From map facing p. 225 of Rennell’s Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, 1788, with the addition of this and a table of References.

Rennell’s fine dotted line denoting political divisions was unsurveyed and admittedly vague; these divisions were in a constant state of fluctuation.

Compare geography of Punjab and sources of Ganges with that of Plates 7 and 21.
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE SURVEY OF INDIA EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE SURVEY OF INDIA EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Published 1945

PRINTED IN INDIA
Reduced by one-fifth from a map in the British Museum, K 115 (7), by permission of the Trustees.
ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA

Page 166 last line, after Anopahrea insert [161].
164 line 5, for astronomer read astronomer.
164 line 12, after General Roy, insert reference to new footnote to read, [1729] to [1749]; Pr. Engs. 23:12-55;
170 footnote 6, delete present note and subitate
Marsden, Topping, and possibly Mother, were the only sailors among the Madras surveyors.
171 lines 10, 17, for Dolland read Doldoll.
177-178, after Mysore insert killed in action,
Pondicherry, 1793.
177 line 14, after Pocket delete comma.
178 line 2, east from Europe, but and subitate at all
[pl. 2, 5, 161], or
186 footnote 2, after (57) insert; Map, MROI. 150 (46).
line 4 from bottom, after usual insert [159].
189 line 15, for you read.
190 line 7 from bottom, for executed read executed.
194 line 7, for Montgomeries read Montgomerie.
198 line 19, after Gunter's chain insert reference to new
footnote to read [of 22 yards, named after Edmund
Gunter, and used in England from about
1629].
199 note 7, 209 note 6, and p. 201 notes 1, 3, South
Korea.
201 note 4, Mitaporas italics.
208 line 11, after Ibn Haakkal insert reference to new
footnote to read—See.
211 footnote 2, for ib. read Herbert.
215 line 5 from bottom, after expense insert [38].
215 line 22, for 225 read 220.
221 line 10, after Wiser read Elsen.
222 line 6 from bottom, after [35-6] delete The and
substitute In the later edition the
line 3 from bottom, for pamphlets read work.
223 footnote 7, after delete Ben. Cur., for Consideration of
Indian Affairs read Considerations on Indian
Affairs, London, 1772.
225 line 22, for Coas Bechay read Coas Béchay.
236 line 28 and footnote 4, for Hammaumeau read
Hammamoune.
240 line 3 from bottom, for expense read expense.
257 note 1, for ib. read C.D. to M.
258 note 1, after Sir delete stop.
263 line 27, for Geographer read Geographer.
264 line 5 from bottom, for at this time read in 1790.
265 footnote 1, Supply, Deeps, italics.
271 line 15, for the Surveyor General read Call.
278 line 7 from bottom, after Stuart insert [95].
280 footnote 7, after (194) insert; he was granted a
further 400 pagodas a month the year before
his death [392].
284 lines 3 and 9 from bottom, for Webb read Webb.
285 line 4, for Webb read Webe.
286 line 1, for Tun- read Turn-.
288 line 9 from bottom, after survey insert [160-1];
delete last 5 lines of page from In his journal...
291 line 24, between this and wrote insert I.
291 line 12 from bottom, for Mustan on hopes read
Mustan in hopes.
294 line 13, for carry of large read carry off large.
line 14, for attached read attacked.
298 line 26, after city insert [299].
298 line 8 from bottom, after God delete stop, and for
Set read set.
301 line 7 from bottom, for convenience read con-
venience.
302 line 7, shift reference 3 to end of line 8, following
dismissed.

CONTINUED ON P. 305.
PREFACE

When I was at Dehra Dün early in 1933, I received a letter from Sir Edward Tandy asking for certain particulars about Sir George Everest, and more especially what he was doing in 1833, one hundred years before, a matter of topical interest in view of the projected attempts to conquer Mount Everest by the climbers of the Ruttledge expedition and the airmen of the Houston flight.

This led to my first introduction to the old correspondence records of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, which comprise more than 700 volumes extending from about 1790 to 1883, and I found them of absorbing interest. They were in excellent preservation, and, though consisting mainly of the correspondence of the Trigonometrical Survey, include much of the Surveyor General’s correspondence, particularly for those periods when the great geodesists, Everest, Waugh, and Walker, combined the offices of Surveyor General and Superintendent of Trigonometrical Surveys, viz., 1830–93 and 1875–83.

Enquiry at the Surveyor General’s office at Calcutta produced similar records for the rest of the department for intervening periods, but these were in sorry state. Some volumes were missing, and all had suffered grievously from the cruel Calcutta climate; most of them were sadly worm-eaten, and many showed signs of having been rescued from fire. Considering, however, the vicissitudes of the office during the first half of the 19th century, it is marvellous that so much survived. All honour to the hand-made paper of those early days, and the excellent writing ink. The records for the period 1863–75, when Sir Henry Thouillier was Surveyor General, are not bound up, but stored in tin boxes, each letter folded and docketed. These Calcutta records have now been brought up to Dehra Dün, rebound, and assembled with those of the Trigonometrical Survey.

I was tremendously struck, not only with the intense interest of this old correspondence, but also with the futility of letting it continue to lie in its present inaccessible form. It had lain thus, the greater part of it, for over 100 years, and if nothing were done it would continue to lie another hundred years, if indeed it did not perish.

I saw how interesting these details of our past work would have been to me during the active years of my service; the accounts accessible in annual reports and record volumes are mainly professional, and give no continuous narrative. Sir Clement Markham’s Memoir of the Indian Surveys is indeed a classic summary of the work from the earliest years, but is not sufficiently intimate or detailed to grip the imagination.

To write up a history of the Survey of India from these volumes of correspondence seemed to be the best way of preserving them to posterity, and I was fortunate in finding that the Surveyor General, then Sir Harold Couchman, welcomed my offer to undertake the task after my retirement. This departmental correspondence would not however meet the whole task, for it did not cover the early years of survey, and there were many later gaps; there was practically nothing about revenue surveys.

After a few months spent at Dehra Dün combing through the Geodetic Branch library, I went to Calcutta where I found a wealth of material, and most generous assistance, both at the Imperial Record Office and the Imperial Library; but the Government of India records also have been sadly depleted by accidents and fires, and hold but scanty information about the interesting period of Rennell’s surveys.

During the cold weather of 1935–6 I spent six weeks at the Record Office of the Government of Bombay. There was practically nothing about Bombay surveys either at Dehra Dün or Calcutta, but the Bombay records not only gave detailed accounts of the earliest surveys from about 1785, but also described the interesting
revenue surveys from 1830 onwards. Whilst at Bombay I was given the privilege of consulting the library of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and am deeply indebted to the honorary secretary, Mr. Tilley, for access to books that I have met nowhere else in India.

From Bombay I went to Madras where I found a mass of information in the wonderful record office at Egmore, where the records are in excellent preservation and readily accessible, and the collection of valuable old maps most beautifully kept. I have specially to thank Dr. Baliga and his staff for their very courteous and valuable assistance. I also received the kindest help both at the Connemara Library, and at the library of the Madras Literary Society. At the former my most interesting find was a copy of Thomas Jefferys’ _Explanation of the Map of the Seat of the War on the Coast of Choromandel, 1754_; and at the latter a copy of Rennell’s _Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan_, 1st edn. 1783, which the Society most graciously presented to the Survey library at Dehra Dun.

During the cold weather of 1836–7 I spent three months at Calcutta, mostly at the Record Office of the Bengal Government Secretariat, where I found most interesting letters of the earliest surveys from 1760 onwards, both amongst the district records, and amongst those of the Territorial and Revenue departments. These included correspondence about Rennell’s surveyors as well as about the revenue surveys of Bengal.

The Surveyor General’s Map Record and Issue Office holds a large collection of surveyors’ journals, fieldbooks, and memoirs, from which I gathered much information, and I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of Rai Sahib A. K. Mitra, who went through the whole collection of old maps making interesting notes. It is most thrilling to go through the fieldbooks and surveys of old days, more especially when one strikes familiar country. Perhaps the most interesting finds were Cameron’s survey of the 24-Parganas, 1761–2, and a portion of Anbury’s fieldbook through Central India, 1792–3. This latter was sewn up with another fieldbook of an entirely different period, and bore no surveyor’s name, nor year. Facing each page of traverse was a delightful water-colour painting, and it was through these that I obtained my first clue as to the surveyor, for two evenings later, whilst going through the _Calcutta Gazette_ of 1793 at the Imperial Library, I found Anbury’s advertisement asking for subscribers towards a “Set of Views”, which closely corresponded with those of the fieldbook; further corroboration was then easy to find.

I spent from November 1937 to March 1938 in London, mostly at the India Office, where I received the utmost kindness and assistance from Mr. W. T. Ottewill, and was able to go through volumes of government proceedings of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, many of which do not now exist in India. There were also the ecclesiastical records of births, marriages, deaths, and wills, for all Presidencies; there were the Home Miscellaneous Series, the Orme MSS., the Mackenzie MSS., Court Minutes, and many other records which do not exist in India. There were priceless rare books in the library, and the maps and manuscripts of the Map Room. Perhaps the most interesting of all these was the folio of Rennell’s maps sent home in 1774, containing his account of his methods of survey and the construction of his maps, with a little index showing the area surveyed by each surveyor. This had been noted by Major Hirst in 1916 when writing up his account of the British revenue surveys.

At the British Museum the library gave access to books and periodicals that could be found nowhere else; the Crown Library possessed several folios of old maps and surveys that had been sent home from India in the very early days, of many of which no copies had been kept in India. It was a great joy to show these off one morning to Colonel Ryder, Herbert Crosthwait, and Sir Harold Cunehman. The Manuscript Room gave more original maps and surveys, besides surveyors’ journals and private correspondence, mostly amongst the Hastings Papers. Many of these must have found their way home as private property; some may have come from the collections of Orme, Dalrymple, or Rennell.
I have also to thank the Royal Society and the Royal Astronomical Society for permission to consult books and manuscripts in their libraries.

My notes on the work of the early Jesuit missionaries have been gathered from many publications, in search for which I have received the greatest assistance from Father J. Macfarland, S.J., of St. Mary's College, Kursoong.

I wish particularly to acknowledge the kindness and the enthusiasm with which all officials at the various record offices and libraries have done everything in their power to assist my researches. I am greatly indebted to the cheerful and willing labour of the messengers at the various record offices, perhaps more especially those at the India Office, who kept me supplied with a stream of heavy volumes, often brought from subterranean vaults, to which they had to be restored in perfect order after I had done with them.

As regards the form which these Records are to take; the Surveyor General has agreed that they should form a distinct series of volumes entitled, _The Historical Records of the Survey of India._

There is no reason why such a series should not gradually be brought up to the present day; I have myself aimed at the year 1883 as the limit of my own endeavour, and it is impossible to say now how many volumes this will entail. The war has now sadly interrupted not only my own work, but also the printing of this first volume, and I doubt whether I shall myself complete the narrative beyond 1882. From about 1860 regular annual reports were published; but these are of a dry substance, and there is room for a readable human history as well.

For the period before 1860 Markham's _Memoir_ is the only history of the department as a whole. For the Trigonometrical Survey there are the fascinating works of George Everest, _An account of the Measurement of an Arc of the Meridian...1839_; and _An account of the Measurement of two Sections of the Meridional Arc of India...1847_; and also the _Parliamentary Report on Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey_ by Sir Andrew Waugh, published in 1851; but these are out of print and difficult of access. There is also the series of ponderous tomes of the _Record Volumes of the G.T.S. of India_, which contain brief historical summaries of each trigonometrical series; Sir Sidney Burrard tells me that it was General Walker who insisted on having these summaries inserted. The production of a history of the Department up to 1860, embodying the substance of the correspondence volumes to which Markham never had access, appears therefore to be a matter of urgent importance, especially when it is considered that manuscript records have a limited life.

The early story covers much more than the mere construction of rough surveys and maps that were doomed to be superceded. It tells of the constant demand of administrators for information about their own territories, and those beyond their boundaries, and at the same time their fear of spending too much money. It tells of the enthusiasm of a few for the improvement of geography and for the unravelling of the mysteries of the unknown, and also of the farsightedness of those who strove to put this survey business on to a sound footing under a professional chief with an adequate staff. Then there were the true men of science who followed the progress of instruments and methods in Europe, and brought about such achievements as an observatory for the control of astronomical observations, a school where surveyors should be taught their business, and eventually a master survey on sound geodetic principles, to which the work of all surveyors should be tied. This early history is worth telling in full, for the first efforts of the pioneers and their exploration of an unknown country can be even more interesting that the regular methodical survey of later years.

This first volume covers the 18th century, the age of romance and adventure in India, and I hope that I have succeeded in giving some sense of that romance and adventure which coloured the work of our 18th century surveyors and soldiers.

The second volume will cover a short but very important period, 1800 to 1815, during which Colin Maclaren brought regular organization and system to the surveys of the Madras Presidency, and William Lambton laid the foundation of the trigonometrical survey and its great meridional arc.
The third volume, 1815 to 1830, will tell of the co-ordination of all the surveys under one Surveyor General of India, the extension of Lambton's survey from an affair of the South Peninsula to be the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, and its acceptance as the one sure foundation for the geography of the continent. It will tell of the birth of a Revenue Survey Department to provide professional control for such surveys, and the start of the great Atlas of India, compiled in London, to cover the whole of India with a continuous map on a uniform scale, based on the Great Trigonometrical Survey.

I have been warned by some against making my story too full; "Don't let it run into a number of volumes that no one will ever read!"; but I am not following that advice. These records are intended first for professional surveyors now working in India, and their successors, that they may know the conditions under which the earlier surveyors worked, and how the modern system came to be built up. They will want to know all the work-a-day details, and many will be interested in the human lives of their predecessors.

These records may also prove of interest to surveyors in other countries, though there is no intention to make them in any way technical; and it is possible that men of other professions working in India, and familiar with the conditions under which such work has to be carried out, may also find passages of interest.

So far as possible, original documents have been quoted in their actual words, which give a truer picture of the actual happenings and intentions than any summary or paraphrase can do. References to published works are quoted in full as much as possible, for works of reference are not readily available in India, and it is of little use to refer the reader to a book that can only be found in London, or even in Calcutta, when he is in camp in the wilds.

A large part of this volume is taken up by biographical notes, in spite of a warning given to me that the work is always more important than the man. On the other hand, the work cannot be accomplished without the man, and it is not every man who makes a successful surveyor. It is of real interest to many of us to know something about the men who worked under the very trying conditions of those early days. It may be thought that I have told too much about their private lives, but such trifles are of interest to many; we do not know what our own lives might have been had we been working in India during the 18th century; and it is clear from their correspondence that the surveyors of those days were men of the same various types as ourselves.

These biographical notes would never have been so full as they are without the very generous assistance given by Major V. C. P. Hodson, late of Hodson's Horse, Indian Army, author of Lives of the Officers of the Bengal Army.

Before closing I must acknowledge the great help and encouragement I have received from Sir Harold Couchman, who has always insisted that this work was "well worth doing", and also from Sir Sidney Burrard, who has taken an intense personal interest in all my researches.

I must also thank Brigadier Sir Clinton Lewis for giving his authority for the publication to be carried through at the offices of the Geodetic Branch at Dehra Dun; also Mr. H. H. Williams in charge of the printing office, Mr. H. J. Peychers, M.B.E. of the Photo-zincOffice, and Captain (now Lt.-Colonel) C. A. K. Wilson of the Photo-litho Office, for the efficient manner in which they have carried the work through, and their forbearance with the author.

GULMARG, KASHMIR.

OCTOBER 1939,

(DELHI, 1944).

R. H. PHILLIMORE.
Plate 3

INDIA ORIENTALIS

by Gerard Mercator, 1612.

Reduced from Plate on p. 362 of Mercator’s Atlas, Amsterdam, 1612.

Gerardus Mercator was Latinized name of Gerhard Kremer (1512–94), mathematician and geographer, who devised the map projection which bears his name, and published maps of all parts of the world. [Evet Brit.]

Longitudes from the Pope’s line [pl. 10, n.]

Notable features of this early geography are:

The river Ganges flowing north-east from the Deccan to an exit adjacent to the Ganges delta, first challenged by Orme, and not shown in Rennell’s Map of Hindoostan [45, 209, 212, pl. 1, 11, 12, 13, 16].

Lake Chiamai, in the north-east, a fabulous source of the great rivers beyond the Ganges, and identified with the Brahmaputra, reputed source of the Brahmaputra. This was first abandoned by D’Anville [78, 84, 211, pl. 11, 16].
CONTENTS

FOREWORD .......... v
PREFACE .......... vii
CONTENTS .......... xi
REFERENCES OF MS. RECORDS & OTHER ABBREVIATIONS .......... xvi
REFERENCES TO PUBLICATIONS .......... xvii

CHAPTER I

GENERAL NARRATIVE
To the Departure of Rennell in 1777 .......... 1
Maratha & Mysore Wars, 1778 to 1784 .......... 3
Six Years of Peace, 1784–90 .......... 5
Extension of British Interests, 1790 to 1800 .......... 6

CHAPTER II

BENGAL SURVEYS TO 1777
Jesuit Missionaries, 1579 to 1771 .......... 10
The 24-Parganas, 1757–64 .......... 12
Coasts & Islands .......... 13
The Great Rivers .......... 17
Midnapore & Burdwan, 1761–6 .......... 21
Rennell & Richards, 1765–6 .......... 22
Bihar, 1766–8 .......... 24
Route Surveys .......... 27
Rennell as Surveyor General, 1767–77 .......... 31

CHAPTER III

BENGAL SURVEYS, 1777 TO 1794
Thomas Call as Surveyor General, 1777–86 .......... 37
Goddard's March to Bombay, 1778–9 .......... 38
Pearse's Marches along the East Coast, 1781–5 .......... 40
Political Missions, 1784–90 .......... 42
Wood & Kyd, 1786–94 .......... 43
Wilford in Benares, 1788–94 .......... 43
Coasts of the Bay of Bengal, 1779–87 .......... 45
Andaman & Nicobar Islands, 1788–96 .......... 47
The Hooghly River .......... 50
Calcutta .......... 51

CHAPTER IV

BENGAL SURVEYS, 1793 TO 1800
Beyond the North-West Frontier .......... 55
Chittagong Frontier, 1794 .......... 59
Chumar to Rajahmundry, 1795 .......... 59
Ganges-Hooghly River Passage, 1777–96 .......... 63
Ganges River above Cossimbazar, 1796–1800 .......... 64
Special Surveys in Calcutta, 1795–6 .......... 65
Chittagong Coast, 1799–1800 .......... 65
## Chapter V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BEYOND THE BARRIERS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Himalaya Mountains:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesuit Missionaries</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lama Survey of Tibet, 1712–17</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of the Ganges &amp; Gogra</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogle &amp; Turner, 1774–84</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepāl</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Snowy Range</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Assam:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Brahmaputra</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh’s Expedition, 1792–4</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Eastern Frontier</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Burma</em></td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter VI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MADRAS SURVEYS TO 1788</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Surveys to 1765</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnard’s Survey of the Jāgūr, 1767–74</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Surveys in the South, 1765–75</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Circās, 1767–76</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort St. George &amp; Madras</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pringle &amp; the Guides, 1777–88</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly and other Surveyors, 1778–88</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter VII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MADRAS SURVEYS, 1786 TO 1800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coromandel Coast, 1786–93</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kistna–Godāvari Irrigation Surveys, 1775–98</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tank Repairs</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Corps of Guides</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colin Mackenzie</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Mysore War, 1790–2</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Surveys</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nizām’s Dominions</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Mysore War, 1799</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter VIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOMBAY SURVEYS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Surveys</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marātha Wars, 1774–82</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine Surveys</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Reynolds, 1783–9</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmitt with the Marāthas, 1790–5</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malabar, 1790–1800</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reynolds &amp; his Map, 1792–1800</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter IX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REVENUE SURVEYS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods of the Country</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossary</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER IX—(concl.)

Revenue Surveys—(concl.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revenue Survey</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras: Jāgūr, 1767–91</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Circars, 1774–88</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem &amp; Bāramahāl, 1792–9</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Revenue Surveyors, 1795–1800</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER X

Astronomical Control, Bengal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Observations before 1760</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rennell's Maps of Bengal, 1760–77</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transits of Venus, 1781–69</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Pearse, and others, 1775–90</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuben Burrow, 1783–9</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrow's Measures of the Degree, 1790–1</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrow's Last Season, 1791–2</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colebrooke &amp; his Surveyors, 1794–1800</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER XI

Astronomical Control, Madras & Bombay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras Observations before 1786</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topping &amp; the Observatory, 1786–1800</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Surveys, 1788–1800</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay Observations</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breadth of the Peninsula</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fundamental Longitudes, Madras &amp; Calcutta</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER XII

Professional Methods of Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rennell in Bengal, 1764–77</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Route Traverses</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras Jāgūr, 1767–74</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Topping, 1788–94</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāramahāl &amp; other Madras Surveys, 1792–9</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras Surveying School, 1796–1800</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journals and Fieldbooks</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER XIII

Survey Instruments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chains</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perambulators</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sextants &amp; Quadrants</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compasses</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumferentors</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodolites</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronometers</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supply of Instruments</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrolabes</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument Makers</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chapter XIV

**Maps of India**
- Ancient Geography
- Early Maps to 1750
- D’Anville’s Map of 1752
- Jefferys & Orme
- Rennell’s *Map of Hindoostan*, 1882-93
- Thomas Call’s Atlas, 1782-9
- Reynolds’s Map, 1793-1807
- Colebrooke & Others
- Postscript

**Pages**
- 207
- 208
- 210
- 211
- 212
- 215
- 217
- 219
- 220

### Chapter XV

**Maps of Bengal**
- Maps before Rennell
- Rennell’s Early Maps, 1764-72
- Rennell’s Provincial & General Maps, 1772-4
- *Bengal Atlas*, 1779-83
- Distance Tables
- District Maps
- Upper Provinces, 1797-1800
- Punjab & Afghanistan, 1786-1804
- Map Drawing & Draughtsmen

**Pages**
- 221
- 222
- 224
- 227
- 230
- 231
- 232
- 232
- 234

### Chapter XVI

**Maps of Madras & Bombay**
- Early Maps of the Carnatic, to 1780
- Kelly’s Atlas of 1782
- Madras Maps, 1760-1800
- Draughtsmen
- Maps of the Nizām’s Dominions
- Maps of Bombay

**Pages**
- 238
- 240
- 243
- 244
- 245
- 245

### Chapter XVII

**Map Construction & Preservation**
- Scales
- Projections
- Orthography
- Maps for Court of Directors
- Co-operation between Presidencies
- Custody & Distribution

**Pages**
- 247
- 248
- 248
- 250
- 253
- 256

### Chapter XVIII

**The Surveyor Generals**
- Surveyor Generals of Bengal
- Bengal Regulations
- Surveyor General’s Office at Calcutta
- Proposals for Surveyor General, Madras
- Surveyor General, Bombay

**Pages**
- 260
- 261
- 262
- 263
- 265

### Chapter XIX

**Surveyors**
- Recruitment
- Conditions of Service
- Civil & Military Surveyors
- Surveyors “Out of the Service”

**Pages**
- 266
- 266
- 267
- 268
Chapter XIX—(Concl.)

Surveyors—(Concl.)

Rennell's Surveyors
Other Bengal Surveyors
Madras Surveyors
Bombay Surveyors

Pages

269
270
271
273

Chapter XX

Pay & Allowances

Surveyor Generals of Bengals
Bengal Surveyors
Madras Surveyors
Bombay Surveyor

274
275
278
281

Chapter XXI

Civil Establishment

European Assistants
Surveying School, Madras
Assistant Revenue Surveyors, Madras
Indian Explorers
Reynolds & his Surveyors
Lascars & Followers

283
283
285
286
287
289

Chapter XXII

Inhabitants & Officials

Bengal in Rennell's Time
India at Large
Military Escorts
Posts & Communications

291
296
300
303

Addenda & Corrigenda

.Fvi, 305

Further Abbreviations

300

Biographical Notes

308

Index.

Plates

1. Political Map of India

Facing Title Page

2. India to Arabia

3. India Orientalis

4. Arab Map of Sind

5. On the Bhutan Border

6. The Ganges and the Gogra

7. Ladak to Lhasa

8. The Indus to the Ganges

9. The South Peninsula

10. After Father Montecorate

11. L'Empire du Grand Mogol

12. Presqu'Isle de l'Inde

13. Bengal from D'Anville

14. Bengal & the Brahmaputra

15. Kelly's Title-page

16. Terza Parte dell'Asia

17. Alexander Dalrymple

18. Robert Orme

19. James Rennell

20. Charles Reynolds

21. Index to Surveys, 18th Century

Front Cover

page x

xx

23

55

67

72

85

148

207

11

221

13

238

304

331

332

377

278

Back Cover
### References to MS. Records & Other Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B F C</td>
<td>Bengal Foreign Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B M</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B M Add MSS</td>
<td>British Museum Additional Manuscripts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Min C</td>
<td>Minutes of the Bengal Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B M C</td>
<td>Bengal Military Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B G D</td>
<td>Bengal General Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B P C</td>
<td>Bengal Public Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Pol C</td>
<td>Bengal Political Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B R C</td>
<td>Bengal Revenue Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Pr C</td>
<td>Procedings of Council, Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B S C</td>
<td>Bengal Secret Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B S C C</td>
<td>Bengal Select Committee Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B S &amp; F</td>
<td>Bengal Secret &amp; Foreign Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B S &amp; Pol</td>
<td>Bengal Secret &amp; Political Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B S &amp; M</td>
<td>Bengal Secret &amp; Military Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B S &amp; Sep</td>
<td>Bengal Secret and Separate Correspondence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Terr C</td>
<td>Bengal Territorial Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B to C D</td>
<td>Bengal Letter to Court of Directors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Rev Bd</td>
<td>Bengal Board of Revenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Terr Rev</td>
<td>Bengal Territorial Revenue Proceedings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bm</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B c F &amp; P</td>
<td>Bombay Foreign &amp; Political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B c M</td>
<td>Bombay Military Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B c E</td>
<td>Bombay Military Establishments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B c P C</td>
<td>Bombay Public Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B c Pol C</td>
<td>Bombay Political Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B c R C</td>
<td>Bombay Revenue Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B c S &amp; Pol</td>
<td>Bombay Secret &amp; Political Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B c Sur</td>
<td>Bombay Survey Correspondence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B to C D</td>
<td>Bombay Letter to Court of Directors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C m C</td>
<td>Commander-in-Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Cor</td>
<td>Committee of Correspondence, I O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C D</td>
<td>Court of Directors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C D to B</td>
<td>Court Despatch to Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C D to Bo</td>
<td>Court Despatch to Bombay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C D to M</td>
<td>Court Despatch to Madras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C E</td>
<td>Chief Engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C M</td>
<td>Court Minutes, I O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat</td>
<td>Catalogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cf</td>
<td>Compare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C n C</td>
<td>Chief &amp; Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn of Rev</td>
<td>Committee of Revenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Dn</td>
<td>Survey of India Records at Dehra Dun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deg</td>
<td>Degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desp</td>
<td>Despatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E I C</td>
<td>East India Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emb Lists</td>
<td>Embarcation Lists, I O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et seq.</td>
<td>and following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhb</td>
<td>Exhibit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fdbk</td>
<td>Fieldbook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G B O Lib</td>
<td>Library of Geodetic Branch Office, Survey of India, Dehra Dun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G in C</td>
<td>Governor in Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G in C</td>
<td>Governor General in Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G O</td>
<td>General Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H C Repart</td>
<td>House of Commons Reports; Committees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H M S</td>
<td>Home Miscellaneous Series, I O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I O Copies</td>
<td>Bound Copies of I O. Records with Imperial Records, New Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I O Lib.</td>
<td>India Office Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I O Misc</td>
<td>India Office Miscellanea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I O Maps</td>
<td>India Office Map Room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I R D Lib.</td>
<td>Imperial Record Department Library, New Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf</td>
<td>The same; as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp Lib.</td>
<td>Imperial Library, Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly’s Atlas</td>
<td>Manuscript Atlas in two volumes at S G O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M A G</td>
<td>Military Accountant General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M G C</td>
<td>Madras General Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M M C</td>
<td>Madras Military Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M P C</td>
<td>Madras Public Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M R C</td>
<td>Madras Revenue Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M R I O</td>
<td>Map Record &amp; Issue Office, Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M R O</td>
<td>Madras Record Office, Egmore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Rev Bd</td>
<td>Madras Board of Revenue Proceedings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M S C</td>
<td>Madras Secret Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M S C C</td>
<td>Madras Secret Committee Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M S &amp; M</td>
<td>Madras Secret &amp; Military Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M S &amp; P</td>
<td>Madras Secret &amp; Political Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M S &amp; Pol</td>
<td>Madras Secret &amp; Political Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Scl. C</td>
<td>Madras Select Committee Consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M to C D</td>
<td>Madras Letter to Court of Directors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mack MSS</td>
<td>Mackenzie Manuscripts, I O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mad</td>
<td>Madras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mad Civ Ests</td>
<td>Madras Civil Establishment, I O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mad Ecl.</td>
<td>Madras Ecclesiastical Records, I O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar Rec.</td>
<td>Marine Records, I O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M il B d</td>
<td>Military Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc L R</td>
<td>Miscellaneous Letters Received, I O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min.</td>
<td>Minute of Correspondence or Minute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>Note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orme MSS.</td>
<td>Orme Manuscripts, I O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P C R</td>
<td>Provincial Council of Revenue, Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P R O</td>
<td>Public Record Office, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>here and there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pena Rec.</td>
<td>Personal Records, I O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q M G</td>
<td>Quartermaster General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qr.</td>
<td>which, whom, see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R S Lib.</td>
<td>Royal Society Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev</td>
<td>Revenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S G.</td>
<td>Surveyor General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S G O</td>
<td>Surveyor General’s Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec.</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sel.</td>
<td>Select</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep.</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sv.</td>
<td>sub verbo (under the head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sup.</td>
<td>thus, as printed above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V M</td>
<td>Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>West</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- Dates: 22nd August 1758 or 22-5-58. Reference to page/plate of this volume: [296] pl. ...
- Number of pages, folio, consultation or paragraph: (236). Editorial insertions: [...].
- References to maps of the Survey of India: 72 L/12 [Roy, pl. 21].

