

Vol . XIII

BEGINNING OF EXTORTION, MOLESTATION,
PLUNDER, PRESSING OF MEN, CATTLE, SUPPLIES IN
BRITISH DOMINATED ARCOT, AND THE LARGER
CARNATIC UNDER THE SHIELD OF THE HELPLESS
AND HUMILIATED BRITISH APPOINTED NABOB OF
ARCOT: C. 1750 - 1800 *

** Admiral Sir Robert Harland was a special envoy from the British Government especially to South India to report on the state of events at the time. The occurrences narrated here for 1770-72, are again similarly described by Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras Presidency, in his long minute of 1795 regarding what was happening in the Madras Presidency as also in Bengal, Bihar, etc., and wherever the British were beginning to dominate.*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. ROBERT HARLAND CONVEYS NAWAB OF ARCOT'S HELPLESSNESS AND HUMILIATION TO LONDON: SEPT 1772	3
2. NAWAB'S HURT AT MADRAS GOVERNOR'S UNGRACIOUSNESS: SEPT. 1772	10
3. NAWAB RESENTS COMPANY'S INTERFERENCE IN LIFE OF HIS SUBJECTS: SEPT. 1772	12
(i) LOANS FORCED ON PEOPLE AT 48% P.A.	13
(ii) EXHORBITANT INTEREST	14
(iii) EUROPEANS FORCE THEIR WAY INTO PRIVATE HOMES, PRESS PEOPLE, EVEN MILITARY MEN	15
(iv) THE PROCESS OF LENDING MONEY TO AMULDAHRS	16
(v) PRINCIPAL LOAN INCREASED BY 40% IN WANTING TO MAKE THE 8% INTEREST LOOK MODERATE	18
(vi) MADRAS BRITISH GOVERNOR MAKES MONEY EXTORTS BRIBES	19
(vii) REFUSING TO PAY CUSTOM DUTY FOR MERCHANDISE IN THEIR NAME, ALSO DEMANDING FORCED LABOUR, TRANSPORT	20
(viii) TWO LAKHS TO GOVERNOR FOR APPOINTMENT TO NORTHERN CIRCARS	21
(ix) THE MANNER OF MAKING BRITISH FORTUNES IN SOUTH INDIA	22
(x) THE AVARICIOUS BRITISH COMMANDANT AND THE POLYGAR	23
(xi) NAZARS ETC. TO GOVERNORS AND OTHERS TO GET RENTER APPOINTMENTS	25
(xii) PRESSING OF MEN, CATTLE, SUPPLIES IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY: C. 1770s	27

Note: The bold text (*) in this document is the emphasis added by the Editor-Compiler and is not part of the original document.

1. ROBERT HARLAND CONVEYS NAWAB OF ARCOT'S HELPLESSNESS AND HUMILIATION TO LONDON: SEPT 1772

IOL: Home Misc. 111 (East Indies vol. 19) 1773: Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford
(No. XII) Recd 10.4.1773, pp.1-15

Fort St. George, 25th September 1772

My Lord,

It makes me extremely happy to be able to inform your Lordship, that by the arrival of His Majesty's Ship Dolphin, the ninth of August from the Mauritius, the accounts which have been already forwarded to your Lordship of the French leaving India are confirmed; and enclosed, I send a copy of the Remarks made at those islands by Mr. Colpoys who was acting Captain of His Majesty's ship at the time, and whom I cannot recommend too much for his extraordinary prudence and diligence in discharge of that duty.

The Nassau Indiaman arrived at this place the third of September, and brought a letter from the Cape of Good Hope dated the twenty ninth of June, by which I am informed, that La Belle Poule a French Frigate of 36 guns and 250 men, had just come into False Bay, on her way to the Isle de France, with Monsr. le Chevalier de Ternay on board, who is to succeed to the Government of the Islands, in the room of le Chavalier des Roches.

I had informed your Lordship in my letter No. IX (a triplicate of which accompanies this) of the Nabob's success against the Marwar and of the fall of Ramnahdporam his Capital, with other circumstances attending the reduction of that country. Since that time, the Naalcooty's country also has been reduced to the Nabob's obedience, the Polygar himself slain and Caracoil his capital taken by surprise. The circumstances attending which are fully related in the young Nabob's letter to his father. I also took occasion in Letter No. IX to mention the licentious spirit of the soldiery in this country; and I am very sorry that the behaviour of the officers who surprised Caracoil was such, both to the young Nabob and to the General, as to make it very evident, that they have not the smallest respect for dignity of character, nor a proper sense of military subordination.

On the receipt of your Lordship's dispatches of August the thirtieth 1771, I endeavoured to communicate to the Nabob everything contained in them respecting himself or country; but on his expressing a desire to have such articles in writing, as either required explanation, or to which an answer might be expected from him, I gave him copies of the correspondence between your Lordship and the Directors, accompanied with a letter of which the paper referred to is a copy. These were all translated into Persian, and after his Highness and his Councillors had maturely considered everything which had been communicated to them from your Lordship's dispatches, and what had passed in several conversations I have had with them on the subject, I had the honour of receiving his answer dated the twenty fourth of September 1772 or 25 Jemadisanni 1186. A copy of which accompanies this.

This letter of the Nabob appears to me to be very full and very explicit. It seems to contain in as few words as possible, the heads of everything he had formerly communicated either to Sir John Lindsay or to me; and the particulars which had till now been variously told and diffused amongst a great number of papers, are in this Letter, presented in one series of articles to your Lordship.

The Nabob's principal aim seems to be, to convince His Majesty, that his real and sincere desire is to maintain the strictest connexion with the Company; and that nothing is farther from his mind, than any wish to diminish the friendship, that at present subsists between them and him. But he thinks he has great reason to complain of the conduct of their servants, and produces a number of instances, wherein their behaviour does not appear to him, to have corresponded with the friendly intentions of their masters. And he is firmly persuaded, that things are misrepresented in England, or the Company never could think they had any cause to find fault with his conduct, or to entertain a doubt of his friendship.

Besides the repetition of many things already set forth in former letters, the Nabob has entered much more fully with me into the discussion of some abuses, which have been continued to be practiced in his country till very lately. These, I am desired to communicate to your Lordship, and as all those communications have been regularly entered in my Diary, the accompanying extracts with the copies of some letters, which have passed between His Highness and former Governors, will explain those matters very fully to your Lordship. At the same time the Nabob desires me to acquaint your Lordship that these communications have been made to me in the fullest confidence, and he seems exceedingly anxious, that they may not be made use of to the prejudice of any of the persons concerned. His purpose will be fully answered if the particular instances given, make it appear that his complaints have not been groundless, and that care may be taken to prevent such abuses for the future. This very anxiety, and the fear of losing friends and getting enemies by hurting individuals, have prevented him hitherto from speaking his mind so freely, as he otherwise would have done; and I have taken upon me to assure His Highness, that the wisdom of administration, will always have a very delicate regard, to whatever, he is pleased to communicate to them in confidence.

