile manufacturing, components, and financial services, becoming one of the largest industrial groups in India. Another major business house is the Murugappa Group, which has its roots in the early 20th century. The group diversified into sectors such as agriculture, engineering, financial services, and manufacturing. It became a leading industrial house in Chennai, known for its strong organizational structure and commitment to growth.

The Amalgamations Group is another important business house that emerged in Chennai. Founded by S. Anantharamakrishnan, the group developed interests in engineering, automobile components, and plantations. It played a significant role in industrial development in South India. Similarly, the Rane Group established itself as a key player in the automobile components sector. Known for its innovation and quality, the group contributed to the growth of Chennai as a major automobile hub, often referred to as the "Detroit of India."

The Sanmar Group is another notable business house with interests in chemicals, engineering, and shipping. It expanded both domestically and internationally, reflecting the global reach of Chennai-based enterprises. The M M Group (M.M. Muthiah Group) also made significant contributions in sectors such as plantations, manufacturing, and education. Chennai also became home to financial and service-oriented business houses. The establishment of banks, insurance companies, and trading firms contributed to the city's economic growth. Indian entrepreneurs increasingly entered these sectors, challenging the dominance of European firms. This shift was partly influenced by the rise of nationalist sentiments and the desire for economic self-reliance. In the post-independence period, Chennai's business houses diversified further, entering new industries such as information technology, healthcare, and education. The city emerged as a major industrial hub, attracting investments and fostering innovation. The presence of automobile manufacturing companies, IT firms, and port-based industries strengthened its economic base. Business houses in Chennai have also played a significant role in social development. Many of them established educational institutions, hospitals, and charitable organizations. Their contributions to corporate social responsibility have had a lasting impact on society, particularly in the fields of education and healthcare.

Despite their success, business houses in Chennai have faced challenges such as economic fluctuations, competition, and regulatory changes. However, their ability to adapt and innovate has ensured their continued growth and relevance. The strong entrepreneurial culture and supportive infrastructure of the city have further facilitated their expansion.The history of business houses in Chennai reflects a dynamic process of economic development, from colonial trade to modern industrialization. From early European firms and traditional Indian financiers to large industrial conglomerates like the TVS Group and Murugappa Group, these business houses have shaped the economic landscape of the city. Their contributions to industry, employment,

and social welfare have made Chennai one of the leading economic centres in India, with a rich legacy of entrepreneurship and growth.

Tamil Isai

Literally, a movement for Tamil music, the Tamil Isai Iyakkam28 may be dated to the late 1920s, when senior publicists and patrons like Sir Raja Annamalai Chettiar, Dhanamugam Chettiar, Sir Muthiah Chettiar, Chidamabaram Nada Mudaliar, Sir C. Rajagopalachari and Kalki Krishnamurti, spoke for the need to patronize and popularize Tamil songs and to document the indigenous Tamil tradition of music as it was represented in classical Sangam literature. It was part of the larger discourse on Tamilparru but reflected more than any other strand, the myriad imaginings of Tamil devotion. Brahmin poets and litterateurs, even some senior musicians, like Musiri Subramani Iyer, Dandapani Desikar, M.K. Tyagaraja Bhagavatar, C. Saraswathi Bai among others,29 joined ranks with Tamil Isai advocates, for whom language devotion was identified with Dravidian separatism, to espouse the cause of Tamil songs, and subsequently to contest the basis on which the classical music tradition had been reconstituted in the recent past. Initially, the movement remained open-ended. Its guiding light Raja Annamalai Chettiar was a true connoisseur of classical music, and a generous patron of the Madras Music Academy, who frequently spoke out against linguistic chauvinism. Subsequently, however, the movement was hijacked by a more vocal segment, who expanded the scope of debate to the consideration of an 'alternative' tradition proposing the exclusive use of Tamil compositions in conceits and the retrieval of an older musical tradition that was unique to the Tamil country. Ironically, the modalities of the project, defining and delineating the Tamil Isai tradition, and its conceptual frame were largely derivative; it followed in almost all essentials, the Academy model. Like the Madras Academy, the Tamil Isai worked on a history project that stressed the exceptionalism of the Tamil legacy, making it the foundation stone for Karnatik music, involving traditional practitioners like the Oduvars during their deliberations and endeavouring to situate Tamil music in new institutional spaces of modern education and musical entertainment, thereby staking claims to custodianship over an alternative tradition of classical Tamil music and culture. And yet the project failed both in terms of developing a popular base for its consumption as well as of challenging the hegemony of the nationalist cultural project. For, embedded within the larger project of Tamil promotion was the problem of multiple imaginings and the need to negotiate

with modernity, which made it almost impossible to singularize the local, at the expense of the national, not to speak of the global

The Tamil Isai movement was launched in 1929,30 when Annamalai Chettiar founded the Minakshi College in Chidambaram, which later became Annamalai University in 1932. He endowed a music school in the premises of the university that by the 1940s had instituted an academic degree programme centred on Tamil music, the first in south India. The university's affinity with Tamil music had earlier been made evident in 1936 when the Vice Chancellor, Srinivasa Sastri, organized a music conference, where it was resolved that Tamil songs should be included in greater numbers in public conceits and incentives should be held out to encourage original compositions in Tamil. These early efforts did not bear fruit as performers continued to follow the kacheri format popularized by the Academy which gave Tamil songs only a minor slot. The raja and his associates did not lose heart and persisted in their efforts to organize the first Tamil Isai conference in Madras (14—17 August 1941), in which a number of resolutions were passed to give the movement a comprehensive agenda to work on. The conference was convened under the auspices of Annamalai University and concluded with a number of conceits including those of Musiri Subramania Iyer, Papanasam Sivan and K. Minakshi Sundaram Pillai. In his inaugural address, Annamalai Chettiar pointed out that it was not his intention to denigrate compositions in other languages, all of which had a legitimate Contesting the Classical I 155 place in the repertoire, but to bring out the richness of Tamil musical traditions and encourage the popularization and dissemination of Tamil compositions. He de-linked the issue of Tamil Isai from the programme of linguistic chauvinism, and linked it instead with the larger question of aesthetic expression that was ideally conveyed through'one's mother tongue. He drew attention to the fact that despite the centrality of lyrics in Indian music, many of the singers, not to speak of the listeners, did not always understand the languages in which the music was rendered. The conference lasted four days and came up with the following resolutions.

1. The conference requests the executive authorities in charge of institutions for the advancement of music to give prominence to Tamil songs in preference to songs in other languages which might be taught if necessary, but only to a very small extent (Forty per cent Tamil, forty per cent Telugu and the rest in other languages).

2. The conference requests music associations (sangeetha sabhas) and music academies to arrange concerts in such a way that songs are in Tamil, and that only a minor portion of the concert was devoted to songs in other languages.

3. The conference requests patrons and lovers of music to support the cause of Tamil songs.

4. The conference would at an early date approach the authorities in charge of radio stations to arrange their programmes intended for the people of Tamil Nadu in such a way that Tamil songs predominated.

These resolutions had the support of select musicians like Musiri Subramania Iyer, Papanasam Sivan (composer), K. Minakshi Sundaram Pillai, all of whom took part in the conference and the accompanying music concerts, but they did not go down well with the wider musical fraternity. The Madras Music Academy, while endorsing the decision to encourage and popularize Tamil compositions, did not take kindly to the suggestion of pruning the classical repertoire or of introducing the language issue in the field of classical music, which in its opinion, drew from a wide range of inspirations and cultural influences. It was not merely that the bulk of the compositions were in Telugu or Sanskrit— the languages favoured by eighteenth century composers like Tyagaraja, Dikshitar, or Syama Sastri—it was also a question of introducing divisive regional and linguistic considerations into the larger realm of the south Indian classical tradition. An editorial in The Hindu dated 2 September 1941 said it all.

It is one thing to wish the encouragement of the composition of great music in Tamil, those who give a fillip to this wholly laudable object by constituting prizes, holding competitions, and soon, will be doing a needed and valuable public service. But it is as futile as it is dangerous to try to affect this by laying a ban on the singing of songs composed in other languages. There is no room for protection in music. Those who think that compositions in Tamil will be stimulated by compelling singers to sing only Tamil pieces little understand the way in which the creative imagination in music or in any other art functions.

The editorial stressed the openness and dynamism of classical music in the south—a tradition that had produced Tyagaraja, the Telugu saint composer, and had its foundations set by the Kannada saint Purandaradasa and creative inputs in Tamil and even Marathi. It was only when singers sang from an inner compulsion that creativity and vitality could be retained not because the 'box office or self-constituted custodians of Tamil autonomy demanded it'.34 The

editorial warned against the pernicious nature of the movement, which did not abide by artistic considerations and was bound to debase popular taste. In a similar but more humorous vein, the popular weekly Ananda Vikatan carried a piece on the controversy in the form of a dialogue between Tamil and Tyagaraja. It made the point that while genuine outpourings could only be in the mother tongue, no music lover could dismiss the composer's songs, for the music that it embodied, was that of Tamil Nadu and a universal bhakta. There was thus no question of dislodging Tyagaraja who belonged to the traditional lineage of Tamil Alwars and bhakti saints. In a sense, the argument typified the sentiments of brahmin stalwarts like Kalki Krishnamurti (who wrote the piece) and musicians like Ariyakudi, Musiri, and Dandapani Desikar, all of whom had a lively interest in popularizing Tamil compositions without compromising their adherence to the Karnatik tradition as they had received it. The Academy followed suit in 1941, when it convened its annual winter concert. In the presidential address to the conference, Venkataswami Naidu (Principal, Maharani College, Vijayanagaram), reminded the members that the extensive use of one language was detrimental to the cause of music and that a very special responsibility had to be shouldered by his fellow Tamil musicians, (by which he meant members of the Madras Music Academy) who happened to be 'the custodians of the rich treasures of Carnatic music. As trustees they are above parties. On them rests the sacred duty of preserving and handing down intact their rich heritage of Telugu and Kannada songs'.

The message was unambiguous. Ariyakudi Ramanuja Iyengar, speaking on the eighth day of the 1941 Academy conference, came down strongly on the protagonists of the Tamil Isai movement, whose agenda clearly compromised aesthetic considerations for those of linguistic pride and chauvinism. Iyengar stressed the point that he was opposed not to Tamil, but to the idea of musicians being coerced to sing Tamil songs exclusively. As an artist, his concern was aesthetic not political, and from the point of view of music, pure and simple, he found the controversy deplorable. Music had a language of its own that transcended the language of words. Further, he reminded his critics that Tamil songs had been accommodated in the new concert repertoire which was in vogue, and that he along with some other musicians had adopted the practice of singing Tamil compositions. The language controversy, therefore, had no place at all in the field of aesthetic music.37 Moreover, the Tamil Isai Iyakkam was too limited a conception when compared to the grand classical project that nationalists had embarked upon. For Ariyakudi there was never any doubt that Tamil songs like Tevaram and Timppugal were recitative verses

and not full-fledged musical compositions like the kritis of the trinity. They could be sung only as miscellaneous pieces and could not inform the basis of the classical music culture, which besides being inclusive of multiple genres was firmly structured round the musical contribution of the trinity.