### Further Abbreviations:
- P. 306.
REFERENCES TO PUBLICATIONS

The Imperial Gazetteer of India contains excellent historical accounts of the various pro-
vincies, districts, and cities of India, scattered through its different volumes, with a general
historical summary in volume II.


Atchison A Collection of Treaties...C. V. Atchison. 1899.

Antiquités Antiquités Géographiques de l’Inde et plus-

Arbuthnot Major-General Sir Thomas Munro...Arbuthnot. 2 vols. London. 1851.

As A R. Asiatique Annual Register (periodical).

As J. Asiatique Journal (periodical).

As R. Asiatique Researches (periodical).

Aspinall Lord Cornwallis in Bengal. Aspinall. 1913.

Ball Travels in India. Jean Baptiste Taver-
nier. ed. by Ball. 2 vols. 1889.

Beaton The Ordre de Conduct of the War with Tippoo Sultana. Alexander Beaton. 1800.


Marian 1808.

Ben Atlas A Map of Bengal & Bahar in VIII parts...James Renzulli. 1779.

Ben P & P. Bengal Past & Present (periodical).

Ben Sel. Selections from the Records of the Govern-
ment of Bengal (periodical).


Bleichman Ain-i-Akbari, by Abu Fazl. Translated by H. Blechman. vol. I. 1871.


Bradshaw Life of Lord William Ewart.

Broadway Travellers’ Guides and Progress of the Bengal Army. Broadway. 1899.


Buchanan A Journey from Madras through the Coun-
tries of Mysore, Cannar and Malabar. Francis Buchanan. 1807. 3 vols.

Rooke Memoirs of the Services of the Bengal Artillery. E. Buckle. 1852.

Bunbury History of Ancient Geography. Sir E. Bunbury.

Busteed Echoes from Old Calcutta. Busteed. 1908.


C G. Calcutta Gazette (periodical).

Cadell History of the Bombay Army. Patrick Cadell. 1858.


Cambridge An Account of the War in India between the English and the French on the Coast of Choromandel...from 1759 to 1760. K. O. Cambridge. London. 1761.


Carkhaw Services of the Bengal Native Army. Cardow. Calcutta. 1903.


Carroll’s Code Abstract of General Orders & Regulations...on the Bengal Establishment. 1812.

Century Series The Century Sciences Series. Major James Rennell...Clemens Markham. 1896.

Clan Campbell Records of Clan Campbell in the I.E.C. 1925.


Close The Early Years of the Ordnance Survey. C. F. Close. 1926.

Colebrooke Life of Montseigneur Elphinston. Cole-
brooke. 1884. 2, T.E. Colebrooke.


Commentarius Father Anthony Monsaert’s Mongoliaca Legationis Commentarius. Ed. H. Hos-
ten. S.J. Memoirs of As. Soc. of Bengal II. No. 9 (1815-1843). 1914.


Cotton List of Inscriptions on Tombs in Madras. Cotton. 1905.

Cox & Stuart District Manual, North Aroz. Cox, re-
vised by Stuart. Madras.


Crawford’s List List of Officers of the I.M.S. D. G. Craw-
ford. London. 1860.


D I B. Dictionary of Indian Biography. Buck-
land.


Daly A Short Account of...Burrow’s measurement of the old Degree...James Daly. London. 1799. MS. in R.S. Lib.


D’Anville Éclaircissements Geographiques sur la Carte de l’Inde. Paris. Bourguignon d’An-
ville. 1753. English translation. S. Herbert; Antiquités Géographique.
REFERENCES TO PUBLICATIONS

Davis

De Filippi

Dist. Générale
Dictionnaire Générale de Biographie et d'Histoire. Delbovry et Baebelot.

Dist. Suisse
Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse.

Drom
A Narrative of the Campaign in India with Tippecoo Sultan, 1792. Drom. 1793.

Dist. R.

Dodwell

Douglas
Bombay and Western India. Douglas. 1883.

Du Halde

E I M C.
East India Military Calendar. John Philp. 1723-4. 2 vols.

Edwards

Elliot
The History of India by its own Historians. H. M. Elliott & Dower. 1867-77.

Encyclopedia Britannica. 11th edn. 1815; 14th edn. 1829.

Eur. Mag.
European Magazine (periodical)

Everest

F. C. Hirst

F D Sel.
Selections from the records of the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Fay
Original Letters from India. Mrs. Fay. 1817.

Firminger
Proceedings of the Compromising Committees of Revenue; Murlidibash. Rev. W. K. Firminger. v. Dist. R.

Forbes

Forde

Forrest

Forster

Foster

Francis

Franckin

Fullarton
View of the English Interests in India... Col. Wm. Fullarton. 1788.

Gaz. Bombay City

Gaz. Rec.
Geographical Review (periodical).

Gen. Mag.
Genealogical Magazine (periodical).

Ghosh

Gladwin

Glimpse in Science.
(portential). Calcutta. 1829-33.

Gleig

Goast, Gaz.

Grant

Grant Duff
A History of the Mahrattas. J. C. Grant Duff.

Green

Grier

Grose
A Voyage to the East Indies...by Mr. Grose. London. 1772. 2 vols.

Gurwood

Hastings

Hastings' Journal

Henry Dodwell

Herbert

Hickey

Hill
The Life of Claudi Martin, Major-General... S. C. Hill. 1901; v. S. C. Hill; Three Frenchmen.

Hirst

Hirst & Ascoli
A Memoir upon the Maps of Bengal by Rennell, from 1764. Hirst & Ascoli. 1914; superseded by The Surveys of Bengal, by F. C. Hirst. Calcutta. 1917, to which references are made.

Hobson Johnstone

Hodges

Hodson

Holman

Hosten
Jewish Missionaries in Northern India... 1800-1902. H. Hosten. S. J. 1907.

Hunter
The Thackereys in India... W. W. Hunter. 1897. v. Rural Bengal.

Hyde

I S G.
Imperial Gazetteer of India. Calcutta.

I S M.

I S M & P.
Catalogue of Maps & Plans in the Imperial Library... Calcutta. 1919.

I S M E.
History of the Bengal European Regiment. Innes. 1885.

I S M E.
Catalogue...of MS. & Printed Reports, Memoirs, & Maps of the Indian Survey...at the India Office. Markham 1875.

I S M E.
Published Tracts, India Office.

Ives
A Voyage from England to India in 1754. Edward Ives. 1754.

J A S B.
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (periodical).

James Rennell
REFERENCES TO PUBLICATIONS

Robert Orme  
_Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire from 1639._ Robert Orme. 1782. 2nd edn., 1863.

Robert  

Roy  

Rural Bengal  
_Annals of Rural Bengal._ Wm. Hunter. 1888.

S. C. Hill  

Sandes  

Sastri  
_Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India.'_ S. M. Sastri. Calcutta. 1924.

Schwab  

Scots Persian  

Seton Kerr  
_Selection from the Calcula Gazettes._ Seton Kerr. 5 vols. covering period 1744 to 1823.

Sinha  

Smith  

Smyth  

Société  

South Kensington  
_Dictionary of British Scientific Instruments._ Science Museum, South Kensington. 1921.

Spring  
_List of Officers of the Bombay Artillery._ Spring. 1902.

Stewart  
_An Account of the Kingdom of Tibet._ Phil Trans. LXVII. 1777 (465-88).

Strachey  
_Narrative of the Matting of the Officers of the Army in Bengal in the year 1766._ Henry Strachey. 1773.

Stubbs  
_History of the Bengal Artillery._ Stubbs. 1877.

Supply, Deep,  
_Supplementary Despatches of the Duke of Wellington._ ed. by his son. 1858.

Swetenham  
_British Malaga._ Swetenham. 1906.

Symes  
_Mission to the Court of Ava._ Symes. 1795.

T. E. Colebrooke  
_Life of H. T. Colebrooke._ T. E. Colebrooke. 1873.

Taylor  
_Travels from England to India in the year 1789..._ Major John Taylor. London. 1790.

Teignmouth  

Terry  

Thackeray  
_Biographical Notices of Officers of the Royal (Bengal) Engineers._ Edward Thackeray. 1900.

Three Frenchmen  
_In Bengal._ S. C. Hill. 1903.

Thurston and Smyth  
_Manual of Surveying for India._ Thurston & Smyth. 1st edn. 1891.

Turner  
_An account of an Embassy to the Court of the Tschoo Lama in Tibet._ Samuel Turner. London. 1800.

Ursula Low  
_Six Years with John Company._ Ursula Low. 1936.

Valenciennes  
_Voyages and Travels._ 1792-96. Viscount Valenciennes. 1811. 3 vols.

Vibart  

Vincent Smith  

Warren Hastings  

Weitzman  

Welsh  
_Military Reminiscences._ James Welch. 1839.

Wessels  
_Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia._ 1603-1732. C. Wessels. S. J. 1924.

William Foster  

Williams  
_An Historical Account of... the Bengal Native Infantry..._ Capt. John Williams. London. 1817.

Wills  
_British Relations with the Naga State in the 18th Century._ C. U. Wills. Nagpur. 1929.

Wilson, C. R.  
_Old Fort William in Bengal._ C. R. Wilson. 1908.

Wilson, H. H.  

Wilson, W. J.  
_History of Madras Army._ W. J. Wilson. 1889. 5 vols.

Wright  
_Sterne's Eliza... letters written between 1773 & 1774._ Wright & Sclater. 1922.

Wyllie  
_Life of Sir Eyre Coote._ Wyllie. 1922.

Young  

Yule  
_Life of James Rennell._ by Henry Yule in the Royal Engineers Journal. vol. XII. 1882.
A reproduction, with the addition of the English translation of the Persian script, from a map contained in the *Ashkal-ul-Bilad* of Ibn Haukal (208).

The real name of Ibn Haukal was Muhammad Abú-l-Qásim, a native of Baghdad, who left Baghdad on his travels in 943, a.d.

The following extracts illustrate his description of Sind, and are typical of the information on which D'Anville constructed his map of 1782.

The Mihran is the chief river of those parts. Its source is in a mountain, from which also some of the feeders of the Jihun flow. Many great rivers increase its volume, and it appears like the sea in the neighbourhood of Multan. It then flows by Basman, Alrun, and Mansura, and falls into the sea, to the east of Debal ... It inundates the land during the summer rains, and on its subsidence the seed is sown, as in Egypt.

From Mansura to Debal is six days' journey; from Mansura to Multan, twelve; from Mansura to Turan, about fifteen: from Kasdar, the chief city of Turan, to Multan, twenty ... He who travels from Mansura to Beda must go along the banks of the Mihran, as far as the city of Sadistan.

Ibn Haukal's work gives the geography of all countries of Islam, and his description of Sind concludes.

We have now reached the extreme eastern border of the dominions of Islam.
CHAPTER I

GENERAL NARRATIVE

To the Departure of Rennell in 1777 — Maratha & Mysore Wars, 1778 to 1784 — Six Years of Peace, 1784-90 — Extension of British Interests, 1790 to 1800.

Up to the 18th century there was little real knowledge of the geography of India; the many maps that had been published in Venice, Holland, France, and England, were based on tradition and on tales of mariners and travellers; in the absence of more sure foundation they borrowed the one from the other, acquiring variation and detail as fancy directed.

Here and there were maps which showed some knowledge of portions of the coast and its neighbourhood, and it was chiefly from mariners that information of a more reliable nature began to creep in, till in 1723 the French geographer Delisle published maps of the southern coasts which gave a very fair picture of the general outline. These were improved upon by Après de Mannevillette, the French navigator, who made his first voyage to Pondicherry in 1719.

The earliest contribution to the geography of the mainland came from French Jesuit missionaries, one of whom, Father Bouchet, sent home to Paris in 1719 a rough map of southern India, with a few observed latitudes and longitudes, and several detailed sketches, from which the great geographer Bourgignon d’Anville published his first map of South India in 1737.

D’Anville had already in 1733 completed his map of Tibet, which showed part of the Himalayan range and the upper courses of its great rivers as conceived by the Lamas who had been sent out from Pekin [pl. 7].

In 1752 he published, at the request of the French East India Company, his Carte de l’Inde, which was a great advance on anything previously accomplished.

He accompanied it with a full account of all the works he had consulted, going back even as far as the Arab and Greek historians and geographers. He accepted nothing without some direct evidence, and his most valuable material included astronomical observations by various Jesuit missionaries and detailed routes of European travellers.

At this time there was so much more knowledge of the Carnatic than of the rest of India, that D’Anville was able to publish a special map of the South Peninsula on a larger scale, and the struggle between the French and the English, which had started with the arrival of Dupleix as Governor of Pondicherry in 1749, and continued with little intermission till the fall of Pondicherry in 1781, gave both sides the opportunity to gain a better knowledge of the country.

The first opportunity for any regular survey came, however, in Bengal, where as a result of the victory at Plassey, the English Company obtained the grant of the 24-Parganas and a close alliance with the Nawâb of Bengal; and then in 1760 they obtained from the Nawâb the further grant of the provinces of Chittagong, Burdwan, and Mînhâpore, practically the whole of Lower Bengal.

Knowledge of the geography of Bengal was at this period practically confined to the banks of the Ganges and Hooghly rivers, as depicted on the extract of D’Anville’s Carte de l’Inde given on plate 13.

Surveys of the new possessions were ordered by the local Council, and encouraged from London. The first thought was to ascertain the extent of cultivated lands and the value of their revenues; then there was the safety and regularity of communication, both by sea and through the rivers; and then the defence of the passes of the western frontiers.
General Narrative

Plaisted was put on to survey the coasts of Chittagong and the Sundarbans, and Hugh Cameron to survey "the New Lands" of the 24-Parganas. On Cameron's death in 1764, James Rennell was appointed surveyor in his place, but deputed to survey the Ganges River and search for a waterway for up-country traffic from Calcutta that should be navigable throughout the year.

Early in 1766 De Gliss was appointed to survey the Burdwan district, and then, as the defence of the western passes became an urgent matter, one surveyor after another was appointed, either by the Council at Fort William, or by the commander of the forces on the frontier.

In 1765 Clive returned to Bengal for his second term of office, and, having been specially asked by Robert Orme, the historian, to make him "a vast map of Bengal", commissioned Rennell to carry out this task.

Rennell set about his work with so much enthusiasm and ability, showing a positive genius for putting maps together, that Clive and his Council made him Surveyor General from the beginning of 1767, and placed all available surveyors under his orders. Some of these were engineer officers, and a few were infantry officers, who had a taste for the work; amongst the latter was the Frenchman Claud Martin, who became famous in after years as the founder of the "La Martiniere" schools.

The necessity for a proper marine survey of the coasts and islands was not overlooked, and Ritchie was appointed marine surveyor after Plaisted's death, and made a complete survey of the coasts from the south of Chittagong, round and through the Sundarbans, and down the east coast as far as Madras, besides a general survey of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

By 1773 Rennell and his surveyors had completed the survey of the Company's possessions in Bengal and Bihar which by now extended to the frontiers of Oudh and Allahabad on the west, and to the southern jungles of Chota Nagpur and the forests of Orissa on the south. To the north-east Rennell had himself surveyed the Brahmaputra River as far as the Assam frontier near Goalpara in 1765, and the survey now extended to the foot of the Garo and Khasia Hills and embraced the whole of Sylhet and Chittagong.

Early in 1774 he submitted to Government a complete set of provincial maps on the scale of 5 miles to an inch, together with general maps on smaller scales, and shortly afterwards Government called in all surveyors, including some who had been at work in Oudh under Polier. Rennell stayed on at Dacca, improving his maps with such extra material as he could collect, and at the end of 1776 obtained permission to send out surveyors to fill up small gaps near Cooch Behar, the Santal country, and Palamau, and to extend surveys through Allahabad and Oudh.

He now considered that his task was complete; he had been seriously wounded during an encounter with jahâr marauders in 1766, and his health had suffered greatly during his anxious years in the vile climate of Eastern Bengal; as soon as he was assured of a pension he resigned the service, and left India early in April 1777. He continued to serve the cause of India and geography till his death.

There were occasional surveys undertaken beyond Rennell's control, the most notable of which was the survey of Colonel Upton's route to Poona in 1775, which was entrusted to the Rev. William Smith, a gentleman of whom little else is known. With astronomical observations taken almost every night, his survey across the unknown heart of India was hailed by Rennell and other geographers as a most valuable contribution to geography.

Thanks to the strong start given to him by Clive, and also to his own clear view of what could be done with the available men, instruments, and time, Rennell succeeded in giving Bengal and Bihar, inside the comparatively short period of 12 years, a continuous and uniform set of maps. The survey was far from complete or accurate in detail, but showed the general geography of the whole country and the more important features with sufficient accuracy for the needs of the time.
Nothing like this was attempted elsewhere in India, although more than one surveyor would have been ready to undertake the task. In Bengal alone was the political situation favourable.

Under the Madras Presidency considerable information had been collected of Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and Madura, by the survey of military routes under the direction of the Chief Engineer, John Call, and a general map of the South Peninsula was compiled by Henry Montresor, but the only lands belonging to the Company were the Jagir, granted in 1768, and the Circars to the north of the Kistna River, which were occupied in 1768.

The Jagir was a thickly populated and rich tract about 100 miles by 50 in extent, and Barnard’s survey, begun in 1767, was a model of what a survey should be. It was carried out on a scale of 2 inches to a mile on strict scientific principles, and, besides showing all topographical features, gave a wealth of information for revenue purposes; the maps were not completed till 1774.

The survey of the Circars was a different matter; the country was extensive, and the greater part of it was covered with jungle and most unhealthy. In the first years after it had been taken over, a start was made at the two extremes. To the north, in Ganjam, Cotesford, the civil officer in charge, produced an “elegant map” in addition to his other multifarious duties. To the south, in Masulipatam, Stevens of the Engineers did his best to meet the urgent wish of the local council for a more accurate knowledge of the country; but here again survey could only be undertaken when time was stolen from other duties.

In 1773 a serious effort was made to complete the survey, and the Chief Engineer appointed Stevens to survey the southern area, and Pittman and Johnston, also of the Engineers, to survey from the north. But the work was never brought to completion; military duties to the south called away first Stevens, and then his relief, Dugood; the climate killed Pittman within two years and Johnston’s health suffered so much that he had to be recalled at the end of 1778.

Between 1770 and 1775 several attempts were made to persuade the Nawab of the Carnatic to allow a general survey to be carried out over the whole of his dominions. The Nawab and the English had now been firm allies for many years; it was pointed out to him that an accurate survey of his dominions would greatly facilitate the operations of the English armies in his service, but he was uncompromising in his objections, the chief of which was his fear that it would “cause a diminution of his Dignity and Honour in the eyes of the Neighbouring Powers and Foreigners”. So the matter was dropped, and the soldiers continued to grope their way about the country as best they could, with such help as they get from the surveys of their former marches, which continued to be extended by a few ardent surveyors like Robert Kelly.

There is little as yet to tell of Bombay; the Company possessed no lands beyond the island of Bombay except the factories at Surat and along the Malabar coast, until at the end of 1772 they captured the town and pargana of Broach, and in 1774 occupied the island of Salsette. As early as 1755 officers of the Artillery Company had made detailed surveys of the town and fortifications, both at Bombay and Surat, and, during the campaign of 1775 against the Marathas, survey was made of the marches of the army into Gujarat and a start made on the survey of Broach pargana.

Maratha & Mysore Wars, 1778 to 1784

After Rennell left India the need for surveys in Bengal seemed satisfied, and Thomas Call, the new Surveyor General, settled down to the compilation of an atlas that should embrace the whole of India.

In Madras Kelly pursued his self-imposed task of covering the south peninsula with an atlas of degree sheets compiled from measured routes, but his proposal for a regular survey department was turned down.
Another Madras soldier, John Pringle, took up the survey of routes with great enthusiasm, and on his initiative a military Corps of Guides was established, whose officers and men contributed largely to the surveys of the presidency for the next thirty years.

And now Bombay comes well into the picture. In 1778 war broke out once more against the Marathas, and the Governor General, much against the wishes of his Council, sent a strong force of Bengal troops to march right across India to support the Bombay Government. After many delays this force reached Surat under General Goddard at the end of February 1779, and in the three years war that followed, Goddard's army overran the country below the Ghâts north of Bombay, and occupied the greater part of Gujârat.

The route of the force from Kâlpí to Surat had been most carefully surveyed by Arthur Caldwell and Duncan Stewart, and was a most valuable tie line for the geography of the continent. Stewart continued as surveyor to the force till he died just as the Bengal detachment reached the Narbada on its march homewards in 1784. Other officers, principally Charles Turner and Reynolds did good work in clearing up the geography of these regions, besides completing the survey of Broach pargana.

Peace was concluded with the Marathas in 1782, and a Bombay force was sent to the west coast to co-operate against Haidar Ali; Reynolds accompanied this with the surprising post of Surveyor General to the army, which he justified by making an excellent map of the completely unknown country between Bednur and the coast, about latitude 14°.

And now to return to Madras, where Haidar Ali of Mysore had threatened the very existence of the settlement by invading the Carnatic in force in July 1780, and completely annihilating Colonel Baillie's column and driving Hector Munro's small army back on Madras. Reinforcements were hastily sent from Bengal, the most important of which was General Sir Eyre Coote to take command in person. A strong detachment of infantry was marched down the east coast under the command of Colonel Pearse, of the Bengal Artillery, and early in 1783, after the death of both Coote and Haidar Ali, the English armies had definitely won the day. Another year's fighting remained before Tipu could be brought to terms, and peace was not signed till March 1784.

During this war several notable additions were made to the geography of India. The most important was the surveyed line run between Madras and Bengal on the return of Pearse's force in 1784. Pearse himself was an enthusiastic astronomer, and it was under his personal direction that, on this march, a young infantry officer, Robert Colebrooke, ran a continuous perambulator traverse, and took a regular series of astronomical observations for latitude and longitude.

Another valuable line was surveyed by Robert Kelly and other surveyors with Colonel Fullarton's army, which marched in 1783 from Negapatam on the east coast, through Madura to Palghat, and there connected with a survey brought up from the Malabar coast the previous year by Colonel Humberstone's detachment.

Throughout the war John Pringle did yeoman service as Captain of the Guides, and his route surveys were of the greatest service to General Coote.

Yet another important link was the connection of Nagpur by the surveys of James Ewart, who accompanied the mission sent by the Governor General to the Raja of Berar, to secure his friendship during the struggle against Haidar Ali.

Rennell's first Map of Hindoostan reached India in 1783, too late to be of use whilst the wars against the Marathas and Mysore were in progress; indeed, this first map would have provided little information of value, for it was not until Rennell had embodied all the geographical results of these wars into a new map on a larger scale that it became a standard authority.

In compiling his great map Rennell followed D'Anville's method of a close analysis of all the early historical and geographical evidence available, and he had a wealth of additional material collected by the surveys of the last 25 years. In
his later editions he was able to include the work of the Jesuit geographer, Father Tieffenthaler, who had been making measurements and observations from Bombay to the foot of the Himalaya Mountains for nearly 30 years. The scattered geographical material now available was not easy to compile; serious discrepancies were inevitable when using long lines winding through hills and jungles, with distances but roughly measured, or merely estimated; latitude observations gave valuable checks when available, but observations for longitude were often more uncertain than the measured routes.

The skill with which Rennell put this material together, and the account which he gave of it, won him far greater renown than did his survey of Bengal.

**Six Years of Peace, 1784–90**

The continuous wars of the last few years had greatly impoverished the East India Company, and a period of rigid economy was the natural consequence. In Bengal drastic reductions were made in all establishments and salaries, and early in 1785 surveyors were called in, not, however, before an elaborate survey of Calcutta had been completed by several Engineer officers under Mark Wood.

The attention of the Directors to the cause of geography had, however, been particularly stimulated by recent events, and to assist their geographers, Dalrymple and Rennell, the Court called on each of the Presidencies to send home copies of all surveys that could be collected; they also asked for an accurate chart of the Coromandel coast, which Ritchie had not been able to complete. The work of the Surveyor General’s office at Calcutta was thus concentrated on the copying of maps, whilst Thomas Call made special efforts to complete his Atlas of India.

Finding great discrepancies in the geographical positions adopted for many important places, Call suggested that a special astronomical survey should be carried out by Reuben Burrow, an eminent mathematician who had come out to Calcutta in 1783, and Burrow spent two seasons, 1787–9, travelling from one end of the Presidency to another, fixing a number of places by astronomical observation. These positions were accepted as authoritative for the next thirty or forty years, though here and there they were found to be disputable.

Burrow spent another two seasons in attempts to measure the length of a degree, both of latitude and longitude, a work that had been suggested by General Roy, the great English geodesist, but he died in 1792 before he could bring his work to a satisfactory conclusion.

At this period there was a call for better harbour accommodation for the Company’s shipping, such being practically non-existent along the east coast of India. In 1787 Alexander Kyd was sent to survey the island and harbour of Penang, or Prince of Wales Island, which had been ceded to the Company the previous year.

In the following year Archibald Blair, of the Bombay Marine, was deputed to survey the Andaman Islands, with the particular object of finding a good harbour, and in 1789 Kyd and Colebrooke accompanied Commodore Cornwallis, of the Royal Navy, on a further reconnaissance round the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, making special surveys of all the likely harbours, including that of Nancowry.

Blair completed his survey and remained at the Andamans till the end of 1792, when he was relieved by Kyd, who was occupied with the defences of the settlement until 1796, when it was decided to rely solely on the harbour at Penang.

For some time the Madras Government were unable to find a suitable officer for the survey of the Coromandel coast, which the Directors considered particularly urgent, owing to the number of ships which had been lost along its open shores, which were moreover obstructed in places by dangerous shoals.

In 1787 they found a marine officer of experience and ability, named Michael Topping, who, breaking away from the eternal method of perambulator traverse,
ran a 300-mile line of triangles along the coast from Madras to Palk Strait. He was then deputed to survey and report on the value of Coringa Bay as a possible port of shelter.

Topping was a skilled astronomical observer, and as such realised that astronomical observations for longitude were of little value unless compared against corresponding observations made at one or more stations of known longitude. He obtained the use of a private observatory at Madras for this purpose, and also the services of John Goldingham as his astronomical assistant. He then obtained sanction for the erection of a permanent observatory, which was completed and taken into use in 1793.

Further progress was made in filling up the "military geography" of the southern peninsula by the efforts of the officers of the Corps of Guides; and after Pringle's death, the work was carried on with zeal by Beatson and Allan.

On the occupation of Guntur Circuit by the company's troops in 1788, a survey of its roads and passes was made by a young Engineer officer named Colin Mackenzie.

Turning once more to Bombay, we find that early in 1785 Reynolds was called upon to accompany a political mission, which travelled through the heart of the unknown plateau of Mâlwa, to seek out the Marâtha chief, Mahâdji Sindhia. The mission started from Surat and passing through Ujain and Gwalior, found Sindhia near Muttra; after a visit to Delhi the party continued its march to Cawnpore, where boats were taken down the river to Calcutta.