The practice of lending money to the Nabob began in the days of his greatest distress when his country was ruined by the ravages of the French and their Indian allies; and when he was obliged to borrow of any one who would lend him to defray the most trifling expences of his family at an interest of thirty or forty percent per annum or even more. He was also at that time obliged to make use of the same means of raising money, to pay the very large sums, even to sixty lacks of rupees in one year, to reimburse the Company immediately on the conclusion of the French War in India. When he had no resources left in his country already ruined and desolated by both European and Indian enemies. This heavy interest added half yearly or quarterly to the principal and bearing the same annual interest very soon produced immense fortunes to individuals, while such prospects of gain increased the (p.5) number of the Nabob's creditors, and the load of his private debt.

But whatever advantages were produced to individuals by this method of lending money to the Nabob, it was found by the Company's servants that much more was to be got by furnishing money to the Amuldahrs and Renters of the Circar, which they did at three four or five percent per mensem, renewing the bond and adding the interest to the principal every

two months, so as together with the premium, to produce an annual profit of sixty, seventy or hundred percent. This very soon produced numberless bankruptcies amongst the Nabob's Renters; both the crops and effects, were seized upon to pay the money lenders to the utmost farthing and the farmers having neither money nor credit, were obliged to leave their habitations to others, who following the same stops, became involved in the same manner. Besides, any man of bad intentions, and in bad circumstances, either from his own extravagancies or otherwise, finding the ready disposition of the Company's servants to lend money, borrowed at any interest, and were willing to pay any premium. By this means, although they should prove deficient in their payments to the Circar, they were either sure to find protectors, from the interest of the Creditors, to keep them in their Amuldahry or Farm. Or should the Nabob insist on turning them out for bad management or non-payment, they were sure to make off with the money they had borrowed, leaving their all mortgaged to their creditors, which was seized upon for payment of their debts, while the Circar revenues or debts remained unpaid. (p.6)

Thus the Nabob not only lost revenues, but even the country lost inhabitants. The only remedy left was for the Nabob to take the whole debt upon himself and give bonds of his own for the payment of the whole principal and interest, at twenty or twenty five percent before the reduction of the interest and afterwards at ten percent per annum. By this means, he saved the country though at a great expence and an addition to his private debt. But there have also been instances when Renters have proved deficient to the company, and who were also involved with individuals though at the same time deeply indebted to the Nabob. That at the desire of the Governor (which had the force of a command to him then) he was obliged to take the whole debt upon himself and give bonds for the same, bearing interest according to the rate of the times and in this manner the money was secured to the lender, while the Nabob's debts were increased both to the Company and to individuals. The papers referred to are translations of Cadjanna Memorials, or what may be properly enough called orders on the Nabob's Treasury for the payment of such moneys as cannot be stated in their accounts, under any other head but that of Enaum or free gift. These will serve as illustrations of the above.

It seems this practice of lending money had always met with encouragement from the Governors, or at least had been winked at, and the money lenders met with protection and assistance from them; but about a month ago this Governor acquainted the Nabob that he was resolved to forbid this practice under the severest penalties which was done accordingly. This the Nabob long wished for, but never could obtain till now when he supposes the Governor had heard (p.7) of his making such communications to me.*

The instance that the Nabob gives of what he calls interfering with his justice happened in 1765, when a great Renter was confined by the Cutcherie of Arcot for money owing to the Circar and released by an order from the Governor without an application to the Nabob. I have sent copies of the correspondence between him and the Governor on that subject, by which it appears that although the one thought himself exceedingly injured, the other justifies the measure; but the Extract from the Diary referred to, will serve to throw some light on this transaction.

* Emphasis added by Editor-compiler

What he mentions about his Bazar happened in 1771, and which he tells me was communicated to Sir John Lindsay at the time, when the Mayor's Court of Madras shewed a disposition to subject his Bazar to their Jurisdiction. This alarmed him exceedingly as the Bazar makes a very necessary part of his household and he complained of it accordingly. Since that time no such attempt has been made; but he is not free of apprehension on that head; and he thinks it no more than common justice, that he should have the same authority over his own people in the Company's Jaghire, which they have over their people in this country. This with what the Nabob has expressed in his letter to me, I think sufficiently explains what he meant by the company's servants interfering with his justice that the liberty he required of exercising judicial authority was over his own people only, when in the Company's Jaghire, and by no means over the subjects of England anywhere.

The great abuses of the indulgence which the (p.8) Nabob never refused to all the Company's servants, of transporting their baggage and everything belonging to them through his country duty free, has been the source of the greatest inconvenience to the trading part of his subjects. For merchandize of all kinds being transported under the sanction of a commanding Officer or a paymaster of a Garrison, or some person of distinction in the Company's service, centres all the trade with them*. Some of the Company's servants have even applied for leave to transport goods duty free, but this the Nabob has absolutely refused, for though he should be disposed to favour one, the advantage could not rest entirely with him for any length of time, he would find himself deprived of a very considerable branch of revenue, and of every trading subject in his country; but to show favour, as he calls it he has compounded for a sum of money, with some of those, who from their interest, or station fancied themselves entitled to make a certain annual profit by their office.

The pressing of his people to serve as coolies, and their bullocks to carry baggage, which ought to be employed for the purpose of cultivation, are what would appear to be some of the Nabob's greatest grievances. This, with other practices of Europeans which are considered as exceedingly oppressive by the inhabitants are sufficiently explained in the papers referred to.*

The Nabob has summed up everything which he wants of the Company in twenty four articles, very few of which want any explanation, as most of them are either so plain of themselves, or have already been so very fully mentioned in other (p.9) papers communicated to the Secretary of State, either by Sir John Lindsay or me. However, there are some circumstances which I am desired by the Nabob to communicate to your Lordship which may assist in forming a judgement of the propriety of the request.

The Treaty of Peace and friendship with the Mahrattas, seems to be, in the Nabob's opinion, essentially necessary for the well being of his country, and of the English interest in India; but he desires that whatever conditions may be thought necessary on the part of the English nation, or of the Company, the acquisition of the Gatts as a western boundary to the Carnatick may be admitted to make a part of the basis of any Treaty, that may take place with the Mahrattas. This he says they are very well disposed to grant; it will add greatly to the security of the Carnatick, and it has been frequently promised him by the Company's servants.

With respect to the Jaghire, the Nabob wishes to have the renting of it confirmed to him and to his successor, for many reasons mentioned in several former letters already forwarded to the Secretary of State. But he has mentioned one more to me, that could he depend on being continued renter, it would encourage him to lay out money in the cultivation and improvement of the country, which could not fail of being very advantageous both to the Company and to him; but which cannot be expected of him, while threatened with being deprived of the Jaghire every successive year. However, from a copy of the Company's letter by the Duke of Grafton, it appears they are disposed to continue the Jaghire in (p.10) his management.

The Nabob seems determined, not on any account whatever to increase the number of sepoy on the establishment of the seven Battalions at present in the Company's pay, but says that he will provide sepoy and force enough of his own against all emergencies. At present he says all is profound peace, and no increase of troops appears to him to be necessary; he has explained himself very fully on this subject in the fifth article; and it appears to me that though it may be possible to advise him to such concessions, he does not seem disposed to receive them as commands.