Raja Annamalai Chettiar continued to defend his position. In fact, even before the music conference of the Academy, the Raja addressed a gathering on the occasion of Tyagaraja's birthday celebrations in Madras in October 1941.39 He argued that the Tamil Isai movement had been misrepresented in the press and that baseless fear and prejudices were informing the opposition.40 Language in his view, was central to music— the presence of a rich tradition in vocal music testified to this. It was only proper for Tamilians to take pride in their language and to take on the project of preserving and developing compositions so that both the performer and his audience could achieve complete identification. The raja's supporters, many of them front ranking musicians with strong affiliations to the Madras Academy, maintained that the intention of the Tamil Isai was in fact not to oust Telugu songs from the repertoire, but to give Tamil audiences the fullest access to Tamil music. Under the raja's initiative, Tamil Music Conferences proliferated41 where Tamil songs, both contemporary and traditional were sung. Performers were encouraged to take part in these proceedings and demonstrate their enthusiasm and musical skill in order to disseminate a wider appreciation Raja Annamalai Chettiar continued to defend his position. In fact, even before the music conference of the Academy, the Raja addressed a gathering on the occasion of Tyagaraja's birthday celebrations in Madras in October 1941.39 He argued that the Tamil Isai movement had been misrepresented in the press and that baseless fear and prejudices were informing the opposition.40 Language in his view, was central to music— the presence of a rich tradition in vocal music testified to this. It was only proper for Tamilians to take pride in their language and to take on the project of preserving and developing compositions so that both the performer and his audience could achieve complete identification. The raja's supporters, many of them front ranking musicians with strong affiliations to the Madras Academy, maintained that the intention of the Tamil Isai was in fact not to oust Telugu songs from the repertoire, but to give Tamil audiences the fullest access to Tamil music. Under the raja's initiative, Tamil Music Conferences proliferated41 where Tamil songs, both contemporary and traditional were sung. Performers were encouraged to take part in these proceedings and demonstrate their enthusiasm and musical skill in order to disseminate a wider appreciation for

Tamil music. Those who responded to the call were both professional musicians and bhagavatars who had lent their support to the Madras Academy project, and stage singers and traditional performers from the Oduvar community.

To what extent the raja's patronage of Tamil music provided an alternative definition of the classical or even a more intimate and local aural legacy is debatable. For, classical music traditions, from the closing decades of the nineteenth century, had filtered down to the Tamil stage providing the rudimentary melodic basis for the music of film and drama.42 It went to the credit of bhagavatars, stage singers, and theatre artists that many of the Tamil songs were set to scores with an appropriately classical melodic form. The interaction between stage singers, like S.G. Kitappa for example, and artists like T.N. Rajaratnam Pillai, Govidaswamy Pillai, Gopalakrishna Iyer was creatively alive43 and resulted in the emergence of a repertoire that effectively served the interests of stage music and later on film music, but could not effectively claim the space of the classical. Actually, the reverse happened; Tamil songs were partially integrated into classical concerts and sung in the second half representing a lighter variation of the classical tradition.

The Tamil Music Conferences became a regular feature and were not confined to Madras city. The year 1941 alone saw conferences proliferate in Devakottai, Tirichirapalli, Madurai, Pudukottai, Kumbakonam, Dindigul, and Tirunelveli.45 The conferences drew on the support of stalwarts like Kalki Krishnamurti and musicians such as Dandapani Desikar, Tiger Varadachariar, Chitoor Subramania Pillai, and C. Saraswathi Bai, and reiterated the importance of popularizing the Tamil compositions. The inaugural address to the first Tamil Music Conference in Madras (14-17 August 1941) observed that it was in Tamil Nadu alone that songs in the mother tongue were being relegated to a lower slot.46 In the Trichinapally conference of 1941, it was suggested that the All India Radio Station be instructed to take active steps to promote the cause of Tamil Isai and that the local Tamil Association act as a liaising agency.47 The issue was kept alive but did not seem to make an appreciable dent in the structure of the classical music concert perfected under the aegis of the Madras Academy.

The movement gained further momentum in 1943, when the Tamil Isai Sangam was formally established in Madras (December 1943) and organized its first twelve-day conference on 2 December 1943.48 A number of musicians including N.C. Vasanthakokilam, M.K. Thyagaraja Bhagavatar, and G.N. Balasubramanian took part in the conference and Contesting

the Classical I 159 spoke on behalf of the movement. While these efforts supported the popularization of Tamil compositions and gave professional classical musicians an opportunity to set their melodic framework, they did not provide a basis for developing an alternative classical tradition. The musicians who were sympathetic to the movement did not, at any stage jettison their classical training which was strongly grounded in the lineage associated with the trinity. As Tiger Varadachariar explained in a letter to The Hindu dated 6 September 1941, that the object of the Tamil Isai movement was not to reject compositions in other languages but to give Tamil speaking audiences an opportunity to appreciate Tamil songs.

The Tamil Music Conference is not against Thyagaraja's kritis (compositions) being taught in schools and colleges, nor against these being sung in public conferences. The resolution of the Conference was only to speed up the pace in which Tamil songs will be composed and sung in the Tamil country.49 It was when the Tamil Isai movement tended to bring musicians to their line, that the issue became contentious. In 1941, the Madras Academy passed a resolution endorsing the opinion of the conference of experts at the Academy that it should be the aim of all musicians and lovers of music 'to preserve and maintain the highest standards of Karnatik music and that no consideration of language should be imported as to lower or impair that standard'.50 The realm of the classical thus remained within the jurisdiction of the brahmin elite represented by associations such as the Madras Academy, and dominated by the repertoire that it had developed and refined over the years.

The preoccupation with Tamil as the only legitimate vehicle for musical expression, gave way in the early fifties, and extended to the larger question of researching into an alternative musical tradition that had found currency in Tamil Nadu since very early times and had found expression in a huge corpus of devotional and religious hymns such as the Tevaram songs. These were sung in temples and were in the form of recitative music without embellishment and set to a limited range of specific melodies said to have originated during the Sangam centuries and known as panns. A committee for investigating the history and practice of panns was instituted by the Sangam which held its first major conference in I960.51 Reporting on the thirteenth meeting of the Tamil Isai Research Committee in 1960, the president of the Sangam, T.M. Narayanaswami Pillai reported that the earlier emphasis on singing Tamil songs only, had been a self-defeating exercise and it was to strengthen the Tamil Isai movement that the research committee had been organized to 'establish the antiquity and authority of Tamil Isai, to

investigate its scientific form, to protect and preserve whatever has survived and to research in an orderly way the various proofs that could re-connect the broken strings of the old, traditional Tamil music and to facilitate the renaissance of Tamil Isai'.52 The continuity of the tradition, albeit fractured, was in part due to its practice by traditional singers associated with temples and temple rituals. Here, the movement came face to face with the issue of traditional performing communities, whose cooperation was envisaged as absolutely essential, but whose induction in the exercise of retrieval was, as we shall see, severely compromised by the nature of the Tamil Sangam's agenda, and by the absence of an organic connection between the practice and its patrons.

Cultural Organisation

The development of cultural organizations in Chennai, historically known as Madras, represents a significant aspect of the social and cultural evolution of South India. From the colonial period to the modern era, these organizations have played a vital role in preserving, promoting, and transforming the rich cultural heritage of the region. Cultural institutions in Madras emerged as centres for music, dance, literature, theatre, and social reform, reflecting both traditional values and modern influences. During the colonial period, Madras became an important urban centre under the British East India Company, which indirectly contributed to cultural growth by creating a cosmopolitan environment. The interaction between Indian traditions and Western ideas led to a cultural awakening. Educated elites, scholars, and reformers felt the need to organize cultural activities systematically, resulting in the formation of cultural associations and societies. These organizations aimed to preserve classical arts while adapting to changing social conditions. One of the most prominent cultural organizations in Madras is the Madras Music Academy, established in 1928. It became a premier institution for the promotion of Carnatic music and classical dance. The academy organizes the famous annual music festival during the Margazhi season, attracting artists and audiences from across the world. It has played a crucial role in standardizing and popularizing classical music traditions.

Another important institution is Kalakshetra Foundation, founded by Rukmini Devi Arundale. This organization is dedicated to the preservation and promotion of Bharatanatyam and other traditional arts. Kalakshetra introduced a refined style of dance and emphasized discipline, aesthetics, and cultural values. It has trained generations of artists and contributed significantly to the global recognition of Indian classical dance. The growth of sabhas (cultural

associations) is a distinctive feature of Madras cultural life. Numerous sabhas were established to organize music concerts, dance performances, and literary events. Institutions such as Sri Parthasarathy Swami Sabha have been instrumental in providing platforms for artists and promoting cultural exchange. These sabhas became the backbone of Chennai's vibrant cultural scene, especially during festival seasons.

Literary and linguistic organizations also played a vital role in the cultural development of Madras. Tamil Sangams and literary societies promoted the study and publication of Tamil literature. Scholars and writers contributed to the revival of classical Tamil works and encouraged modern literary movements. The interaction between traditional scholarship and modern education enriched the intellectual life of the region. Theatre and drama organizations emerged as important cultural institutions in Madras. Drama troupes and theatre groups staged plays based on mythology, history, and social themes. These performances not only entertained audiences but also conveyed moral and social messages. Over time, theatre evolved into modern forms, influencing the development of Tamil cinema.

Cultural organizations in Madras also contributed to social reform movements. Many institutions were associated with efforts to eradicate social evils such as caste discrimination and gender inequality. Reformers used cultural platforms to spread awareness and promote progressive ideas. The integration of culture and social reform created a dynamic environment for change. Educational institutions also played a role in promoting culture. Colleges and universities encouraged students to participate in cultural activities, including music, dance, and literature. The University of Madras, for example, supported cultural studies and research, contributing to the preservation of heritage.

In the post-independence period, cultural organizations in Chennai expanded their activities and adapted to modern challenges. Government bodies such as the Tamil Nadu Eyal Isai Nataka Manram were established to support artists and cultural programs. Private organizations and trusts continued to play a significant role in sustaining cultural traditions. Cultural organizations in Chennai have also gained international recognition. Festivals, conferences, and performances attract global audiences, making the city a cultural capital of India. The preservation of classical arts alongside the promotion of contemporary forms reflects the dynamic nature of these institutions. Despite their achievements, cultural organizations face challenges such as commercialization, declining patronage, and the impact of globalization.

However, their resilience and adaptability have ensured the continued vitality of Chennai's cultural life.

Attitude of East India Company towards

Indians and the growth of press : The Bengal Gazette was the first newspaper ever published, but its operations were stopped soon in 1872. The reason behind it was the aggressive condemnation of the East India Company through its articles. The role of the press in the freedom struggle was considered very important. After the Bengal Gazette was stopped from publishing, many other newspapers came into existence, such as the Calcutta Chronicle, the Bengal Journal, the Bombay Herald, and the Madras Courier. Seeing the introduction of so many newspapers, the East India Company expressed its concern regarding the news of their unfair practices in India. To prevent the information of these newspapers from reaching London, the East India Company sought to impose restrictions on the publication of all the newspapers and journals.

The East India Company considered the Indian lands to be its personal property, and all Englishmen in India who were not employed by the company were seen as interlopers and trespassers by the company's officials. When it came to the company, unofficial Englishmen were more likely to criticise the monopolised organisation. As a result, they were outspoken in their criticism of the government and its officials, and they took pleasure in the hatred directed at them in the periodicals. In this way, there was a tug of war between the officials, who not only despised the new paper but also held them in the highest regard and the opposition, who made it a point to annoy the government and their servants not only through fair criticism of policy and action but also by going above and beyond the pale. Early histories of the era in India, which were written and editedentirely by Englishmen, serve as a vivid illustration of this point. Bolts made an unsuccessful attempt to launch a newspaper in1767, but the initiative was snuffed out when the government deported the individual who had initiated the venture. It wasn't until Hickey started India's first weekly newspaper, the Bengal Gazette, in 1780 that the beginning of the press in India was officially established. Soon after, Hickey found himself at odds with Warren Hastings, mostly because he was critical of Hastings' policy in general. After Hickey's arrest and imprisonment the newspapers were established in Calcutta between 1780 and 1783, with the editor of one such publication being deported by John Shore in 1783. They included

India Gazette (1780), the Calcutta Gazette (1784), and Hurkaru with the latter in particular achieving some notoriety and prominence.

The media helped in the development of nationalism by making the people of India aware of the concepts of national ideals, freedom and equality Nationalist leaders tried to create public debate and public opinion through newspapers by questioning the authority of the colonial powers. They wrote about colonial misrule and encouraged people to participate in nationalist activities. The British administration imposed various restrictions on the activities of the media. However, it should be noted that the stricter the administration

The number of Indian newspapers increased accordingly. This attempt to censor anti-administration publications also aroused militant protests. After 1857, the local media became even more vocal in their criticism of British policy. Regarding the role of the nationalist press, the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, wrote in March 1886, 'Day after day, hundreds of sharp-witted babus pour forth their indignation against their English oppressors in very pungent and effective diatribe.