This gave Reynolds a wonderful line to survey, and he was delighted to find that it completely changed the face of the country as depicted on Rennell's first Map of Hindooostan. It is interesting to note the natural triumph of every surveyor who is able to correct by actual survey the map of some earlier worker who never had his opportunities!

The mission returned to Bombay by sea, and Reynolds was then sent up to the Deccan with the Resident to the Peshwa's court at Poona. At the special request of the Governor General he was directed to make such surveys as he could, without offending the Marâthas.

During the next three years he travelled backwards and forwards across the Deccan, and made several journeys by different routes between Poona and Surat. During season 1788–89 he travelled from Nâgpur to Hyderabâd, then through Masulipatam to Madras, returning again through Hyderabâd.

Throughout his journeys he did his best to prevent his surveys being noticed and talked about, lest the Marâthas should become jealous of his activities, but eventually, in 1789, the Governor General being particularly anxious to avoid giving offence to the Peshwa in view of approaching trouble with Mysore, Reynolds was directed to abandon further field work and to remain at Surat working up his maps.

Surveys of the west coast had been carried out by officers of the Bombay Marine and other sailors. Huddart had fixed a series of longitudes along the coast southwards from Bombay by means of chronometers, and between 1787 and 1790 McCluer surveyed the coast from Kathiawar to Cape Comorin, though he had to leave a considerable stretch uncharted because of the hostility of Tipu's officers.

**Extension of British Interests, 1790 to 1800**

In 1790 war broke out once more against Tipu and, during an inconclusive campaign along the southern borders of Mysore, Allan and Mackenzie were able to survey many miles of new routes.

To hasten a conclusion, the Governor General, Lord Cornwallis, decided to take command in the field himself, and left Calcutta in December 1790. He appointed the Surveyor General, Kyl, to his personal staff, and the assistants in the Surveyor General's office also took the field. To Colebrooke was assigned the task of keeping
up a survey of the routes of the Grand Army, and by the time the treaty was signed
before Seringapatam in March 1792, he had made a very fair skeleton map of
Mysore, whilst another map was produced at home by Rennell from the surveys of
Beaton and Allan.

Emmitt, of the Bombay Infantry, was attached as surveyor to the Maratha army
which marched down by Dharwar to co-operate in Mysore. His work ran through
country that had never been surveyed before, and included a continuous line from
Poona to Seringapatam, a survey of the Tungabhadra River to its junction with
the Kistna, and a line from that point westwards through Dharwar, down to the
coast at Goa.

Reynolds accompanied the Bombay army to Malabar, and with Johnson of the
Engineers took lines of survey from that coast into Mysore.

At the close of the campaign Kyd sent out surveyors on various tasks. He
himself carried a line from Seringapatam over the Ghats through Coorg, down to
the west coast and through Cannanore to Anjengo. Aubrey and Blunt, of the
Engineers, surveyed a line to Hyderabad, and during the following cold season
continued it through Berar and Sangor to Kulpai, whilst at the same time Reynolds
took another line from Hyderabad to Agra.

Under the treaty of 1792 Tipu had to cede to the Company the province of
Malabar, and the districts of Dinigul and Salem, besides other territories to the
Marathas and the Nizam.

Malabar was allotted to the Bombay Presidency, and arrangements were at once
made for its survey which was started by Emmitt and Johnson. The difficulties of
the country were prodigious, and the work dragged on for several years, other
officers employed being Moncrieff and Williams of the newly raised Bombay corps
of Pioneers.

The civil charge of Salem Districts was entrusted to Captain Alexander Read,
who engaged John Mather to survey the district which included the Karumahal, a
hilly tract to the north. Though not based on regular triangulation, this was the
first district survey based upon a system of theodolite bearings and intersections as
opposed to the usual of perambulator traverses. It took nearly five years to com-
plete, and established Mather's reputation as a skilled surveyor.

At the close of the Mysore campaign, the so-called Subsidiary Force returned
to Hyderabad, and Mackenzie was appointed to it as Engineer and Surveyor, with
particular instructions to devote himself to the geography of the Deccan, a task
into which he threw his whole heart and energies. Although he was called away
more than once to other military duties, he returned each time to his post at
Hyderabad, until in 1798 he marched down with the Nizam's army to take part in
the final campaign against Tipu.

Early in 1783 Topping was deputed to Masulipatam to undertake a survey of
the Kistna and Godavari rivers, and report on the possibility of an irrigation
project. He ran lines of levels and laid down permanent bench-marks, and reported
that the idea seemed to be practicable, but that further investigation was desirable.

He died in January 1796, whilst still on this duty, and though Caldwell and
Beatson were in turn in charge of the work for short periods, the project was
dropped, and not revived till nearly fifty years later.

In 1790 the Company had taken over the administration of the districts of the
Carnatic, and to assist in their development, Topping proposed an establishment of
Assistant Revenue Surveyors to work under the district officers. At his suggestion
a school was founded for their professional training, and placed under charge of
Goldingham at the observatory. After Topping's death Goldingham succeeded to
his duties as Astronomer and Marine Surveyor, and was also allotted the duties of
Inspector of Revenue Surveys. The first duty of the revenue surveyors was the
preparation of a topographical map of the district, to which they added such
information about cultivation and the possibilities of irrigation as would be helpful
to the district officer.
The detailed measurement of individual fields was a matter for which the native staff remained responsible, and the first effort to bring order and system to these measurements, so that they should form a fair basis for the settlement of revenue, was made by Read in the Salem District. The district officers in Bengal had never succeeded in obtaining satisfactory or trustworthy results from such measurements, and in 1793 Lord Cornwallis authorised the introduction in that Presidency of the system of Permanent Settlement, which it was hoped would, amongst other advantages, obviate any interference of Government with details of revenue collection.

The Bengal Presidency was now rapidly extending its contacts with its neighbours. In 1793 Kirkpatrick led a mission into Nepal, marching up the Rapti valley; he had to return almost at once, but brought back an interesting sketch map of his route.

In the autumn of 1792 the Raja of Assam appealed to the Governor General for assistance against his rebellious subjects, who had driven him from his capital, and were besieging him at Gauhati. A small force was sent up under Captain Welsh, who relieved Gauhati, won a remarkable victory over the rebels, and restored the Raja to his capital. At the special desire of Lord Cornwallis, Thomas Wood was sent up with Welsh to make such surveys as he could of this country, about which nothing whatever was known. By the time that the expedition was withdrawn in 1794, Wood had carried the survey of the Brahmaputra from the point near Gaopatha where Renell had left it in 1765 as far as the Dikho River below Sibsagar.

The following year Wood was attached to the embassy conducted by Captain Symes to the court of Ava, and made an excellent survey of the Irrawaddy River. Beyond a visit to Pegu the mission saw little else of the country, but Buchanan, who accompanied it as medical officer, collected a vast amount of interesting information about the various peoples and tribes and the general geography of Burma, a country of which, as in the case of Assam, nothing whatever had been known before.

Towards the end of 1798 Wood was posted to the army stationed in Oudh, and during the next four years carried his lines of survey hither and thither through Oudh and Rohilkhand; up to Hardwar, and down the Ganges as far as Cawnpore.

Colebrooks had always been an enthusiastic surveyor, and after becoming Surveyor General in 1794 made several excursions himself, the most important of which was during the season 1796–97, when he surveyed the Cossimbazar River, and continued up the Ganges as far as Colgong. James Hoare surveyed the Jumna from Allahabad to Delhi, and Mouat, at the close of the Rohilla war of 1794, surveyed the boundary of the jāgir granted to “Ahmed Ally Khan”, which is now known as Rámpur State.

Perhaps the most interesting survey of this period was the line taken by James Blunt from Chunari southwards through the very heart of India, across the head waters of the Son and the Mahánaidi, down the Wainganga, Wardha, and Godavari, to the east coast, through a country which had never been explored before; meeting several adventures with Khonds and other inhospitable people.

Reynold’s last excursion in the field was during season 1793–94 when, after a special visit to Calcutta, he obtained authority to make a survey of Sindhia’s territory at the head of the Jumna–Ganges doab, and extending beyond Delhi. For the rest of his service he devoted himself to the compilation of his great map of Hindustán, with particular attention to those parts which lay outside the Company’s territories. He made his headquarters at Surat, and sent out native surveyors trained by himself, who explored Sind, Rajputána, the Punjab, and other little-known parts, for which his map was for many years the only authority.

At the end of 1798 preparations were started for the last deal with Tipu of Mysore, and the Governor General once again moved down to Madras to take personal control, though this time Lord Mornington did not take the field. His most trusted adviser for the organization of the campaign was Alexander Beatson,
whose knowledge of the military geography and the conditions of warfare in the
south was acknowledged as unrivalled. Pearson was given the honorary post of
Surveyor General to the Grand Army, and both he and Allan played prominent
parts in the brief campaign which ended with the capture of Seringapatam and the
death of Tipu. Mackenzie held the responsible post of Engineer in charge of the
batteries on the northern bank of the Cauvery, whilst an elderly subaltern of H.M.'s
33rd Regiment, William Lambton, was Brigade Major to Sir David Baird, and took
the lead in the final storming of the ramparts.

Mysore was now shorn of the outlying districts which had been acquired by
Haidar Ali, and a commission was appointed to settle details. Mackenzie attended
and provided them with the best maps he could put together, though he found the
materials available for the remoter districts and boundaries both scanty and
conflicting. It was decided that a survey of Mysore and the newly ceded territories
should be put in hand at once, and orders appointing Mackenzie to this task were
issued by the Governor General in September 1799, before he returned to Calcutta.

Whilst Mackenzie was engaged in collecting his materials, officers, and equip-
ment, Lambton continued as Brigade Major with the Grand Army during its
preliminary clean-up round the north-western districts of Mysore.

The 18th century had yet over a year to run, but we will leave the story at this
point, with Mackenzie making preparations for the first great topographical survey,
and Lambton yet to propound his scheme for a trigonometrical survey, to extend
right through the peninsula, continuous and indisputable.
CHAPTER II

BENGAL SURVEYS TO 1777


There are many records of the care with which the Mughal Emperors had their main roads measured, and sometimes marked, in cors. Father Monserrat describes the measurement of Akbar's 3rd march to Kabul in 1581;

Furthermore, he orders the road to be measured, to find the distance marched each day. The measurers, using ten-foot rods, follow the king, measuring from the palace. By this one operation he learns both the extent of his dominions, and the distances from place to place, in case he has to send embassies or orders, or meet some emergency. A distance of 200 times the ten-foot rod, called a core in Persian, or cos in the Indian language, equal to two miles, is the measure for calculating distances [247].

Rennell records the distance, stage by stage, of the "Great Road from Moorsabad to Delhi, measured by order of the King" but gives no date or name. In his map of 1804 [234] Wilford used distances from Delhi to Kabul and Lahore to Multan, measured by order of Shah Jahan 4.

In another place Rennell acknowledges the receipt of the registers of the actual measured distances, as taken by the orders of the Emperors Achar, Shahjahan, and others, on the great roads from the city of Lahore, Cabul, Ghizni, Candahar, and Multan; and back to Lahore again; as well as those between Cashmere and the cities of Lahore and Attock, respectively; and between Cabul, Balk, and Bamian; besides many others; ... (require an allowance for the inflexions [184-5] but superior to vague report or judgement).

These were without "direction of compass", and "latitude but seldom given".

In compiling their maps of India, both D'Anville and Rennell made use of every record they could find of the distance of one place from another, and give special weight to any distance that had been actually measured rather than estimated.

Apart from the official measurements above referred to, no traveller would have been given opportunity to make actual measurements, and geographers had to do their best with estimates of distance recorded by travellers and historians, and the early Arab and Persian geographers [pl. 4]. One of these travellers was the French diamond merchant Tavernier who made several journeys through India between 1640 and 1667, keeping a record of the distances marched stage by stage, and describing the rivers and mountains he crossed; his more important routes were,

Agra — Allahabad — Rohat — Dacca.

Much valuable information came from the Jesuit missionaries, who had stations in many parts of India from the 16th century onwards, and included many men of scientific habit, who recorded details of their journeys, sometimes taking astronomical observations for latitude and longitude [149-50] and compiling sketches and

1 Emperor of Delhi 1556 till his death in 1605. 3 From the Latin of Commentarius (589), 8-2-1581.
2 La Touche 106. 4 Emperor of Delhi 1627-58. 1 Collected at Delhi by Kirkpatrick. Memoirs, 1783 (83) [42]. 5 Ball. 7 The Society of Jesus gained its first hold in India in 1542; Macleau (xx).
maps. Both D'Anville and Rennell refer constantly to "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses", which was the authorized publication of selected letters from Jesuit missionaries in all parts of the world.

One of the earliest of the Jesuit surveyors was Father Monserrat, a member of the first Jesuit mission to the court of Akbar in 1579, which travelled by sea from Goa to Damán, marching thence to Surat, and on to Fatehpur Sikri. In 1581 he accompanied the Emperor on his march to Kábul, and left a long list of geographical positions, and a most interesting little map of India [pl. 10]. So far as is known the first use of his work was made by Thomas Call, who in 1784 reported that he had embodied into his atlas of India [215-6].

An actual survey of Padre Monserrat from Delhi to Cabul... A cursory survey taken by him with a compass and corrected by observations of Latitudes from Goan to Delhi.

Mention is made elsewhere of the work of Father Bouchot in the south peninsula [238], and of others who travelled through the mountains to Tibet [67-70].

Of more immediate interest to Bengal was the work of Father Boudier, who was stationed at Chandernagore from 1719 till his death in 1757, and made many astronomical observations that were of the utmost value [150]. During a notable visit to Jaipur and back in 1738-4, he not only fixed the latitude and longitude of many important places, but kept up a survey of his route between Agra and Allahábád which gave "the description of places on this road... with the computed distance of each from the course of the Gomti and the Ganges"; which D'Anville was glad to make use of.

Father Tieffenthaler was one of the most enthusiastic geographers of all. When he came out to Goa in 1743 he was already a skilled astronomer, and from that year till his death in 1785 he devoted himself to the cause of geography, keeping a record of all his journeys from place to place, and a register of all the astronomical positions he observed [150-1].

His more important travels included a land journey from Damán to Surat, and through Udaipur to Agra during 1744. With headquarters at Narwar from 1747 till 1755, he travelled to Bombay through Burhanpur and Násik in 1750, visited Goa, and then returned up the west coast to Broach and Cambay, and reaching Ajmeer, turned east through Jaipur to return to Narwar in April 1751.

In 1765 he travelled from Narwar through Chhatarpur in Bundelkhand to Allahábád and Benares, still keeping up his surveys and observations. At Benares he resolved to study the middle and the lower course of the Ganges, instead of completing the remainder of his journey by land. His object was not to register the latitudes of the towns along the banks... for these had already been measured by Father Boudier... and others. What he wanted was to obtain an accurate idea of the manifold windings of the river and the exact number of its affluents. The former were mapped by means of a compass; as to the latter, he not only noted their names, but carefully sketched their junctions with the main stream.

After a short stay in Calcutta he returned to Upper India, studying carefully... all details what might have escaped him on his downward journey. Instead of returning to the West, he started from Allahabad in January 1766, reaching Oudh... on 3rd February... From thence he set out to explore the whole province of Oudh till the year 1771.

By 1775 he was able to send home to Europe the results of his surveys. To Copenhagen he sent his book on the geography of India, a form of gazetteer; whilst to Anquetil-Duperron in Paris [72] he sent his maps;

The first of these maps measured 15 feet in length, and represented the entire course of the Ganges. The second and third maps outlined the river Gogra in two sections, of which the first, measuring 11 feet, pictured the upper course of the river, whilst the latter, by 6 feet, represented its lower course. [There were also] 20 detached drawings of the confluents of various tributary rivers of the Gogra and Ganges.

Anquetil combined, at his own expense, the three principal ones, and produced a general map representing the entire courses of the Ganges and the Ghogra, on a considerably reduced scale.

It was above all, Tiefenthaler's map of the Ghogra basin which was most appreciated by the geographers of Europe. They came to know about it for the first time, and were astonished, says Anquetil, at the sudden appearance on the map of India of a large river 500 coss long, having 29 affluents.

Tiefenthaler had employed "an Indian expert to study the upper course of the Ghogra river and its affluents" and he filled in the detail of the upper course of the Ganges through the mountains from information collected, but made no attempt himself to travel into the hills [73].

In a letter written to Anquetil-Duperron in 1759 he expresses the delight he took in this geographical work, which may indeed be taken as typical of the spirit in which the missionaries and other pioneers devoted themselves to the cause:

Next to the salvation of souls... nothing has afforded me greater pleasure than the study of the geographical position of places, the variation of winds, the nature of the soil and the character and manners of the regions through which I am travelling... thereby to acquire a greater knowledge of the Creator and fix my mind on things heavenly.

It does not appear that any of Tiefenthaler's surveys or astronomical observations reached either D'Anville or Rennell, or were otherwise made use of, before the publications of Duperron and Bernoulli, 1784-7 [72] which Rennell received in time for the 1788 edition of his Map of Hindoostan. Thomas Call however, had already received copies from Tiefenthaler in India, and in 1784 reports that he had embodied into his Atlas of India.

Routes taken between Goah and Agra by Padre Tiefenthaler;
A Survey of the country N.W. of Delhi by Padre Windell and Tiefenthaler.

Father Wendel was closely associated with Tiefenthaler and they had for several years been the last representatives of the Society of Jesus in India; for in 1759 the King of Portugal had banished all Jesuits from Portuguese colonies, and in 1773 the Pope abolished the order altogether; it was not resuscitated till about 1818.

THE 24-PARGANAS, 1757-64

We turn now to surveys by officers of "the Honourable John Company", whose first acquisition of territory in Bengal, beyond the narrow lands of Calcutta, was the 24-Parganas, ceded by the Nawab of Bengal after the battle of Plassey.

There was no delay in proposing a survey, for the Council at Fort William record on August 1st 1757 that Olive had written from the Nawab's capital at Murshidabâd, informing us that the Cannoongee9 men had set out from thence to take an account on behalf of the Nabob, of the lands, villages, districts, revenues, etc. of the Territory from the Great Lake, Eastward of Calcutta, as far as Culpee South; but as it may be impossible to determine a proper boundary merely from the report of these people, they recommend it as a concern worthy of our most diligent and serious attention, whether the best method would not be to send boats on the Great Lake with directions to trace its source, examine its depth, etc. That other boats might be sent into Culpee River, and if the design is executed by experienced men, an exact and useful survey may be made which will enable us to settle beneficial boundaries.

The Council referred to the fleet for a surveyor, but Admiral Watson replied,

---

7 BM: 30-7-57. Mir Jafar confirmed secret treaty made before Plassey ceding "all the land lying to the South of Calcutta, as far as Culpee"; formal treaty ceding the whole 24-Pargana. 30-12-57. 8 70 A/5; 20-4-57. 9 A/135. 10 From 5 to 10 m. E. of Ft. William. 11 Kulp. 70 B/c. 12 BSCC. I: 8-57.
13 Admiral Charles Watson, who commanded the fleet at recapture of Calcutta. d. 18-8-57, near Calcutta. 14 (177).
I have received your letter of this day's date, acquainting me with the necessity you are under of having an exact survey and regular Plan of the Lands granted to the Company by the Nabob, and requesting I would assist you from the Squadron with such men as are properly qualified for such an undertaking. It appears to me to be a work requiring so much care and exactness that I know of none in the Squadron capable of it, and if there were, I am very certain such a performance would require much more time than I shall continue here. But if upon an enquiry you find anyone who will answer your purpose, and is willing to remain in India, I will give orders for his being discharged.

A civil servant, William Frankland, was appointed to the task, and in December 1756, the Council reported that he had made a five months' survey tour, and collected much valuable information of a revenue nature, but said nothing of any map [136]. Capable surveyors were however found before long, and within a year an engineer officer of the artillery company [265], Robert Barker, made a traverse survey from the Salt Lakes, down the Mâtiá River, and then westwards through the creeks to Rangafulla on the Hooghly.

In 1761 the Council appointed Hugh Cameron, to be "Surveyor of the New Lands," an appointment which he held till his death in March 1764. Cameron's survey of 1761-2 is a very fine skeleton map of the 24-Parganas, mainly of the exterior boundaries, on scale 1 inch to a mile. It shows the left bank of the Hooghly from north of Barrackpore to south of Kulpi, the country eastwards from Barrackpore to Basirhat, then southwards down the rivers and creeks, and west to join the Hooghly about 25 miles south of Kulpi. Along the Jumna River is written — on the right bank "A fine country belonging to the Company" — and on the left bank "The Nawâb's Country." One of the channels into the Salt Lakes bears the note "This way Honey & Wax are brought to Calcutta," and to the south in the Sundarbans, is another note "Here those who come to gather Wax & Honey in their season, sacrifice to Juggernauth." Old Fort William is shown, with the outline of the new fort and the village name Govindpur alongside.

Rennell makes several references to Cameron's survey, and in January 1767 directs Richards to connect with it on the Ichamati River near Bangon.

In 1762 the Council resolve that Mr. Cameron being returned from his Survey of the Boundaries of Company's New Lands, may be able to give us some account of the soil, Produce etc., of the same, which may prove a Guide to the Company in some measure in sending proper orders for the Management of their Lands.

Cameron's interesting report says,

My survey led me along the East side of the River Huglhy, the Company's limit westward, and from the banks eastward I could discover all along fine extensive fields of ripening Corn. That was in the latter end of October and beginning of November... the country everywhere abounds with cattle. As to the southernmost parts of the Company's Lands, from Rangafullah down to Sagar, and up again... the banks are bordered with impenetrable Jungulls... How far these Jungulls extend inwards I cannot say... I have never seen the Island parts.

His subsequent surveys were of a revenue nature, and are referred to in a later chapter [136]. A full topographical survey of the southern parganas was made later by Claud Martin [51].

COASTS & ISLANDS

In the very early years merchants trading in India were but little interested in the interior of the country. Their factories were situated either on the sea-coast or, as in Bengal, up the estuaries of the great rivers. Their first concern was in

1BSSC. 13-3-57. A Long (265). 2B to CD. 31-12-58 (101-11). 3Rangafulla, 79 C.4; 5m. below Kulpi. 4Map, BM. Addl. MSS. 15759 (2). 5B to CD. 12-11-61 (80). 6Plan of the Company's Lands and Lakes. MRIO. 61 (6). 7Tsung. 26-14. 8La Touche (85, etc.). 9Tsung. 4/16. 10BFC. 5-3-63. 11Ganges. Sugar. 59 C.9. 12BFC. 5-4-62. His expenses from Oct. to March were Rs. 2,692-12-6. 13Tavernier was a notable exception.
their communications with the open sea and Europe, so it is natural that amongst the earliest surveys of Bengal should be those of the coasts and river approaches.

There are charts of the coasts of Pegu and Arakan dated 1680 [221] whilst later and more accurate charts are from surveys by the French navigator Après de Mannonville,[1] who published his maritime atlas, Neptune Orientale, in 1745 [1].

From time to time ships[2] of the East India Company were lost along the Coromandel coast[3] and off the Ganges delta [45]. Rennell points out that though the difference of longitude between the towns of Balasore and Chittagong...is 4° 53';...the charts, so late as the year 1752, represented the difference of longitude between these two places to be only 3° 45'; that is 1° 5' less than the truth...which doubtless occasioned the loss of many ships, who trusted to the information[4] [152].

The passage by open sea from Calcutta to the factories at Dacca and Chittagong being particularly hazardous at many seasons of the year, a safer passage was sought through the Sundarbans.

The first regular surveys of these coasts were made by Bartholemew Plaisted who had come to India as a sea captain. In 1761, immediately after the cession of the provinces of Bengal [21 & 7], the Council wrote to the Directors that, being...advised that Mr. Plaisted's assistance would be very useful in completing the Surveys of the Rivers and Coasts near Chittagong, we have employed him on that service, esteeming it very essential...[5] and the same month the Chittagong Council sent in his maps, saying,

Accompanying this your Honour...will receive Capts...and Plaisted report to us of the Coast of Chittagong from this place to the Latitude of 21° 40', with a draft of the same...

Mr. Plaisted will return to Luckypore[6] & from thence take a survey of y° River, Sea Coast, the Ild. of Sundiva', & all shores, shoals, & soundings that lay betwixt Luckypore and Chittagong a draft of which we think will be exceedingly necessary. As soon as he has completed this, he will [proceed] again through the Sundry-Bunds, & finish his survey of y° Rivers their, & their outlets which may also prove of very great advantage & enable him to lay before your Honor, & on his arrival in Calcutta, a Complete Draft of all y° Harbours. Rivers, Shores, Shoals, Soundings etc. that lay betwixt Calcutta & Chittagong.

Again,

Accompanying this we forward to you Mr. Plaisted's Book of Drafts containing his surveys of Rivers etc. between Calcutta & this place, as far as...yet done together with his remarks[7].

These are acknowledged;

Mr. Plaisted's Draughts with his observations are a very useful performance, and meet with our approbation. As we find him so well qualified for this material business, we direct him to continue his survey of the parts adjacent to Chittagong, & the different Branches of the Ganges for the present; and, when the season will permit, of the Coast between the Islands of Sundee and Saurog[9] towards the sea, by which means the Chart[11] will be completed[12].

The Fort William Council wrote home again in November,

Finding Mr. Plaisted's services very useful at Chittagong in Surveying the Creeks, Rivers, Islands, &c on that Coast, we venture to detain him still, notwithstanding your appointment of him to Bombay, judging his present employ to be of great Importance.[13]

and in December Chittagong reported

Mr. Plaisted had again been to the Southward, and finished his survey as far as Cruz Colly[14].

...He will proceed on his Surveys...as soon as he can be furnished with proper vessels for that purpose...[15] and the necessary vessels were sent from Calcutta.

In addition to a fresh survey of the Chittagong coast, "executed on a larger plan, and more correct than his former", Plaisted submitted detailed instructions for navigation, and an account of his methods of survey, mostly observations of the Sun's declination with several quadrants[16].
When publishing these navigation instructions with later surveys in after years, Dalrymple points out that Plaisted's survey was by no means complete, and that there are many dangers in the Offing, and perhaps also near the Coast, not described with sufficient precision for the security of Navigation.  

The Council sent Plaisted to "Cat Colly" to survey the damage done by an earthquake, and on May 1st 1762 he reported,  

The earthquake that happened on the 29th of April... has made such devastation, that nothing but a view of the place would give credit to the several reports made thereof. ... The Black figures express the former & the Red the present soundings. The Prike line among the trees shows where the former borders of the creek were, while the trees shew how far they now stand in the Water; I sailed through the middle of them & sometimes found four fathom.  

The Directors were anxious to keep these surveys of their harbours secret;  

Mr. Plaisted in his second survey to the Southward of Chittagong, discovered a Harbour for Shipping of which he sent a plan... We would have the survey made as correct as possible, and direct you to send all the information you can... and here We must caution you, to keep this knowledge of the Chittagong River as confined as you can, that Foreign Nations may not be acquainted with it. [500].  

Early in 1765 Plaisted was surveying the Meghna River [23], and in 1766 he made a survey "over to Balsore", and also of Channel Creek, employing two European assistants [283], and two or three sloops.  

After his death in 1767 the survey of the Sundarbans was carried on by John Ritchie, and in 1769 the Council reported,  

The Surveys to the Eastward are completed so far as regards the Outer Sands and mouths of the several inlets, and the interior Surveys are now making; a very accurate Plan of this useful work hath been delivered in to us by Mr. Ritchie who was employed in this important Business. His Assiduity in this Duty and the accuracy with which this Plan appears to have been executed hath recommended him highly to our notice... and the following year.  

We have the pleasure to send you... a Chart of the Eastern parts of India according to the latest Surveys; and as it requires much time & pains to make out these charts, we request you will get some copies engraved and send them out to us. Those you favoured us with last year are very inaccurate.  

and again,  

We forwarded to you... a plan of the Mouth of the Calcutta River or Western Branch of the Ganges, as likewise a Chart of the Bay of Bengal from Point Palmyras to the Coast of Arracan.  

Dalrymple gives the following description of his earliest chart of the Bay of Bengal, in one plate north of parallel 19°, engraved and published in 1772:  

It must appear very extraordinary, when it is considered how long the Europeans have had an intercourse with Bengal, that there is not hitherto a particular chart of the Bay of Bengal published in any language.  