During the time of the siege of Tanjore, an agreement had been negotiated or was negotiating between the Nabob's son then in the field, and the Army, that should the place be taken by storm, they were to have a certain sum of money instead of the plunder; as an accommodation took place between the Nabob and the Rajah, this agreement fell to the ground, and the Army were disappointed in their expectations. Discontents, caballing and representations followed, which produced a letter from the Board to the General, wherein amongst other things the Board gave it as their opinion, that it was in consequence of taking place by storm only, that the Army were entitled to the plunder. But as Tanjore was not taken at all, there was no plunder; therefore they had no right to expect any gratification on that account. However, should the Nabob be disposed to give them a free gift, their regard for the Army, they said, would make them encourage such a disposition. The expeditions against the Marwar and Naalcooty followed soon afterwards; and as it was (p.11) the accommodation with Tanjore alone, which prevented the Army from receiving an immense sum of ransom money, Ramnadporam was stormed nobody knew how; but it was after terms had been partly agreed upon and might have been soon adjusted, had not the Troops rushed into the place, during some little misunderstanding, which happened at the time amongst the Marwar's people. Caracoil fell next, and was taken by surprise while the Naalcooty's Vaqueels were in actual treaty with the young Nabob and the General. By which the place became forfeited to the army.

After the siege of Tanjore was raised, the Nabob agreed to give five lacks of rupees to the army as a free gift, in recompence for their fatigues of the siege. At Ramnadporam which was taken by storm, his son agreed to give a certain sum to each officer to redeem the place from pillage and on the surprise of Caracoil the young Nabob was obliged to compound for fifty thousand Pagodas with the troops on the spot. Although the Circar troops were employed on all these services, and suffered inconveniences, dangers and fatigues alike with the Company's, yet the Company's officers claim the whole of the Nabob's present, to the total exclusion of his own natural troops*. This produced the eighteenth article in the Nabob's letter.

In those twenty four articles is contained the substance of everything the Nabob wishes in order to establish a firm and lasting friendship with the Company from which, I think, it will appear, that he is neither extravagant nor unreasonable. And he himself is now in hopes that since his affairs are so well understood, (p.12) they may be finally adjusted with the Company in England under the friendly protection of His Majesty; or on the spot, should the King be graciously disposed to follow that method, and should it be more agreeable to the Company under the eye of one of His Majesty's own immediate servants, and any one whom the Company may depute for that purpose.*

This my Lord, I think, finishes all the Nabob's business, as far it depends on any information which can be transmitted either of the situation of his affairs, of his disputes with the Company's servants or of his applications for redress, and to complete everything which I can transmit of the state of the country. **I have also enclosed extracts from my Diary, of some transactions which are well known to almost everybody here. By which many of the inhabitations have been ruined, but by which Your Lordship will see, that the Company's servants in high stations, had other means of getting fortunes, besides improving their money either by Trade or lending it at interest and this will assist, to account for the immense riches, which have fallen to the share of some individuals in India.**

I have not had an opportunity of being so well acquainted with the state of the Northern Circars, as they are entirely under the direction of the Company's servants, and all will have the appearance of mystery and secrecy, but the fortunes made at Masulipatnam, Vizagapatnam, Ganjam and other residences both by the Chiefs themselves, the Councillors, their favourites and friends, are immense. I am very well informed that the Chief of Masulipatnam makes not less than one lack of Pagodas, and the (p.13) chief of Vizagapatnam two lacks of rupees every year exclusive of what may be got by trade, which indeed is but little attended to, and the allowance they make to the Governor of Fort. St. George. The methods therefore are, new letting the farms for which nazirs or fines are paid to the Chief and every person officially concerned. The making war and peace with the refractory Rajahs, each of which carries its reward with it and the lending money to the inhabitants at a high interest. These loans are not always voluntary; but they are means of getting fortunes well understood by the lender, and which the borrower dares not refuse. This practice prevails universally through all the Company's Circars, from the highest to the lowest in their service at this day. Money is frequently borrowed in Madras at eight percent to be improved to twenty five, thirty, forty or more percent per annum in the Company's Circars.*

Accounts from Bengal mention, that the new Governor Hastings is on a tour through the provinces, in order to introduce such regulations as may seem necessary; and that he has established a very rigid system of economy by which the company will be immense gainers every year.

The King Shah Allum is at Delhi, perfectly out of the Company's power, and has been ever since I came to this country. This has made me regret exceedingly that the situation of things has been such, as to put it absolutely out of my power, either to carry or to send by any proper messenger the King's letters (p.14) and presents to His Imperial Majesty. However, that he might not be ignorant of His Britannick Majesty's friendship and that he had been graciously pleased to entrust such testimonies of it to my care, I took the liberty to send copies and Persian

Translations of His Majesty's letters to Shah Allum, with one from myself, of which the paper referred to is a copy. They were forwarded to Delhi by a Vaqueel sent expressly by the Nabob with an arshdaust from himself to the Patcha of Indostan. This measure I flatter myself will meet with His Majesty's approbation.

I have just received a letter from Mr. Du Pre of which the enclosed is a copy, acquainting me of his instructions from the Court of Directors, to be on his guard as they had cause to be apprehensive that the French still had hostile intentions with respect to India. I have sent him such extracts as I judged necessary from Mr. Colpoys's Remarks made at the Mauritius together with Extracts of such articles of Intelligence as I have received from the Cape on the subject, and I have told him in the terms of the letter referred to, that as I have had no information from administration, I am apt to imagine there is no cause to be apprehensive of danger from that quarter at present. However, as I shall very soon sail for Bombay with the squadron to refit during the monsoon where I may expect to receive fresh instructions from your Lordship, I shall take such measures for ample information as shall seem expedient and that I shall communicate the same to the respective presidencies. But should he still think it either (p.15) useful or necessary, I shall be ready to send a sloop either to the Cape or to the Islands.

Since writing the above, I have received Mr. Du Pre's answer in which he agrees with me in opinion; but as I am informed that there is a probability that no ship will be dispatched from this presidency this year, and as I mean to leave nothing undone to promote the security of the Company's possessions, I have resolved to send the Hanke Sloop to the Cape of Good-Hope to endeavour to procure every possible information with respect to the state of the French force in India; with instructions to the Commanding Officer to use every such means on his return, as may best answer the intentions of his voyage. I intend sending my dispatches to your Lordship by the same opportunity under the care of the Honourable Mr. Finch, with directions to proceed with them from the Cape in the first homeward bound ship for England.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest Respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most obedient and most humble servant,

R. Harland

2. NAWAB'S HURT AT MADRAS GOVERNOR'S UNGRACIOUSNESS: SEPT. 1772

IOR: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773,
pp. 17-19.

Fort St. George, 28 Sept 1772

My Lord,

The accompanying letter of the Nabob's, dated the Twenty sixth of September 1772 or 27th Jemadisanni 1186 Hizyra, which I have just received, wants very little explanation; but as many things are repeated in it, which are contained in the former letter, it may serve to give your Lordship some idea of the anxiety of the Nabob's mind, about the particulars therein mentioned; and of the sense he has of the ungracious conduct of the Governor, with respect to him, and to everything that belongs to his family.