The British authorities enacted strict laws to control the freedom of the press in view of the increasing anti-government activities of the media. 1799 Governor General Lord Wellesley introduced the first regulations on the media. In 1823, acting Governor General John Adam new against the press issues rules. According to the terms, Indian media were required to obtain advance registration and compulsory licenses. however, These regulations were repealed in 1835 when Sir Charles Metcalf took office as Governor-General. As the revolt against British rule broke out in 1857, Lord Canning, the Governor-General at the time, imposed a Licensing Act “on newspapers and periodicals.

Acts and Regulations:

To prevent the growth and development of the press in India, the British government decided to pass certain acts and regulations. The intention behind these acts was to stop the spread of specifically nationalist views and sentiments through these newspapers.The British Indian press was legally protected by laws such as the Vernacular Press Act, the Censorship of Press Act, 1799, the Metcalfe Act, and the Indian Press Act, 1910, while media outlets were governed by the Licensing Regulations, 1823, the Licensing Act, 1857, and the Registration Act, 1867.

The East India Company wanted to prohibit the Indians from coming together and launching a revolt against the government. Here are some important acts and regulations that were passed during British rule:-

1. Censorship of Press Act:
2..Licensing Regulation Ordinance
3. Press Act or the Metcalfe Act
4. Licensing Act
5. Vernacular Press Act
6. Registration Act
7. Indian Press Act
8. Newspaper Act

Censorship of Press Act 1799:

The first act passed in the direction of imposing restrictions on the Indian press was the Censorship of Press Act in 1799. It was passed by Richard Wellesley, who was the Governor-General of India at the time. The Censorship of Press Act was passed in order to restrict the French people from spreading any news that was against the British government. It also imposed a restriction on all the newspapers and journals that would not be published without first getting approval from the British government. All the magazines, journals, pamphlets, books, and newspapers were covered under this act after a modification in 1807. The limitations were made to be easier after Francis Hastings occupied the chair in the year 1818

Licensing Regulation Act 1823

The next act or ordinance passed was the Licensing Regulation Act by John Adams. This ordinance was passed in 1823 by Adams, who was the Governor-General then. This act was primarily focused on the Indian newspapers or those that were at least edited by Indians. According to the Licensing Regulation, if any newspaper were published without a license, it would be considered a serious criminal violation. All the Indian newspapers came under the radar. Raja Ram Mohan Roy decided to stop the publication of Mirat-ul-Akhbar which was a Persian journal. The journal was started by Roy in 1822. He also launched a revolt against the British government in 1824.

Metcalfe Act or Press Act 1835

The Press Act or the Metcalfe Act came to be known as the liberator of the press. The act revoked the License Regulations of 1823. It enabled the press to be more liberal, which contributed to the development of press in India to a great extent. The main requirement of the Metcalfe Act was that the printer of the publisher of the newspaper must provide all details regarding the place of publication. If the instructions are not followed, the newspaper shall be stopped from publishing. Sir Charles Metcalfe (1834-36) is known as the "Liberator of the Indian Press," as he repealed all restrictions on the vernacular press with the famous "Press Law."

Licensing Act 1857

Another act was passed after the Revolt of 1857, called the Licensing Act. The act was passed by Canning, the Governor-General of India at the time. This act passed strict limitations on the press. Any new publications were supposed to be published or printed only with the permission of the Government.

Vernacular Press Act 1878

An act was passed by Lytton, who was the then Viceroy of India. This act was passed towards controlling the vernacular press in a better way. The Vernacular Press Act was introduced to limit the freedom of newspapers published in local Indian languages. It happened as a result of the differences between the European population and the Indian population post the Revolt of 1857.

Registration Act, 1867

The Metcalfe act of 1835 was repealed by the Registration Act of 1867.The act was said to impose regulations but no restrictions on the press.The name of the printer, publisher, and place of publication were now required to be included in the print media, and a copy was required to be submitted to the government.

Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908

The Newspaper (Incitement to Offense) Act of 1908 empowered magistrates to seize press property that published objectionable material likely to incite murder or violent acts. Extremist nationalist activity during and after the Swadeshi movement of 1906 prompted this act.

Indian Press Act, 1910:

This act was a revision of the Vernacular Act, which empowered local governments to demand a security at registration from the printer/publisher and forfeit/deregister an offending

newspaper, and the printer of a newspaper was required to submit two copies of each issue to local governments.

Since the early nineteenth century, nationalists have prioritised the protection of civil liberties, including press freedom. Raja Rammohan Roy had protested against a resolution restricting press freedom as early as 1824. From around 1870 to 1918, the early phase of the nationalist movement focused more on political propaganda and education, as well as the formation and propagation of nationalist ideology. The press proved to be a valuable tool in the hands of nationalists for this purpose. In its early days, the Indian National Congress relied solely on the press to disseminate its resolutions and proceedings. During these years, a slew of new newspapers appeared under distinguished journalists. These newspapers were not established to make a profit, but rather to provide national and public service. In fact, these newspapers had a wide readership and sparked a library movement.

Their influence was not limited to cities and towns; these newspapers reached out to remote villages, where each news item and editorial was thoroughly read and discussed in the 'local libraries' that gathered around a single newspaper. In this way, these libraries served the dual purpose of political education and political participation. Government acts and policies were scrutinised in these publications. They served as an opposition institution to the government.

English and Vernacular

Architecture it is widely accepted creates and shapes relations between people. Vernacular architecture is embedded with socio cultural knowledge systems as intangible and tangible heritage present in tradition and beliefs and manifest in their physical realities. Glassie elaborates on this with respect to walls and technology. “With the act of physical alteration that calls into space, implying a past and a future, and with walls that divide space, at once including and excluding, architecture has happened” . “Technology is a corollary of human existence. As life unfolds, every technological act brings changes in two great relations: the one that always connects the humans and nonhuman spheres and, the other that is built to connect people with one another” . “Vernacular technology depends on direct connections: direct success to materials and direct connections amongst suppliers, suppliers and consumers who simultaneously shape landscapes, social orders and economic arrangements, while wealth circulates in the vicinity” . A study of walls in domestic vernacular architecture will inform us about local traditions and lifestyle patterns and hint at the direction taken in terms of transformations due to the

transmission of other technologies through modernization. On the one hand, there is a desire to inculcate new systems and on the other hand a desire to keep certain traditions alive. The paper will demonstrate this aspect through case studies, in a vernacular setting where there has been an adaption of "new" technologies, relative to time, and as a response to needs. It will show that in an urban setting vernacular heritage is objectified and features as motifs and artefacts.

DEFINITIONS

The word "Vernacular" derives from the Latin "vernaculus" meaning domestic, "native" so the definition "native science of building" is really quite appropriate . Oliver further elaborates his definition to say "in using the generally accepted phrase 'vernacular architecture,' I am embracing all the types of building made by people in tribal, folk, peasant and popular societies where an architect or specialist designer, is not employed" . Included in the scope of vernacular architecture he continues to say "Although traditional village building has declined and the barriadas of Peru, the bustees of Calcutta or the favelas of Brazil are made from salvaged and scrap material, some architects have seen in the periurban squatter's passionate desire to build their own". "Vernacular architecture studies may in this way defined as the study of those human actions and behaviors that are manifest in commonplace architecture. "Vernacular architecture is a set of objects, the common buildings of a given place and time: as ensembles of buildings or vernacular landscapes, the products of a particular architectural community: as vernacular architecture studies, an approach to studying buildings as cultural manifestations".

Chennai's Architectural Heritage

As you all know every building has its own History and like wise the Public buildings built by the British in Chennai City has now become historical monuments worthy of study. Since it has survived for 100 years it has good claim to be called historical monument. Beautiful buildings like Spencers and Moore Market cannot be rebuilt. Thanks to the effort taken by the INTACH, Government and other Non Government bodies that the Senate House is back in form. There are many buildings like the Royapuram, Railway Station, National Art Gallery, Bharat Insurance building, Chepauk Palace Presidency College, Ripon building, Government Fine Arts College etc, that cry for restoration. It is up to the Government to restore these buildings to its former glory and it is the duty of the Citizen to see that no damage is done to these buildings. In this paper I have listed a brief history of the Historical Buildings in and around Chennai in a chronological order. All the Buildings were designed by British Architects who served as

Consulting Architects to the British Government. I have arranged it in the following order – Name of the building, period of construction, Name of the Architect, Design / style of the building, Present condition and the last unit is a comparative study of similar buildings in other British presidency towns.

Memorial Hall – 1860

- As thanks giving to God for saving Madras from the Revolt of 1857
- Designed by Colonel George Winscom and modified by Col. Horsley
- Classical style with Greek Overtones. Resembles temples in Greece. It is purer in form.
- Traces of deterioration. Now used for film shootings and sales. Hall if maintained well can be used for social gathering and conducting Lectures.
- Memorial Hall in Quetta was designed in 1905 by James Ransome in Indo – Saracenic.

Madras Museum - 1862

- To Preserve Geological specimen and archaeological artifacts
- Designed by Herny Irwin in Indo scenic style
- It is maintained well but several additions have taken place. The front view remains untouched.
- Prince of Wales Museum (Bombay) 1904 was designed by George Wittet. It has mixed element of Hindu Brackets. Mughal arches and European classical design.
- Indian Museum (Calculta) 1875) Italianate style and classical style.
- Victoria and Albert Museum, Bombay 1862, Palladian work designed by William Tracey.
- Napier Museum Thiruvananthapuram by chisholm in Keralite and British Style.

Public works Department 1865

- Robert F. Chisholm
- Pure Saracenic style. The front facade has not changed but additions have spoilt the beauty of the building. Regular maintenance can prolong the life of the building.
- Bombay PWD building was built by Henry St. Clair Wilkins in 1869.

Board of Revenue – 1768

- The first building was constructed in by Paul Benfield
- Later additions were done in 1870. by Robert F Chisholm

- It has a mixture of tropical Gothic and Indo Saracenic style. Consist of two blocks Humayan Mahal and Khalsa Mahal 124
- Humayan Mahal - close to Wallajab Road, and Khalsa Mahal facing the beach road. The building though in constant use still it lacks maintenance. The authorities concerned should take steps to prevent it from deterioration.

Post and Telegraph office – 1884

- Designed by Robert F. Chisholm
- Saracenic style with projecting eaves in stone as in Bijapur. Arches and columns as in Gujarat.
- Inspite of fire accident it still remained to be a landmark. Though in use it needs proper maintenance by regular inspection.
- John Beg in 1909 designed Bombay Post Office in the style that existed in Bijapur
- Calculta G.P.O built in 1864 was designed by Walter Granville in classical style.
- In Luknow the GPO was designed by Henry V.Lanchester in 1928.

Victoria Public Hall / Town Hall – 1887

- Designed by Rober F. Chisholm but built by Namberumal Chetty in Romanesque style
- It is in a very bad condition and cannot be used any more. At present it is being renovated.
- Bombay Town Hall designed by Col. Thomas Cowper in 1820 in Neo – classical Greek Revival style.
- Calcutta Town Hall was designed by Col.John Garstin in 1815 in the classical style.
- Lahore town hall was designed by F.W.Stevens in Indo – Saracenic
- Town hall in Hyderabad was designed by Vincent Esch in the Rajasthani and Mughal style in 1913

High Court - 1892

- Design prepared by J.W.Brassington and later by Henry Irwin who completed it with the assistance of J.H. Stephens in Indo Saracenic style.
- It is well maintained.
- Bombay High Court designed by Col. James A Fuller in 1876. It has a mixture of Venetian Gothic and early English style.