The Honourable Thomas Howe... in the year 1763... went to the Coast of Orixa; in his passage from thence to Bengal he had an opportunity of correcting the Charts of this Coast in the Neptune Oriental; and having reduced to a general scale all the particular Charts in his possession of the Coasts &c. of the Bay of Bengal he connected them together in the best manner he could.  

Soon after my return to England in 1765, Mr. Howe gave me a copy of his Chart: and encouraged me to revise and improve it from what materials I had collected; accordingly I set about this work and reduced the Coast of Orixa to a scale of three inches to one...  

Plaisted's Survey of the Coast of Chittagong, served, both in Mr. Howe's Chart and mine, for the description of that Coast; but I added, from other authorities, some Banks remote from the Land.  

The Coast of Awa, from Negrais to Cheduba, I laid down from various materials, but I found so great a disagreement in the Latitudes, that I desisted from my intention of having the Chart engraven.  

1Note dated 1-3-38, Ritchie (iii). 2BPC. 17-5-82. 3CD to B. 24-12-65 (49). 4BPC. 12-1-67.  


Dalrymple: Memoir of a chart of the Bay of Bengal: 31-3-72 (1, 5).
In 1770 Ritchie was sent
in the Snow Dilligent to make a survey of the Coasts and Islands around the Bay of Bengal: ... The Orders were: "not to lose time, by entering into any River, Bay, or Inlet, but to keep our track of soundings as unbroken as possible; and determine the great outline of the Land, and position of the Islands, the present trip being only meant as introductory to a general and accurate survey of the whole."" 

The following extracts are taken from his journal;

November 1770. 30th. Weighed anchor from Calcutta.
December 2nd. Culpee. ...
7th. Saw the coast of Arocan. ...
8th. Commenced survey southward from St. Martin's Island. ...
14th. Saw Cheduba [100]. ...
20th. At 10 min. past 7 A.M. died Mr. James Wright, our second mate; it seems he was ill before we left Calcutta, but concealed it, until we were at sea, for fear of preventing his voyage. ... 21st... the whole coast of Arocan presents a most dreary and inhospitable Prospect from the sea. ...
Jan. 4th. 1771. Chief Mate landed on Preparis. The only visible inhabitants being Ratas, Squirrel and Monkeys, and to the last mentioned Gentry we were obliged for pointing out the watering place. ...
13th. Narcondam. ...
16th. In a good harbour formed by the cluster of Islands and the Andaman. ...
20th. [Meet Andaman Islanders; long account of incident; entice a few of them on board, where they stayed content and inquisitive for a few hours, and left with presents of cloth and iron [48].]

Although we were about the island till the end of January, not a boat or man was seen by us afterwards. ...

[Note by Dalrymple] I have the copy of an old Portuguese Chart of the Andaman Islands... in which this very Strait (Diligent Strait) is laid down. 11° 59' N.
[Note by Ritchie] The Plan of Great Andaman Island, as laid down in the Sea Charts, will do as well for any other Island as for it; for it has no sort of resemblance to it, either in form or extent. ...

Jan. 30th 1771. We are now about to leave the Great Andaman Island, of which hitherto nothing was known, and what we have been able to do will mend the matter but little.
31st... along the West side of Little Andaman. At 10 A.M. we saw three men upon the beach, in a little Bay... but upon our approaching within about 1/2 a mile of the shore, they fled into the woods. ...
Feb. 3th. Carnicobar... the appearance of this beautiful Island, and good natured freedom of its inhabitants was extremely pleasing. ...
March 3rd. Entered Noncovery Harbour. Found some Danish Missionaries... spent 15 days there... Had an opportunity of copying the rough Plans of our survey so far, and of surveying and examining this most excellent Harbour. ...
[Note by Dalrymple] I was at this Harbour in 1762, and communicated a copy of Laiday's Plan to Governor Pigot. ...
March 24th. Light Airs and Calms throughout; we begin to suspect, that the surveying business is at an end for the season on this side of the Bay, and the Monsoon about to shift... 31st. We have been dropt by the Current to the Westward of all the Acheen Islands [47 n. 2] without seeing them by reason of the haze and Fog. Make for the Choromandel Coast. ...
April 17th. At 9 A.M. saw the Hills of Sadrass and Mount Saint Thomas, and shortly after saw the Ships in Madras Road.

The Journal now ends:

We had only to carry a Line of soundings along a well known shoal, from Fort St. George up to the Road of Balasore, in which track very little new was likely to occur. Indeed the only alteration that happened was in the Shoals of Armazon [104 n. 2], the False Point of Diei, and the Point and Bank of Godavary, or Gourdore, all of which my Plans will shew sufficiently distinct. 

It is apparently from this survey along the east coast that Rennell writes, that Ritchie "..." 

Ritchie (v. 9). 18° 45' N, 93° 40' E. 14° 59' N, 93° 40' E. 19° 25' N, 94° 15' E. 3Ritchie (47-52). 49° 10' N, 95° 45' E. 5Nasholm [48-9].
in 1770 and 1771...took a series of bearings and distances, which he corrected by the latitudes, along the whole coast between Point Palmyras and Madras...

He surveyed from Balasore to Palmyras Point by a series of triangles formed by three surveying vessels, and corrected for latitude.¹

A complete series of Ritchie’s surveys, as completed by 1771, was examined and compiled by Rennell, and sent home as A set of General and Particular Maps of the Bay of Bengal [224]; and in an introductory note to Ritchie’s Journal, Dalrymple writes, on March 1st 1785,

All the pieces, in my possession, of the Coasts of Chittagong, Arracan, and Ava, are now engraved; ... every one contained something omitted in the others.²

Ritchie writes of his survey in 1777,

All that is yet known concerning the Andaman, is only what was collected from a cursory survey of the Eastern part of them in the year 1771. The Western part is almost totally unknown, both as to form and extent, and the Harbours, all except one, are as yet unexamined. ... We have not taken possession of these Islands, and consequently there can be no claim of Sovereignty in our favour, in case of national disputes with our Natural Enemies. I will just mention farther that the Coast of Arracan remains unexplored, any farther than by a single line of Soundings which I carried along it, at some distance from the land.³

He suggested that Government should fit out an expedition to make good these deficiencies, but the matter was deferred. [45-6].

The Great Rivers

For many years after the acquisition of Lower Bengal the waterways provided the most important lines of communication, especially for the purposes of internal commerce, and the Ganges River was the great highway to and from the Company’s stations up country.⁴

The direct line from Calcutta to the Ganges lay up the Cossimbazar River past Murshidabad, and its survey was the first task allotted to De Glos on his appointment in February 1765 [22]; three months later he submitted his maps, writing,

I have the pleasure to think that these drafts will be found on examination to be as correct as was possible for any to be, having measured the whole as exact as the Nature of the Ground would admit of.⁵

During the dry season boats could not, however, get through the shallows at the head of the Cossimbazar, but had to go down the Hooghly from Calcutta, through Channel Creek and the Sundarbans, to reach the Ganges in the direction of Dacca. It was to save this long detour that in April 1764 James Rennell had been sent to carry out the Survey of the great River to the Eastward of Jelenghee...to find out the shortest & safest Channel leading from the great River to Channel Creek...

For this purpose you will coast along the South side of the great River & examine every Creek or Nulla which runs out of it to the Southw⁴, tracing them as far as you find them Navigable for Boats of Three Hundred Maunds Burthen & informing yourself...whether they are...Navigable all the Year.⁶

On May 7th Rennell left Fort William by boat, with a party of 39, including an “assistant surveyor” and “3 other Europeans” [283]. The very first night at one in ye morning I was awakened by an alarm of a Budgarow’s sinking, & indeed she was on the point of it, being 2/3 full of water. By this accident I had most of my Stationary spoiled, & likewise a great part of my Clothes. Stayed at Calcutta this Day, & repaired the Leak.

¹ Memoir, 1789 (10). ² O. Maps. AC. 18; List, Markham (4). ³ Ritchie (iii). ⁴ O. Copiss 40-1777 (41-3) 2-1-77. ⁵ John Marshall, a Company’s servant, 1688-72, describes the river journey to trading stations at Patna, & at Singaya on the Gandak, John Marshall (30 at sep.), or Bhigirathi, ⁶ BPC. 29-4-65. ⁷ Jalangi, 76 D/12. ⁸ From Henry Vansittart, Governor, 6-8-94; La Touche (9), Henry Vansittart, Governor 1763-4; lost at sea on return voyage to India, 1770. From here onwards Rennell’s journal, 1764-7 (La Touche) is freely quoted.
Taking various useful observations of the breadth and depth of the river, the variation of his compass, and so forth, Reennell reached Jalangi on the 19th and then had to arrange for boats; before I left Calcutta the Governor informed me that a convenient Budgarow with as many Willocks as I should want would be in waiting for me at Jelenghee but on my arrival... I found neither Budgarow nor Willocks. ... The Budgarow I came in was very unfit for me to do my business in during the approaching wet season, both on account of its smallness, & leakiness. ... I set about getting some better Willocks for the Surveying People, but had little success... I could procure only 2; besides these I kept 3 of the Calcutta Willocks, & sent the other two to Calcutta.

On the 21st he writes, this afternoon began the Survey of the Southern Bank of the Ganges about a mile above Jelenghee River...

and his journal continues,

The 22nd... this afternoon we had a Specimen of the weather that we might expect in the Great River at this Season; for in the evening in crossing the SE drove all the boats ashore on the Jelenghee Sand, where they continued beating all night; 2 men were blown overboard during the Squall but fortunately swam ashore.

From now he journeyed down the river making a continuous survey of the south bank, and exploring every opening towards the south, making "exact surveys" of every channel that appeared to be navigable.

The 6th, 7th, 8th, employed in reducing the Original Surveys to smaller scales and copying the Journal to send to the Governor. During this time we had much rain. Employed some Carpenters to stop the Budgarow's Leaks, & repair the rudder...

The 10th in the morning dispatched a Hirca with Maps & Journal.

On June 24th he left the Ganges at a point about 25 miles below Pabna to explore a big creek running in a south-easterly direction and connecting with one he calls the "Burraasat"; he notes in one place that "the Banks being mostly covered with Jungle we have very troublesome Work to survey them", and on July 20th he writes,

It will now appear by our Observations that Burraasat is the West most of the navigable Creeks which run out of the Ganges to the Eastward of Jelenghee & is therefore likely to afford the shortest Passage to Calcutta; but being at present destitute of Cash to pay People, or proper Boats to survey Sunderbound with; besides it being now nearly the height of the wet season, we are very apt to be deceived in the depths of Water. ... I have therefore judged it proper to go to Dacca to get a supply of Cash & larger Boats...

They reached Dacca on August the 4th, and after six weeks silence the journal re-opens,

The 16th of September 1764, being pretty well recovered from my indisposition, I set out from Dacca in the forenoon in order to proceed with the Survey of the great River.

By the 25th he reached "Saatpore" at the head of the creek where he had left the Ganges three months before;

There had been so much of the Bank carried away by the Freshes, that we hardly knew the place again; & could not have found the Mark out, had it not been for a remarkable Tree which I formerly took the bearings of...

15th October... Received a letter from the Governor by 2 Hirca's, & answered it immediately, inclosing a Sketch of the River from Saatpore to this Place. In Mr. VanSittart's letter he approves my Intentions of surveying the River on both sides, having before omitted to explain whether it was to be so surveyed...

The 26th at the time of finishing the Survey... I found myself very ill of a Cold, which was followed by a Fever; & being in the neighbourhood of Dacca, I thought it proper to go there for Assistance...

My Disorder increasing I remained at Dacca till ye 2nd November when being tolerably recovered I set out from thence to proceed with the Survey...

1 Budgarow: a houseboat; Willock: a smaller boat. 2 La Tonne (9–13). 3 Orme MSS. Vol. 7; copy of Journal in Reennell's handwriting; differs slightly from La Tonne. 4 La Tonne (13). 5 Barbarea, a messenger. 6 Ibb (16). 78 H. 8 Now the Ganal R. 9 Sundarbans, the forest-covered delta of the Ganges. 10 Ibb (22). 11 70 E/5.
The Great Rivers

Whilst at Dacca I wrote to Mr. VanSittart informing him of my illness, & of the late Progress of the Survey inclosing a Sketch of it. At the same time I requested his Opinion of the utility of surveying the Barampatry or Megna from its conflux with the Ganges to Dacca. He was pleased to express his approbation of it.¹

In Rennell's time the junction of the Ganges with the Meghna² lay well below Lakshmiur,³ and nearly 80 miles south of Dacca, and Rennell now continued his journey southwards down the Ganges through typical Sundarban country:

We have no other Obstacles to carrying on our Business properly than the extensive Thickets with which the Country abounds, & the constant dread of Tygers, whose Vicinity to us their Tracks, which we are constantly trampling over, do fully demonstrate. ...

We now proceeded along the Western Shore of the Megna NNE & NNE, a confused cluster of uninhabited Islands forming the East side of the Passage. Between some of these Islands I could discover no Land at all, it appearing like an Open Sea. ...

The 20th in the Morning... had a view of Luchypour, the Factory being distinctly seen 13 or 14 miles. Before noon we reached it. ...

The 22nd in the Morning we set out from Luckypour, on our return to the Survey. [This visit being by way of reconnaissance.] ...

The 30th received a new Budgawor from Calcutta. It has been 31 days on its Passage. Being a new one it will be rather safer than the one I had before, as that was old & ready to drop to pieces, but this one seems to be very crank & dangerous. ...

The 14th [December] at Noon came to the Point opposite Luchypour from whence we crossed over in the afternoon. The Megna seems to be about five miles over. ...

The 16th began to make an exact Survey of the Nulla, Fort & Village of Luchypour. ...

The 20th having finished the plan, took y° Latitude of the Place by Halley's Quadrant, but the Horizon was not good enough to place any dependance on the Observation¹¹ [152, 222]. ...

From this time to y° 23rd employed in finishing y° Original Maps, copying others, & making a small Map of the Passage which was immediately dispatched to the Governor. Began likewise a compleat Set of Maps of the Ganges on a scale of 2 miles to an inch⁶ [22]. ...

The 2nd [January 1765] in the Morning set out for Luchypour in our way to Dacca, where I must proceed in order to get a supply of Money. Nothing remarkable happened in our Passage ...

[Marginal note]. The 6th in y° Morning one of the Sepoys was taken off by a Tyger from y° NW Northwest part of Daokitya Island, he having stept ashore out of a Pulwar⁴.

Having got his money Rennell now returned to survey both banks of the Meghna, and lastly the "Beeryonga, or River on which Dacca is situated", and closing work at Dacca on March 3rd completed his maps before starting his survey of the Brahmaputra.

The 28th March sent the Governor a general Map of the Megna on a scale of 2 Miles to an Inch, & the 4th April sent y° remaining 8 Maps of the Ganges; there has now been sent a compleat set of Maps of the Ganges, both general and particular.

The 5th April received Orders from the Governor to survey the Megna or Barampatry from its conflux with the Issumutey to Gaulpara⁵, or as high as it can be done without offending the Natives. ...

The 6th [May] received intelligence of Lord Clive's arrival at Calcutta⁶ [22]. ...

Thursday May 9th: set out from Dacca in order to survey the Barampatry, & proceeded by way of the Issumutey River. ...

The Western Bank of this River harbours a great number of Snakes, amongst which there are some of an enormous Size⁷. June 3rd came into the great Barampatry. ...

This Day [July 14th] we were obliged to leave off surveying, by reason of the Rivers suddenly overflowing the Banks, & rendering it impossible either to measure Station Lines, or to note the exact condition of the River. ...

From the 14th to ye 19th of July, employed in tracing ye Barampatry from Bagunbarry⁸ to Chilmari¹¹...The distance by Estimation is near 70 Miles, & as I was assisted in ascertaining it both by the bearings of the Mountains & the Latitude of Chilmari, there can arise no very considerable Error. ...

The Chain of high Mountains...that are said to be the Eastern Boundary of Bengal begin about the Latitude of 25° 10' N and run in a curve line to the Northwestward. I have not

¹La Touche, (26-30).
yet had an Opportunity of taking their exact Altitude, but judge they are near a mile & half in perpendicular Height.1

In the accompanying General Map, only one of the Mountains is placed in its true Situation, ... the others by reason of the very frequent thick weather were not seen from the South end of the Base, & therefore their Situation must be left undetermined till ye dry Season.

From the 19th to ye 25th July stayd at Chilmary, during which time we were employed in taking ye Latitude, getting Information from ye Country People, & constructing a Sott of General Maps.

Rennell now broke off survey and spent the rest of the rains at Dacca, where he received Clive’s orders for the complete survey of Bengal [22].

As his Lordship was pleased to leave it to my Discretion where to begin my Surveys, I judged it most proper to proceed with the Survey of the River Baramptrey, & the Countries that lie contiguous to it.

Sunday 19th [October 1765] set out from Dacca. The Rainy Season not broke up but expected to break at the new Moon which was to happen ye next day. Being to go by way of Narada Creek I judged that no ill Consequences could happen to the Boats by the Monssoons breaking, whilst they continued in so narrow a Creek; the Weather also appeared to be settled.

"The Courses of the River are various, being from SW. to East; however the whole distance is chiefly meridional, & therefore easy to be corrected by the Latitudes [175]. By this Base I was unable to fix the Situations of several of the "Sosong Mountains" which in clear Weather will serve as Marks 80 miles off. ... Being entirely ignorant of the Situation of Rungpour & the adjacent Countries; the knowledge of which would enable me to regulate my Route after the Survey of the Baramptrey was finished, I judged it proper to trace the Roads to that Place...That roth of November entered the "Teesta Creek" & proceeded up it towards Olyapour which lies in the Rungpour Road ...

From Olyapour we proceeded towards Rungpour by Land, there being no Water Passage at this Season. ... There is but little worth remarking about Rungpour, it being only a principal Gunge, & like most of the others, the Houses are built of Mats & Bamboos, there being but one Brick house in the Town. ...

We arrived at Rungpour the 14th...From the 16th to the 20th employed in tracing the Roads from Rungpour to Gurgong... In our Route we crossed the...Teesta Creeks, besides several Jheels which render the Roads impassable 6 months of the Year.

They rejoined the Brahmaputra on November 21st and continued up towards Godlpara, passing the mouth of the Manäs.

As this River affords so short a Passage to the Boutan Mountains...there is no doubt but that any Number of Firr Trees may be brought down by it, if a right understanding subsisted between our People & the Assames; as I have myself seen a large Firr Tree which floated down the River, after being washed down the Mountains by the Land Floods [23]. ...

The Assam Courtsey begins from the Bonaash River on the North side the Baramptrey & one of their Chokeyes is placed directly opposite Gwallara; but on the South side the Bengall Provinces continue for upwards of 21 miles.

The Woods abound with several kinds of wild animals, as Tygers, Rhinoceros, Buffalos, Elephants, &c., the tracks of which may be seen everywhere. ...

From the 2nd to ye 6th December employed in tracing the Baramptrey from Gwallara to the Frontier of Assam on the Southern side. The distance by ye River is 22 miles. ... We were not permitted to land on the Northern or Assam side, all the way, there being several Chokeyes placed; however we found means to lay down about 10 miles beyond the Bengall Frontiers, & in returning we crossed the Assam side near enough to inform ourselves of all the particulars which we wanted [78-9].

Between April 1764 and December 1765 Rennell had thus completed a detailed survey of the Ganges from Jalangi to the sea, and of the Brahmaputra from the sea to more than 20 miles above Godlpara, besides many important side streams.

1 Giro Hills, 78° N; highest point 4653 ft.
2 La Touche. (44-8).
3 Rangpur, 78° G 4/5.
4 In Rennell’s day the main Tista R. flowed down the Atrial R. changing towards Chilmari in 1757.
5 Ulipur, 78° G 10.
6 Kurigram, 78° G 9.
7 78° 31/11.
8 In a letter home, 30–8–66, he writes, “The ridge of mountains which separates Bengal from Tibet, is covered with Firr and Pine Trees; so that in a few years we shall be able to mast all our Ships with Pines.” H.M.S. 765.
9 La Touche (27–g).
Much of the work of himself and his assistants during the next five years covered the survey of the major waterways; in particular, Ritchie surveyed the Madhumati from the sea to the Ganges, whilst the Ganges was surveyed below Râjmahâl by Rennell himself; from Rajmahal to Moughyr by Richards; from Moughyr to Patna by De Glos; and from Patna to Kannuj by Huygena.

Rennell’s detailed river surveys of 1764–5 are still preserved, both in his Bengal Atlas, and in the Companion Atlas [226–30], whilst early MS. copies are numerous.

Rennell’s surveys of the Bengal rivers will always be of interest for the study of changes of detail along their courses; many references to these are made by Colebrooke thirty years later [64–5], and in 1828 Mr. May, then “Supervisor of the Nadir Rivers” asked for Rennell’s surveys of the Ganges, below the head of the Jalangi, in order to study such changes.

Major changes are less frequent, as is pointed out in an interesting comparison, made by the Survey office at Dehra Dun in 1934, between Rennell’s surveys and in the modern maps of the 1/2M Southern Asia Series.

Using the chief towns as ruling points [the maps] were found to fit very well with very little adjustment. ... The only material changes are in the three large rivers, the Kosi, Tista, and Brahmaputra.

The Kosi has shifted considerable to the west, the Tista to the east, and the Brahmaputra now has its main branch down a previous minor branch on the west, but the old easterly branch still functions as a minor branch.

**MIDNAPORE & BURDWÁN, 1761–6**

As may be seen from D’Anville’s map of 1752 [pl. 13] little was known of the geography of Bengal in 1760 when the Company obtained possession of “the province of Chittagong, Burdwan, and Midnapore” [i] 7.

The earliest English maps are rough sketches of parts of Midnapore and Burdwan which appear to have been made between 1760 and 1765. Orme records a map entitled “Knox’s Roads in the Midnapur Province” 8, whilst Rennell makes use of a map of that area “the author’s name unknown”. There are still preserved in Calcutta two old maps of Midnapore on the half-inch scale 9, which may contain “cursory” surveys by Dennis Morrison of “part of the Balasore province” and of roads in parts of Midnapore and Burdwan 10, which Rennell used in the map he gave Lord Clive in January 1767 [24]; they probably also include the surveys made by James Nicol under the orders of Ranfurly Knox, who was always assiduous in making himself master of this useful knowledge; with this view, when he commanded in the province of Midnapore, from the end of the year 1761 to July 1763, he employed Mr. Nicol, an active officer under his command, to survey the province. Mr. Nicol went as far as Balasore; ... he surveyed the mouth of the Piply River 11.

Another map of this period is entitled “A Map of Part of the Kingdom of Bengal, drawn from surveys made in the year 1762 and 1763” 12. This map covers the whole country from Balasore northwards to the Ganges, and from the Hooghly and Cossimbázâr rivers westwards to the hills, and is a skeleton map compiled from surveys along the main roads and rivers. This is possibly Polier’s map from which Rennell, in 1765, took “the Hooghly and Jelenghee Rivers together with that part of the Ganges which lies to the westwards” 13 [222]. How much of this was surveyed by Polier himself, we cannot tell.

In February 1765, “being much in want of another person well qualified to assist in making the different Surveys of the Country”, the Council appointed

---

BENGAL SURVEYS

“Mr. Lewis Du Gloss...an additional surveyor”

After surveying the Cossimbázár River [17], he was ordered “to survey the Midnapore & Burdwan Provinces & Parganas, as also the course of the Mohanaddée River”.

De Gloss made “exact surveys” in various parts of Burdwan and Midnapore, but most of his time was spent on surveys of the rivers and embankments, and on schemes for controlling the floods, and this matter was found so important that Plaisted was called up from Chittagong to assist him, at the request of Mr. Verelis.

During 1765 the Directors wrote out, twice, pressing for maps:

You are to transmit to us as soon as possible, exact Plans of all the Lands granted to the Company, as well those in the Environs of Calcutta, as in the Provinces of Burdwan, Chittagong, Midnapore or elsewhere, accompanying the same with such Remarks and Explanations as may be necessary to give us a full and satisfactory Information of all our Possessions, their value, and the Importance they are to the Company [250].

and again.

Much remains yet to be done before we can be convinced that we receive the full value of the Revenues of the Province [Midnapore], therefore we direct you to be very full in your information...and you must send us a Plan of the Bengal Frontier towards Oria, with your opinion for the best means of preventing Invasion on that side... but soon after this reached India, De Gloss was called away to survey the frontiers of Bihár, and other officers took up the work in Midnapore [28].

RENNELL & RICHARDS, 1765–6

In May 1765 Clive had come out to Bengal for his second term of office [19], and Rennell writes,

The 10th October whilst at Dacca I received Lord Clive's Orders to set about forming a general Map of Bengal with all Expedition; & as it appeared to be a very tedious Work should all the Distances be exactly ascertained, his Lordship gave Directions that they should be taken in a cursory Manner only, correcting them by Latitudes or any other eligible Means.

This order at once raised Rennell from a mere surveyor of rivers to be the geographer of a vast unexplored country, and it is interesting to trace the origin of Lord Clive’s wish.

Robert Orme, the historian, had settled in London, and was finding difficulty in abstracting from the India House material for his second volume. In a letter to Clive, dated November 21st 1764, he speak of these difficulties, and continues,

You, my Lord, have treated me differently; and pray continue to do so. Make me a vast map of Bengal, in which not only the outlines of the provinces, but also the different subdivisions of Burdwan, Beerbom etc., may be justly marked. Take astronomical observations of longitude, if you have anybody capable of doing it. I send you a skeleton of the Bengal map I intend for my second volume...

to which Clive replied, Calcutta, September 29th, 1765:

I am preparing plans in abundance for you. You shall have very exact charts of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and of the Mogul Empire as far as Delhi at least. A map of the Ganges likewise, and all the other rivers of consequence.

At Clive’s wish Rennell was given an assistant [269] and records that as he was returning from the Assam frontier,

On December 11th Ensign Richards with a Detachment...joined me, and on the 12th we set out by Land to survey the countries between the Bonaash River and Rangamotty [32].
We entered the Boutan Country...& crossed about 7 miles of it. ... I had some thoughts of proceeding...but finding the Natives very averse to it, ... I judged it prudent to desist without further orders, as being foreign to the Service now in execution. ...

We arrived at Gurugong the 30th, & the next day being the last of the month I discharged all the boats except the Budgarow & Pulwars, having now no farther occasion for them.2

They now surveyed a line across the north of Rangpur district, and Rennell writes,

I went so far to the westward as the Purnanyah & Morang3 Countries, and have now finished the North Limit of Bengal from Assam to Morung, which is near 3 degrees of Longitude. The borders of Bengal are from 26° to 26° 30'. ... Assam lies to the NE and some independent Provinces & Boutan to the N.

The Boutan Mountains begin in 27° & are so high that they may be plainly discovered 120 miles [76]. A great number of Rivers have their source from thence; some falling into the Burrunputry, others into the Ganges.4

They left Rangpur on January 22nd, marched northwest and crossed the main Tista some 30 miles south of Jalpaiguri, where Rennell notes

We perceived pieces of different kinds of trees lying on the Sands in the River: these the Country People informed me are brought down from the Boutan Mountains by the Freshers: amongst many other kinds of fine Timber I perceived the stump of a Firr Tree of which I brought away several pieces [20].

They came to the Mahananda River at “Sanashygottta” finding the latitude to be 26° 33', and after surveying the boundary towards Morung worked down the Purnea side of the Mahananda to “Maha-Raage-Gunge”16. From here they returned eastward, and recrossing the Tista at “Nabobgunge”,11 surveyed the boundary between Rangpur and Cooch Behar.

On February 20th, 1766, near the southwest point of the borders of Cooch Behar, they fell in with a small force of sepoys engaged with a band of sanyāsī Fakirs; Rennell placed himself and his men at the disposal of the commander, and in the fighting that followed his Armenian surveyor was killed, and he himself most shockingly wounded; he was with difficulty conveyed to Dacca and was fortunate to get through alive [292].

I stayed at Dacca till the beginning of June for the recovery of my Health & then set out to survey the Country between Luckpourof & the Fenny, in order to join on Mr. Verelst's March to Cospour to the General Map of Bengall. [32]. Ensign Richards was sent in the beginning of May to finish the survey of the Curesa River & the Rangamotty Country13.

Rennell worked through Comila and Noakhali to Chittagong, returning to Dacca at the end of July,

As Mr. Plaisted is said to have surveyed all the Coasts & Islands betwixt Luckpourof & Islamabad, I forebore setting about surveying them, as well to prevent double Trouble & Loss of Time, as that the Season of the Year was improper for it [114]. ...