I have sent along with this, all the papers enclosed in the Nabob's letter to me, except Mr. Pigot's agreement in 1760, and his letter to the Begum, and Mr. Bouchiers agreement in 1768, which I understand have already been sent to the Secretary of State by Sir John Lindsay. The Nabob, I believe, means by these to convince your Lordship that no former Governor would have refused him the same request he had made to Mr. Du Pre, and as I cannot conceive it possible, he never could think of giving any of the Nabob's family any support or protection against him, I am astonished the Governor refused this indulgence. (p.18)

The rest of the letter appears to me to want no explanation. The Nabob seems to think that after doing everything to oblige the company, their servants have made him but indifferent returns. That he has an undoubted right to the sole jurisdiction over his own people, in any part of his country, of which he esteems the Company's possessions as part, although enjoyed by them as Jaghire. That the conduct of the Company's Representatives, do not correspond with the favourable intentions of their Masters to him. That the advantage accruing both him and to the Company from his having English officers to his troops, and the necessity he is under of employing some Europeans immediately about his person, and in his family, such as Accountants and Surgeons, could not have been faithfully explained from hence or the Company, he thinks, would rather have contributed to his indulgence, than the contrary; and that he is still jealous of the encroachments of the Company's servants, unless their masters send positive orders to the contrary.

It has been told the Nabob, that Mr. Charles Smith, Mr. Monckton and others, who lent money at a high interest to the renters of the Jaghire, and who were complained against in the year 1770, have been severely censured in England for such practices. This has given him great concern as his wishes were to prevent the evil, but not on any account to hurt an individual. This benevolence of disposition has moved the Nabob to write a letter to the Governor, desiring (p.19) him to intercede for them in his name, and the accompanying paper

is a copy of a translation which he has sent to me that I might forward it to your Lordship with the same request from the Nabob.*

I have the honour to be, with the greatest Respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordships most obedient
and most humble servant,
Rb. Harland

3. NAWAB RESENTS COMPANY'S INTERFERENCE IN LIFE OF HIS SUBJECTS: SEPT. 1772

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - (P/1. NAWAB TO SIR ROBERT HARLAND, 24.9.1772. (Translation), pp. 177-195 (extracts))

(181) It is true that since my residence at Madras, I have experienced no small inconvenience from the Company's servants interfering in matters of justice..

(182) ...have been relieved by an order from the Governor without making any application to me. By which my dignity is wounded and my revenue suffered. Also an attempt has been made to establish a judicial authority over my Bazar. Now my Bazar is a necessary part of my household over which I have a natural jurisdiction, which I cannot give up. I am always ready to do justice when any application is made to me. Or if the Company's servants agree to furnish my household with everything and in such manner as I may want, I can move my Bazar to my own country; but to suffer any other justice than my own, to intrude itself into my family is a privilege of a prince I cannot forego.

I never had the least idea or wish to have any judicial authority over the subjects of England; but to make the injustice of their assumed authority over my people the more striking, I mentioned the natural right I had to expect the same usage from them, which they required of me. There are many things which may appear but trifling circumstances to Europeans, and yet are of consequence to the good government of a people, different in their religions, peculiar in their customs, and distinct in their manners. Besides as the revenues of this country depend entirely on the cultivation and fertility of the ground, to promote these becomes the principal object of the prince's care. Need I complain then of that arbitrary exertion of authority in the Company's servants over my people? To press for purposes of servitude the natives and their bullocks which are destined for the cultivation of the ground. To oblige them to borrow money at an exorbitant interest for which their property and the produce of their industry is mortgaged. To take by force or to oblige them to furnish what they had laid up for the supply of their families, or for the purposes of husbandry, at a low price or for nothing, to enter into and to make use of their houses at pleasure; even to enter the apartments of the women whose cast require them to be seen by their husbands only. Are these hardships? And when all these exertions of power are exercised by the Dubashes also over their countrymen under the cloak of their masters. With the rod of authority constantly in their hands: and when consequent punishments follow the most trifling offence. When demands are made without end; and remission to be obtained for money only. All these are grievances much more intolerable than any attempt to interfere with justice. Because such prevent cultivation, disappoint industry, ruin and distress my people, diminish my revenues and desolate my country.

After six and twenty years constant and uniform attachment to the Company, after refusing every offer, and rejecting every temptation from European and Indian powers to detach myself from them, after embarking my whole fortune with theirs, and when we are so joined that our mutual prosperity must depend on a close union and intimate connexion with one another, it would be below my dignity, and an insult to their understanding, to think any fresh

declarations of friendship necessary. I know it is my interest to be connected with the English Company forever, and they never had nor ever can have such a friend in India as I have been, and still am to them. Therefore, while mutual interests connects us so strongly to one another, let them never believe any insinuations, that it is my wish to detach myself from them. But they may give me credit when I tell them, that such insinuations are produced by the decline of another interest, the support of which, is not consistent either with theirs or mine.

(i) LOANS FORCED ON PEOPLE AT 48% P.A.

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - N/3. COPY OF A LETTER FROM SAID AASEM CAWN BAHADUR TO CAPT. FLETCHER BAHADUR, COMMANDING THE GARRISON AT ONGOLE, DATED THE 28TH JULY 1772, pp. 197-198.

I have received your letter to me - accompanied with an arzee for his Highness the Nabob, with a paper under the Signature of Ramiah renter. In yours you wrote that the said renter had given it under his hand to pay your money in twenty days; but that you had received the principal only without interest and that you required an order for him to pay the interest also. I have laid these before the Nabob and am commanded to acquaint you that his Highness is very sensible when the inhabitants want money they will borrow it at any interest without considering whether ever it will be in their power to repay the same, but when the time of payment comes, and they find it impossible to answer the demand of their creditors, they run away by which means the country is ruined by the loss of its inhabitants.

It is the custom and orders of the Company that no money should be lent at more than 10 percent per annum, **but you have made the inhabitants give it under their hands to pay you at the rate of forty eight (48) percent per annum. It is absolutely impossible for them to pay such interest, therefore they must be ruined and the country with them and even then the lender disappointed in his expectations.*** To prevent all these His Highness commands me to acquaint you that out of pure friendship for you, he is willing to pay you this interest for this once himself, and has given orders to his amuldahr accordingly; but he has strictly enjoined me not to suffer any money to be lent to any of the inhabitants, amuldahrs or servants of the circar for the future. I am therefore to request the favour of you not to do so yourself, nor suffer any of your servants to do so, that we may be not brought into difficulties on that account. I am always your friend.

What can I say more?

P.S.: I send you herewith the Nabob's answer to your letter and an order from Rogal Pundet to Ramiah.