- Calcutta High Court designed by Walter Granville in 1864 in Gothic Style.
- Hyderabad High Court was designed by Vincent Esch in 1914 using narow neck lotus petal rings as special features

Bank of Madras – 1896

- Henry Irwin adopted styles from Col.Samuel Jacob. Constructor was Namberumal Chetty in Indo Saracenic style resembling Mughal structures of Fatehpur Sikri
- Condition of the building is fairly good. Regular maintenance can prolong the life of the building
- Chartered Bank in Calcutta was designed by Martin in 1906.
- Bank of India in Bombay was designed by Claude Battey in 1944
- State Bank of India in Bombay was designed by Gregson in 1918 in simple classical style with Indian elements

Connemara Library – 1896

- Designed by Henry Irwin and constructed by Namberumal Chetty in Indo Saracenic style
- It is well maintained and a lot of improvement has take place.
- Public Library (Calcutta was designed by C.K.Bobison in 1844.
- Bombay Library was designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott in 1874.
- Punjab Public Library designed by Wittet in Indo Saracenic in 1905.
- Reza library was designed by W.C. Wright in 1904 in Indo-Saracenic style.

National Art Gallery – 1909

- Henry Irwin designed this Gallery in Indo - Saracenic in a well orchestrated combination of Mughal, Hindi and classical elements. Main front echoes Buland Darwaza in Fatehpur Sikri.
- At present it has been closed to public. The ASI has taken up the work of restoration.
- Calcutta Art Gallery was designed by William Emerson in 1921.
- Baraoda Art Gallery was designed by Mant and later by chisholm in 1894

Archives - Record Office - 1909 126

- Designed by G.S.T. Harris and built by P.Lognatha Muddaliar in Indo saracenic style

- It is well maintained and a lot of facilities have been done to safeguard the records. Better facilities for researchers to carry out their research work. One more floor is added to the Library. Due to the Centenary celebration it has received a new face lift

Ripon Building - 1913

- Designed by G.S.T. Harris was assisted by Loganatha Mudaliar in Classical style
- Looks good from out side but due to alterations and additions there are cracks which has to be cemented. It is still able to retain - G.S.T.Harris's "vision in white."
- Bombay Municipality office was built by F.W. Stevens in Oriental Gothic style.
- Bombay Municipal Corporation building was designed by John Adams in 1893 in Gothic style.

Royapuram Station - 1853

- Designed by William Adelpi Tracey
- Resembled like a Regency Mansion in a Quasi Classical style of the Renaissance Period.
- Put to minimum use gives a deserted look – a faint echo of its original handsomeness

Madras Medical College -1892

- School of Medicine in 1835 and later Medical College in 1851
- Designed by Henry Irwin in Indo Saracenic style
- The building still remains to be as it was in the past.
- Calcutta Medical College 1852 was designed by Col. John Garstin in Classical style.
- Lucknow Medical College 1912 was designed by Swinton Jacob in Indo – Saracenic style.

Government College of Arts & Crafts 1850

- School of Arts in 1850 later upgraded as College in 1961.
- Designed by Robert F. Chisholm in IndoSaracenic style. First school of Arts in India and in Asia.
- Though it still functions it lacks proper maintenance. Library remained closed for a long time. Of late renovation work is going on. 128
- Sri J.J. Jamesdji Jeejeebhoy school of Arts in Bombay was designed by William Burges in 1866

Senate House – 1864

- Designed by Robert F Chisholm
- Leaning towards the Byzantine with the blend of Indo saracenic
- Due to the effort of the INTACH this beautiful building of the by gone days has come back to life. Hall is used for conducting Lectures and Seminars.
- Convocation Hall inside Bombay University was designed by Sir Gibert Scott in true Gothic style untouched by the Hindu or Saracenic
- Calcutta Senate Hall 1864 was designed by P.W.D. Engineers in classical style

Presidency College - 1870

- Designed by Robert F. Chisholm in pure Italian style derived from Renaissance Classicism
- Lectures and Seminars are held in the hall
- Mayo College of Mant at Ajmer was built in Indo - saracenic.
- Elipinstone College at Bombay was in Gothic style.
- Muir college 1886 in Aallahabad was designed by William Emerson in Indo - saracenic style

Law College 1884

- Designed by Henry Irwin in Indo Saracenic style. It appears in the same style as the High Court.
- It appears to be in good condition and it can remain to be the same if the students reserve the building without causing any damage.

Madras University – 1913 ™

- Designed by Edward Reid and Booth and the Contractor was Somasudaram in Indo – Saracenic style integrating itself with the Senate House ™
- Well maintained except for few alterations done in the interior ™
- Bombay University designed by Sir Gillbert Scott, in pure Gothic style in 1874. ™
- Calcutta University designed by Walter Granville in 1864 was designed in classical style.
- University of Allahabad was designed by Swinton Jacob in Indo saracenic style in 1887
- Lucknow univeristy 1910 was designed by Jacob in Indo saracenic style

Anna Engineering College - 1920 ™

- Originated in 1858 as Government School of Survey in Fort St. George then transferred to Khalsa Mahal in Chapuk palace in 1859 as Civil Engineering College and then to Guindy in 1920. ™
- Designed by W.H. Nicholls consulting Architect and later by F.J. Wilson Chief Engineer.
- Classical style in Red Facade of exposed brick work with definitions in grey granite ™
- The building is full of life and extensively used and is also properly maintained ™
- Bihar Engineering College was designed by W.C. Wright in Indo - Saracenic in 1890.

General Hospital – 1890 ™

- First building was built in 1690 and later extended in 1771 and further extended in 1859.
- Designed by Col. Patrick Ross, and later by John. Sullivan ™
- First Building was in Tuscan style ™
- The British constructed Hospital has been demolished and the new hospital was built during the reign of Miss. J.Jayalalitha when she was as Chief Minister in Hindu style. ™
- In Bombay Cama and Albless Hospital 1887 was designed by John Adam in Gothic style 130 ™
- Zenana Hospital in Delhi was designed by Swinton Jacop in 1887.
- Osmania General Hospital 1921 in Hyderabad was designed by Vincent Esch in Indo – Saracenic ™
- Jacob's K.G. Hospital Lucknow was built in Indo – Saracenic ™
- Albert hospital Kolhapur was master piece of Mant – 1878 Indo – Saracenic style

Maternity Hospital – 1808 ™

- Designed by Major General Gifford and constructed by P.S Ramaswamy Mudhaliar along . ™
- Masonry structure's inspiration was drawn from the architecture of the Himalayan region
- The hospital is in full use but not well maintained. ™
- The side block has been demolished and new block is under construction. ™
- Bombay Obstetric Hospital 1891 designed by John Adam in Gothic style. ™
- Lady Dufferin Victoria Hospital in Calcutta was designed by Sudlow Ballardie and Thompson in International style.

S.N.	Questions (5 Marks)	LOCF Mapping		
1	Define the concept of cultural renaissance in Chennai.	CO1	PO1	K1
2	Write a short note on the development of art and music in Chennai.	CO2	PO2	K1
3	Explain the growth of dance and theatre in Chennai.	CO2	PO2	K2
4	Briefly describe the role of Tamil Isai in cultural revival.	CO5	PO3	K2
5	Write a note on cultural organizations in Chennai.	CO5	PO3	K1
6	Discuss the role of English and vernacular press in cultural development.	CO5	PO4	K2
S.N.	**Questions (8 Marks)**	**LOCF Mapping**		
1	Explain the cultural renaissance in Chennai with reference to art, music and dance.	CO1	PO1	K2
2	Analyse the development of drama, theatre and cinema in Chennai.	CO2	PO2	K3
3	Describe the role of business houses in promoting culture in Chennai.	CO4	PO3	K3
4	Examine the importance of Tamil Isai in the cultural history of Chennai.	CO5	PO4	K4
5	Analyse the contribution of cultural organizations to Chennai's cultural growth.	CO5	PO3	K3
6	Discuss the role of press in English and vernacular languages in shaping public opinion.	CO5	PO4	K4
7	Explain the features of Chennai's architectural heritage.	CO5	PO3	K2
8	Evaluate the overall impact of cultural renaissance on Chennai society.	CO5	PO5	K4

UNIT - V

Learning Objectives

1. To understand the development of transportation in Chennai.
2. To examine the growth of tramways and roadways in the city.
3. To analyse the development of railways and their impact.
4. To study the evolution of airways in Chennai.
5. To understand the significance of the Buckingham Canal and Chennai Port Trust.
6. To evaluate the role of transportation in economic development.

Course Outcomes

1. Students will describe the development of transportation in Chennai.
2. Students will explain the role of tramways and roadways.
3. Students will analyse the importance of railways in regional connectivity.
4. Students will examine the growth of airways in Chennai.
5. Students will assess the significance of Buckingham Canal and Chennai Port Trust.
6. Students will evaluate the impact of transport systems on trade and commerce.
7. Students will explain the integration of different modes of transport.
8. Students will develop an understanding of transportation and urban development

Development of Transportation – Tramways

The Madras Tramways was a pioneering public transportation system in Madras (now Chennai), India, that operated from 1874 to 1953, initially as a horse-drawn network and later transitioning to one of Asia's first electric tram systems, serving passengers and goods across key urban routes. Established amid colonial-era urban growth, the system began with a short-lived horse-drawn service in the 1870s, followed by the formation of the Madras Tramway Company in 1885, which laid approximately 18 miles (29 km) of metre-gauge tracks using horse power due to restrictions on steam locomotives. By 1892, the Madras Electric Tramway Company was registered in London, enabling the construction of India's inaugural electric tram line, which opened on 7 May 1895 with overhead wiring and pantograph collection, initially spanning 9 miles (14 km) and expanding to 26 miles (42 km) by the 1920s. At its peak in the early 20th century, the network featured up to 97 tram cars operating on double-track lines, connecting major areas such as Parry's Corner to Luz Junction via Mount Road, Central Station to Purasawalkam, and shuttles to Royapuram and San Thome, with daily ridership reaching 125,000 passengers who paid fares as low as half an anna per mile. The trams, painted in grey with red accents and powered by electric motors limited to 20 mph (32 km/h), were celebrated for their leisurely pace, safety record with no major accidents, and role in fostering social interactions, while also displaying prominent advertisements for local products. Despite its cultural significance and contributions to Madras's entertainment districts and cinema growth,

the system faced challenges including fare controls, labor strikes in the 1920s, and competition from buses, leading to financial losses of 50,000 monthly by the 1950s. The Madras Electric Tramways entered receivership on 12 April 1953, abruptly ending operations and displacing about 1,650 workers, after which the government expanded bus services and repurposed tram sheds in areas like Royapettah and Poonamallee.

Early Proposals and Experiments

Initial Concepts (1830s-1840s)

The earliest concepts for tramways in Madras emerged in the 1830s as utilitarian proposals aimed at improving the transport of construction materials, predating any passenger-oriented systems. In 1836, the Madras government submitted a plan to the East India Company's Directors in London for a tramway to haul road materials from St. Thomas Mount to the city. This initiative, intended to streamline quarrying and delivery logistics, lacked any accompanying cost estimates or financial projections, leading to public scrutiny in the Madras Gazette on 4 May 1836, which questioned the project's rationale and progress. By 1842, interest in tramway infrastructure revived with a more detailed proposal for a stone-based system connecting south Madras to the districts of Santhome and Mylapore, utilizing the newly constructed Elphinstone Bridge over the Adyar River. The design envisioned bullock-pulled carts traversing the tracks, extending over existing roads to facilitate goods movement across challenging terrains. To test feasibility, an experimental section spanning 684 feet (approximately 208 meters) was built at a cost of Rs 1,817.15, equating to roughly Rs 11,880 per mile—a figure derived from engineer Lieutenant Robertson's assessment of the trial track's expenses. Engineering hurdles quickly undermined these early efforts, highlighting the practical limitations of tramways in Madras's environment. The experimental track endured two monsoon seasons, during which shifting sets indicated instability on the heavy sand beds near the river, compounded by unstable ground that demanded frequent repairs. Over longer routes, such maintenance was projected to be prohibitively expensive, with causeways emerging as a more economical alternative for bridging riverine and low-lying areas. These challenges, coupled with the absence of clear economic benefits, led to the abandonment of the 1842 experiment by 1843, though the foundational track-laying techniques informed subsequent horse-drawn proposals in the 1870s.