None of the Hills exceed the height of 240 yards. & of these Sittacoon14 is the highest situated about halfway between the Fenny & Chittagong15.

After completing the survey that had been interrupted by the encounter with the sanyāsīs, Richards surveyed the main Tista through Dinajpur16 towards the Ganges, and joined Rennell in Dacca for the rains.

The 4th November [1766] set out from Dacca to survey the Northern Branches of the Ganges. The Dullaserry17 was surveyed in 1765 from its conflux with the Megna to the Beauty-gonga18 & we now proposed to go on with the Survey of that & its principal Branches first....

We were employed on this Survey till the 28th when we came into the great River by way of Purna19. ... The river has a very serpentine Course, the distance through being upwards of 53 miles, whereas the Horizontal distance is not 28.
They then spent some weeks surveying the rivers and swamps on the Pánum-Rájsháhi borders through which the old Tista found its way to the Ganges;
Between Buitan & Raage Gungé it is named the Teesta, from thence to Bandgotta the Atrí; between that & Cullum the Cole Naddy; and afterwards the several names of Bagan-
udy, Ballaser, & Currumjar.
Mr. Richards had surveyed the River from Raage Gungé to Cullum as before-mentioned, but for want of an instrument for taking the Latitudes the latter part of the Survey was not
sufficiently exact; for this reason we proceeded up the River & took the Latitudes as far as
necessary. We finished the Survey as far as Cullum the 9th December...The last Observa-
tion was...near Conchon, the Latitude of which was 24° 53' N.4
They also surveyed the eastern limits of
the Badsny Province in order to make Lord Clive's Map as compleat as possible before his
leaving Bengal...
All our leisure Time since we left Dacca has been employed in compiling a general Map
for Lord Clive. After all the Observations that we could make before his Lordship's setting
out, the Map would remain very imperfect without we were supplied with Copies of several
Maps from Calcutta, & it being too late to wait for these, I determined to go to Calcutta as
soon as the survey of the above-mentioned River should be compleated.
We had not Time to survey the Currumjar River as I intendent, by reason of the sudden
departure of Lord Clive. We left Sajaptour...and proceeded for Calcutta the 20th December.
...The 30th in the evening arrived at Calcutta. We had been employed on the Map the whole
passage.
From the 30th of December to the 6th Feby. inclusive stayed at Calcutta. The greatest
part of the Time, we were employed in compiling and copying Maps for Lord Clive.
Clive's health had broken down, and he left Calcutta, a sick man, on January
29th 1767.

BIHAR, 1766–8

In 1768 war broke out between the English and Mir Kasim, Nawáb of Bengal; the Nawáb retreated to the west of Patna, and obtaining the support of the Wazir of Oudh and Shah Alam, the exiled Emperor of Delhi, made stand on the
Karánnása River, till the English won a decisive victory at Buxar on October 23rd
1764.

On Clive's return to Bengal the following year, he promptly went up-country and came to a settlement with the Emperor and Wazir, and obtained for the Company the deéhía of "Bengal, Bahar & Orissa", besides the Northern Circéirs and the Madras jágir.

The Company had now a long frontier from Balasore on the south, through Chota Nágpur and Rámgarh, to the Karánnása River on the west, through completely unknown country and unknown peoples; with the Marathás always pressing towards the rich country of Bengal. The Council became anxious about the protection of their western frontiers, and in September 1766 wrote to the C. in C. Colonel Richard Smith1.

In consequence of a resolution taken sometime since, of making a thorough survey of the
Roses in the province of Bahar2, we have despatched Captain De Glos to you for that

1Rájanjí suburb of Dínájpur, which Ronell spells Dápnur. 2Sé H/E see Bem. Atlas, VI &
XVI. 3Shánápur on sheet (vi) of Bem. Atlas, 78 H/12. 4La Ténehe (82–4). 5Clive took his own
life on Nov. 29th 1774. The following is an extract from a letter from Patrick Ross, C.E. Madras, to
William Stevens, telling him the news, possibly distorted. "The Europe Ships are arrived and bring
us the account of a new Parliament, and that the Americans continue refractory. Lord Clive, they say,
had put an end to his existence by thrusting a paper scraper into his throat. The Duke of Athol has
drowned himself in the Tay, and Lady Effingham has burnt herself; others say her fate proceeded
from accident. Whichever it be, God preserve us from such an end." Mack. MSS. LXXIII, 25–676. 6Succeeded Almurgi in 1768; returned to Delhi 1771; eyes put out by Rohilla Chief 1788; d. 1806.
7Called "the accused river" by Hindus; joins Ganges from SW., 840 h, 10 m. W. of Buxar. 8Midnap-
ore had been part of Bengal from 1766; Orissa had been granted to the Baja of Nágpur in 1751, under
whom it remained till the war of 1803–4. Wills (27 n.). 9Called "the Nabob of Nabobs", Holzmann (74–5). 0Covered the present districts of Patna & Gaya.
purpose; and as we understand that Captain Claud Martin, is well versed in the Business of Surveying, you may employ him likewise upon the same undertaking, which we wish to see concluded with all possible despatch & accuracy.

It is certainly of great importance to our security that we obtain a perfect knowledge of the Inlets to Bengal. For this reason Captain Huyseng has our orders to examine the several passes into the province from the Hills of Tillagurru, quite down to Midnapore; to assist in which we desire you will immediately despatch Ensign Carter from Monghyr[^36].

De Gloss has left a journal[^4], which gives such a vivid and interesting account of his survey that the following extracts seem worthy of print. He took four European assistants with him[^285].

23-9-66. Received orders from Lord Clive to proceed to Patna, and follow the instructions of Colonel Richard Smith. Left Calcutta that evening. ...

27-10-66. Joined Capt. Huggins of the Engineer Corps and Surveyor... a few coss from Raunjall.

2-11-66. Parted company with Capt. Huggins who was proceeding to Gongopersaut to begin is survey [sic] ...

10-11-66. Reaching Monghere[^6]. ...

13-11-66. Reaching Patna. Budgeroe & Boats remaining Patna, report to Colonel Smith on 13th. ...

23-11-66. Received one company of sepoys, 5 Cavalry, 30 Burgundasses, and 5 Harcarras from Government for the use of the Survey, with following instructions from Col. Smith.

Headquarters at Meer Aboyli. 21-11-66... to proceed on Survey of Part of the Bahar Province... to commence surveying at Doudnagar, taking your route to Cauntally upon the Zoana, and from thence to Rottasgur... continue your survey along the Banks up the Zoana, until you come to the Range of Hills that lays to the SW... or as high up the Zoana, as you can proceed with safety. When this is accomplished you will survey along the range of Hills Eastward until you come to... Bahar[^6], examine well if there are any passes thro' the Hills, until you come opposite to Mongheer. ...

The principal object of your present Survey is to obtain information of every Pass or Entrance into Bahar Province from the Westward & to acquire some knowledge of the different Roads, Rivers, and Principal Towns with their Bearings & Distances. You are to keep a daily journal. ... On your arrival at Mongheer you will receive further orders.


28th. Arrived at Doudnagar, near R. Zoana.

29th. Began the Survey. ...

25-12-66. Found it impossible to continue the Survey any further by the Improachable Jungles etc. [no road or pathway] ...

19th. Employed surveying the mountainous Hill of Rottasgur[^10], together with the Fort.

20th. In the course of Survey found the country much embarrased with jungles and immense Quantity of Tygers with great plenty of Deer, Peacock, and other game.

21st. Surveying along the Zoana allhso attended with the utmost Trouble, difficulty, and fatigue, being obliged to cut passages thro' the jungles for our Proceeding forward & observations, yet could not proceed above one coss and a half each day. ...

23th. Halted at Berealpur on account of the Jungles, the bildars employed clearing them away to make a pathway. Met with several armed people in the Thicketts where they reside, having Bows & Arrows and Cutlashes, but on our appearing in view made off, as also the village people, forsaking their Habitations, which much distressed us for want of supply of Provisions. ...

26th. [The party is fired at during this day & night] ... Saw the Track of Kynosserus is feet.

27th. Came to the village of Pushduree with immense fatigue & trouble owing to the Jungles; found several bullocks etc., that had been devoured by the Tygers where are also great numbers of Bears, one of which, with here cubs attacked a Lascar who narrowly escaped falling a prey by mounting a tree & on his calling for assistance, which was immediately given, the Bears took another Road in the Thicketts. ...

[^1]: Martin was at this time involved in the "Batta Mutiny" and does not appear to have joined in this survey.
[^2]: Tillagurru Pass at N. end of Rajmahal Hills, 72 G/12; "At about a league on this side near a place called Mara-galli, the road is shut up by a gate or barrier, which they only open occasionally, and is guarded by soldiers. The rest of the road is so narrow that you cannot travel but just by the brick of the Gauges." - Father Boudier. 1731. Herbert (39) see also Hodges (34).
1. [Leaves the Son & surveys along the "Cole" R.]
2. [Surveys with less difficulty than along the Son.]
3. ... Surveying on the sand of the River Cole where myself and horse was much embarassed on the Quicksands, the horse with difficulty saved. ... 
8th. [Returned to Rotaigur, and now carries his survey eastwards along the Hills.]
27th. [Cross road leading to Pallamou.] 
12-2-67. [Reaches Gayah; described.] ...
26-3-67. Enters the Rangour Country. ...
3-4-67. [Takes an observation for variation of Compass.] ...
8th. Employed surveying & on the Drafts. Received advice per Harcarat that Lieut. Carter, & Mr. Cameron, & Russell were on Survey with 3 companies of Seapoy.
9th. Received a letter from Mr. Carter. ...
17th. Came to Soubah Bahar. ... Most of my people fell sick with fevers & Fleux, thro' the immense Heat of the Wether & many deprived of sight by the Hot Winde. Was obliged to Halt & employ a Doctor to attend & give them Medicines, as also my assistants equally indisposed, but during which time surveyed & employed on the Drafts. ...
[From May 12th to 27th, left most of his men and baggage in Bahar, and surveyed round the panganah; returned to the soubah "finding my assistants & people violent ill with fever".]
[During June & July continued Survey, with interruptions from the Rains.]
July 11th came to Mongheer.
12th. [Went to wait on the C.O. of the Garrison], ... letters waiting for some months from Governor Verelst & Colonel Smith directing me to proceed to Benares et Allahabad. 
Camped at M. and made fair copies of maps for the Governor. ... 
August 20th. Employed constantly on the Drafts & reducing it to a small scale, agreeable to the Governor’s direction, as by Letters received from Captain Reynolds for so doing.
De Gloos now received orders for a survey of the Gandak River, the Council having appointed one of the Company’s servants ... to examine the River Gandak and report on Fir Trees from Butea country, and being of opinion that it would be of great use to the Public if we could be supplied with Fir Tree Timbers by means of the River Gandak which empties itself into the Ganges opposite Patna, ... direct the Gentlemen at Patna to ... apply to the Commanding Officer for a Surveyor to survey not only the River but likewise the Nullah that runs close to the Fort of Batta, also to give directions for some of the largest Trees to be sent down to Calcutta [20].
De Gloos had to wait several days because all available boats had been requisitioned for Colonel Peach’s brigade which had been ordered on service to the Cireurs [91], and embarked for Calcutta on October 18th, on which date De Gloos departed from Mongheer, crossed the Ganges, surveyed the Rocks, River & Islands opposite the Fort. ...
October 16th. Hired boats which had been sunk in order to avoid being pressed for transport of the Brigade. ...
18th. Continue survey along north Bank of Ganges River noting the Limits of the Parganaas. ...
26th. Departed from the village Piprah & and met with equal Difficulty on account of the high Reed Junggles. 
Saw the Track of Tygers, Wild Buffaloes, and the Rynosserees; two of the latter of which as Informed was caught last season in the said place by a Trap particularly Invented for that Purpose. ...
November 5th. Met the Gandak River emptying itself in the Ganges with extreme rapidity, the sands of which shifting and in constant motion forming whirlpools so rolling and essing forth in that manner when least expected ...
November 8th. Hodgepoo, Waited on Mr. Rambokt, who insisted on my handing in my seapoy who were required for collection of Revenues. ...
10th. Allowed 20 seapoy belonging to the Calcutta Garrison, and returned those from Mongheer. ...

1Kool R. joins the Son 63 P.14. 2A common experience on these rivers. 3Palamau, 73 A/I. 4Rangour 73 E/10, 50 m. south of Hanzriog. 5Probably John Cameron, Engra. 6Rennell had because 313, from 1-1-67, and De Gloos was under his professional orders. 7Bhutan [23 n, s]. 8the Provincial Council. 9Betlah, 73 B/6. 10Hajipar. 72 G/2.
Bihar

17th. Surveyed and came to Patna. ...
27th. Return to Hodge poor, still surveying. ...

December 9th. [Surveys the Ganduc.] ...
16th. Small scale drafts Mongheer to Patna to Governor Verelet.
17th. Surveying. ...
23rd. Halt for Christmas.
26th. [Continues surveying the Ganduc.]
30th. [Surveying towards Bettiah.]

January 1st 1768. Halted for the New Year Day. Was suddenly indisposed by a fever & Pleurisy in my side. ...
8th to 14th. Bettiah ...
23rd. [Is warned to expect opposition from a local Raja.] ...
26th. [Meets an armed body of 200 men which disperses on his approach.] ...
30th. Letter from Governor Verelet ordering me to decline the further Course of Survey & Immediately... to Proceed downwards for Bankapore and Cantonments, agreeable to which did so comply. ...

February 14th. [On journey down the Ganduc]. Heavy rain & sudden squalls of wind by which lost one Boat on the Quick Sands, wherein was Boxes of Instruments, Books & other Necessaries etc., great part of which could not obtain as the Boat entirely Bilged & sunk et Buryed in the shoals & Budgeouse and other Boats in equal Danger, so that could not proceed but obliged to lay at a Sand Bank.

15th. Came to Hodge poor at which place found Ensign Richards, Surveyor. Wrote to Governor Verelet. ...
18th. Came to Patna. ...
March 1st 1768. Submitted drafts of the Ganduc River, with abstract of Journal to Governor Verelet.

De Glasse was now placed on other duty, and not again employed on survey. In the 17 months since he had left Calcutta, he had travelled up the river to Patna, and then been continuously on survey through hot weather and rains alike; he had completed a survey of the Son beyond Rohtas, along the southern limits of Bihar and Gaya to Monghyr, with a detailed survey of Bihar pargana; then a survey of the north bank of the Ganges from Monghyr to Patna, noting pargana boundaries; then a survey of the Gandak River as far as Bettiah.

ROUTE SURVEYS

Although most of the surveys of these times were in the nature of route surveys, this term more particularly indicates those whose immediate purpose was the survey of the marches of a body of troops or a political mission, rather than the complete survey of a particular area or boundary.

We start with the French Chief, Jean Law de Lauriston, who retreated up-country from Cossimbazar after the English captured Chandernagore in March 1757, and wandered from place to place with a small body of French and Indian troops, visiting Lucknow, Delhi, Agra and Bundelkhand; after various adventures he surrendered to the English, and was deported to France. He kept up surveys of all his marches, and gave his map to D’Anville who had it engraved [222]:

M. Law de Lauriston ayant commandé un corps de troupes dans le nord vers Delhi, me communique en arrivant de l’Inde, une carte dressée par lui-même, d’après ce qu’avait donné la miene; mais à laquelle il a ajouté en dessin rouge par distinction, des routes qu’il avait parcourues, et sur lesquelles se rencontroyent des positions assez considérables pour mériter d’être connus. Il y joignit quelques morceaux vers la frontière du Tibet, & qu’il avait recueillis, ce qui m’engagea à dresser une nouvelle carte de ces parties séparément, et qui a été gravée sans être rendue publique 5.

Another Frenchman, Anquetil-Duperron, who travelled in India for literary purposes between 1757 and 1761, joined Law for a short time, and then travelled down the east coast from Bengal to Masulipatam; and later from Goa to Poona.

172 B/5. 2Bankapore, near Patna, 72 G/2. 3Antiquité Géographique (iv). See also map, BM. Addl MSS. 20914.
and Aurangabad. He kept measurements and observations along many of his routes, but Rennell writes of that from Goa,

I lament exceedingly that he had not a compass with him, ... for in a quarter where geography is so bare of materials... that gentleman had a fair opportunity of distinguishing himself in this way, as he may be said to literally to have trod a new path.[127]

Duperron has left an amusing account of the military route surveys of his day;

J’ai voyagé dans l’intérieur de l’Inde, seul, en troupe, en corps d’armée. L’Officier, le Commandant, passe la journée dans son Falaquin, on il dort le plus souvent. A la dinée, il demande... à son Dobachi... combien on a fait de Cosses, par quels endroits on a passé. Celui-ci interroge les Beroos (les porteurs) en repose de lui-même, parce qu’il faut repandre; & le nombre des cosses, le nom des lieux est couché sur l’Itinéraire, sur la Carte.

Ce que je viens de raconter, je l’ai vu de mes yeux![185]

Of the Company’s soldiers, Rennell mentions surveys through Cuttack and Orissa by Polier and Campbell[8], and we have already noticed the surveys by Morrison and Nicol in Midnapore.[21]. When Knox was withdrawn from Midnapore in 1763 to join the main army on its march to Patna, Nicol was charged with the survey of “Bodupore province” which he carried out “with a diligence and exactness peculiar to that trusty officer”, and was then despatched to survey “the roads in the Beerpoom Province” as far as... Calcutta”. This survey was interrupted by the campaign which ended with the Battle of Buxar, and Nicol had to return to military duty[9].

To return to Midnapore,— in 1767 the Collector[9] had a body of sepoys at his disposal and John Ferguson commanded a column of these along the western borders, which were then entirely unexplored. He writes from Ghatia[16]. A journal of my proceedings I have up to this day, but my compass went wrong the 2nd day’s march to this Fort. I having it in my hand to observe our course, when the enemy set on us, and my needle, from the firing I think it must be, flew off its axis. This will in future make me very imperfect in the course, & the want of a set of mathematical instruments renders me incapable of making charts.[11]

The Collector reports,

I have in my possession a copy of Lt. Ferguson’s journal of his western expedition, but it is not complete enough for a map to be formed from it. I shall keep it in my hands for the present in order to make some necessary additions to it...[12],

and the Governor replies,

I could wish to have Lt. Ferguson’s Journal completed as soon as possible that we may get a chart of his Expedition to the West laid down[13].

By this time Rennell had been posted as Surveyor General, and several of his surveyors, Adams, Carter, and Portsmouth, were drafted in to make a systematic survey of the province and we hear nothing more of Ferguson’s amateur efforts.

The army was now fully engaged beyond the western frontiers, and under spur from England, surveys were pushed on in every direction.

It is hard to over-emphasize the influence exerted by Orme on the surveys of India at this period [22]; amongst his papers is an autograph “Essay on the Art of War”, undated, but probably sometime about 1765, written possibly for Clive or Richard Smith or some other soldier friend, and pointing out the military value of maps;

We have in general very few good charts in India. No wonder. Our Generals have not paid that attention to the subject which it requires. ... If those in the Administration were sensible of the advantages resulting from it, they would never scruple the expense. But then great caution should be observed that none but capable men should be employed and whose integrity is equal to their capacity. To such, great encouragement should be given.

I would have a Plan of your whole Frontier, with the Engineer’s observations from League to League. And where you have any Defiles, they should be accurately described,

surveys having first been made with the most minute exactness. ... Route Surveys. ... From a Compleat Engineer you may go much further. He is not to confine himself to the roads only; but the situation of the country. 

A General Officer should always be furnished with some such a chart, for it is impossible for a Council Board to form a system of operations upon the Intelligence they have received.

Embrace therefore every opportunity... to send officers into a Country, where you may soon have occasion to march an Army. But such officers should be the most intelligent in the Service.

In 1767 Orme acknowledged receiving from Richard Smith [24],

A map of Patna to Delhi, which you say is imperfect. ... Another of the Country about Agra & Delhi, of which you have a Better opinion.

I had received before the map from Patna to Delhi, but never till now the other, which differs so very much from all preceding informations concerning that part of indostan, both in the quality of materials, their dispositions, and the names of places, that I readily concur in thinking it much more to be depended on then any of the former charts, because in these matters few people take pains of changing the old notions of Geography to substitute new inventions without foundation. They would be deterred by the dread of being discovered and exposed...

In your map of the country about Agra, I see for the first time the situation of the Countries of the Jautas and Rohillas. Get as accurate information as you can concerning the Boundaries of these countries, and the description of the peoples...

I likewise see in the map Pitans2 between the Junna and the Ganges; I can account for them.5

Among the surveys sent home to Orme are military routes surveyed by Samuel Showers between 1766 and 1769, which include,

A Plan of part of Bhabar Province, surveyed in November 1766, scale 3 inches to a mile including Sassaram and Rotas, which is a road traverse along the Son River, with a loop road round Rohitas hill, and a wide area of hills shown in a distinctive conventional style which is almost exactly reproduced in Brot's map of 1772 [223].

There are other surveys made by Showers in 1767; the Gogra River from Fyzabad to the Ganges, July to September: the rivers Karamnasa [24 n. 7], “Guntah or Goompty”6, various roads from Benares, and the road from Allahabad to Fyzabad; in a journal of 1768 he writes,

We met with nothing near the Goompty, but immense fields of thick grass, which together with the shortness of the reaches, greatly conduces to render this work more tedious: the true distance of today's survey is 3 miles and 4 furlongs, the ground I have measured exceeds 14 miles. This day's survey has been one continuos jungle, which by the prints of their feet, is the dens of Tygers; & other wild beasts.

In 1768 Showers was sent on a mission by Colonel Smith to the Maratha chief at Nagpur, travelling through “Rwyary”...Sabagu Ghat...Gurrah-Mundela” [266]; he wrote from Tilwara Ghat10 on the Narbada,

I am credibly informed the source of this river is 50 coss East of this place, where is likewise the source of the River Sain and another small river called Tattle, near Umarcuntuck11 [60].

His map of the road from Allahabad to the Narbada12 is beautifully drawn, with hills shown conventionally in elevation, and with branch roads to various important places.

Rennell acknowledges the use of Showers' work [266 n. 7], and makes the following references to his and other surveys in Bundelkhand:

Rewa, in the Bundekund country is the most westerly point on the road leading from Allahabad to Nagpur and the Deccan that is determined by survey and latitude. From

thence to Telwaresh Gunt on the Nerbudda as laid down in a more cursory manner: but I believe tolerably exact for the purposes of a general map.  . . . Chatterpore... was formerly visited, and its position determined by measurement from Rewah, by Captain Carter.  . . . The country between Mirzapur and the heads of the Soane and Nerbuddah, was explored by the late Major Bruce;... during his expedition he verified a fact which has long been doubted, though strenuously insisted upon by the natives, viz., that the Soane and Nerbuddah Rivers had their common source from a pond, or lake, on the southern confines of the Allahabad province. . . .

Wilford records that Bruce made his surveys "about the year 1771."  

An interesting route survey from Cuttack to Sambalpur was made in 1766 by Thomas Motte, "a free merchant", who was sent by Clive to sound the Marathas as to their willingness to cede Orissa in return for an annual tribute [42 n. 8], and also to open a trade in diamonds with the Raja of Sambalpur; one share to Motte, two shares to Clive.  . . .

He left Calcutta on March 13th 1766, travelling by Midnapore, Balsore, and Cuttack. At Balsore he heard tales of "volcanoes", but found them to be jungle fires. He left Cuttack on May 6th, and on the 22nd reached Bund; here his tent was attacked by lightning and caught fire; thirty of his followers were involved in the fire and sixteen of them died. On his arrival at Sambalpur on May 31st he found a local revolution going on, in which over 300 were massacred. Both his European companions died of fever, but Motte himself stayed till October, suffered much from fever, but was never able to come to business, and never even saw a diamond.

On October 1st the Raja paid him a farewell visit, and begged everything he saw; it was with great difficulty Motte could save his compass, and he was glad to get away the next day. He had adventures with wolves on his return journey, but reached Cuttack safely on October 19th, and Balsore on 28th. Further negotiations regarding Orissa were abandoned owing to Clive’s ill-health and return to Europe.  . . .

Motte writes that "Mallock, sent by Mr. Henry Vansittart", presumably on a similar errand two or three years before, "durst only stay 24 hours". Mallock’s companion, Alleyne, had noted the bearing and distances from Cuttack to Sambalpur, and Motte also made a survey which was apparently embodied in Bolton’s map . . ., and was also used by Rennell who notes that Mr. Motte’s route along the Mahanadi was described from computed distances and bearings by a compass. He also took the latitude of Sambalpore in a rough manner.

A rough sketch of the Mahanadi is preserved at Calcutta, which bears a note to the west of Sambalpur “Diamond Mines among these Mountains”; it may be Alleyne’s, for the names given do not correspond with those of Motte’s account.

In 1774 Jacob Camac, commanding in Chota Nagpur, sent "Golam Mohamed, a Sepoy officer, to explore the roads and countries of the Deccan", and “to gain intelligence about the Mahatta powers”; and Rennell took “the roads from Burwah to Ruttumpoor, and from thence to Curry Mundlah, Nagpore, Aurangabad, and Burhanpur” all from his itinerary. Rennell further states that he was indebted to Camac for “the course of the Bain Gonge . . . quite a new acquisition to Geography.”

A notable contribution to geography was the survey made by the Rev. William Smith, appointed in July 1775 to accompany Colonel Upton’s political mission to Poona [2]; Col. Upton’s Embassy to Poona affording a favourable opportunity to survey the Peninsula of India, and likewise to ascertain the true Distance of the places thro’ which he will
pass, Col. Monson\(^1\) proposes that the Reverend Mr. William Smith be appointed to attend Col. Upton for this purpose, conceiving that the public may obtain many advantages from this survey which probably would not be able to be taken at any other time\(^4\).

The mission started from Kālpī\(^2\), on the Jumna, on October 24th 1775 and reached Poona on December 27th. During January and February Smith carried his survey down to Bombay and back. Rennell describes his achievement thus:

Mr. Smith set out from Calpy with Col. Upton ... and fell into the great road from Delhi to the Deccan at the city of Narwah\(^5\); ... from Narwah, he proceeded to Sirong\(^6\), a city of Malwa [56 n. 16] ... and from thence to Burnapur, the capital of Candieh. ... In his way ... he crossed the famous river Nerbuddah, formerly the reputed boundary of the Deccan. ... From Burnapur, he went to Poonaich, ... crossing the heads of the Godavery and Beennah rivers in his way; and from Poonaich to Bombay.

During all this route, he took observations of latitude and longitude, as often as opportunity offered; which was not unfrequently; and with these he constructed a map, which is no less valuable on the score of its general accuracy and extensive information, than curious by the novelty of its subject. We had then, for the first time, a geographical line on which we could depend, drawn across the continent of India, through the principal points between Agra and Poonaich\(^6\).

In 1777 the Council reported that Mr. Smith was prevented by ill health from completing a map of the country; ... he is now on his passage to Europe, but has promised to finish it as soon as possible, and take the first opportunity of sending it to us. In the meantime we have put his Journals into the hands of the Chief Engineer\(^7\), to form a map from them\(^8\).

The journal gives a full and detailed narrative of his survey and astronomical observations, with complete fieldbooks and perambulator traverse\(^9\) [185].

**Rennell as Surveyor General 1767–77**

Before leaving India, Clive showed his appreciation of Rennell’s surveys by appointing him Surveyor General, a post thus created in India for the first time, and notified thus to the Directors:

So much depends upon accurate surveys, both in military operations and in coming at a true knowledge of the value of your possessions, that we have employed everybody on this service who could be spared and were capable of it. But as the work must ever be imperfect while it is in separate and unconnected plans, we have appointed Captain Rennell, a young man of distinguished merit in this branch, Surveyor General, and directed him to form one general chart from those already made, and such as are now in hand as they can be collected in. This, though attended with great labour, does not prevent him from prosecuting his own surveys, the fatigue of which, with the desperate wounds he has lately received in one of them [23], have already left him but a shattered constitution,\(^10\)

Rennell writes in his journal,

The 1st of Jan. 1767, I was appointed Surveyor Genl., and the Govr. (Mr. Vereist) appointed the several Surveyors ... under me,


The three first had each a particular part of the Country allotted him to survey, & myself (with Mr. Richards as an Assistant) had another part.

Mine was to be; first, the Roads from Calcutta to Hadigungle; next the Coses River from its confluence with y' Ganges to the Northern Frontier of Bengal.