(ii) EXHORBITANT INTEREST

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - N/4. TRANSLATION OF INTELLIGENCE FROM ONGOLE DATED 27 RABBISANNY 1186 REGYNA OR 29TH JULY 1772, pp. 327-330

Mr. Fletcher Bahadur (himself) has money transactions with fourteen village people in the time of Monudharam Cawn and Idrat Talab Cawn (Nabob's managers) which comes to a hundred (100) percent interest to this time, of which the inhabitants have paid part, which he deducted out of the interest. The remaining interest he added to the principal which is now is his account with the inhabitants, the whole bearing interest, that they may not be ever clear from his debt giving them trouble and disturbance in such a manner that they cannot bear, of which the renter being informed he gave orders to some of the village people to clear the debt. Some of the inhabitants had no abilities to pay. There is one village called Woolagee the produce of which is seven hundred (700) pagodas per annum, and Capt. Fletcher's demand upon it is five hundred (500) pagodas. In such manner are the transactions of the Europeans with the inhabitants of fourteen villages. Therefore it is impossible they should flourish. Some of the inhabitants paid what money they could and afterwards finding they could not go any longer they ran away. Others of them considered that if they run away they would be brought back prisoners and therefore remain in their houses selling their cattle and everything else to pay the money. Besides the commands they give to the villages are such; Mr. Fletcher wanted some timbers for beams and obtained an order from the renter to a village called Pootour for that purpose, he sent people there who remained in the village twenty two days. They received twenty two Madras Pagodas allowance from the inhabitants, they required twenty bullocks to draw the timber. Now this is the time to plough and cultivate the ground and no time is to be lost; but when the bullocks are taken away this must cease; therefore the inhabitants have come and complained but the renter pacified them and sent them back. Besides which the demand of straw, sticks &c. made by Capt. Fletcher, the commandant and other sepoy officers and other people are beyond description. No revenues in this season, notwithstanding which the inhabitants purchase those things demanded from other countries and supply them. Therefore there is a dispute between the renter and European officers, on account of which they always make such demands. He demands four thousand nine hundred (4900) pagodas and the interest which is due to him from Idrat Talab Cawn, of which I have paid four thousand (4000) pagodas and nine hundred (900) pagodas are still which the renter promises to pay in one month; but the European gentleman requires it immediately and for which he gives a great deal of trouble. The renter says he will wait on him personally; but Capt. Fletcher refuses, therefore the business is transacted in writing between them.

**(iii) EUROPEANS FORCE THEIR WAY INTO PRIVATE HOMES,
PRESS PEOPLE, EVEN MILITARY MEN**

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - N/15.
TRANSLATION OF AN ARZEE IN PERSIAN, BY CHOTTAR SING, VAQUEEL OF RAJAH BHANGAR YATCHAM
NAID JAMEDAR OF VENKETEGARY, RECEIVED 2ND AUGUST 1772.

I have just received a letter from the Rajah Bhangar Yatcham Naid Bahadur my master. That the Europeans who came from Masulapatam to Naid Pettah on their way to Madras although there was a lodging for passengers and my master's people showed them the places, they did not chuse to halt there; but they went into my master's houses, breaking the locks and entering forcibly they took up their lodging there. They have received sheep, fowls, rice, &c. as much as they pleased for nothing, at their request as guests. When they departed from thence they gave treat trouble by pressing the coolies. At last they wrote a letter to my master in Gentoo language, the original and translation of which is here annexed. The Talka of Naid Pettah is assigned over to Rajahwar, Elaiwar and Cammewar casts, who are military men, and always have a most sacred regard for their honour. When they are brought to what they think such disgrace the country must be ruined, I therefore entreat your Highness will be pleased to take such measures, that they may not be liable to receive such injuries from the Europeans for the future.

3rd August, Chottar Sing present, declares about two months ago, a detachment passed from Masulapatam to Madras took everything, sheep, fowls, curries, pots, &c. &c. &c. without making the smallest allowance for anything. And they pressed coolies not minding who, even taking gentlemen if they came in their way for that purpose. They even went so far as to abuse them on their march. The inhabitants acquiesced in everything least the Nabob should be displeased; but the inhabitants had the Nabob's Dustuck for their protection, which they shewed to the soldiers without their paying any regard to it. These casts are the sepoy or soldiers of the Rajah, and as he is obliged to attend the Nabob with his force in war, these are his military; then leaving the cultivation of the ground to others but in time of peace they employ themselves this way.

(iv) THE PROCESS OF LENDING MONEY TO AMULDAHRS

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - ALLY NAVIS CAWN'S ACCOUNT OF THE METHODS USED BY THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS TO OBLIGE THE NABOB'S AMULDAHRS &C. TO BORROW MONEY. O/1. EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY - MONDAY 27TH JULY 1772.

ALLY NAVIS CAWN

As soon the commanding officers of the different garrisons and the paymasters hear that the amuldahr is pressed for money, they go to him, you want money, I have ten or twenty thousand pagodas at your service and you may have it for whatever time you please. They then agree for an interest of two, three or four percent per mensem. And so much is to be paid at a certain time in money and so much in paddy. Then they say, as I lend you this money you will give me your paddy at a low price, that is to say, you will give me two markals per pagoda more than the market price, to which to gain favour they agree. And as the amuldahrs granaries are more convenient to keep it in, you will let it remain with you till I want it. Very well, servants peons, etc. are set over it to take care that the commanding officers paddy is kept separate from the amuldahrs, whose batta &c. he must pay as long as they are with him. And as paddy loses of its measure by keeping, the full quantity with the additional two markals on each pagoda must be measured out by the amuldahrs or by his people to the purchaser from the commanding officer, and whatever deficiency may happen the amuldahr must make it good. Besides as the officers are not acquainted with the manners of the country, the amuldahr must hire bullocks or coolies to carry it to whatever place, the commanding officer or paymaster pleases, and deliver it to his people free of all expense. The time of disposing of it always is when rice is at the highest, and during its sale every other market is shut up, so that the price on that account is increased also. By these means the amuldahrs loses ... percent, the country people are very much imposed upon, the Company's people receive not only extravagant interest upon the whole; but all this profit upon the paddy and acquire immense fortunes, while the Nabob by the frequent bankruptcies of his principal servants is deprived of a great part of his revenue. And should the Nabob make any complaint then they say what, you complain when we have lent you our money there is no money in your country, your country is ruined, what would you have done had we not lent you this money. And now you throw difficulties in the way of our recovering it, and making the usual advantages.

Should the paddy become cheaper and the purchase undisposed of, the paddy is then left in the hands of the amuldahrs who is to be accountable to them in money. In that case they speak to him in smooth words, telling him he know much better how to dispose of it than they do. Therefore the next time the amuldahr wants money they agree to let him have whatever he may want, to which they add the original price of the paddy undisposed of, the two markals per pagoda addition, the servants wages and batta who took care of it, with the interest of the whole from the first day, of which they make one aggregate sum, and for which they receive the amuldahrs bond bearing the interest and payable in a certain time as may be agreed on.

Such practices very often oblige the Nabob to turn his amuldahrs out, as he cannot be but sensible that they never can pay such exorbitant demands of interest without ruining the inhabitants or defrauding the circar; and sometimes he has other reasons for appointing others in certain districts. Then those who have been the money lenders complain that such persons

are so much in their debt and require that either the Nabob suffer them to remain in the management of their district till they be able to pay them what they owe, or that he take the debt upon himself. If the Nabob should be inclined to suffer the amuldahr to remain according to their request, he knows there would be no end of such practice, and his country would be inevitably ruined; he is therefore obliged to chuse the least of two evils and to take the accumulated sum the produce of such practices upon himself, and either to pay it or to give his bond for the whole, liable to ten percent interest per annum.

When the amuldahrs get in debt to the Company's servants they seldom live in the towns or forts; but retire into the countries to avoid the importunities of their creditors. The Dubashes then of the money lenders are sent to demand payment at the time it is due. These set out in a state little inferior to their masters, and on their arrival they are treated with all the elegance of the country. Their train of palanqueen boys, peons, &c. &c. &c. receive both wages and batta from the debtor, and even dancing girls and every species of expensive amusement are procured for them at the amuldahrs expence. And when they think it necessary to return, in consideration for a bribe which they accept they go back without the money, and make an excuse to their master on account of the poverty of the man &c. &c. &c. All these exorbitant exactions puts it more and more out of the power of the debtor to discharge his debt; and at last the whole with all the increase of a heavy interest comes upon the Nabob to pay.