Assessment and Abandonment

In 1842, Lieutenant Robertson submitted a detailed engineer's report to the East India Company's Military Board, evaluating an experimental 684-foot stone tramway constructed across the Adyar River to facilitate bullock-pulled cart transport between south Madras and the Santhome and Mylapore districts. The report commended the tramway's construction as substantial and executed with sound judgment, noting that it had endured two monsoon seasons, providing a reasonable trial period. However, it highlighted significant issues, including evidence of shifting stone sets, which indicated that maintenance costs would be prohibitively high for any extended route, especially given the quoted construction expense of Rs. 1,539 for this short segment—equivalent to Rs. 11,880 per mile. Robertson recommended abandoning further tramway expansion in favor of cheaper and more maintainable causeways, arguing that these alternatives would better suit the sandy terrain and reduce long-term upkeep demands. In response, the Court of Directors refused additional funding in 1843, effectively halting the experiment and dismissing tramways as economically unviable compared to conventional road-building methods for Madras's infrastructure needs. This assessment underscored the practical limitations of early tramway concepts proposed since 1836, leading to their overall abandonment in the region during the 1840s.

Horse-Drawn Tramways

Establishment and Operations (1874-1892)

The Madras Tramways commenced operations in 1874 with one of India's first horse-drawn passenger tram services, following Bombay's inaugural line earlier that year, featuring 11 miles (17 km) of metre-gauge track laid in a patent modular design by the engineering firm J. E. & A. Dawson. This innovative construction approach allowed for efficient assembly and maintenance of the rails, primarily serving urban passenger transport in the growing colonial city of Madras (now Chennai). The system marked an early effort to modernize intra-city mobility, connecting key areas such as the port docks with inland commercial districts to facilitate the movement of people and light goods.In 1885, the Madras Tramway Company was formed in London with capital of £185,000 to expand the network, laying approximately 18 miles (29 km) of metre-gauge tracks for horse-drawn operations. Daily operations relied on teams of horses to pull the open or partially enclosed tramcars along the fixed routes, with schedules designed to align with peak commuting hours and market activities. Horse management involved regular

stabling, feeding, and veterinary care at dedicated depots, ensuring a rotation of animals to prevent overwork; typically, 4 to 6 horses were harnessed per car, depending on load and terrain. Route coverage extended from central landmarks like Fort St. George and the High Court to peripheral neighborhoods and the harbor, providing essential links for residents, traders, and British officials. Initial ridership patterns showed steady but modest patronage, reflecting the novelty of the service amid Madras's expanding population of approximately 287,000 by 1881. These operations highlighted the tramways' role in alleviating congestion on unpaved roads, though they were constrained by the limitations of animal power and seasonal monsoons.By the early 1890s, the horse-drawn system's viability waned, prompting municipal intervention. In 1891, the Madras Municipality granted a concession to Messrs. Hutchinson of London for modernization, culminating in the registration of the Madras Electric Tramway Company on 2 April 1892. The company's prospectus outlined plans for an expanded network, signaling the shift toward electrification while winding down the original horse operations.

Challenges and Decline

By the mid-1880s, the horse-drawn tramways of Madras, which had commenced operations in 1874 with 11 miles (17 km) of metre-gauge track and expanded to 18 miles (29 km) by 1885, encountered severe operational and financial difficulties that threatened their viability. An 1886 assessment published in *The Indian Engineer* deemed the system a resounding failure, attributing its shortcomings to chronic maintenance issues—such as frequent repairs to worn tracks and vehicles—as well as low operational efficiency stemming from slow speeds and limited capacity. Financial underperformance was equally acute, with revenues failing to offset escalating costs, leading to consistent losses and debates over whether to scrap the entire infrastructure. Specific challenges exacerbated these broader problems. Horses suffered from health issues, including exhaustion and disease in Madras's hot, humid climate, which reduced their working lifespan and increased veterinary expenses. Track wear was accelerated by inadequate materials and heavy usage on uneven roads, resulting in frequent derailments and disruptions. Moreover, fares set at low rates to attract passengers generated insufficient revenue, unable to cover wages, fodder, and upkeep, thus perpetuating a cycle of debt. These factors collectively rendered the system unsustainable, prompting municipal authorities to consider total abandonment. In response to the crisis, the 1886 *Indian Engineer* report also spotlighted electric tramways as a promising alternative, advocating for overhead trolley systems to replace horse

power with more reliable and efficient technology. However, implementation was postponed due to high initial costs and lack of local expertise, with proposals languishing until 1891 when the Madras Municipality granted a concession to Messrs. Hutchinson of London. This delay set the stage for the formation of the Madras Electric Tramways Company in 1892, marking the effective end of the horse-drawn era.

Electric Tramways Era

Formation and Launch (1892-1895)

Following the decline of the horse-drawn tram system, which had operated since 1874 but struggled with maintenance and efficiency issues, the focus shifted to electrification as a modern alternative. In 1892, the Madras Electric Tramways Co. Ltd. was registered in London with a capital of £100,000 to develop an electric tram network in Madras (now Chennai), marking the formal establishment of India's pioneering electric urban transport initiative. The following year, in 1893, the contract for the design and construction of the system was awarded to the Electrical Construction Company of Wolverhampton, England, a firm specializing in electrical engineering projects. Construction commenced in 1894 under the supervision of Chief Engineer Charles Herbert Gadsby, who oversaw the project from December 1894 to April 1896; this phase included laying metre-gauge tracks and installing overhead electrification lines equipped with trolley poles for power collection. Trial runs of the electric cars began in February 1895, testing the system's reliability ahead of public service. The official public launch occurred on 7 May 1895, when seven electric tramcars entered service on initial routes connecting central areas of Madras, including inland and dock regions, establishing Madras as home to India's first electric tramway system—predating similar operations elsewhere in the country by six years and even surpassing many in London. This rollout operated on a 550 V DC overhead power supply, enabling efficient urban mobility for passengers.

Expansion and Peak (1900-1924)

Following the initial launch of electric trams in 1895, the Madras Tramways underwent significant transformation starting in 1900. On 31 May 1900, the Electrical Construction Company of Wolverhampton, England, acquired the struggling enterprise from its original promoters, Hutchinsons Co. Ltd., which had faced capital shortages since its 1892 inception. This buyout marked a pivotal shift, with the company assuming operational control and appointing William Thom as manager. Under Thom's leadership, which lasted approximately

eight years until around 1907, operational enhancements were implemented, including improved efficiency and reliability that reversed early financial losses and set the stage for expansion. By 1904, these improvements culminated in the formation of the Madras Electric Tramways Company (M.E.T.) on 16 March, incorporating 9.25 miles (15 km) of track, a 3-acre depot, and a fleet of 45 cars. This reorganization under British Electric Traction interests facilitated further growth, with the network extending to 13.25 miles (21 km) by 1905 and the rolling stock increasing to 51 units, supported by local government sanctions for infrastructure upgrades. The system reached its zenith in 1921, operating 97 cars over 24 km of track and serving approximately 100,000 daily passengers while transporting goods from the docks to inland areas, reflecting robust demand in Madras's growing urban economy. Extensions continued into the mid-1920s, with the route expanding to 26 miles (42 km) by 1924, solidifying the tramways' role as a vital artery for the city's commerce and mobility.

Operations and Infrastructure

Routes and Network

The Madras Electric Tramways network during its electric era primarily connected the port and docks areas to inland districts, serving both passenger and goods transport needs across the city. Key routes linked major hubs such as Parry's Corner and Royapuram to southern neighborhoods including Mylapore and Triplicane, with lines running via China Bazaar, Elephant Gate, and Mount Road (later Anna Salai). Extensions facilitated access to areas like Santhome Church from Royapettah via Luz, while services along Poonamallee High Road reached Egmore and beyond, enhancing connectivity to residential and commercial zones. The system operated on metre-gauge tracks, evolving from an initial 15 km in 1904 to 24 km by 1921 and approximately 26 miles (42 km) by 1924, incorporating double and single tracks for efficient urban coverage. This layout included loops at busy terminals like Parry's Corner and Customs House, allowing seamless turnarounds and integration with road traffic patterns. Ticket structures highlighted diverse route options, such as a 3/4 anna single fare from Triplicane to Parry's Corner or 1 anna for short rides from Egmore to Luz, reflecting patterns of daily commutes between inland suburbs and central markets. Monthly season tickets at ₹6 further supported regular travel across the network's interconnected lines.

Fleet and Technology

The electric fleet of the Madras Tramways commenced operations in 1895 with an initial complement of seven cars, which expanded significantly over the years to meet growing demand, reaching 45 vehicles by 1904, 51 by 1905, and peaking at 97 cars in 1921. All trams operated on metre-gauge tracks designed for urban efficiency, with a typical operating speed of approximately 7 km/h to navigate the city's congested streets safely. Power for the electric trams was supplied via an overhead wire system for current collection, following an initial conduit setup that proved unreliable during monsoons and was replaced early in operations. The vehicles' bodies were constructed locally in Madras, with key components and initial engineering supplied by the Electrical Construction Company of Wolverhampton, England, which also handled construction contracts starting in 1893. Maintenance and storage occurred at a dedicated 3-acre depot established by 1904, where routine repairs, inspections, and vehicle overhauls ensured operational reliability amid the tropical climate's challenges. The trams were primarily designed for passenger service but included adaptations such as reinforced underframes for occasional light goods hauling, supporting mixed urban transport needs during peak expansion periods.

Decline and Closure

Financial Difficulties (1940s-1950)

In the late 1940s, the Madras Electric Tramways grappled with mounting financial pressures, recording monthly losses of Rs 50,000 amid surging operational costs—particularly for electricity, labor, and maintenance—without any fare adjustments since the 1920s, even as the system continued to transport approximately 100,000-125,000 passengers daily. These deficits eroded the company's ability to maintain infrastructure and pay dividends to shareholders, exacerbating the system's overall deterioration and contrasting with its profitable expansion during the 1920s peak.On 29 July 1949, the company formally petitioned the Minister for Public Works, urgently citing repeated failures in dividend payments and the urgent need for funds to address widespread system decay, including worn tracks and aging vehicles, in a bid for government relief or fare revision approval. Government interventions further strained the operator: authorities seized control of the primary electricity supplier, enforced sharp fare increases that failed to stem losses, nullified key operational contracts, and dismissed the company's grievances over these measures, precipitating the firm's declaration of bankruptcy in 1950

Final Years and Shutdown (1951-1953)

Following the declaration of bankruptcy in 1950, the Madras Electric Tramways continued operations under receivership, but faced mounting monthly losses estimated at Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 50,000, exacerbated by rising electricity costs after the government's takeover of the power supply breached a longstanding contract. Labor disputes intensified, including failed attempts to reduce staff by 300 workers amid resistance from unions like the Communist and Congress groups (the latter led by R. Venkataraman), leading to gradual curtailment of services and strained management-worker relations. These unsustainable finances, building on a 1949 petition to the government highlighting progressive deterioration, culminated in the abrupt shutdown of all tram services around midnight on April 11, 1953, marking the end after nearly 58 years of electric operations. At closure, the network spanned about 24-26 km with 97 cars, serving up to 125,000 daily passengers, many low-income commuters reliant on affordable fares. In response, the Madras government immediately deployed an additional 50 buses along former tram routes as an emergency measure to accommodate the displaced 100,000-125,000 commuters, diverting vehicles from outer areas and operating shuttles to mitigate the transport crisis. The closure displaced 1,651 workers, with tramcars secured in sheds under police guard to prevent vandalism, while unions urged government intervention that ultimately failed. Post-closure, revival proposals in 1954 by unions and officials for government-subsidized operations were not implemented. Tracks were not immediately dismantled due to high removal costs; instead, they lingered on roads for several years, occasionally causing hazards for rickshaws and bicycles until resurfacing efforts gradually erased them