Leaving Calcutta on February 6th, he surveyed through typical Bengal country, crossing one creek after another and “The 22nd surveyed 74 miles thro’ a dismal Jungly Country infested with Tygers”. He completed the 133 mile to “Hadgi Gunge” by February 26th;

\(^1\)Member of Supreme Council from 1774; d. Calcutta, 25-9-76. \(^2\)BS & F. 24-7-75. \(^3\)54 N.16. 
\(^4\)Narwar, 54 G/14. \(^5\)Sirong, 54 H/12. \(^6\)Memoir, 1783 (62). \(^7\)Port of S.G. was vacant from April to Oct. 17–77 [560]. 
\(^8\)B to CD 21-11-77 (57). \(^9\)BM. Addl. MSS. 29213; map reproduced, Macpherson; map to be published by W. Faden. 10. Prad 389. \(^10\)B to CD 30-3-87. \(^11\)m. E. of Fardpur 70 E/14. 
\(^12\)Kori R. in west of Fardpur.
I staid at Hadigunge till the 2nd March waiting for Mr. Richards. During this time I was employed in constructing & copying a large Map of Bengal for the Governor.

The 2nd of March finding that Mr. Richards had but just left Calna, I set off for Dacca to get a supply of Men & Boats for the next Survey 1.

Meanwhile Richards surveyed the route from Calcutta through Bangaon and Muhammadpur 2, and reached Dacca March 7th.

They set out again on the 11th, working southwards into Backergunge, but Rennell had to break off and return to Dacca with fever, leaving Richards to carry on 3. Here his fascinating journal closes, and we get but occasional glimpses of his work from his letters. He made Dacca his headquarters, sending out professional instructions to the various surveyors, and spending all the favourable months of the year out on survey himself. He himself surveyed the whole area north of the Ganges from Purnea on the west to Sylhet on the east. In September 1767 he wrote home,

I am now going to traverse the countries that lie on the East and Southeast of the Baramputrey, and you may not expect to hear from me again till near this time twelve month, as the length of the Expedition will take up near that time. I shall have a strong Detachment, and may probably go near the western limits of the Chinese Empire. No Country in the world perhaps is less known to Europeans than the Countries lying between China and Indostan, and indeed how should it be otherwise, as the Company have made very few discoveries till within twenty years past 4.

He did not at once proceed eastwards as here suggested, but in November writes,

I am now in the midst of my journey to Thibet. Being got into a more northern Climate and in the neighbourhood of the Mountains I breathe a cool and healthy Air 5.

He writes from Rangamati [pl. 14],

I have made one short trip to the Northward, but was obliged to return again with some precipitation as the Boutees had drawn an army together to oppose my Progress. I very nearly fell into an ambuscade which they had laid for me, but escaped with the loss of one man dangerously wounded. I was obliged to retreat a considerable way thro' an Enemy's Countrey perpetually harassed by their detachments, and crossed a deep river in my way. I hardly ever experienced more fatigue at one time, however my health has not suffered in the least.

I am now in the midst of the Forests of Rangamatty which are chiefly inhabited by wild Buffaloes, Elephants, Rhinoceroses and Tygers; the tracks of most of these terrible Animals I see every day. I never saw a just description of the Rhinoceros in any Books that I have read. It is about the size of the Elephant, and rather an overmatch for it. It feeds on Herbs, and frequently makes excursions to the Plains 6.

He spent all his time when not out on survey in compiling the surveys that were sent in to him. In December 1768 he was able to write,

The business in my Department goes on briskly, and next year we may expect that the Geography of these Kingdoms will be as well known as that of most Countries in Europe....

A great progress is made in the surveying of the Western Countries, so that we have now measured a line of near 14 degrees of Longitude 7.

Of the surveyors first posted under his orders, we have already noticed De Glos at work in Bihar, and his withdrawal in 1768 [22]; Adams surveyed roads in Midnapore, and certain rivers in western Purnea, and died during 1767; Carter worked in Midnapore, Jungleterry [34 n. 9] and Chota Nagpur, and appears to have continued on survey till at least 1772; Richards continued till the survey was closed down.

Other surveyors were brought in as they could be obtained, military officers possessed of some knowledge or aptitude. Each officer received the Surveyor General's instructions as to the area he was to survey, the principal towns to be included, and the routes by road or river he was to traverse, generally in the form of a network; occasional latitudes were observed.

---

In 1768 a report was made to the Directors that,

A number of Gentlemen are employed on a Survey of the Provinces; the Boundaries are almost finished and they are now taking the Sections of the several Countries. In September next I hope to have the pleasure of sending you a complete and particular Plan of all your possessions in this part of India. In tracing and examining such an immense Tract of Country, the greatest Part of which affords not the least convenience to an European, the Expense must necessarily be great; but the Benefit of such an Undertaking will be an ample Compensation for the Charges that are attendant upon it.  

In 1770 Rennell wrote,

All the work in the Field will be done by the end of '71, but then it will take several Months to inspect and compile all the Materials; and again,

Besides the Surveys of Bengal and Bahar (the Company's Territories) carried on under my direction, the officers of the Army [29] have surveyed the inland Countries belonging to Sujah Dowla and several independent Princes ... situated on both sides of the Ganges, so that the whole extent corrected by our Geographers is upwards of 14 degrees of Longitude and 9 of Latitude.

and again the following year,

I have entirely done my business in the field, and all that remains to be done to complete the General Survey of Bengal, Bahar, our part of Orixa [24, n. 8], and the Provinces of Allahabad & Awal will be completed within these 4 months. The sea coast & rivers also have had a regular survey, and a surveyor [16–7] in a sloop has been all round the Bay of Bengal and described the sea coasts & islands. It will now be my business to compile all these surveys, & for that purpose I am now setting down seriously for at least 13 months.

again, in 1772,

The Provinces of Bengal and Bahar were formerly divided into about 28 grand Divisions answering to our Counties, tho' few of them were so small as Devonshire, and these grand Divisions were again divided into Pargannas. ... The Boundaries even of these inferior Divisions are chiefly ascertained, with every Town of note in the Provinces, together with all the Roads and Rivers.

In 1774 Rennell completed his series of Provincial Maps, which he submitted with smaller scale General Maps, and an account of their construction, and a small index showing the areas covered by each surveyor;  

Rennell .............. From Purnea to Sylhet 
De Gliss .............. Part of Burdwan 
Richards ............. Chittagong, and Bihar north of the Ganges 
Huygens .............. Rajmahal Hills 
Carter, Portsmouth, Call .............. Midnapore to borders of Chota Nagpur 
Martin .............. Districts E. of the Hooghly; Cooch-Behar 
Russell .............. Shahabad 
Ritchie .............. Coastal areas Balasore to Chittagong 

After giving an account of the survey, signed January 17th 1774, he remarks, it is hoped that the tedious delay in the execution of this work will be pardoned, when it is known that the materials from which it is compiled, consist of 500 original surveys; and as these were the work of 10 different gentlemen, it is natural to suppose that from so great a diversity of Instruments and Measures, the lines of Bearing and Distance must frequently disagree; and indeed the Truth is, that the Comparing and Correcting of them employed a large portion of the time.

I will not pretend to say that every particular part of these Maps is perfectly accurate; but I can vouch for their being generally so, and that no capital errors appeared during the examination and Construction. In order that every Surveyor may be answerable for his own work, I have added his name to it in the Maps; and at the end of this page have particularized the Tracts surveyed by each [224].

I hope that it will not be expected that every small Pargannah should have its limits defined in these Maps. A certain gentleman of Rank has remarked this unavoidable defect in a Map drawn for his use. ...  

1 From Mr. Verolot, Governor, to CD. 28-3-68 (49).  
2 HMS. 785. 30-10-70.  
3 Waizir, or Nawáb, of Oudh.  
4 HMS. 785. 8-11-70.  
5 Letter to Falk, 15-11-71, Falk MSS.  
6 HMS. 785. 15-3-72.  
7 Now preserved at the India Office [224].
First then, the lines traced during a general Survey, tho' at a convenient distance from each other for the purpose intended, do sometimes fall without the Boundaries of small Districts; by which they escape notice, ... and to the Peninsular, from whom the Knowledge of Boundaries, etc., is chiefly derived, frequently use different names from those in the Government Books. ... in short in some Parts they adhere to the ancient Division of Lands, and in others to the modern. ... Lastly, the difficulty...of securing Intelligence of any kind; as has often happened in places where the Natives either through fear desert their habitations, or through obstinacy refuse their assistance.

The maps give occasional information of interest such as,

The space within these Hills [Rajmahal] has never been explored by any European, & is seldom visited by the inhabitants of the circumjacent plains, and of the Garo Hills.

Mountainous country independent of Bengal; Mountains from 900 to 1,000 yards perpendicular height [27].

The Surveyors made no effort to penetrate into heavy jungle or difficult hills; across the jungle area to the east of Cooch Behar is a note "Tract of Country unexplored...subject to a Bootan Rajah"; along the foot of the mountains to the north of Bihar the country is marked woods, and little detail is shown; on the north boundary of Chittagong District is a note "The course of the Fenny within the Hills is not known."

In submitting these maps [224] Rennell reports that the Surveys of Midnapur, Jalsaore, Bissamghur, Purwa & Bogipore are not quite finished, but will be completed during the present fair season, and Government then direct—in General Orders—"that all surveys except those particularly specified should cease on the 30th of June 1774."

These surveys have not been carried on without incidents and excitements, although, considering that the Company's officers were only just starting to take over administration in some areas, and that in others the people had not yet accepted the English rule, it is surprising to find how smoothly the work proceeded [296]. The regular surveyors could not work without large escorts, which they obtained from the battalions maintained at the disposal of the civil officers [300].

In 1773 Warren Hastings established a close alliance with the Wazir of Oudh whose western frontiers were threatened by the Marathas, who had conquered Delhi the year before; the Wazir agreed to pay a subsidy for the protection of his territories by the Company's troops, and was allowed to take over the provinces of Allahabad and Rohilkhand. Several officers were sent up on survey, amongst whom were Marsack, Martin, and Ritchie; Polier, who had been lent to the Wazir as an Engineer, was placed in charge, and Rennell reports that,

On the 5th April 1773 Major Polier was put in orders to superintend the Surveys taken in that Province. In consequence of that order I have neither issued orders to, nor received Returns from, any Surveyor in that Province. ... I furnished him with sketches of the country to enable him to point out what remained to be done, and also gave him my opinion at large on the routes to be chosen, and the method of surveying them; I even pointed out each particular route, and I perceive that in general he has followed my advice.

At the end of June 1774, this survey was closed down with all others.

Later in the year, Capt. Browne, "commanding the Light Infantry" and in political charge of Jungletery, detailed one of his officers, Andrew Pringle, to carry out surveys of the area.

The present situation of the Corps at this place presenting a favourable opportunity for performing a part of the Surveys ordered by the Hon. the Governor, you will please to proceed on the following ones mentioned in the Surveyor General's Instructions:

The routes to be surveyed covered the country lying between the Rajmahal Hills, Dinakia, and Madhopur; the country was in a disturbed state, and Pringle...
was unable to complete the whole area before he had to close work. Whilst on
survey at Deoghar, his zeal led him to interfere with the native administration, and
he was severely reprimanded by the Council [295].

In January 1776 Rennell was able to submit the remainder of his maps [225],
and Government forwarded to the Directors,
A compleat sett of Maps of the Company's Provinces and of the Dominions of the Nabob
..., formed and drawn by Major Rennell, your Surveyor General, which will of themselves,
without any commendation on our part, sufficiently manifest his Merit and Abilities in that
line; however we cannot avoid this Occasion (in which we acquaint you that the surveys of
the Country have been entirely completed) to repeat how highly deserving we think Major
Rennell of your Favour & Bounty 1.

Rennell was not however yet satisfied that everything possible had been com-
pleted, and he addressed Government on September 12th,
After the most careful and deliberate examination of the General Maps formed from the
Surveys and other materials in my office, ... I find that some more Surveys are required to com-
plete the General Geography of these Provinces, as well as those of Oude, Allahabad, Agra,
and Delhi.

How far a continuation of the Surveys, when attended with considerable expense in the
execution, may be an object of administration, I am not capable of Judging; but as a Sur-
veyor, I think it my duty to point out the defects of the Maps 3.

He submitted an estimate of the work required and the expense—4 surveyors,
average 3½ months each, Rs 14,000.

1st. In Ramgarh and Palamow, no surveyor has ever yet been employed. The idea that
we have of the interior parts of these Districts, is from some sketches and remarks made
by Capt. Camac, Lient Fennell. ... [225]. The principal parts of Chauta-Nagpour, Toree, and
Koonah, were regularly surveyed by Lt. Fennell, who died whilst on the Survey. He had
instructions to survey Palamow and Ramgar also. ... This survey will take up 5 or 6 months.

2nd. In Jungleerry and Rájímahal there is three months employment for a Surveyor.
Ensign Pringle...chiefly attended the motions of the battalion of Light Infantry; and till
very lately was not able to undertake any survey at a distance from the main body, for want
of a sufficient Escort. As the tranquillity of these Districts appears to be restored, the
 ensuing fair season seems a very proper opportunity for completing the survey.

3rd. In Cooch-Beyhar and Buttils Hazary there is employment for a surveyor during
2 months. When the Northern Frontier was surveyed by Mr. Rennell, neither of the above
Provinces belonged to Bengal. They were reduced in 1773; and a Surveyor 4 was sent
thither; but he fell ill before he had half completed his task.

4th. In Misnapour, Injellee, &c there remained about 2 months work to be done, when
LIEUT. Call fell ill there in 1777 [295-5].

Surveys are wanted in Oude, Allahabad, Agra, and Delhi.

There remains great room for Improvement in the Map of these southerns. The present
Map can properly be considered only as the Skeleton of one, since many of the Boundaries of
Countries, publick roads, & Courses of Rivers, are wanting. But as the general distances,
and relative positions of the Capital Towns are ascertained, it will be no difficult task to fill
up the intermediate spaces.

I would propose that one party should be confined to the Districts of Cheet Sing (that
is, Benares, Gaepour, Jawnpour and Chunar 5), and its neighbourhood; and that the other
should make the Tour of Agra, Delhi, and the western Parts of Oude & Allahabad. These
Surveys conducted on an economical Plan, would hardly cost more than 15,000 Rupees. ...

It is intended that only a few of the roads shall be actually measured; and those only for
the purpose of joining on some former surveys to the late ones. ... All the remaining Roads
are to be traced by cursory Bearings and estimated Distances; and are afterwards to be
corrected, in some cases by observations of Latitude, and in others by known points in the
Map. This will prove an expeditious method; and as the general Distances are already found
will answer every purpose required.

On this the Board agreed

1 B to CD, 20-3-70 (14)  2 HPC, 24-10-75 (14)  3 Ramgarh, 78 E/10; captured by Goddard 1772; administration then entrusted to Camac; Palaman, 78 A/1.  4Tori, 78 A/10; Kunda, 78 D/12.  5Dist. of Jalnaigiri.  6Martin, [225].  7Hillis along right bank of Hooghly, 75 0/13 to 75 0/16.  8Chot Sing, Rajah of Benares; rebelled against Company's control, 1761.  9Jaumpur, 68 J/9; Chunar, 68 K/16.
to permit him to execute these Surveys in the manner and to the extent proposed by him, confiding in his judgment that the expense will not exceed the estimate. . . . the Board leave the choice and appointment of surveyors to him.

The surveyors employed appear to have been: in Râmpeghr, Charles Ranken, of whom Rennell reports in January 1777,
in consequence of Lieutenant Ranken's having represented the impracticability of carrying on the survey of Râmpeghr, Nagpore, and Palaman during the present troubles, I directed him to discharge his People, and wait a more favourable opportunity.

— in Allahâbâd and Oudh, John Moutlon, who was still working there two years later;—towards Delhi and Agra, Robert Duwes; and—in Cooch Behâr, Andrew Pringle, to whom Rennell sent the following instructions on December 25th 1776;

You are hereby directed to survey the unexplored parts of Coos Beyhar and Battis Hazar, you will therefore proceed by way of Dinagepore towards that station, and commence your survey at Consamahunge on the River Teestah, taking a cursory survey of the Road from thence to the Cantonments at Sahebgunge in Coos Beyhär.

It is not intended that you should enter the thick part of the forest, but only to ascertain the extent of the cleared Lands; . . . you will please to note the respective situations of Jelpigory and Paharpour: . . . you are to inform yourself of every particular relating to the countries that lie on the north and west of your station, and particularly of the passes through the great mountains.

Further routes which will serve to join on Capt. Martin’s surveys in Coos Beyhar to mine in Rungpore; . . . you must ascertain the Boundary of Coos Beyhar towards Bootan. . . . The distances in the routes marked Mass, are to be measured, the rest to be estimated only.

Pringle completed this work by the following April and returned to his unit.

Rennell had now accomplished his great task to his own satisfaction, and had received permission to return to England on a pension. He was crippled by wounds and constant ill health, and had endured the enervating climate of Eastern Bengal without respite for thirteen years.

On March 31st 1777 he writes his last official note to the Governor General in Council;

As you have not been pleased to appoint a successor to me in the Office of Surveyor General, and a part of the surveys resolved to be carried into execution... being still unfinished, I have thought it my duty to lay before you the following... account of the construction and state of the Maps of Bengal, Oude, etc. with Instructions for the use of the Surveyors whom you may hereafter be pleased to appoint, to supply the deficiencies. . . . All instruments remaining on charge have been sent in to the Chief Engineer.

A few days later he laid down his office and departed for home.

In 1850, seventy-three years after Rennell had left India, Waugh reported that only half the area covered by Rennell’s surveys had been superseded by later surveys.

1 B.P.C. 28-10-76 (14). 2 B.P.C. 30-1-77 (5). 3 Dinâpur, 78 C/0. 4 Khânsim, 78 C/0. 5 The old course [20 n. 4]. 6 B.P.C. 1798. 7 Jalpaigrâh, 78 B/10. 8 B.P.C. 28-4-77 (19). 9 Letter from Rennell 31-3-77; B.P.C. 28-4-77.
CHAPTER III

BENGAL SURVEYS 1777 to 1794


It was not until six months after Rennell had left India that Thomas Call was appointed to succeed him, "for the purpose of receiving and compiling the Maps and Reports of the Surveyors now on duty".

Rennell had completed the survey of practically the whole of the territories now controlled from Fort William, but very little was known of the countries beyond. However, the general unsettled state of India in these days and the vigorous policy pursued by Warren Hastings gave many opportunities for the extension of geographical knowledge, and though Call had few regular surveys to control and organise there was a constant demand for surveyors to accompany political missions and military expeditions.

Government was not always ready to take such opportunities, for in February 1777, when the Commander-in-Chief asked that Mark Wood, Field Engineer, might survey the Ganges "from Minneoghat to Hardwar", and return along the foot of the hills to the north of Rohilkhand, the Council replied.

Having already given directions for executing all the surveys which were recommended to us by the Surveyor General as requisite for completing the General Geography of this country, we think it unnecessary to undertake the Survey of the River, ... especially as that tract lies at such a distance from the Company's possessions.

In December 1777 Ralph Broome was sent up to survey the hills of "Jungle Tarai" at the request of Captain Browne, Collector as well as "Commanding the Light Infantry". Four years later a surveyor was sent up at the request of Augustus Cleveland, Collector of "Bogleypoon", to assist William Baillie on his survey between Colong and Rajmahal.

Between 1778 and 1783 Andrew Pringle was employed on the survey of the Subahmara River, and parts of Ehoista and Shahabad.

In 1779 John Moultin writes to the Surveyor General from Lucknow describing his surveys in Rohilkhand and Oudh:

I have been very particular in shewing the country through which I surveyed in the state it was, that is, whether close or open, jungly or cultivated, or otherwise; also the more minute remarks, expressing all tanks, whether pucks or dug, nor have I omitted a single pucker well.

The boundaries of the different Pargannahs are also marked with an accuracy that may be depended upon, as I had very intelligent people in my service for the business. ... He discusses the crops & produce of the country, the names of towns & rivers, and compares them with "the general map of the country".

The very constant wet weather has rendered the air so damp as has prevented my finishing my plan with the expedition I could wish; add to that the bad quality of the paper on which I lay them down (though the best I could procure) has been another unfavourable circumstance to my proceedings; though I have the satisfaction of knowing that what I do send will bear the nicest inspection hereafter; and which I am also inclined to flatter myself will meet with your approbation. ... The survey is laid down 2 miles to an inch.

1Mindi Ghat, 54 N/13; Hardwir, 53 K.1. 2BPC. 28-4-77. 3Jungleterry [34 n. 9]. 4BRC. 27-1-78. 5Rishalpur, 72 K.12. 672 O/4, BPC. 14-6-82. 773 EJO. 8BPC. 13-11-83. 9MKIO. M. 229: 13-8-79. 37
In the same year William Hyde, acting Field Engineer with the force at Cawnpore, was deputed to survey “all the Ghauts and places” along the Jumna, from Músângâr to Kâlpî and thence to Êtâwâh;

The great importance of having a thorough knowledge of all the Gouts and Fords upon this river, by which these Provinces have generally been entered whenever they have been Invaded by the Mahrattas is too obvious; ...no regular Survey has ever yet been taken of them.

Government approved that he should extend his survey to Allahâbâd “under the particular instructions of the Surveyor General” 5. Hyde made other surveys along the same stretch of the Jumna, and through the neighbouring country, during the cold weather of 1786–7 4.

Rennell records that George Perry of the Engineers was sent by “Mr. Hastings” to explore the SE. parts of Benar... as well as the adjacent parts Bordering on the Circars, which have remained an absolute Blank in the most modern of our maps 6. It is not likely that Perry was able to do much to fill this blank, for he was recalled in 1785, and Rennell writes later,

There yet remains in the map, between the known parts of Berar, Golkonda, Orissa and the Circars, a void space of near 500 miles in length and 250 in Breadth; nor is it likely ever to be filled up, unless a very great change takes place in the state of European politics in India 7.

Charles Ranke had resumed his survey of Râmgarh, [36], covering the southern half of the present Hazaribâgh District 8, till in 1781 he was diverted to the lay-out and construction of a military road from Calcutta, across the Râmgarh plateau, to Sherghatî 9 and Chunar 10.

As part of his regular duty as an engineer, Thomas Brown was employed for about two years from 1784 on a large scale survey of Beneares City and its environs 11, and between 1782 and 1785 Mark Wood and other Engineer officers were employed under the Chief Engineer on a similar survey of Calcutta [52].

During his time as Surveyor General, Call specially devoted himself to the preparation of an Atlas of India, and employed Indian saunhis and harcaras on filling in the many gaps [286], but in the economy campaign which followed the close of the Mysore War, Government ordered these and all other surveys to be closed down, and “that none be employed on this duty in future but by the special order of the Board” 12 [5, 277].

The Directors were in due course informed that,

The Surveyor General’s office has been confirmed under some restrictive rules, which are calculated to keep Government informed of the Progress of the Works carrying on in it, and to call their Attention to those occasional Services which might otherwise be unnecessarily prolonged, and entail an expense beyond the Period for which its existence was required 13.

Goddard’s March to Bombay, 1778–9

Two historic events gave special opportunities for adding to geographical knowledge; Goddard’s 14 march to Bombay, and Pears’s marches along the East Coast.

The first occurred in 1778, when a Bengal detachment was sent to assist the Bombay Government against the Marathas. The force set out from Kâlpî on June 3rd 1778, and advanced slowly through Bundelkhand until October 8th, when Goddard assumed command on the death of Colonel Leslie. Goddard was a vigorous commander and achieved undying renown during the campaigns of the next four years. He brought his force to Hoshangábâd, on the Narbada, by December 1st,

and was held up there for six weeks waiting for orders and cash. Setting out again on January 16th, they reached Burhanpur by the end of the month, and Surat by February 25th 1779 [4, 12].

Arthur Caldwell, of the Engineers, kept a survey of the route as far as Burhanpur, 580 miles, which he protracted in 25 sheets on the one-inch scale, a survey which was held up as a pattern to surveyors thirty years later as "an excellent example of minuteness and perspicuity", and was of particular value because "it touches on the route of Mr. Smith [30-1]" at certain points.

When discussing the policy of sending this detachment Warren Hastings had noted that it would pass through the district of Bopal, which is under the government of a Pathan chief. ... I am not master of the exact geography of this country, that is neither mentioned in our maps, nor known at this distance but to persons who have occasioned passage through it, whilst Philip Francis who had strongly opposed the expedition, commented:

Colonel Goddard's Army is now near Eleven Degrees West of Calcutta. We have no other way of tracing his progress, or ascertaining his distance from us, but by observing, as accurately as we can, the Latitude and Longitude of his Position on a General Map of India.

The survey of the last stage of Goddard's march from Burhanpur to Surat was carried out by Duncan Stewart [121-2].

Whilst the detachment started from Kâlpî, a political mission was sent from Cuttack to Nagpur under Mr. Elliot to negotiate a treaty with the Râja of Berar, that should include a safe passage for Goddard's force.

The mission left Cuttack on August 11th, and in addition to Elliot, private secretary to Warren Hastings, comprised Mr. Robert Farquhar, Captain William Campbell [q.v.], and Lieutenant James Anderson.

A journal of the whole route from Cuttack to Hoshangabad is still preserved at Calcutta and was apparently kept by Campbell; the records are entered with precision, and give frequent compass bearings, direction of flow of streams, bearings to hills, and careful notes as to the nature and the features of the country; the time of passing each recorded detail is entered, and the distances calculated at rates varying from 3 to 4½ miles an hour. In the earlier marches constant comparison is made with the bearings given in Motte's journals of 1766 [30].

The protraction of this survey, made some years later, is preserved in another book, apparently in the handwriting of Robert Colebrooke, who quotes word-for-word extracts from the original journal, and adds occasional remarks such as:

These two stages have been laid down at 3 miles per hour, but as the Author of the journal appears to have travelled in his Palankeen, it is possible that the distance (where the road was good) may have been a little underrated.

The mission was overwhelmed with disaster in the heart of the jungle, losing both Elliot and Farquhar from "jungle fever," whilst Campbell was sick for many days of the same complaint. The party reached Nagpur on November 15th, but with Elliot's death on the next day the political purpose of the mission had collapsed.

The journal was kept up with but few intervals, which correspond with the periods of Campbell's sickness, and closes on December 21st at Hoshangabad, where Goddard's force was halted.

Two journals of the route from Nagpur to Cuttack are preserved, both made in 1782. The first, January 23rd to February 27th, kept by a Mr. Thomas of Benares, is quoted by Rennell; the second, March 25th to April 24th, was kept by Mr. White of Chapman's embassy. White found Elliot's tomb "on the bank of the Laut Nudde," in pretty good

Footnotes:
repair & obtained the Rajah's promise to keep it so. Thomas refers to the tragic fate of the mission which he says consisted of five gentlemen, the only Englishmen who ever went this road before me, and one only reached General Goddard's army alive. ... The journal of this Gentleman, but whose name I have not learned, lately came into my possession, and I esteem it a truly valuable Geographical document.

During Goddard's campaigns on the west coast from 1779 to 1782, a force under Jacob Camac kept the Marathas engaged from the east, and William Cameron, surveyor to this force, "surveyed the roads and country between Elayyah and Sirong", and mapped "the Gohad and Narwah provinces between the Chumbul and Sinde rivers".

At the conclusion of peace with the Marathas the Bengal detachment marched back from Surat to Bengal, and reached Cawnpore in April 1784, reduced to about half its original strength. The reason for these difficult marches in preference to sending to troops round by sea, was the inveterate objection of the sepoys to sea travel; the great opportunity for the acquisition of geographical knowledge was one of the compensations.

PEARSE'S MARCHES ALONG THE EAST COAST, 1781–5

In 1780 Haider Ali of Mysore invaded Carnatic in great force; Hector Munro assembled his few troops to protect Madras, and summoned Colonel Baillie's detachment from Nellore; within nine miles of Munro, Baillie was intercepted by the Mysore army and hardly a man of his force escaped death or capture.

Warren Hastings hearing of this disaster, at once organized a relief expedition from Bengal. Sir Eyre Coote was sent by sea with the few European troops that could be spared, but the sepoys had to be marched. Six battalions and 16 pieces of artillery were assembled under Colonel Pearse, and marched from Midnapore on January 21st 1781.

The force was troubled from the beginning by frequent desertions, and the state of discipline amongst the English officers was very low.

When the detachment first started ... Pearse met with much opposition from the Battalion commanders, because he insisted on counting the files himself on parade, thus appearing to impugn the honour of the officers who had submitted parade states.