It was the custom of Collendah Moodally who was the Dubash of the paymaster of Trichanopoly from the first time, the Europeans had a garrison there to Mr. Hoyer's time, to oblige all the amuldahrs, renters and servants of the circar to take money from him at an exorbitant interest. He not only did this to all those of the Trichanopoly district; but he came to Ally Navis Cawn then Manager in the Tinnevelly country and asked him if he did not want money, and desired him to accept some from him at such an interest. He told him he did not want money, that he had three thousand pagodas by him, which he would give him free of interest to lend to any one he pleased, and that he only would expect it when called upon for money from the circar, he also told him that he would be much obliged to him if he would not insist on his borrowing from him; by such means and fair words he got off.

This same Collendah was the man that went to the Rajah of Tanjore, and offered to raise the money agreed on for the ransom of his country last year, for which he received a present of fifty thousand rupees for himself; besides the premium and interest agreed on for his master, notwithstanding all which the Rajah was obliged to pawn plate and jewels to the full amount of the sum borrowed; one lack of pagodas of which remains as yet unpaid; and the interest continues to go on.*

Narren Piellah who was the Dubash to the Commanding Officers of Trichanopoly from the first English garrison to Col. Hood's time used to carry on the same trade.

(v) PRINCIPAL LOAN INCREASED BY 40% IN WANTING TO MAKE THE 8% INTEREST LOOK MODERATE

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/2. EXTRACT
FROM THE DIARY, TUESDAY JULY 28TH 1772, PP.331.

The commanding officer at Ongole had wrote to Assem Cawn Bahadur acquainting him that the Nabob's renter had not paid him some interest due on a certain sum of money which he had lent him, and requesting an order from the Nabob for the payment. And this day Assem Cawn wrote to him acquainting him that the Company's order was only ten percent, yet he had obliged the inhabitants to give obligations at the rate of forty eight percent per annum. That they could not pay so much without ruining both themselves and the country; however on his laying all this before the Nabob, out of pure friendship for him, and to prevent bad consequences both to his people and country, the Nabob was willing for this once to pay this interest himself; but absolutely forbid lending any money to his people for the future.

I was also informed that this practice was universal all over the Carnatick; and the Company's commanding officers or paymasters, not only employed their own money this way; but all their friends, and even people in high stations sent their money to be employed in this way. But now to avoid it being known as much as possible, the principal sum was first mentioned then the agreement for the interest; and if it was 48 percent per annum, the 40 percent was added to the principal both which added made the sum specified in the bond; and the 8 percent interest appears only as charged for the whole. By which means a charge of interest was made upon 40 percent more than the principal, or 48 for 60 every year.

(vi) MADRAS BRITISH GOVERNOR MAKES MONEY EXTORTS BRIBES

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/3. EXTRACT
FROM THE DIARY, SUNDAY 26TH JULY 1772, pp. 332

In Mr. Palk's time there was one Poushpanadar Nincary a renter of Conjeevaram or Poonamalee, and who had formerly been a manager of the Nabob and was very much in debt to him on account of Wandiwash, &c. The Nabob sent him prisoner to Arcot, he complained to the Governor, who sent a very haughty message to the Nabob desiring to know why he dared to confine one of the Company's renters, and by the Governor's order without consulting the Nabob he was sent under a Guard from Arcot to Madras and delivered up to him. Nincary made interest, paid fifteen thousand pagodas to Mr. Palk and five or six thousand to his Dubash, and the same night he was suffered to escape. Next morning, Mr. Palk with all Nincary's creditors came to the Nabob. This man whom you just confined say they, and delivered over yesterday has made his escape; you must pay us all the money he owed us. It was in vain for the Nabob to urge the injustice of his demand; that they had taken the man out of his power, that he himself, and many of his servants were also losers; he was obliged to take the whole debt upon himself - both principal and the accumulated interest added, to near a lack of pagodas for which he was obliged to give interest bonds.

**(vii) REFUSING TO PAY CUSTOM DUTY FOR MERCHANDISE IN THEIR NAME,
ALSO DEMANDING FORCED LABOUR, TRANSPORT**

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/4. EXEMPTION FROM CUSTOMS AND TOWN DUTIES. EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY, TUESDAY JULY 28TH 1772, pp. 339-340

There are certain offices established all over the Carnatick for collecting the duties of the circar upon all merchandize, or on all such goods as are transported from one place to another; but the baggage of the Company's servants have been exempted from this, not by any particular specification but they have always been considered as not liable to pay duty. However under colour of this priviledge, not only goods for sale have been transported by some; but the Dubashes of the principal servants either in the civil or military department have assumed all the authority of their masters on the like occasions, obliging the circar officer to pass whatever they pleased without examination, by placing their masters name on the parcels. If the officer should stop them, they complain to their masters, and they are always sure to be justified against the circar people, who are fortunate if they escape without some mark of resentment. And this has been carried to such a height that even common hawkers and pedlars, besides more considerable merchants have made a practice of writing the names of Commanding Officers of certain places or of some of the Company's servants upon packages and under this sanction have passed through all the Nabob's Cutcherries. Should the circar officer stop them, they immediately apply to the Dubash, who tells his master of a brother or a near relation bringing up a few things, silks, linnen cloths or some other goods for the use of the officers of the garrison and that they had wrote his name upon it; but that it had been stopped by the circar people. This is sufficient, the officer in a passion that any thing with his name on it should be stopped by these fellows, sends sepoy for their protection to bring it on, or perhaps apply to the Nabob for redress, and demands no less than the punishment, or the dismissal of the officer who had done his duty.

But still a greater evil than the defrauding the Nabob of his revenues attends all this; for it has been accompanied with circumstances of oppression infinitely more destructive to the country. For the amuldahrs and the Nabob's officers have been forced to press the country people from their labour, to furnish coolies, not only to carry the baggage or effects belonging to the Company's servants; but it has been the common practice of their Dubashes, and for merchants hawkers and pedlars under their protection to transport goods merchandize &c. from place to place with their masters name affixed, and accompanied with a peon or cooley with the Company's badge, obliging all the circar officers wherever they went not only to pass them duty free; but also to furnish coolies to transport them free of all expense, threatening them if they refused, and sometimes throwing down the goods, telling them they must be answerable for the consequences if they did not forward them. For such services the merchants can well afford to pay high rewards to those, through whose favour they receive such indulgences, as in the inland countries they receive from thirty six to fifty percent to upwards upon Madras goods according to the distance; but this arbitrary manner of forcing the country people from their labour by which they maintain their family has obliged many of them to leave their habitations, and to search for shelter and more security under the Government of those Indian princes who are much less connected with Europeans and who we call despotism and slavery.*

**(viii) TWO LAKHS TO GOVERNOR FOR APPOINTMENT TO NORTHERN
CIRCARS**

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/5. EXTRACT
FROM THE DIARY, FRIDAY 25TH SEPTEMBER 1772, pp. 345.