Legacy and Impact

Cultural Significance

The Madras Tramways, affectionately known as the "gentleman of the road," earned its nickname for its courteous and reliable demeanor on the city's streets, never overtaking other vehicles and adhering strictly to its fixed tracks while announcing its presence with gentle clanging bells rather than aggressive horns. This electric-powered system provided affordable and inclusive transport, accessible to workers, families, the elderly, and children alike, with its low floor height and maximum speed of around 20 miles per hour allowing safe pedestrian crossings and fostering a sense of urban tranquility. Over its 58-year operation from 1895 to 1953, the tramways dominated Madras's roadways as a staple of daily commuting, carrying up to

125,000 passengers per day by the time of closure and serving as a vital link between the docks and inland areas for workers, goods, and commerce. In shaping Madras's urban development, the tram network—spanning 26 miles (42 km) with key routes along Mount Road from Parry's Corner to Mylapore and extensions to areas like Royapettah and San Thomé—facilitated the city's growth by connecting residential neighborhoods, markets, and industrial zones, thereby supporting economic expansion and social integration. Commuters relied on it for synchronized daily routines, from sunrise departures timed by the trams' metallic clanging to evening returns, enabling casual conversations, lasting friendships, and even personal accommodations by drivers who slowed for familiar passengers. The system's high-visibility advertisements for everyday products like Amrutanjan balm and Margo soap further embedded it in the cultural fabric, turning rides into communal experiences that reflected the era's commercial and social life. Nostalgic recollections highlight the tramways' sensory charm, including the meandering paths along grooved tracks where spring-loaded rods connected to overhead wires, sparking at night with crackling sounds, and the leisurely swaying motion at 10 miles per hour that invited playful hopping on and off. These elements evoked an unhurried pace of life, with children identifying trams by their unique bell notes or rooftop ads during games, and families enjoying affordable Sunday tickets for leisurely outings. The 1953 closure marked the end of this influential era, leaving behind fond memories of a transport mode that symbolized gentle reliability in Madras society.

Modern Remembrance

Following the closure of the Madras Tramways in 1953, the Madras government responded by expanding its bus services, which had already been partially introduced in the 1920s during labor disputes and grew into a nationalized network by the early 1950s, thereby ensuring continuity in urban mobility and absorbing much of the tram system's passenger load. This shift marked a direct legacy of the trams in shaping Chennai's public transport framework, where buses like routes 4B and 21C became iconic fixtures in the city's daily life. The tramways' 58-year operation from 1895 to 1953 endures primarily through nostalgic accounts in media and personal recollections, evoking memories of leisurely rides, clanging bells, and community interactions that contrasted with modern rushed commutes. No physical vehicles or major artifacts have been preserved, with former infrastructure such as the Royapettah tram shed demolished around 2010 and the Poonamallee shed repurposed for other

uses, though historical records feature references to vintage images, tickets, and advertisements that capture the era's essence. Efforts to revive the tramways as a heritage feature remain limited, with no organized preservation initiatives or citizens' movements emerging post-closure, unlike successful restorations elsewhere, highlighting significant gaps in recognizing this aspect of Chennai's transport history. However, transport experts have occasionally suggested potential for heritage trams amid discussions on sustainable urban mobility, pointing to untapped opportunities for future recognition in the city's evolving landscape.

Roadways

Transport is defined as the conveyance of persons and goods from one place to another. The quick and efficient transport builds up good will and trade between the nations of the world and contributes to economic progress and social development of each individual nation. It has a vital influence on all human relations, economic, social, cultural, political and religious. The development of transportation had brought different parts of the world together as well as nearer. In earlier period man employed many animals for his need and beast of burden. In pastoral stage of civilization, animals were domesticated; Dogs, Oxen, Horse, Donkeys, Camels and Elephants were used as beasts of burden. Even today their importance has not been reduced in many countries.

The next improvement in transport was the use of wooden carts with roller wheels, which were substituted later by spooked wheels. Animals were harnessed to the carts. At the outset railways used horses to drag wagons till steam locomotives were used. Carts and packed animals were the best mode of goods transport. During earlier period, merchandise was carried in carts. Passenger used carts and horses to travel depend upon their purse and status. India with its rich and varied heritage has always been an important place of any country’s choice of reference to resources and trade. This made the world to look to India from Portuguese, French and English to make it as their important colonial possession.

Though India had everything with it. But it did not grow due to poor management and lack of good administration.This made the foreigners to colonize India. Once they established in India, apart from the looting of its resources, they left their foot prints over here even after they left India. The traders who focused everything as a business was to get benefit from this country. In the process of making gaining benefits at necessary, it has become for the colonial government to build the network of roads and develop transport system to transport ofgoods far

and wide. The colonizers settled in different parts of India and found it difficult to travel. During this period they introduced the sophisticated modes of transport such as buses and trams and motor vehicles for convenient travel and transport.

The important headquarters of British rule in India were Madras, Calcutta and Bombay which used all their sources and expertise to improve all the aspects in these places. Considering – "Chennai", the Madras of those days takes one of the top places while reviewing the legacy of British in India. With reference to transportation technology in particular during colonial times, Madras was found to have a major advancement in transportation facility during that time to its credit. In fact, the first railway line the whole of India was planned to be laid in Madras only.

Ancient Roads in Madras

In ancient time, Fahien's account mentioned about road transport in Madras. This account which was in 1845 may be the earliest mention of the roads. His records provided even the minutest details of the route and locations of the place he visited. The travelogue of Hiuen-T-Sang, another Chinese traveler who paid visit to India during the first of the 7^{th} century B.C, when Harshain the north and Pallavas in the south were ruling, leaves a vivid account of the ancient highways in the Madras.

Development of Road Transport

In the year 1639, the company had got their permission to build a fort at Madras. Once the they developmented this coastal town intending to serve trade and administrative purpose the need for military roads became essential and these military roads naturally enough came under the Military Engineering Department (M.E.D) but even so the maintenance of such roads depended upon their military significance. As the company had slowly gained control over the trade, certain military roads, being of no further use went into disrepair and others were extended certain of the old military roads remain to-day, some of them being the original site and direction of some of the trunk roads leading out of Madras today.

In the initials years, the older settlements were along the water fronts in Chennai. The Britishers were also living along Cooum River and roads were laid to give across to them. The important through fares developed during the late 1700 were Marshall Road, Halls Road, Mounties Road, Casa Major Road; Mow Brays Road and Royapettah High Road. The roads which were of radial pattern before 1800 were developed on circular pattern at latter stages. Mount Road, the important radial road even during that time was given access through other

roads like Triplicane High Road, Chamiers Road, Edward Elliot's Road, Royapettah High Road etc. In addition to this, new link roads were formed to connect the newly formed residential area. The Engineering Department started back in 1785, had jurisdiction over roads and other means of communication on the cantonments.Till the abolition of this department in 1858, this system remained in force. At the commencement of British rule, the responsibility for roads came under the Maramat Department (M. D.). This department worked through the district collectors and exercised charge of all irrigation work, civil buildings, and roads, and collectors being responsible, but receiving no professional aid of any kind. In 1819 the question of communications received some attention and engineering including road came under the control the whole presidency, which was styled "Inspector general of civil estimates.

In 1825, the whole M. D. was placed under the board of revenue and in 1836 the chief engineer received a seat at the board to look after public works interest. The office of the inspectorgeneral was abolished and the PublicWorks Department (P. W. D.)could be said to have been born by the appointment of a public works secretary to the board of revenue. The history of road repairs in Madras had been for some time under a dual control of the justices in session and the Lottery Committee (L. C.). A report of the Military Board in 1838 gives however, a tolerably clear account of the matter. A portion of the roads outside the Black Town had already been repaired out of the lottery profits and when the assessment was extended a portion was granted to the L. C. When the L. C was abolished some of the roads outside black town were made over to the Military Board. In 1838 however they were all handed back to the justices except Mount Road and the Poonamallee Road which as Military Roads were maintained by government.

In the same year, main lines of roads viz, the imperial roads, were kept under the care of a civil engineer and were transferred to the newly created trunk road development, which was headed by the superintendent of roads. Actually the revenue M. D. who worked by the orders of Tahsildar only executed the road construction work. Thus department was consisted of 12 superintendents of maramat or maistries assisted by a number of talk masteries.

A commission however was appointed to examine the P.W.D system and in 1856, the commission submitted a report. Prior to this back in 1800, the original plan drawn roughly along Mount Road between Madras and St.Thomas Mount Road, the first base line being approximately was seven miles long. The first survey at India therefore started in Madras and it can be assumed that the forth coming maps provided excellent data for generally for the

development of a road system from Madras into the interior for military purposes. By 1845, a Trunk Road Department (T. R. D.) had been formed and railways had already become inaugurated although curious, Madras remained for a long time without being directly connected with any of the major railways. The Local Fund Act 1871 which succeeded the District Roads Cess Act (D. R. C. A.) 1866, transferred the Road Cess Fund (R. C. F.) to the Local Fund Board and Authorized the Local Bodies (L. F. B & A. L. B.), the tolls and two thirds of the cess was earmarked for road developed. The Local Boards Act (L. B. A.) 1884 empowered the local bodies to spend not less than half the income from land less open road. By passing the Madras Motor Vehicle Taxation Act(M. M. V. T. A.)in the year 1930-31 the system of tolls on roads was abolished.

In 1924 the proposal to carry out certain improvements to the roads in Chepauk Park through the Agency of the corporation was approved. In furnishing the list with the requires information the Superintending Engineerrecommended that the following items only need be transferred to the corporation as continue to be maintained by the P. W. D.1. Road from the Chepauk Gate to the South Beach road 2. The road west of Buckingham canal from the revenue board bridge to the Gosha Hospital gate.3. Information was to be obtained from the cost of tarring and metalling on the assumption that tarring will be done once in every two years and metalling once in four years, the cost of annual maintenance of these roads

The corporation was informed that a sum of Rs. 2,760 would be paid to them for the initial cost of the lamps along the road west of Buckingham canal and that a recurring charge of Rs. 2,350 would be paid annually in case they own the charge of the two roads. The corporation has agreed to these conditions. The Madras Government contemplated a comprehensive road development programmed in 1933, A.Vipan was appointed as special officer for this purpose. He submitted his report in 1935. The great northern trunk road 28 miles (45) km and the great southern trunk road (55) miles km, had promoted enthusiasm of better and more roads. During the year 1938-39, the P. W. D maintained about 1,270 miles of road at a cost of approximately Rs7.42 lakhs while local bodies excluding the corporation of madras maintained nearly 38,000 miles including 23,883 of metalled roads.

The budget for 1939-40, provinces for a sum of Rs. 4. 35 lakhs to be spent on communications under the control of the public works department and drafts in aid to local bodies towards the road charge amount to Rs 72.54 lakhs. In the year 1940, the P. W. D had

maintained 1.272 miles of roads at Rs 607 lakhs; 85 miles including 22 miles treated during the year had improved types of road surfacing. The total length of roads maintained by local bodies in the mufassal was nearly 37, 564 miles including 23, 812 miles of metalled roads.

During the year 1942 the department maintained about 1,400 miles of road, cost Rs 6. 51 lakhs. The local bodies excluding the Corporation of Madras maintained nearly 38, 388 miles of which 23,987 miles were Metalled roads. As a consequence a conference of chief engineers was convened at Nagpur in 1943; Five year post-war development plan for the construction of new National Highways, Provincial Highways, Major District Roads and Villages Roads was formulated in Madras. A special officer H. R. Dodra was appointed to review road development and he submitted his report in 1945.It was on his suggestion that the Highways Department was created in the year 1946.

Madras City Transport

The Motor Transport was another one the mode of Transport in Madras. The horseless carriage was a wonder of wonders, and all the people of the city big and small had thronged the road on which it was passing to have a glimpse of this new-fangled innovation. In the year 1894, the city of Madras Mount Road; the horseless carriage was driven for some distance on Mount Road for the public's edification. The Englishmen and Scotsman of the common firms brown sahibs and the common folk of all gaped in wonder at the newest achievements of modern science. The wonder and amazement of the citizens of Madras at the advent of what was to be later called the "Automobile" and still later the "Motor Car" quite understandable.