There was great difficulty in obtaining food supplies, and even cash; there were political difficulties with local chiefs and with the Maratha rulers. Passing through Orissa, at that time under the Maratha Raja of Nagpur, Pearse writes:

I am passing through a country as little known as if it were in the midst of China. We always understood that the whole country was a wilderness from Jellapore to Balsore. My march lay to the end of that wood through plains so extensive that I saw the sun rise from a fair horizon, and I found the country in the highest state of cultivation.

Without any previous knowledge of the road, the force had great difficulties as regards camping:

We were to march at four the next morning, and I was fatigued as well as the troops, by having been on the road from five in the morning till past eleven, and the rear guard passed my tent at four. Yet the march ... was only six miles. ... Today we marched at four, and I intended to reach Surong, being told we had only six Coss to go, which as I understood it, was but twelve miles. At 8 o'clock the advanced guard reached the place of our present encampment; here expecting to learn that Surong was just at hand, I learnt that it was four Coss distant, and that we had travelled somewhat less than two Coss by the actual measurement we travelled eight miles and a half, therefore according to the country mode of estimating, we had four more such Coss to travel (as we had marched two), that is 16 miles; it would have killed at the cattle to have attempted it.

1The tomb, erected by Warren Hastings, was still kept in repair in 1879. Grant (494).
2Only 4 members; see account of mission by Wills (47–80).
3Edwah, 54 N 1; Sironj, 54 H 12.
4Gohad, 54 J; Narwah, 54 G & K; Sind R, 54 G, to N.
5Memoir, 1780 (266, 267); Maps, BM; Addl. MSS, 18907 (d. f.).
7At Perambikam, 57 O 16; 10–9–56; Royer's (89–95).
8Jaleswar, 72 O 11. 9Soro, 73 O 11.
They reached "Juggernaut" (Puri) on March 7th. On the march through Ganjam, the detachment was attacked by cholera and lost a large number of men and officers, and on April 5th Pearse wrote:

That I may carry 3,500 men to Coota is the utmost of my wish, and I think he will have no reason to wonder there are no more, when he considers the great distance, without a single day's fighting to divert their minds from a country that seems made up of the shreds and fragments of a world in Dame Nature's shop, producing nothing but sand and craggy rocks, brackish water, and pestiferous winds. If you ever want to send an army to Madras again by land, it must be done through Nagpore and the Nizam's country [59] . . .

The surgeon who came to us from Ganjam was taken ill the morning before last and was dead before 9 p.m. of this disorder [cholera]; if we lose another we shall be undone.

There were two European surgeons with the force and the hospitals were full the whole time; tents were issued for the first time at Vizianagram about April 11th. They reached Ellore on May 20th, and halted there ten days, by which time they numbered 3,000 fighting men; they reached Nellore on July 25th, and St. Thomas's Mount on August 3rd.

A survey was kept of the route from Midnapore to Ganjam by Patrick Douglas, who notes that:

Distance of each day's march is laid down in miles and furlongs, measured by perambulator. At the end of every day's march, a certain allowance is made to rectify it, according to the ground marched over. . . . [Results] may not be exactly true, but the army was marching in the night, and this an enemy's country.

Douglas could not continue his survey the whole way because of constant trouble with his perambulators [190].

On arrival at Madras the force was broken up and distributed amongst the various brigades, and the staff appointments, including that of Surveyor, were abolished; but the battalions bore a distinguished part in all the fighting that followed in the next two years.

Hostilities were concluded towards the end of 1783, when the Detachment was re-assembled and encamped near Madras until the end of April 1784 whilst the details of peace were settled. On November 15th Pearse appointed Robert Colebrooke to be Surveyor which post he held throughout the return march to Bengal.

The detachment left Madras on April 22nd, and reached Ellore June 1st. Pearse had suggested marching through the hills via Sambalpur and Raipur, in preference to following the low lands during the rains. Government did not approve, but directed that he should canton his men at some place along the road. They reached Vizagapatam on June 29th, and moved into cantonments near Chicoole in the middle of July, remaining there till October 31st. They then resumed the march, arriving at Gaurhati on the Hooghly, January 15th 1785.

The services of the detachment were recognised by a special General Order published on January 22nd, announcing rewards in the form of swords of honour, standards, medals, and gratuities, and two day's later Warren Hastings himself honoured the camp with an inspection, one of the last public ceremonies he attended before leaving India.

Throughout the return march Colebrooke had kept up a very careful perambulator traverse. Pearse, an experienced astronomer himself, trained him in the art of taking observations for latitudes and longitudes, and they both observed at most of the principal places they passed through [155, 185].

In submitting the survey to Government Pearse writes:

I held it to be as much a part of my duty to conduct a regular plan of my route, (I have knowledge of the roads, as to make a true return of the number of men. . . . I hope the accuracy of the survey will entitle it to your approbation. . . . From what I have thus shewn, I will venture to say, that this survey excels all I ever heard of in accuracy, if not extent.

1Ben. P.P. III (62) to Warren Hastings. 16 N/12. 26 H. 2Fdbk. BM Addl. MSS. 39125 (23). 3R.S. & F. 8-6-84. 465 N/15. 5Ben. P.P. VI (294). 6Journal & Fdbk. MRIO. M. 146; Map in several sheets MRIO. 140 (21, 33-35); see also Dalrymple's Plan of the Chitta Lake, with Colebrooke's route "Ganjam to Juggernaut", Oriental Repertory, II.
Should the Board be pleased to order it to be published by their printer, it might serve to shew to others how surveys ought to be made and how they actually can be made, with little trouble, by the surveyor of any detachment that may march into remote parts. The surveyor's journal is large, and that would shew any future detachment every difficulty it would have to encounter, in a march of above 1124 miles; I might have saved much time and fatigue, if I had had such information when I went towards Madras; what I did get was really very deficient.

And again, the survey was... finished with astronomical observations, which prove its value to be far superior to anything of the kind I have heard of. If Mr. Smith's, made on the same foundation, is superior, it is the only one [34].

This line was hailed by Rennell and other geographers as a most important contribution to the correct geography of the east coast, and it remained the undisputed authority for more than a generation.

POLITICAL MISSIONS, 1781–90

To establish friendly relations with the Maratha Rajah of Berar during the war with Haidar Ali, Warren Hastings sent a mission under Charles Chapman to Nagpur in November 1781. James Ewart, whose skill with the sextant came from several years service with the Bombay Marine, was attached to the mission as surveyor, and ran a traverse from Chattra, through Lohardaga, Ratanpur, and Khairagarh to Nagpur, besides surveying various routes whilst stationed there, the Surveyor General reporting that, he not only sent me his Route laid down from observation and measurement, but during his stay at Burra Nagpur he was very attentive in making astronomical observations and procuring me several routes from Cossids.

In 1784 he closed his traverse by returning to Benares by a route through Mandla and Rennell observes that, except in the intervals between his measured lines, Ewart's routes entirely superseded those of "Golam Mohamed".

Another opportunity for surveys to Nagpur occurred when George Forster was sent there as Resident in 1788. James Rind making a survey of his route from Kalpi; Rind who also had served in Bombay marine, made other surveys between 1787 and 1790, the Surveyor General reporting on one part of the Daub [55], tracing the boundaries of the Vizir's Dominions from the Ganges to the Jumna, the other Mr. Forster's Routes to and from Nagpore; accompanying these surveys there are Journals, and as Mr. Rind has added several routes to places in the neighbourhood of Nagpore, the whole is a valuable addition to the Geography of that part of the Country.

The survey of Forster's route from Cuttack to Nagpur in 1790 was made by James Davidson, commanding his escort; in fact, up to this time, much of the knowledge of the interior of the Peninsula had been gained by officers attached to various political missions. Political officers were often able also to obtain native maps and surveys; when Rind was Assistant to the Resident at Delhi from 1785 to 1787 he was able to get material for a Map of the Country of the Seiks [233], and a Plan of Scindia's Country, and shortly after, Kirkpatrick sent to Rennell a number of measured routes which he had found at the Emperor's court at Delhi [10 n. 5].

During Mark Wood’s short term as Surveyor General the most important occurrence was the appointment in 1787 of Robert Burrow to make astronomical observations for latitude and longitude at various places from Chittagong on the east to Hardwar on the west \([5, 157-62]\). Hitherto, surveys had been tied together by such observations as had been taken casually and independently by different surveyors or amateurs, only a few of whom had any real training or experience. In constructing his map of India Call had become convinced of the incorrectness of many of these observations, and it was at his suggestion that Burrow was now employed. Burrow was a skilled observer, and his observations gave a number of master control stations, for which his values were accepted with few changes for next 30 or 40 years \([163]\).

Burrow also made a survey of Cheduba Island \([160]\), and, measured the length of a degree, both in latitude and longitude, near Krishnagar \([165-6]\). He died in 1792 whilst out on survey.

It fell to Wood to supervise the completion of fair copies and reductions of Call’s Atlas of India and he felt convinced that a systematic collection of military route surveys would contribute to fill the many blanks. At his suggestion the following General Order was published:

It is to be a standing regulation that all Officers Commanding Detachments of the Army, or single Corps, on a march, do keep an account of their daily movements, remarking their computed distances, the towns, villages, and rivers in their routes, the nature of the roads and places of encampment, or any other observations which they may deem material, copies of which are to be transmitted to the Quartermaster General, after the troops have arrived at their destination \([190]\).

This was not particularly new in principle, but was the first published order establishing the practice by regulation. It was not immediately productive, and had to be re-published from time to time; the standard of work sent in was seldom very high, but in course of time several valuable surveyors gained their first experience and training through the routine practice thus introduced.

Kyd, who succeeded Wood as Surveyor General in 1788, had but little opportunity to interest himself in local surveys, as he was continually employed on service overseas. In 1789–90 he made a survey and reconnaissance of the harbours of the Andaman & Nicobar Islands \([48-50]\), and at the end of 1790 he accompanied Lord Cornwallis when he took personal command of the armies operating against Tipu in Mysore; except for Wilford in Benares, all his assistants accompanied him to Mysore \([112-3]\).

A detachment of Bengal sepoys marched down the east coast just as Peare’s detachment had ten years before, but under very much easier conditions. On their way back their route was surveyed by the brigade major, Edmund Wells.

At the close of the war two engineer officers, Anburey and Blunt, were deputed to return by a new route through the heart of India, and surveyed a line northwards, through Hyderabād, Berar, and the Central Provinces, to Kālpī on the Jumna, where they arrived in January 1788 \([116]\). Anburey kept interesting notes on the journey in his field book, which he embellished with charming water-colour sketches.

Early in 1793 Kyd was sent to the Andamans as Superintendent of the settlement, and left Colebrooke in charge of the Surveyor General’s department.

**Wilford in Benares, 1788–94**

In 1788 Francis Wilford, who had since 1783 been working on Call’s atlas, was sent up-country to survey the province of Benares, under the orders of the

---

\(^1\) Burrow’s Journal; IO, Maps Ms. 5. \(^2\)GO by GG in C. 28-9-98. \(^3\)GG. 1796-98. \(^4\)Journal MRIO. M.196 & 244. \(^5\)Part of Pidd. GBQ. Lib. Aa.41; Maps. MRIO. 04 (4-17).
Resident, who was engaged in the settlement of the revenues and general re-organization. He completed a survey of the districts north of the Ganges, but his survey of the boundary between Benares and Oudh had to be abandoned in 1794, after delays which will be understood by all survey officers who have been employed on similar duties; he wrote to the Resident in 1794.

Whilst you were on the Coast the disputes on the Boundary ran so high and the behaviour of the Vakeel of His Excellency, who used to get drunk every day, grew so intolerable that I was obliged to represent the whole to the Acting Resident. The Commander in Chief being acquainted with these particulars ordered me back to Benares, there to remain till you return.

and the Resident reported that,

Since he [Wilford] has been at this station he has been uniformly employed...either in the general Survey, or the arduous Task of the adjustment of the Boundary between the Honble. Company's and the Nawaub Vizier's Dominions, which two services constituted the object of his being sent into this part of the country. Whilst he has made very considerable progress in the former, the obstacles that so long interrupted the Progress of the latter, or the Frontier Demarkation, have at length been so far obviated that the progress which Lieut. Wilford and His Excellency's Agent lately made on the Cawnpore side have been very rapid.

Later in the year, however, Wilford reported,

November 27th I went to G—... there to resume the adjustment of the Boundary; Himut Ali was there with about 300 armed men, but he went away the same day... without taking the least notice of me.

November 29th, he came, was very civil, and as usual made many protestations of his sincerity toward the speedy adjustment of the Boundary. He hinted several times that he expected a monthly allowance from the Company. ... December 3rd & 4th I gave out that seeing it was impossible to go on with the Boundary, from the obstructions I met with,... I was resolved to give it up & go away.

December 5th, Himut Ali's Wakil came and said his master was ready to comply, having accordingly summoned the Zimindars of—in the Company's Territories, and of—in the Country of the Nabob Vizier, they appeared and agreed to have all disputes,... settled by arbitration, which took place immediately and the boundary line between the aforesaid villages was settled and traced that very day.

Work proceeded satisfactorily for several days; with the following incident to lighten proceedings,

As the subject of contention was of some consequence, and had been for a long time the occasion of many quarrels and feuds, the Arbitrators, who doubted very much the sincerity of Himut Ali, were in the greatest anxiety, and appeared very unwilling to incur his displeasure by a decision not agreeable to his wishes; I really thought that a stop would have been put to our progress, when a Snake sprang from the ground between the Arbitrators to their astonishment and terror, ran away towards the Boundary. The Arbitrators, and the parties themselves, concluding this was a signal interposition of Providence, considered themselves now obliged to abide by the decision of the Snake, and agreed that the Line the snake had described in its flight would be for ever their mutual Boundary. However as the snake had gone over but 3/4 of the Disputed Ground before he disappeared, 1/4 remains to be settled.

On the 3rd and 4th inst., meeting with so many obstructions from Himut Ali, and finding that my colleague the Nabob's Vakeel was a mere Cypher, being without power, without a soul to support him, return home from Lucknow, I was really going to give up... when Himut Ali on reflection thought proper to Comply;... the Settlement goes on, and will continue as long as Himut Ali thinks proper for he is of a fickle disposition. But as soon as we have settled the Boundary round his District, it will be absolutely impossible to go on... until the Court at Lucknow are forced to adopt more efficacious measures.

At length the Resident was forced to recommend that the work be abandoned and the disputes left unsettled;

The Boundary disputes between this frontier district and the contiguous dominions of the Nawaub Vizier... induced the Marquis Cornwallis... to send Lieut. Wilford... to make a
survey of, and assist in the adjustment of, a permanent line of Boundary; ... there are so many obstacles continually occurring to the progress of such a demarcation, that ... we have found by experience that it is better to suffer the occasional evils arising from disputed limits, than to incur the risk of the still greater, that arise out of the endeavour finally to decide on them.\(^1\)

**Coasts of the Bay of Bengal**

The detailed survey of the coasts and islands had now become a matter of extreme importance to the large fleet of sailing vessels maintained by the East India Company \(^1\). Early in 1779 Dalrymple seized the occasion of the loss of one of the Company's ships, the *Coldcrooke*, to submit a memorial to the Directors, asking for his appointment for the compilation of nautical charts for the East Indies \(^2\).

Every year shows by the narrow escape of some ship or other, and sometimes by the loss of ships where no danger was suspected, the importance, not to call it necessity, of such a set of Charts; the Journals at the India-House constitute a noble repository of nautical knowledge, but examining all the Journals, from the earliest time to the present ... is a work of infinite labour, and requires not only an unwearied patience, but a certain turn of mind and a degree of experimental knowledge which few men possess \(^3\).

The Directors, accordingly, appointed him Hydrographer from April 1779, and wrote out to India.

Having resolved to use all means in our power to improve the Charts for the security of the Navigation to, from, and in, the East Indies, and being desirous that every person under the Company's protection, conversant in Naval affairs, should co-operate with us in this very useful undertaking; we therefore direct, that you forthwith notify our intentions by publick advertisement. ...

We shall order our super-cargoes in China to send you annually from thence, a quantity of transparent paper ... to deliver to such persons as may be inclin'd to furnish copies of Charts and plans already in their possession ... \(^4\)

whereupon the Governor General in Council issued the following order:

Public notice is hereby given that the Surveyor General has been directed to receive from the Commanders and Masters of all ships and vessels sailing under British Colours such information as they have acquired during their residence in India, which can in any respect tend towards the correction and improvement of the Charts commonly used \(^5\).

Dalrymple's enthusiasm brought him much material of this nature, and he was enabled to publish many valuable charts and journals, though the old surveyor Ritchie was most scornful of this method of collecting geographical information;

My Journal of a cursory Survey of part of the Coast and Islands of the Bay of Bengal ... was never meant for publication; it is the hasty remarks only, of a running survey ... \(^6\)

Of late it has been the fashion to censure sailor's Journals in the periodical papers, with the utmost rage of critical virulence, and if we might believe these literary Macaronies, it is not the most accurate observer, but the best story-teller who is entitled to wear the garland of public applause; ... It has been observed of late that spontaneous productions of this nature are grown very thin; and it is likely that but few seamen will take much trouble to get themselves laught at for describing broken lands and indented shores in the pointed phrases of their profession, when they know that this must be the case \(^7\).

One of Ritchie's later surveys was a detailed one of Palmyras Point, made "to fix a proper spot for a light-house" \(^8\), and "he is pretty certain that no large river falls in between Pt. Palmyras and the False point" \(^9\), a report which crushed all further thought of the long cherished "Ganga River" \(^10\).

In October 1783 the Bengal Government wrote home:

A proposal was made to us by Capt. Thomas Forrest \(^10\) to undertake a survey of the Andaman Islands, soon after his return from his former expedition. As we had no present

---

employment for him at this place, we agreed to accept of his services in that line and engage a small vessel which he had purchased for the purpose. He left the river in May last[1].

Dahrymple writes.

The intention of this voyage was a Survey of the Andaman Islands, but Captain Forrest left Bengal on the 14th of June, a very improper time for such a destination. ... Capt. Forrest, instead of the Andaman Islands, made the Preparities; went to leeward, i.e. to the northward of Narcondam; and on 8th July saw the island Tores on the coast of Tenasserim....

As Captain Forrest carried with him from England a Chronometer [202], it is much to be regretted he had it not with him on this voyage, as it would have precisely established the longitudes of that part of the Bay of Bengal, which is wanting, viz. from Negrais[3] to Queda[3].

When Wood became Surveyor General he obtained Government sanction to issue fresh regulations for the collection of information about the coasts;

In consequence of the publication from Government for the improvement of the Navigation and Geographical knowledge of India, not a single plan, chart, journal, or paper of any sort has as yet been presented, nor do I believe the desired effect will ever be answered, unless every Commander of a ship sailing from this Port under British Colours is compelled under the penalty of a forfeiture to conform to orders.

I have procured several charts of the Eastern Seas, and of the Dutch Islands, which are represented as being of some importance, and procured during the war, at considerable expense[4].

Our first record of Kyd's work as a surveyor is contained in an interesting report on the Arakan coast submitted early in 1783;

An ill state of health having obliged me to go to Chittagong; on my recovery in September last, I was solicited by the Proprietor of Maccal Island[5] to make a survey of the Harbour, as he had been made to believe that it was sufficiently deep to admit ships of War to re-fit and refresh, and to afford Protection for India-men, and as I was not then called upon by any public duty, I thought I could not employ my time better, than in an examination of a matter of such national importance. ... I was, however, much mortified after a laborious survey, to find that it had been taken up on very ill grounds. ... In the course of this survey, accident brought me acquainted with some of the inhabitants of the adjoining Frontier, known to us by the name of Little Arracan, from whom I learnt that there were some very considerable openings in the Coast to the Southward; ... I thought it worth while to attempt the examination. ... I accordingly set off from Maccal in a sloop accompanied by some boats the Rajah sent to conduct and pilot me.

Kyd examined the various inlets and estuaries as far south as the great Arracan River called the Mau[6], but he found the whole country up in arms against an invasion by the people of Pegu, and was unable to proceed further south. He concludes with a great degree of certainty, that there is not any Harbour, on that side of the Bay, where a Fleet could rest, or where vessels of any considerable size could meet with shelter in tempestuous weather, so fit as the port of Chittagong. ... As I believe the other side of the Bay has never been surveyed, and as far as I can learn is very little known, I have endeavoured during the course of this Business to lay down the line of the coast, and to fix the position of places as accurately as time and circumstances would admit of, a sketch of which I hope may be of some use to the General Geography of the country[7].

Kyd was next called upon to survey the island of Penang, which had been acquired from the Raja of Kedah in 1786, through the agency of Captain Francis Light, who became the first Superintendent[8].

The Governor General acquaints the Council that his desire to have an accurate survey of Prince of Wales's Island and its Harbours has induced him to order Captain Kyd, an officer of Engineers on whose report he can depend, to proceed on that duty[9].

Kyd obtained the services of Robert Colebrooke as assistant, and Colebrooke's interesting diaries are still preserved[10]. He writes,
On the 15th of April we embarked on board the Tryal Snow, a vessel which was fitted out by order of Government for a voyage to Pulo Penang, now called the Prince of Wales’ Island.

This place was lately ceded to the Company by the King of Quida. ... It was thought necessary by the Governor and Council to send a proper person to survey and explore the Island, and to collect on the spot every information concerning its harbour, soil, and natural productions.

Capt. Kyd of the Engineers was the gentleman pitchted upon for this service, and I was permitted to go with him as an assistant.

On May the 7th they sighted the Coco Islands and the North Andaman; on the 8th they viewed Narcondam, landing there on the 11th, and on May 28th they landed at Pulo Penang.

In about six weeks, the work of surveying the harbour, East side of the Island, the opposite shore, etc. being completed, Captain Kyd determined upon returning and visiting Quida and Acheen on the way.

Reaching Kedah on July 12th, and Achin on the 20th, they returned to Calcutta on August 12th, 1787.

ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS

At the end of 1788 Archibald Blair of the Bombay Marine was commissioned to survey the Andaman Islands with the following instructions.

The Honorable Company’s snow Elizabeth having been victualled for six months, and impressed for three, is placed under your orders, and being now in readiness to sail with the Viper, ... you are directed to proceed to sail forthwith to the Southward...to a survey of the Andaman Islands.

The material object of this survey is to ascertain in what parts of the Islands there are good Harbours, and where it would be most for the Company’s advantage to possess one. ... It appears that the most advantageous situation for an Harbour must be near the South end, and to the Eastward of the Island. ... It is therefore wished that you should make the first examination on this quarter; the Board are further encouraged to give you such advice, from a perusal of reports from Mr. Ritchie...[16-7].

The primary view of this research being...the acquisition of an Harbour where fleets in time of a war can refit...on leaving the Coast of Coromandel upon the approach of the stormy Monsoon, or...retire in the event of a disastrous conflict with the enemy, and obtain a central position in the Bay, ... the following objects occur as necessary to be enquired into: ...

As minute a description as time and circumstances permit to be made of the adjacent Heights, if any, and Ground, the General surface of the Ground...cultivation...climate...timber...Limestone...mineral productions...vegetable productions...animals, birds, or fish not known in other parts...tin and gold...intercourse with the people...

Grounds of contention are to be avoided, as far as possible, with the natives, whose indisposition to every kind of intercourse (Mr. Ritchie’s instance excepted) [16] has been attended with acts of Hostility. ... Perhaps after gentle treatment of the Natives while you are at the Island, it may not be impracticable to induce two or three of them to attend you to Bengal, where a further intercourse with the English may lead to the further civilization of the people...

It is hardly necessary to recommend to you to ascertain from Astronomical observations, by such instruments as you possess, the position of the places which you visit.

Copies of Ritchie’s Journal and Survey...will be delivered to you.

Sulphur—great importance;...indispensable ingredient of gunpowder. ... There is great reason to suppose that it may be found in abundance on a small island seen by Capt. Kyd on his return from Prince of Wales’s Island and known...by the name of Barren Island; it was then in the state of Eruption, but circumstances not permitting Capt. Kyd to go on shore, he can only conjecture what the production of the Volcano may be. ...

To proceed to Siddoo Harbour and to examine it accurately on all points.4

---

1 A “snow” was a type of sailing ship; in CG of 11-3-85 appears an adv. “To be sold at Public Auction. August 19th. The good snow Tryal, about 65 tons. A remarkably good sailing vessel”. 2 Achin, at NW. point of Sumatra. 3 At NW. extremity of Sumatra. 4 BS & Pol, 22-12-88.
On return from his first season's work Blair reported, on May 29th 1789, the Elizabeth and Viper are arrived in the River, ... the Commands of Government are fulfilled relating to the Great Andaman and adjacent Islands to the best of my judgement.

I afterwards proceeded to Prince of Wales's Island to refit the Viper with a mainmast, to procure assistance for the sick, and such provisions and stock as we were in want of. ... I touched at Acheen and have made there several attempts to examine Siddoo Harbour, but the season ... being too far advanced, ... I judged it improper to persevere. ...

I shall lose no time in preparing a Chart of the whole survey, with particular plans of the harbours and full report on the subject.

Blair sailed from Calcutta again in September, and in November reported from Mask Redoubt, Port Cornwallis.

The Ranger arrived here Sept. 26th, and the Viper Oct. 27th; ... the Ranger to Carnicobar for a variety of useful plants, Coconuts, Yams, Potatoes, and stock; the four latter articles will be highly useful on the arrival of the Squadron, particularly so, should there be any scorbutic Patients.

In 1789 a small squadron of His Majesty's ships came out to the East Indies under Commodore Cornwallis, brother to the Governor General, charged with the survey of the islands and coasts of the Bay of Bengal, and reached Diamond Harbour on September 16th; the squadron followed Blair to the Andamans in December, taking Kyd and Colebrooke to survey and report on the harbours. We are again indebted to Colebrooke for most interesting journals and descriptions of the islands and their people;

December 23rd 1789. About 4 in the morning we made sail and entered the Harbour called Port Cornwallis at about 8 o'clock. ...

24th. Capt. D. and myself went up the Harbour in a boat to the distance of about 3 miles. We saw upon a rocky point about twenty or thirty of the Natives; they appeared to be quite naked and blemshed with mud. ...

26th. Seeing one of the natives on shore, we stopped a few minutes to hold a conference with him. He was a man of the middle size, tolerably well shaped. His wool was rubbed with a kind of red earth, and the rest of his body smeared with mud. He wore round his neck and left arm a kind of ornament which looked like a fringe of dried grass. He appeared very cautious of approaching us, probably for fear of being siezed; however he allowed Mr. Kyd to draw near him, and readily exchanged his Bow and Arrows for a knife which was presented to him. He had under his arm a small basket into which he deposited everything that was given to him. We gave him some handfuls of biscuit, and in rowing away we saw him sat down on the rock and eat of it with great avidity.

27th. This morning the Ranger Snow sailed for Bengal. ... A native who had been on board of this vessel about three weeks, and who appeared to be perfectly reconciled and pleased with his new mode of living, was left on board of our ship. At the same time the Commodore gave orders that if he wished to go on shore, and return to his countrymen, an opportunity should be given him to desert. He was accordingly put into a Boat and sent ashore. There happened to be at this time a few of the natives in sight, and we desired him to go and join them; he seemed to be actuated by a sudden impulse of joy at seeing them. He sprang out of the Boat, and flung down his Hat and ran towards them; they did not immediately recognize him for one of their countrymen, as he had been cloathed on board ... with a jacket and Trousers. He soon discambled himself from his clothes and returned to that state of nature which he had from his infancy been accustomed to. They immediately seemed to congratulate him upon his safe escape, and they all together ran into the woods. ...

30th. The Lat. of Port Cornwallis by Mr. Blair is 21° 36' 30".

31st. Sailed from Port Cornwallis; ... we shaped our course about South for the Carnicobar Island.

January 1st. 1790. About sunrise we saw the land of Carnicobar Island ahead; at 11 o'clock we came to an anchor on the western side of the Island. ...

4th. About 1 p.m. anchored in Nancowry Harbour. There we saw the Danish flag flying. That nation has long had a small settlement at this place. A serjeant and two or

3 BPC. 3-2-90. 4 Aspinall (201). 5 Journal, DDn. 10.
three soldiers, 2 old guns badly mounted, a wooden house, and two or three black slaves, composed the whole of their establishment.

5th. Sailed up the Harbour in the Atalanta's Pinnace.

8th. The Commodore determined upon leaving the Atalanta with Capt. Kyd and myself to survey Nanowrey Harbour. We moved in the evening. ... March 19th. Sailed from Port Cornwallis....