Cootoobut Doulah is one of Hussun Ally Cawn's honorary names. So that by his arzee of the 19th March 1766 to the Nabob it appears that he had agreed to give two lacks of rupees to the Governor for his appointment to the circars to be paid through the Nabob's hands. Which was done partly by that means and partly by the hands of Mr. Pybus then Chief at Masulipatnam. This with other proportional Nazirs given to the Company's principal servants at the time appears to account for the preference given to Hussun Ally; although they had sent General Cailland to the Nabob on purpose to bring him to Madras, to settle this affair and to accept the management of the circars. The Nabob was then going into the Madura and Tinnevelly countries to settle them; but left that business by which he suffered great loss, and came to Madras. He was however disappointed and Hussun Ally Cawn preferred.

(ix) THE MANNER OF MAKING BRITISH FORTUNES IN SOUTH INDIA

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/6. EXTRACT
FROM THE DIARY, SUNDAY 26TH JULY 1772, pp. 347-348

The Governor and Council are as well acquainted with the different times of the coming in of the rents of the Carnatick as the Nabob, and ought in friendship to suit their demands to the times when they know he can most easily answer them. This however has not been the case, for it has always been customary to press him most, when they could not be ignorant that he was least able to pay, which reduced him to the necessity either to be hard upon his country to raise money for them, to borrow from all hands at a high premium and great interest, or to shew favour to themselves in order to obtain a month or two's respite.

The money that they receive for the Company in the Carnatick and the Northern Circars comes nearly to between ninety and a hundred lacks of rupees a year, so that the Nabob can hardly suppose their necessities are so very pressing; but whenever he finds them particularly anxious for money for the Company, he knows they want him to shew favour. And after all, the difficulties he labours under his own country are not to be expressed; he cannot even buy a piece of cloth for his own wear; but he must employ one of his servants to buy it as if it were for themselves; should he do it, the Company's merchants would immediately complain to the Governor and Council and say that the Nabob had interfered with the weavers and spoiled their contracts.

Sometime ago there were merchants in the Nabob's country as well as in others. Those merchants used to buy up the grain of the inhabitants; and to furnish them with money for the circar for it is the custom in Indostan when the grain is cut down to divide it between the circar and the labourer in certain proportions according to the nature of the grain, the labour necessary in cultivating it, and the fertility of the country. In the Tanjore country for instance the labourer has only two tenths of the produce of his lands, which is perfect sufficient to repay him for all his labour. But the circar very often leaves what is its proportion with the inhabitants for which they pay money. This is bought by the merchants and in this manner the circar revenue used to be paid; but ever since the Company got such footing in the country the Commanding Officer and the paymaster oblige all the inhabitants to take money from them at two, three and four percent per mensem to pay the circar demands. The merchants have entirely left the country, as there is no advantage to be got by any but by the Commanding Officer and the paymaster's people. The inhabitants know not how to dispose of their grain to refund the money borrowed of the Company's people; and when they find themselves beyond remedy, they run off. Their creditors then seize on their effects, and not only of the effects of their immediate debtors, but on their neighbours so far as is necessary to discharge the whole. Then unless the Nabob pay the whole debt, together with the high interest and sustain all the loss of the sale of the grain, the village becomes deserted and the country would be very soon depopulated. In this manner have the fortunes of all the Commanding Officers and paymasters been made.

(x) THE AVARICIOUS BRITISH COMMANDANT AND THE POLYGAR

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/7. EXTRACT
FROM THE DIARY, SUNDAY 26TH JULY 1772, pp. 351-353.

An account of the present Commandant at Ongole.

In 1768, the officer commanding the troops at Ongole having settled all that country, told Assem Cawn that they must do something with somebody else. And in the neighbourhood one of Bazalat Jungs Polygars commanded a very strong Fort called Venecondah. The Commandant said they must go and attack him; on Assem Cawn's representation that they had nothing to do with this Polygar and that as he belonged to Bazalut Jung, it might bring them into trouble. He still persisted telling him; why am I sent to command at their place but to get money, and I must not let such an opportunity slip. Accordingly without the least pretence or injury received he marched against him, Assem Cawn went with him. On coming before the place, the Commandant received letters from the Governor and Council (Hyder was then in the Carnatick) ordering him to send off an officer with 500 sepoys and as many Europeans to Madras immediately and to hold himself in readiness to march with the rest at a moment's warning. He communicated this to Assem Cawn, and told him we must reduce this fellow first, and you, says he, must bear witness for me that I did not receive this letter till afterwards, for we must not acknowledge the receipt of this now. He then summoned the Fort, which the Polygar refused to deliver. The Cawn then persuaded him to get some conversation with the Polygar and by his mediation they met in a tent between the army and the place. The Commandant, Assem Cawn and a third person with a few sepoys only, and the Polygar had above 2000 peons all round them. The Polygar then asked what he wanted with him and why he came before his Killa. The Commandant said, you have two guns belonging to one of our Polygars whom we have reduced, you must deliver them up. He answered, I have no guns of any of your Polygars; but I have twelve guns of my own, if you want two guns you may chuse which you please. Then says he a great many of our Polygar people have deserted to you, you must deliver them up. The Polygar answered, I know of none of your people in my Killa; but if you please you may go into the Fort, and if you find any of them you may take them with you. The reason of those questions was, he did not want either guns or men; but a pretence to demand money of the Polygar to make up matters. Every such pretence however proving in vain and Assem Cawn fearing his coming to extremities, offered to be a mediator and told them he would endeavour to get some money for him from the Polygar, and with great difficulty prevailed on him to give three thousand pagodas. The Commandant wanted more; but the Polygar would not. Then says he, I will take him prisoner with these sepoys; without considering that he was surrounded with the Polygars peons; and even went so far as to threaten to beat him, he was however dissuaded. Very well says the Captain, but I want a horse, I must have a horse, you shall have one says he. And on the Polygars return to the fort, he sent him a dress, shawls and a horse; the horse did not please him. I don't want a horse says he to Assem Cawn, tell the Polygar to give me a thousand pagodas and keep his horse, the Polygar would not agree to that. I must have another horse then says the Commandant, a better one, he was promised one; but this horse not coming time enough, he rode to the Fort himself unattended, and was refused admittance by the peons guarding the barrier. He was in a great passion; and sent for Assem Cawn, who sent a message to the Polygar, requesting he

would give him leave to come in. The Polygar was displeased, why says he should this officer come up demanding entrance into my Fort without my leave. The Cawn made the matter appear as favourable as possible telling him it was the European custom to visit after making friends, that he only came in friendship to see his place. They were admitted, and on mentioning the horse, the Polygar told him, I have twelve horses in my stables you shall have your choice. On hearing of twelve horses, Oh, I must have more, for some of my officers want horses, and he insisted on having four horses, he got them. The Polygar then appointed him a house to refresh in and sent him fruits &c. About this time, one of Bazalat Jung's Jamedahrs was passing on horseback, who had been there to collect the rents for his master. He was well mounted and the horse pleased the Commandant; he run up and stopped the horse, and swore he would have that horse. After much cavilling the Polygar was obliged to pay two thousand rupees to the Jamedahr and to give the horse. Assem Cawn then prevailed on the Commandant to return two of the former horses; so that he carried off three, shifting his own furniture on the Jamedahr's horse and rode off. But before went away, he pulled a watch out of his pocket, and presented it to the Polygar, telling him he was his best friend; that it had been sent him from Europe by his brother; but he insisted of this acceptance as a proof of friendship. The Polygar refused, saying he did not understand it. But the Commandant insisted on his taking as a token of remembrance. The Polygar told him, that was not necessary, for he should certainly remember him as long as he lived without any such proof; however he left the watch with the Polygar. The Commandant was scarce gone when he repented his giving the watch, saying as it was his brother's present, he ought not to have given it away ; and wanted to send for it. Assem Cawn told him; you gave it away as a proof of friendship, you cannot ask it back. However he sent his Dubash to the Fort, and halted his men till he brought the watch back, he also wanted to wait till he received the three thousand pagodas. But Assem Cawn agreed to pay that to him for the Polygar, that he might not be detained from more essential business; and accordingly did pay it to him.