In 1894 when the first motor car visited the city, barely ten years had passed by since the "Internal combustion discovery of the engine by Daimler." Madras hosted its first Motor car to remain in the city a few years after the visiting show piece was seen on Mount Road in 1894. The credit for bringing the city's first permanent car goes to A. J. Yorke, a Director of Parry & Co., who while on "home leave" in England bought it and brought it with him. Yorke lived in Adyer and every day his motor car, a wonder to the cities, inhabitants, went in the morning from Adyer through Mylapore, San Thome and the Beach Road to Parry's Corner.

In 1906 the motor cars were exempted from the operation of the Steam Boilers and Prime Movers Act (S. B. P. M. A), though they were like other hackney carriages let out for hire to the public. In the same year, the people saw the first accident in the road, which have lately occurred from these cars still in the memories of the public. In Madras town itself not less than fifty cars

were running. Their speed in places of overcrowded traffic such as Mount Road etc was high. There was visible growth in number of vehicle from 1930-1940s.

Bus Transport in Madras

Madras people did not see the bus in old an days, but thus new transport came to Madras as when they came British people transport conveyance of bus in people. In ancient time roads did not exist and people used to walk along the tracks. Pack of animals began to be used and people traveled in caravans. The palanquin and the horse were the standard means of getting people from once place to another within the city itself. There were horse drawn vehicles, bullock drawn vehicles, jutka, bandles and hackneys all used for short distances. In the beginning of the 20th century the city of Madras had an organized transport service.The service was first provided by private companies, it was all profit oriented and did not care much for convenience of the public. Although it was many years before Madras had a properly organized bus service, Messrs Simpson and Co. Ltd, had some interesting catalogues buses dating back prior to 1910. The types of buses illustrated were essentially similar to the open type of bus.From 1910 onwards there was a steady increase in the number of buses running.Before government expresses, it intended of the nationalization of the bus service in the city of Madras. The bus transport was undertaken by the Madras Electric Tramways (M. E. T.) Ltd (1904).

This in the year 1925-27 operated a fleet of 50 motor buses. The Important city bus operators were; The City Motor Service Ltd, The Public Passenger Service, Presidency Transport Ltd, Sri Rama Vilas Bus Transport Ltd. Presidency Transport Limited and The South India Bus Transport Ltd. This scheme was abandoned in 1928 owing to the uneconomical competition offered by unorganized bus owners and madras revented to its unsatisfactory bus system until about 1933.

It was M.E.T which from 1925-28 operated the first organized bus system in the city. But it had to windup this operation which provided an excellent link with the suburbs organized bus transport then come The Red Ladies; red and yellow buses. But as far as 1910, Simpson was selling to owner who ran disorganized services both in the city and mofussil. Presidency transport with its red buses and city motor service, with its blue ones, long dominated this transport service. Since 1934, the bus competition has been especially acute and has accounted for a reduction in the number of both of passengers and miles in 1934-35. The total strength of the fleet continued to be 321 as no bus was registered during March 1949. With the effect from

4th March 1949, government buses had introduced on some of the suburban routes. Special buses were run on several occasions for the convenience of the public attending the races. The government bus service had three auxiliary institutions the government automobile workshop, the government couch-building factory and the central stores.

New Railway Opening

At the Madras presidential office the opening of new railway lines and expansions were among the government's main tasks to alleviate hunger. After the famine of 1877, the Indian government began steps to extend trains to the most famine-stricken regions of the Madras presidency. They would not be safe from this scourge until the existing 9,000-mile [9,000 km] railway line was upgraded to 22,000 miles. The construction of the railways received the attention of Governor Connemara.

Since 1900, with the exception of famine in parts of Cuddappah, Anantapur, Chingleput and North Arcot, famine was very severe. At this time, there were two railway plans in the Madras presidential office run by the Madras Railway company and the southern Railway Company. During the reign of Ampthill, the Cochin Railway was opened on 2 June 1902 for the acquisition of goods and on 16 July 1902 for all types of vehicles. The first section of the Travancore branch from Tirunelveli and Kallidaikurichi is 9.05 miles, the pampan branch of the South Indian railway line from Madurai to Mandapam 89.50 miles and the first phase of the Arantangi Extension of the Tanjore District board Railway from Muttupet to Pattuk 03.1 miles and Shoranur to Emakulam 64.74 kilometers opened.

Rail Line Extended

The length of the train was opened for cars between 1903 -904 only was Tellicherry to Cannanore, a 12.42 mile line on 20 May 1903 from Cannanore to Azhikal 3 miles on 15 March 1904, Kallidaikurichi to Shenkayela a thirty mile line on 1 August 1903 and Pattukottai to Arantangi a twenty-eight mile line on 31 December 1903. At that time the iron ore was replaced by iron ore on the 57-mile line. Part of the Travancore branch of the South Indian railway line, from Shencottah to Quilon a distance of 58 km was opened for traffic in 1904-1905.

The extended railway line was an extension of the Achikkal-Kumbla extension. The extension of Rameswaram extends from Pamban to Rameswaram and the quarry side of Arantangi. These two important projects, namely, the Pamban Harbor Scheme and the “Indo - Ceylon Railway” were opened during the reign of Lord Ampthill. During his journey to

Rameswaram, the people of the sanctuary expressed their joy over these two plans which were full of indescribable blessings to the people of India and that his kingdom was remembered. During the reign of Arthur Lawley the relationship between local government and railway officials in the presidency was completely changed by the establishment of the Railways board.6 On 1 January 1907-1908 the control of the railway companies was removed from the railway engineers and replaced. The secretary of the railway government was retained as the government's advisor on rail matters. The various Secretariat was abolished from 1909-1910 and its functions and staff of the clerk were taken over by the secretary of the Department of Public Works.

Madras Presidency Railway Systems

The presidential train trains were controlled by the Railway Board and there were no railway lines under the direct control of the Madras government. Two lines of the Regional Board - Tanjore District Board Railway and Bezwada - Masulipatana Railway were under the general control of the Madras government. Madras and the southern Mahratta Railway Company, the South Indian Railway Company and the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company shared control of a large section of trains. Sri Arthur Lawley has prioritized many schemes in railway construction. The branch line connecting Bezwada and Masulipattam was opened for cars in February 1908.8 Funded by the Kistna Regional Board with the help of a government loan of Rs. 18.50 lakh. The Dhone (Dhronachellam) Railway line, the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, 32 miles long, opened on all vehicles on January 1, 1909. About the establishment of a full communications with Ceylon ferry service between Manaar and -Dhanushkodi was founded by the South Indian Railway Company. Other railway lines opened by public transport during his time Dhone to Kurnool, Coonoor to Oatacamund, Pamban to Dhanushkodi, Azhikkal to Mangalore, Vizianagram to parvatipur, branch - Kanevehalli, and Arantangi quarry siding. The North-East Line has been given access to the central station by a new singing line from korokupet to Basin Bridge. A loop line was provided from Washermanpet to Basin Bridge.

The most remarkable event on the railway during the reign of Lord Pentland was the opening of the Indo-Ceylon connection with the ferry service. About sixty-eight miles of railway line has recently been opened for vehicles, including the Dharmapuri - Hosur extension and the Second - Salur line. During the years 1914-1915, the line connecting Nidamangalam and Mannargudi in the Tanjore region and the extension of the main line from Dhanushkodi jetty to

Dhanushkodi area on the island of Rameswaram became more open lines.10 Tirutturaippundi - Vedaranniyam, Guntur - Tenali, Ten- Repalle, Podanur - Pollachi and Quilon - Trivandrum trains opened trains in recent years. The Madras Electric tram was the only tram system in the presidency and was well maintained. During the year 1909-1910 the Madras Electric Tramway was twelve miles and seven furlongs. The vehicles traveled 1,277,609 kilometers and carried 13,056,166 passengers. In all the presidency of Madras there were 2108 miles of the line that opened in 1891. He climbed 4575 miles in 1920.

Central Railway Station-1873

- Originally designed by George Hardinge and later additions by Robert F. Chisholm
- Originally in the Gothic Revival style with Itatianate and Hindu overtones Later additions of Chisholm was country towers in the sides and central clock tower in the middle.
- Fresh coats of paint and casual maintenance at regular intervals and full occupancy have prolonged the life of the building.
- Howrah station by Halsay Ricerdo in 1890 was of Romanesque Moorish style. Calcutta station 1859 was designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel. 127
- Hyderabad railway station of 1914 in Indo – sarecenic was designed by Vincent Esch

Egmore Railway Station – 1908

- Designed by Henry Irwin and built by Samynatha Pillai
- Indo Saracenic style with more Dravidian elements
- It is in good condition with a lot of facilities provided for the passengers.

Railway Head Office – 1922

- Designed by N.Grayson
- Built for the first time in India in reinforced concrete in an elegant fashion of classical and Dravidian style
- Well maintained but further additions should not mar the beauty of the building
- Bombay Central India Railway Office was designed by F.W. Steven's in pure Gothic Style.
- Lahore railway office was designed by James Ransome in 1905 – Indo – Saracenic

Airways

The development of airways in Chennai, formerly known as Madras, marks an important phase in the modernization of transport and communication in South India. From modest

beginnings during the colonial period to its present status as a major aviation hub, the growth of air transport in the region reflects technological advancement, economic expansion, and increasing connectivity. Airways development not only facilitated faster travel but also contributed to trade, administration, and integration with national and global networks. The origins of aviation in Madras can be traced to the early 20th century, when aviation itself was still in its infancy. One of the earliest milestones was the establishment of an airstrip at St. Thomas Mount area, which later developed into the Madras Airport. This marked the beginning of organized aviation activities in the region. Initially, flights were limited and primarily used for military and administrative purposes by the British colonial government.

During the colonial period, aviation in Madras was closely linked to the needs of the British East India Company and later the British administration. Air services were introduced gradually to improve communication between major cities in India and other parts of the British Empire. The development of civil aviation began in the 1930s, with the introduction of scheduled air services connecting Madras with cities like Bombay and Calcutta. A significant development in Indian aviation was the role of J. R. D. Tata, who pioneered commercial aviation in India. Though his early flights were centered in western India, they contributed to the overall growth of aviation infrastructure across the country, including Madras. Airlines such as Tata Airlines (later Air India) helped establish regular air routes, making Madras an important node in the emerging aviation network.

After independence in 1947, the development of airways in Madras gained momentum under the Government of India. The expansion of civil aviation led to improvements in airport infrastructure, navigation systems, and passenger services. The Madras Airport was upgraded to handle both domestic and international flights, reflecting the growing importance of the city as a commercial and administrative centre. In the post-independence period, the airport evolved into the Chennai International Airport, one of the busiest airports in India. It became a key gateway for South India, connecting the region with major cities across the country and the world. The development of separate terminals for domestic and international flights improved efficiency and passenger experience. The growth of airways in Chennai was closely linked to the city's economic development. As Chennai emerged as an industrial and commercial hub, the demand for air travel increased. The presence of major industries, educational institutions, and business houses contributed to the expansion of air services. The airport facilitated the movement of

goods, including perishable items and high-value products, thereby supporting trade and commerce.

Technological advancements also played a crucial role in the development of airways. Improvements in aircraft design, navigation systems, and air traffic control enhanced the safety and efficiency of air travel. Modernization efforts included the installation of radar systems, expansion of runways, and development of cargo facilities. These changes enabled the airport to handle larger aircraft and increased passenger traffic. The liberalization of the Indian economy in the 1990s further accelerated the growth of airways in Chennai. Private airlines entered the aviation sector, increasing competition and improving services. The introduction of low-cost carriers made air travel more accessible to a larger section of the population. Chennai became a major hub for both domestic and international airlines. Airways development also had a significant impact on tourism. Chennai serves as a gateway to important tourist destinations in Tamil Nadu, such as Mahabalipuram, Madurai, and Kanyakumari. The availability of air connectivity attracted both domestic and international tourists, contributing to the growth of the tourism industry.

In addition to passenger services, cargo operations became an important aspect of airway development. Chennai International Airport developed cargo terminals to handle exports and imports efficiently. The export of textiles, leather goods, and electronic products benefited from improved air cargo facilities. Despite its growth, the development of airways in Chennai has faced challenges such as congestion, environmental concerns, and the need for continuous modernization. Efforts have been made to expand airport capacity, improve infrastructure, and enhance passenger amenities. Plans for new airports and regional connectivity schemes aim to address these challenges and support future growth. The development of airways in Madras (Chennai) reflects a journey from early experimental flights to a modern aviation hub. Starting from a small airstrip during the colonial period, the city has evolved into a major centre of air transport in India. The growth of aviation has contributed significantly to economic development, trade, tourism, and connectivity. Today, Chennai stands as a vital link in both national and international aviation networks, continuing to play a key role in the progress of South India.

Buckingham Canal

The Buckingham Canal was once the preferred choice for ferrying goods along coastal Andhra Pradesh Region. It connects most of the natural backwaters along the coast to Chennai (Madras) port. The canal was constructed during British Rule and was an important waterway during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's. Today it is the most polluted of the three major waterways in the city 55 million litres of untreated sewage being let into it daily, including by the Chennai Metropolitan Water Supply and the Sewerage Board. The canal on its course is connected to the Adyar and Cooum river. The untreated sewage gets into these rivers. The Cooum River connects the canal to the Bay of Bengal in the center of Chennai, Tamilnadu, India. The rest is let out by the residents living along the banks and even by government agencies. An ambitious plan to not only restore the past glory but also extend its course is now afoot.

HISTORY AND FACTS ABOUT THE CANAL

The first segment of the canal was a saltwater navigation canal, constructed in 1806.The further extension of canal was carried under the governance of Madras presidency in 1837.When the canal was opened, it was named Lord Clive's Canal and later Buckingham Canal in 1878 on the order of Duke of Bunkingham and Chandos.

NECESSITY TO RESTORE THE CANAL

Being an inland water way the canal can serve as the cheapest means of transport among other methods of transportation. The canal will help in moving more cargo in the same time than the rail or road transport from one place to other. It can replace the limitations in comparison to other means of transportation system. As per survey the Indian fright movement in comparison to all the transportation system, around 67% of cargo is being shipped by roadways, 27% by rail transport, and just 0.5% by waterways, though waterways transportation system is supportive in all the ways. The canal can also act as an ecofriendly means of transportation system. The risk of accidents in this form of transport can be minimized as the canal can play a major role in reducing traffic by removing the number of railcars, trucks on the road that could block heavy traffic. The canal can provide a number of jobs like port crews and tugboat crews are a few jobs that are available because of the inland river system. The increase in the number jobs will give a good boost to our economy and will keep the business afloat.

Buckingham Canal Society

Conservation Policy

This Policy covers our approach to managing the historic environment and cultural heritage of the Buckingham Arm of the Grand Union Canal which Buckingham canal Society manages in partnership with other groups. We seek to integrate the needs of those who visit and use the canal for navigation and recreation with a sustainable approach to heritage management.

In addition to the conservation and enhancement of heritage assets and their setting, informed by a sound understanding of their significance, we also promote heritage awareness and appreciation through site interpretation, dissemination (for example via digital media), community engagement, learning and training. We recognise that the historic environment of our canal – one of the most important reasons why people visit and value it– is an essential component of our vision; waterway heritage can make a positive contribution to health and wellbeing. Our Strategy commits us to protect and enhance the Buckingham Canals' historic environment for people to enjoy – now and in the future. There will be a presumption in favour of conservation of our heritage assets, while recognising the wider aims, objectives and resources of the Society. We will ensure that every addition and alteration to our historic structures is carefully judged. It is important that the needs of safety, affordability, use and aesthetics are sensitively balanced with the conservation of historical integrity.

The Society will give all its heritage assets, whether designated (as scheduled monuments or listed buildings or within conservation areas) or non-designated, the same level of beneficial treatment. We will aim to exceed this requirement by continually improving our performance and delivering appropriate best practice. The Society will, wherever possible, perform regular maintenance to its significant heritage assets to prolong their lifespan and reduce future repair costs. Volunteers, particularly those with specialist knowledge, will be encouraged to participate in a range of heritage activities including research and recording, repair and restoration, and heritage open day events. We will;

1. Commit to conserving for public benefit all heritage assets or sites of historic interest on the Buckingham Canal.

2. Apply good asset management techniques to optimise conservation standards, and to maintain the integrity and the authenticity of our heritage assets.

3. Comply with legislation and regulation as a minimum requirement.

4. Invest in our staff, contractors and volunteers to ensure that all personnel working on historic structures and archaeological sites have sufficient heritage awareness and skills for the tasks they undertake.

5. Work in strategic partnerships with others who share our vision to secure the conservation of the wider context and setting of our waterways.

6. Monitor our performance through regular benchmarking and reporting.

Chennai Port Trust

The Chennai Port Trust, historically known as the Madras Port Trust, is one of the oldest and most significant port institutions in India. Located in Chennai on the Coromandel Coast, it has played a vital role in the economic, commercial, and maritime development of South India. From its early beginnings as an open roadstead during the colonial period to its transformation into a modern artificial harbour, the Chennai Port Trust has been central to trade, industry, and international connectivity. In the early colonial period, Madras did not have a natural harbour. Ships anchored offshore, and goods were transported to the shore using small boats called masula boats. This method was risky and inefficient, especially during rough weather. The need for a safe and organized port led to the construction of harbour facilities in the 19th century. The British administration undertook major engineering works to create an artificial harbour capable of handling large vessels.

The formal establishment of the Madras Port Trust took place in 1881 under the Madras Port Trust Act. This marked the beginning of a structured administrative system for managing port activities. The Trust was responsible for the construction, maintenance, and operation of the port, as well as for regulating trade and shipping. It was governed by a board consisting of representatives from the government, commerce, and shipping sectors. The development of the port involved significant engineering achievements. Breakwaters were constructed to protect the harbour from strong sea currents and waves. Docks, warehouses, and cargo handling facilities were built to facilitate efficient loading and unloading of goods. Over time, the port expanded its infrastructure to accommodate increasing trade volumes.

During the colonial period, the port of Madras became an important centre for export and import trade. It handled commodities such as cotton, textiles, indigo, coffee, and spices. The port also played a key role in the import of machinery, manufactured goods, and raw materials required for industrial development. Its strategic location made it a vital link between South

India and global markets. The port was closely associated with the activities of the British East India Company and later the British government. It facilitated the movement of goods, troops, and officials, thereby supporting colonial administration and expansion. The development of railways further enhanced the importance of the port by connecting it to the hinterland. After India's independence in 1947, the Madras Port Trust continued to play a crucial role in the country's economic development. It was renamed the Chennai Port Trust, reflecting the change in the city's name. The port underwent modernization to meet the demands of a growing economy. New terminals, cranes, and cargo handling equipment were introduced to improve efficiency.

Chennai Port is one of the major ports in India, handling a wide range of cargo including containers, automobiles, petroleum products, and bulk commodities. It is particularly known for automobile exports, earning Chennai the reputation of being the "Detroit of India." The port has dedicated terminals for containers, cars, and other specialized cargo. The Chennai Port Trust has also contributed to employment generation and regional development. It has created opportunities in shipping, logistics, warehousing, and related industries. The presence of the port has attracted industries and businesses to the region, contributing to economic growth. In addition to its economic role, the port has adopted modern technologies and environmental measures. Efforts have been made to reduce pollution, improve energy efficiency, and ensure sustainable development. Digital systems have been introduced to streamline operations and enhance transparency.

Despite its achievements, the Chennai Port Trust faces challenges such as congestion, competition from other ports, and environmental concerns. The development of nearby ports like Ennore (Kamarajar Port) has created competition, requiring Chennai Port to innovate and improve its services. Plans for expansion, modernization, and better connectivity are being implemented to address these challenges. The Chennai Port Trust has played a pivotal role in the history and development of South India's maritime trade. From its origins as a simple anchorage to its present status as a major port, it has been instrumental in facilitating commerce, industry, and international trade. Its contributions to economic growth, employment, and infrastructure make it one of the most important institutions in Chennai and India as a whole.

S.N.	Questions (5 Marks)	LOCF Mapping		
1	Describe the development of transportation in Chennai.	CO1	PO1	K1
2	Write a short note on tramways in Chennai.	CO2	PO2	K1
3	Explain the growth of roadways in Chennai.	CO2	PO2	K2
4	Briefly describe the development of railways in Chennai.	CO3	PO3	K2
5	Write a note on the Buckingham Canal.	CO5	PO3	K1
6	Discuss the role of the Chennai Port Trust.	CO5	PO4	K2
S.N.	**Questions (8 Marks)**	**LOCF Mapping**		
1	Explain the development of transportation in Chennai with various modes.	CO1	PO1	K2
2	Analyse the role of tramways and roadways in urban development.	CO2	PO2	K3
3	Describe the growth and importance of railways in Chennai.	CO3	PO3	K3
4	Examine the development of airways in Chennai.	CO4	PO3	K2
5	Analyse the significance of the Buckingham Canal in trade and transport.	CO5	PO4	K3
6	Evaluate the role of the Chennai Port Trust in economic development.	CO6	PO4	K4
7	Discuss the integration of different transport systems in Chennai.	CO5	PO5	K3
8	Evaluate the overall impact of transportation development on Chennai city.	CO5	PO5	K4

LEARNING RESOURCES

Recommended Books

B.S. Baliga, Administartionof Madras Presidency, Vols. 1 &2,Government Press,1935

C.S. Srinivasachariar, *History of the City of Madras,* P. Varadachary Co., Madras, 1989

K.R.A. Narasiah, *Madras: Tracing the Growth of the City since 1639,* Oxygen Books, 2008

P. Rajaraman, *Chennai through the Ages,* Poompozhil, Chennai, 1997

S. Muthiah, *Madras Discovered,* East West, Chennai, 1992

S. Muthiah, *Madras Rediscovered,* East West, Chennai, 2018

References

Chriranjeevi J. Nirmal, *Madras Perspectives: Explorations in Social and Cultural History,* Institute

of Indian and International Studies, Madras, 1992.

K.V.Raman, *Early History of the Madras Region*, AmudhaNilayamPvt. Ltd., Madras, 1959

Madras Tercentenary Celebration Committee, *The Madras Tercentenary Commemoration, Volume*,
Oxford University Press, Madras, 1939
N.S. Ramaswami, *The Founding of Madras*, Orient Longman. Madras 1977

CO No.	Course Outcomes *The students on completion of the course will be able to:*	Cognitive Level
CO1	Trace the history of the region from prehistoric times	K1
CO2	Describe the advent of the Europeans and the origin and growth of the city of Chennai	K1
CO3	Describe the history of education and health in Chennai	K1
CO4	Outline the growth of industries in Chennai and the impact of labour movement.	K1
CO5	Describe the nationalist movement in the city of Chennai	K1

CO Mapping with Programme Outcomes

	PO1	PO2	PO3	PO4	PO5	PO6	PO7	PO8
CO1	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3
CO2	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	3
CO3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	3
CO4	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	3
CO5	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3
Total	15	15	15	15	10	13	13	15
Average	3	3	3	3	2	2.6	2.6	3

S-Strong (3) M-Medium (2) L-Low (1)

CO Mapping with Programme Specific Outcomes

	PSO1	**PSO2**	**PSO3**	**PSO4**	**PSO5**
CO1	3	2	3	3	3
CO2	3	3	2	3	3
CO3	3	2	3	3	3
CO4	3	3	3	3	3
CO5	3	3	2	3	3
Total	15	13	13	15	15
Average	3	2.6	2.6	3	3

S-Strong (3) M-Medium (2) L-Low (1)