**(xi) NAZARS ETC. TO GOVERNORS AND OTHERS TO GET RENTER
APPOINTMENTS**

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/8. RENTER AND OFFICIALS AND THE NEED TO BORROW. EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY, THURSDAY 13TH AUGUST 1772, pp. 355-356.

One Rajow Pundit had been renter of St. Thome ever since the siege of Madras, and of Devicottah soon after, till very lately. He rented the former at 700 pagodas per annum and the latter at 1900 pagodas both from the Company. Mr. Palk [the GOVERNOR of Madras] a little before his departure let both these farms to the same man for five years for which over and above the rent he usually paid the company, he was to pay a Nazir to the Governor of 2000 pagodas a year; but as Mr. Palk was going to England he required the whole to be paid at once. Accordingly the man was obliged to borrow 10,000 pagodas at a very high interest to answer this demand. There had been a Nazir annually paid for every year before also; and when Mr. Bouchier came to the Government, he also expected his present although Mr. Palk had made the renter pay for five succeeding years. And however far the Governor went, the Dubash always kept pace with his master. The consequence of this was that Rajow was able to stand it no longer and in the year 1770, he broke for 30,000 pagodas over and above his whole substance.

It seems some people who understood some of those transactions between him and the Governors, &c. &c. &c. advised him to write to Mr. Palk and to tell him his situation and what had been the cause of his misfortunes. Either the man or some other person did so; and last year an order came from Mr. Palk to Mr. Goodlad his attorney to pay him 5000 pagodas. Which I am told was done. But the man was ruined and this came much too late.

This has been the fate of all the Company's renters in the Jaghire for many years past, all had been ruined by the same means. The Company's rents are easily paid; but the Nazir to the Governors, Councillors, Secretaries and Dubashes must also be paid, which obliges the renter to borrow money at a very high interest of forty, fifty or sixty percent and the produce of the farm not being able to discharge all those demands, the possessor must be inevitably ruined. At the same time mentioned several practices of the Dubashes for extorting money. Should any of those renters refuse to pay them a Nazir, the Dubash takes care to send heavy demands upon him from time to time, which he knows him unable to comply with. These he represents to his master as trifles and tells him of the refusal of the renters to oblige him in so small a matter. This the master believes and without enquiry orders the fellow to be flogged. This should infallibly be put in execution, if he do not buy off the disgrace by a sum of money, which he seldom fails to do; on which the Dubash tells his master that he will do better next time and begs him off. This is a common practice from the Governor of a province to the lowest officer civil or military when in command, or when they have any separate authority. Some thousand mangoes, hundreds of fowls, a great numbers of sheep &c. are demanded greatly above the man's abilities, and when he represents his situation and that he has not so many to send. The Dubash tells his master. I asked says he only a few mangoes of such a one, as you were to have company and the fellow refused them. And should these practices fail of producing the intended effect the renter is made appear to be so

bad a man that his farm is taken from him and he is left to starve; which obliges him to borrow money at a very high premium and interest in order to wear out his time a little longer, for he is certain of being ruined at last.*

(xii) PRESSING OF MEN, CATTLE, SUPPLIES IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY: C. 1770s

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/10. EXTRACT
FROM THE DIARY, FRIDAY 31ST JULY 1772, pp. 363-365.

(p.363)

(From Tazud Dien Killedar of Ongole and Rayal Pundat, Omdaht al Omrah's Manager.)

After the taking of Ongole for the Nabob, one Mr. Bruce came there to command the troops in Garrison, both those of the Nabob and of the Company. In that country the seasons are divided into four months wet weather and four months dry. In the first period they cultivate the ground and keep all their cattle about them; but in dry weather as they have no provision either in grass, straw and even water for their cattle, they send them all out of the country towards the borders of the Krishna. However as the officers wanted butter and milk they obliged the inhabitants to bring cows and to keep and feed them at their own expense for that purpose, without allowing them any reward, although they were obliged to send for what they wanted to a great distance. Nay if their cattle died, through want as the country could not maintain them, the poor inhabitants sustained the loss to their own ruin.

Ongole is but a small place, therefore the custom of pressing the inhabitants is the more felt, as they are but few. However if the commanding officer, his dubash, or any of his servants, wanted to go any where on business, orders were sent to the amuldahr to provide coolies with doolies &c. as many as they wanted. And as the Company's servants frequently travel between Madras and Masulapatnam, Ongole being in the high road, word is sent forward of their coming, and the amuldahr is obliged to provide every thing necessary for their reception. But what distresses the country more than any thing is the pressing of the inhabitants to serve as coolies, which is done on (p.364) the above occasions; and as Ongole itself is not capable to furnish as many as those gentlemen want they must be pressed out of all the country round; so that the cultivation is perfectly neglected and the season lost for want of hands. Besides the poor people are kept waiting till those gentlemen arrive, and sometimes for several days while they amuse themselves with their friends, and then to carry them on so far for so many days more, without either receiving pay or batta, and are left to starve unless the amuldahr or some officer of the circar have compassion on them.

One Capt. Fitzgerald then came to the Commandant of this place, with a battalion of sepoy; houses were then ordered for all the officers both Europeans and Black officers and even for their servants which were all built and all the materials furnished at the amuldahr's expence. And detachments of sepoy were sent to collect those, all the country round at twenty or thirty miles distance, pressing and forcing the inhabitants and cattle to bring it to the garrison, the amuldahr paying the money. And afterwards they were obliged to furnish the straw for the garrison, which being exceeding scarce in that country it sometimes cost thirty, forty or fifty pagodas at a time. They were also obliged to supply the garrison with firewood, in both which not less than fifty coolies were employed everyday. For all which no pay nor batta was paid to the poor people; men and cattle were employed, the season lost, the circar deprived of its revenue and the inhabitants ruined. The same custom of supplying butter, milk &c. was also

regularly insisted on; and very often the poor women were abused by sergeants, European soldiers, Topazes, &c. without redress. If a complaint was made the person was heard or not, according as the application was accompanied.

(p.365) About the end of 1766 Mr. Davis succeeded to the command, during which time and the time of the previous commander, one Mr. Perring who was paymaster used to lend money to the inhabitants at sixty percent per annum, forty eight to himself and twelve to the Dubash and Conicopillays about him.

The battalion of sepoy's used sometimes to have 200 cattle belonging to them at a time. They were let loose in the country, and for want of grass the paddy fields of the poor people were eaten up, without any remedy, for if they should complain, perhaps sepoy's were sent to protect them; but before that the whole crop was destroyed.