20th. Anchored in the evening at the mouth of an inlet ... which had the appearance of a good Harbour. ...

22nd. By an indifferent observation at Noon our Lat. was 11° 57' 52". ...

23rd. This morning we made a survey of the Harbour by taking bearings and angles in different directions and calculating distances by sound from the report of guns and muskets. We rowed out in our small boat to a rocky point at the northern entrance of the Harbour, where we stayed about an hour to make our observations and take views. We saw three canoes with about twenty of the natives coming round a point to the northward probably with an intention to attack us. This induced us to abandon the rock, and when we got into our boat we fired two muskets in the air for a signal; ... this appeared to alarm the natives, for they began rowing back immediately. The track we were upon is remarkably steep, ... we had soundings of 5 fathoms quite close to it. We saw while upon it great numbers of sharks swimming about; they appeared to be very ravenous. ...

24th. This morning we left the harbour, which Captain Kyd called Port Meadows: ...

31st. We sailed up the coast ... and anchored in the afternoon within half a mile of the shore. Captain Kyd and Mr. M. took an airing in the Boat and saw a great number of the natives. They shot about a dozen arrows at the Boat, but not one flew near enough to do any mischief. A couple of musquet fires over their heads induced them to retreat into the wood. ...

April 1st. We stood to the northward along the coast. ...

4th. ... In the afternoon Capt. Kyd and Mr. W. went out in the Boat; they saw one of the natives upon the beach, who called out and made signs to them to come near but it was only with an intention of leading them into a snare, for the boat had no sooner approached within fifty paces of him, than Capt. Kyd perceived a number of men laying in ambush under the mangroves; when they found themselves detected they rushed out and sent a shower of arrows at the Boat, some of which flew over it. ...

5th. We got our water filled up from the Ranger and prepared to leave Andamans for Bengal. ...

7th. ... About 4 miles to the northward of the Saddle Mountain we found another Inlet, which led into a Bay branching in several directions. Mr. Blair with the Ranger and Viper went into it to survey and examine it. We took leave of them and pursued our course for Bengal. ...

18th. In the Western Brace about 10 o'clock at night and anchored in the Kill. It blew very fresh, and we had a heavy sea all night.

19th. Blowing very fresh from the southward, we crossed the Eastern Brace early in the morning. It was almost low water, and we had an enormous sea with only 2½ fathoms upon it; however we got safely over it, and about 7 o'clock passed the Fairway Buoy. The flood tide and a strong southwest wind enabled us to get up the river very fast; at 4 o'clock in the afternoon we anchored about 1 mile below the mouth of the Roopnarain River. April 20th. 1790. Arrived at Calcutta in the afternoon.

Blair held charge of the settlement for three years at the first Port Cornwallis near the south end of the South Andaman, but Commodore Cornwallis reporting that a harbour in the Great Andaman was far more suitable for the fleet, the colony was moved there in 1792; this new settlement was also called Port Cornwallis, the earlier one being then called the "Old Harbour", and later "Port Blair". Early in 1793 Blair was relieved by Kyd and returned to his duties with the Bombay establishment after submitting his reports and maps. 
BENGAL SURVEYS

The colony had already been adopted as a penal settlement, and now, owing to the war with France, it was put into a state of defence; large reinforcements were sent, and more guns mounted to guard against possible attack. But in 1794 Port Cornwallis was reported to be unfavourable to the health of the settlers; in the following year 50 deaths occurred among the convicts, and in December 1794 Government reported to the Directors,

Major Kyd, the Superintendent of the settlement, advised us on his return to it from Prince of Wales Island, that the settlers at the Andamans were more healthy in the last season than they had been in the proceeding one, although the rains had been more heavy, ... 123 inches between the 1st of May and the 20th November, which excesses double what has been observed in the Bengal at any period.1

After a report from Kyd on the comparative advantages of the Andaman and Prince of Wales Islands, orders were issued in February 1796 for the abandonment of the former settlement, and the removal of the penal colony to Penang. Nothing more was heard. Port Cornwallis till the Burma War of 1824, when the Bengal and Madras forces made it their rendezvous on the way to Rangoon.2

The next expedition to the Andamans was made in 1858, after which the original settlement Port Blair was re-established.

THE HOOGHLY RIVER

A pilot’s survey of the Hooghly is said to have been made annually from 1748 with no great scientific accuracy3, but in 1765 the Court of Directors wrote out,

In the course of our Enquiry into the loss of the ship Winchelsea, there appeared great reason to believe that so essential a measure ... as that of an annual survey of your River had been shamefully neglected. ... We positively insist upon your causing the most exact and careful Surveys of the River to be made once or oftener every year, agreeable to our Orders of the 2nd February 1737-8, and 3rd of March 17384.

In 1769 the Master Attendant was making regular surveys and soundings with an establishment of five assistant surveyors5, one of whom was John Ritchie, who found time from his more extensive survey to make several surveys on the Hooghly even up to 1782.

In 1770 Benjamin Lacam brought forward his scheme for a new harbour at the head of Channel Creek, and made several surveys in advocating important improvements in the navigation of the river6.

From 1779 various Engineer officers were employed on surveys either of special channels or the banks of the river. William Baillie near Hijli7 in 1779; Mark Wood near Sankrail in 1780 and 17818, & again in co-operation with the Master Attendant down “the Eastern Channel of the River” in 1782. This latter work was under the Chief Engineer, who represented that,

As there will be a considerable difficulty in making a correct Chart of this passage, and also that the Master Attendant and Pilot are not alone sufficient to give Captain Wood the aid requisite for completing such an undertaking in the manner it ought to be executed, which would absolutely require the joint labour of two or three persons competent in the use of Land instruments. Therefore take the liberty to propose that two or three Gentlemen of the corps of Engineers be ordered to assist10.

Wood applied for boats, people for clearing jungle; Two azimuth, or two Knight’s, compasses with sights; a Quadrant; sounding leads, loglines Flags etc.11... but a month later Government report,

Mr. Ritchie being returned, we have ordered him to make a complete & accurate Survey of the Eastern Channel of the River, instead of that which was to have been made by the Engineers12.

---

1CD to CD. 4-12-94 (23). 2Low. 3Long I (xxxi). 4CD to B. 1-2-95 (17). 5BFC. 24-7-90. 6Lacam came to India a midshipman. In 1760; employed as Dnzn. & assn. under CE. Pr. Wm.; settled on the Hooghly and devoted himself to development of his New Harbour; HMS. 800 (50 ed. seg.). 7Hijli, between Tasaluk, 70 B/s. & Kodgeres, 73 9/13; Sankrail. 70 B/2. 8BFC. 7-5-79. 9Map, MRIO. 105 (26). 10BFC. 19-10-82. 11BFC. 3-12-82. 12B to CD. 6-1-83.
THE HOOGHLY RIVER

In 1788 Archibald Blair, with James Caldwell of the Engineers as assistant, made a survey of the New Harbour and Channel Creek, and also of Diamond Harbour “that the comparative advantages... might be clearly ascertained”.

The survey of the river appears to have been then left to the Master Attendant and the pilots. In 1798 the Surveyor General reported,

I have inspected a set of charts of the River Hooghly from Calcutta to the foot of the Sands, executed by Mr. Wade, a Pilot. From the manner in which the Work has been compiled, the Reaches of the River and the Sands having been laid down by the Eye and not by actual Measurement, it cannot be so accurate as a Geographer would desire... Lieutenant Blunt in constructing a Draught of the River Hooghly for the Commander-in-Chief took the Sand Heads and Shoals from Mr. Wade’s Charts, considering them as the best authority.

Wade was allowed 3,000 sicca rupees for these charts.

Other rivers occasionally called for a survey; in April and May 1782, Wilford was sent out to survey two channels from the great river to Ballia Ghat, near Dacca, which had been reported as navigable; and in 1787 Caldwell was sent to make an accurate survey of the Banka Nallah; as well as to ascertain the annual expense of keeping it navigable.

CALCUTTA

The earliest plans of Calcutta were made by engineers for purposes of defence and the lay-out of fortifications, and the following list details some of them:

1742. Two plans of Calcutta and the Adjacent country, by Foresti and Oliffrees. Scales 20 and 40 fathoms, or toises, to an inch. [Foresti was an Italian engineer. John Athof was Surveyor of Works]

1746-47. Sketches and Plans of Fort William and Calcutta by Praisted, who was at that time Surveyor of Works.

1753. Plan of Fort William & Part of City of Calcutta, with a project for Fortifying the Fort. Scale 100 feet to an inch. Surveyed & Drawn by William Wells, Lieut. of the Artillery Company in Bengal.

[Shows streets and buildings with occupants. Wells was at this time employed as engineer under Colonel Scott, who as Engineer General was then designing the new Fort William.

1757. Plan of the Territory of Calcutta, scale 1 inch to a mile, author not known, extending some distance beyond the Mahnatta Ditch. Shows the position of the tents and huts of the Nabob’s Army in 1756. Seton Kerr describes it as, “a plan and view of Calcutta in the year 1756, when there were but seventy houses in the town, when the site of a present fort was a jungle, and modern Chowringhee, with other parts of the town, consisted of bamboo groves and paddy fields.”

1757. Plan of Calcutta from Hooghly to the Lake; shows “The Moors’ 1st Camp, February 5th”; “2nd Camp”, and also the “English Camp” “to illustrate Clive’s attack, February 5th 1757, and Col. Clive’s march.” [Orme describes it as done for Scrafton, one of the members of Council. The map is merely a coloured sketch in manuscript].

Calcutta appears in some detail in Cameron’s Plan of the Company’s Lands and Lakes, scale ¼ inches to a mile, 1761-2, and also in Martin’s Part of General Survey of the Calcutta Lands, on the one-inch scale, probably surveyed between 1767 and 1770.

Martin’s survey extends south from Calcutta to the Sundarbans, with a small area to the west of the Hooghly from Ulubaria to the Dinnagar. It is a careful topographical survey, showing village sites and names, salt-works, roads, creeks, protective embankments, pargana limits, tree symbols, and elevated land.

Beyond the limits of survey are notes—“Part not Inhabited Where a quantity of Salt is made”—“Land not Inhabited called SUNDERRUND, full of Woods Creeks & Rivers where a great quantity of Salt is made”.

---

When in 1800 the Surveyor General prepared a map of the environs of Calcutta, he used the whole of this survey of Martin's without correction, extending it by Cameron's skeleton survey and various route surveys.

There is at Calcutta a survey by Richard Parrott, of the Engineers, of Budge Budge and the Hooghly River on the scale of 400 feet to an inch, which must have been made before Parrott's death in 1772.

In 1780 Government appointed Commissioners of Police for the administration of the city, laying down amongst other things that it was necessary for the Convenience and for the Preservation of the Health of the Inhabitants of the said Settlement that the stagnant Water should by proper Drains & Channels be drained from the said Settlement, and the Filth, Dirt, and Rubbish removed therefrom, and also that "a Registry of Lands, Houses and Estates" should be prepared, and suitable names suggested for all streets and lanes.

Edward Tiretta was appointed Surveyor to the Commissioners on a salary of Rs. 1,000 a month, and required to survey the said Streets, Lanes, and Passages, and to report...whether any additional Drains and Sewers are wanted, at the same time report the State and Condition of the Roads, ...

He was also to be responsible for the disposal of refuse, and control of brick kilns. His responsibilities were obviously heavy, and in August 1781 he writes,

In the month of January last you were pleased to grant me assistants in order to make a Survey of the Town and the Limits thereof, as also an establishment for an office. In consequence of this grant, part of the Town has been surveyed and delivered in to you, and in the Month of April you were pleased to strike off the whole of that Establishment, since which time it has been totally out of my power to go on with the Survey without such assistants, it not being possible for any one man to perform such work by himself alone....

Should you think proper to have the survey and the Levels of the Town proceeded on, you will be pleased to grant me such assistants, and such persons as may be necessary, ...

and again three months later,

Levels, especially in large towns where the sight by the vicinity of Buildings is continually confined to very short distances, is not only a complicated but a very tedious and laborious work, the more in this Country, where, from the heat of the Climate, those who are employed on such duty can work but a few hours in each day; from this circumstance it is impossible for me to ascertain with any probability the time it will take or expense which will be accrued.

Respecting the Survey it is my opinion that with assiduity and proper assistants this work might be accurately performed in the course of two years, the probable expense attending which I compute to Rs. 24,000.

The Commissioners of Police asked Government to grant them financial assistance, "our present funds being very inadequate to so expensive an undertaking", but it was decided to call on the Chief Engineer to depute two Engineer officers to make the necessary surveys, and nothing further is heard of Tiretta's work. No survey had been delivered by January 1784 when the Commissioners wrote in,

Having been frequently obliged to proceed in the dark in the Execution of many of the Public Works for want of a General Level of the Town, and conceiving that to continue without it may be attended with a Waste of Public Money, and understanding that there is Plan, Survey and Level, of the Town lodged in your Public Department, ... we beg the favour to be allowed to copy it ...

Reference was thereupon wrongly made to the Surveyor General, who had to reply.

I have none other than that which is delivered in the printed maps of Major Rennell: the Chief Engineer has I believe a particular plan of the Town and Environs of Fort William lately laid down at a large scale by Captain Robinson, Garstin, and other officers, a copy of which was never sent to my office.

---

1. MEHO. 49 (15). 2. BPC. 26-6-80 (799-90): Regulations pub. BPC. 1-2-81. 3. From Tiretta to the Commissioners of Police 21-6-81; BPC. 4-9-81. 4. BPC. 24-12-81. 5. BPC. 2-1-84. 6. BPC. 5-4-84.
In May, however, the Commissioners appear to have made touch with Mark Wood and his officers, reporting "that they have asked Capt. M. Wood to prepare plan, survey, and levels of Calcutta. ..."

Garstin writes of this survey in 1808.

Four Engineer officers were employed for near three years on a Survey of the Town; it was scarcely completed, when great alterations that had then taken place called for a new one; and I was employed for about six months in surveying one small division, and that the least crowded with buildings .... It is impossible to survey the streets of so populous a place except for an hour or two in the morning, before they are filled by the inhabitants.

The survey was on the scale of 200 feet to an inch, and showed every house and tank; the maps were completed by 1786.

The reproduction of copies of a large-scale city map is almost as arduous a task as the survey, and no full scale copies of Wood's survey are now known. In 1791 Wood, now Chief Engineer, recommended that copies should be engraved on a reduced scale by William Baillie, a retired officer of Engineers;

A few years ago I made a Survey of the Town of Calcutta for the Commissioners of Police; at which time it was intended to have named the different streets. ... By some accident, the Naming of the Streets has never taken place, and as there is no copy of the Survey, in the course of a very few years ... it is more than probable that the Considerable Expanse of this Survey, as well as the Trouble attending it, would be entirely lost to the Public.

With a view of preventing this, I took it upon me to promise Mr. William Baillie ... every support and assistance towards executing an Engraved plan ... on ... a reduced scale ...

As in the course of Five Years, Calcutta has undergone some considerable alterations, the Plan would be more correct were your Honourable Board to admit of my employing an Engineer Officer to insert in the Plan such alterations, which would not occupy a longer space of time than two months ...

The subscription is only Twenty Rupees each copy.

Government approved and "to assist the police" subscribed for 150 copies, which Baillie delivered in December 1792, writing,

I have endeavoured, tho' in vain, to get impressions thrown off equal to my wish, as the Workmen of this Country are as yet very inexpert in Copperplate printing, especially in Works such as the present, where the plates are much labour'd, and the Work close and crowded ...

Wood was very disappointed with the style in which the job was carried out.

Mr. Baillie has in no respect executed the Plan of Calcutta in the Manner which he ought to have done ... Had Mr. Baillie only taken the trouble to have made a correct copy of the Plan on a reduced scale, a business to which I know he was very equal, the Engraver would have found no difficulty in executing the work, in place of which he has merely traced the streets and Lanes, and even this small part of the Work, I fear, was not done by himself, and filled in the intermediate space with black lines, which renders the Plan of no sort of value ...

Had he even represented the principal Houses and Tanks he would have been more excusable. The Chowringhee and [European] Quarter has been executed in the manner that the whole of the plan ought to have been.

On receipt of this report the Board declined to pay the balance due on the 150 copies, having advanced one third of cost.

Baillie's own advertisements of the map are of interest:

Mr. Baillie's plan is now ready for delivery. He has waited many months in the expectation that the streets in the Native Part of the Town would have received new names, as those in the European Quarter have lately done. ... [The Plan is] 35 inches by 14 inches, accurately reduced from the large one in possession of the Commissioners of Police, and points out all streets, lane ghatu, etc. It shows all public buildings, but private buildings though on the original map, scale 269 inches to a mile, cannot be shown on the reduction, which is little more than 65 inches to a mile.

Price 25 sics rupees mounted on roller, or 20 if pasted on cloth at the Free School.

N.B. The ground and new buildings at Chowringhy, south of the Burial ground are taken from an accurate survey made last year.

and again:

Gentlemen may be supplied with good Impressions—not mounted—at reduced price of
10 sicca rupees by application to Mr. Baillie at the Free School.

In addition to the survey for the Police Commissioners, the Engineers made
other large scale surveys for military purposes, of which the following are still
preserved;

By Edward Robinson. — Survey between Budje Budje Road and the Hooghly.
Scale 8 inches to a mile. 1780.

By Mark Wood. — Three maps signed by Wood, which may not have been
entirely surveyed by him alone; he probably incorporated the police map with his
own surveys.

First.— Country on the banks of the Hooghly River, from Calcutta to Oooleeabreach, including
the fortress at Fort William and works at Budje Budje, also representing the Soundings of
the river at low water in Spring Tides. Surveyed between 1780 and 1784. Scale about
2000 feet to an inch.

[This map is beautifully drawn with elaborately coloured ornamentation, cultivation, and
free symbols. It shows the Hooghly from Chitpore to Jugdispoore on the right bank below
Budje Budje, and the country up to 3 miles on each side of the river.]

The second and third maps cover a similar area on the scale of 4 inches to a
mile; drawn by Wood in 1785; surveyed January to May, 1782 and 1783. One of
them is inscribed,

To Lt-General Sloper Commander-in-Chief of the forces of India, this Survey of the
Country in the neighbourhood of Fort William, which was originally intended for military
information, is presented.

Calcutta was growing fast, and Baillie’s map did not long meet requirements.
In October 1791 Aaron Upjohn, who had been Baillie’s printer, “commenced a
Survey of Calcutta and its Environs”, which he completed and mapped on the
scale of 8 miles to an inch; the map was sold for sixty rupees a copy and Govern-
ment took forty copies.

The boundaries of Calcutta were shown both in Baillie’s and Upjohn’s maps,
and were officially proclaimed shortly after the publication of the latter.

A copy of Upjohn’s map is preserved at the Surveyor General’s Office in
Calcutta; it covers an area from Chitpore to Alipore, and is entitled,

Map of Calcutta and its Environs. From an accurate survey taken in the years 1792 and
1793 by A. Upjohn [and bears a note] Plan of the Territory of Calcutta as marked out in the
year 1742; exhibiting likewise the Military operations at Calcutta when attacked and taken
by Serajudowiah [249 n. 1] on the 18th of June 1756 [51].

(10-12); also Seton Kerr. I (pocket).
The GANGES and the GOGRA
Rennell, 1788.

Part of Rennell’s Map of Hindostan 1788. Scale 14 inches to a degree.

The Ganges and Gogra rivers, both through the hills and the plains, have here been taken from the surveys of Father Tieffenthaler as published in Bernoulli’s Description de l’Inde, Berlin, 1786 [72-3]. Compare course of Ganges above Hardwar in Plates 1 and 8 [73].
CHAPTER IV

BENGAL SURVEYS, 1793 to 1800


By the time Colebrooke became Surveyor General in 1794 political anxiety had definitely shifted to the country beyond the western frontiers. The Mughal Emperor at Delhi was a prisoner in the hands of the Marathas, who were pressuring on the frontiers of Oudh and of the Company's smaller neighbours on the west.

In 1793 Timur Shah of Kabul had marched down to Attock but had died there just as his army was preparing to cross the Indus. He was succeeded by his ambitious son Zamin Shah, and to forestall possible danger to the Company's provinces it appeared essential that strong support should be given to the Wazir of Oudh, and that as much information as possible should be collected about the countries to the west.

Government therefore welcomed the offer of Charles Reynolds, surveyor to the Bombay Government, to make a survey of the upper part of the Ganges-Jumna doab; the object of his proposed researches are the Provinces in the Duab, and he means particularly to take a northerly direction, into parts which have hitherto been little explored. For this purpose he has obtained the acquiescence of Maharajah Scindiah without any application or intimation from this Government. The object of his proposed surveys are principally in the Dominions of that Chief and those of the Mirs of Christmas and the Chieftain ...

That he be allowed an assistant, and that the Commander-in-Chief be requested to give permission to Ensign James Blunt to act upon this service.

Blunt joined Reynolds at Allahabad in December 1793 and they ran their survey through Meerut and Delhi, paying a visit to the Emperor [30-1-2], and continuing as far west as Paniyat [1], thence returning by Hardwar, and through Rohilkhand to reach Lucknow in May 1794, when the party dispersed, and Reynolds had to return to Bombay [132].

Later in 1794 followed the disturbance in Rampur State, which led to the second Rohilkhand War, and the Surveyor General replied to a request for a map. I do myself the honour to transmit...for the use of the Commander-in-Chief, a sketch of Rohilkund, in which the principal places are laid down from the astronomical observations of the late Mr. Reuben Burrow. The rest is partly drawn from the Authority of Major Kennell. ... I regret much that we have not more particular survey of the Province and that the country beyond the Hills bordering the Rampur District is totally unknown.

It is much to be wished that an officer might be appointed to the capacity of a surveyor during the campaign.

The Commander-in-Chief appointed James Mount, of the Engineers, to take an accurate survey...of Rohilkund and in particular of the Jaghir of Ahnat Ally Khan [8], specifying as the first and leading objects.

To trace the Ram Gunga from hence to the hills, carefully examining its fords, with their depth of water at different seasons of the year.

To examine all the passes in the hills, from the Hardwar to the south-east confines of Rohilkund.

\[1\]48 C/1. \[2\]20's min., BMC, 3-11-93. \[3\]30 C/15. \[4\]Blunt's Edbk., MEIO. M. 541; Bough Proructions, MEIO. 30 (61-96). \[5\]Rampur, 53 P/1. \[6\]DDn.16 (54) of 16-10-94. \[7\]The infant Raja now established as Chief of the Rampur State. \[8\]Bareilly, 53 P/7. 55
When these objects are attained you should survey the new boundary of the Rampore Jaghire, and the roads leading between the principal towns and forts in Rohilcund, and in particular to investigate by what route an army might march from Oude and from our stations, to Cossipore and Azimgahar leaving Bareilly and Rampore on the left.

You will return by the way of Isulanabad, which route from thence to Bareilly has not yet been accurately examined.

Mount took up this work from December 29th, and a year later the Surveyor General sent him further detailed orders as to the routes he should follow, with the principal object of gaining "some knowledge of that part of Rohilcund which has never yet been explored by any European." By 1796 Mount had sent in:

- a survey of the Ram Gangi from Bareilly to the Hills;
- a survey of the Comnow Hills from the Efflux of the Ram-Gonga at Cally-Goutha to Hurdwar, scale 2½ miles to an inch. [A strip about eight miles wide along the foot of the hills which are shown conventionally with their limits, and the limits of the forest area and the larger rivers];
- a survey of the boundary of the Jaghire of Ahmad Ali Khan, scale 3/4 of an inch to a mile, "The boundary was ascertained by people deputed on the part of the Wazier and Rohillas respectively".

It is notable that though the Surveyor General writes that "we are quite destitute of information respecting Rohilcund and indeed of all the country from Fatehghur and Aghasheer to Hurdwar" yet Reynolds sent no copy of his survey of 1793-4 to Bengal, until it was specially asked for it in 1797 [53, 255]. Valuable information had, however, been coming in from another source. Dr. William Hunter who was "Assistant Surgeon to the Residency with Mahurajah Scindia", had a bent for survey, and as the Maratha Court wandered from place to place in camp fashion during the year, he took astronomical observations and measured the routes.

The first route thus surveyed by Hunter was that followed by the Resident, Major Palmer, when travelling from Agra to join Sindiah at Ujain by way of Gwalior, through a circuitous road, because it lies through countries where Sindiah's Passes would be respected.

On the 23rd of February, 1792 we marched from Agra, ...29th Gwalior...March 21st Jhansi...29th Bhilsa...April 3rd Bhopal...15th Oojeen. Remained at Oojeen from the middle of April 1792, till the middle of March 1793. Left Oojeen March 14th 1793,...22nd Mackandra...25th Kohat...April 4th Rampoor...26th Fattsepooor-Sieri...21st Agra.

On his return to Agra Hunter met Reynolds who had recently brought a survey up from Hyderabad [132], and was much pleased to find his routes appreciated by that experienced surveyor:

Being persuaded that a delineation of Major Palmer's Routes to and from Oujeen will be conducive to the improvement of Indian Geography, and further encouraged by the opinion of Capt. Reynolds. ...I beg leave to offer that Survey for the public service. ...

Reynolds's comments on Hunter's routes were:

The surveys have the greatest claim to attention from the accuracy with which they appear to be laid down, ...and from the great number of Actual Astronomical Observations which you have made.

The survey from Futtayghur to Agra...is entirely new, and has always appeared to me to be very much wanted.

The Route from Agra to Ougeen by Gwalior is also of much consequence, altho' in many parts it is in the same tract which was surveyed by Lt. William Stewart in his way to the Deccan [116]. The principal merit of it is...the number of good Astronomical Observations, and the important route which completes the line from Bopaul to Ougeen, & of which we were before ignorant, except from report.

Your return from Ougeen by way of Boondas is of the utmost consequence, as laying thro' a tract of which we had no information...tho' the very centre of Malwa was...

---

1 Kashipur, 53 K 18. 2 Azimgahar, 53 K 11. 3 BPOLC, 16-1-96. 4 DDn 16 (63), Dec. 1794. 5 Maps, MRIO 166 (9-5); DDn, 16 (99), 21-1-95. 6 Kunnam. 7 MRIO, 16 (129). 8 MRIO, 15 (11). 9 Fatehgarh, 54 M 11; Aghasheer, 58 L 7. 10 DDn, 16 (119), 14-4-96. 11 RD VI, 1769 (16 of 89). 12 Bhopal, 56 E 7. 13 Bundi, 46 O 11. 14 Malwa is the plateau lying in west part of the Central India Agency. 45 SE, 54 SW, 90 NE, 55 NW.
geography of which will now be completed by your survey, and the assistance of the route I shall take on my return.

The following season Hunter sent in another survey, this time from Fategharh to Lucknow, and detected many errors in the position of places as laid down in Major Rennell's map, and inserted towns and places of some note, that have been entirely omitted. ... The extent of its survey in Road distance is 330 miles. The places ascertained by Astronomical Observations are seventy in number.

Government awarded him a sum of 2,500 rupees as compensation. In both the following seasons, 1794-5 and 1795-6, Hunter made similar surveys, which were much appreciated. It should be noted that this class of survey was of a much higher standard than that carried out by Rennell's surveyors, the astronomical control was closer, and all the distances were measured by perambulator; there was still however no attempt made to complete the survey of a definite area in detail; maps were still mere skeletons.

In 1795 the Surveyor General obtained permission to send James Hoare to survey the Jumna River [188];

As no good survey has yet been made of the Jumna River [38], I would recommend his being sent to explore it, from the confluence at Allahabad up to Delhi, or so far beyond it as he might with safety proceed. That the object of his deputation should be, not only to ascertain the course, depths, and windings of that River, but also to insert in his plan all the Towns, Forts, and villages on its banks, marking also the places where Ferries are established, and those where the river is, at any time, fordable. He might likewise be directed to ascertain the Maharra Boundary in that quarter more correctly than has yet been done.

Hoare completed the survey up to Agra in his first season, and carried it on to Delhi during 1796-7, spending some time in making good observations for latitude at both these places; his health however broke down, and he was not able to make the necessary fair copies of his journals and fieldbooks which the Surveyor General required [197]; he was recalled in May 1797 and died the following year. In submitting fair copies of his charts to Government, the Surveyor General remarks that,

As these charts have been laid down from measurements by a perambulator, and bearings taken with a compass throughout, ... there is reason to believe that although the more nice operations with the theodolite and sextant had been almost entirely omitted; ... they will nevertheless furnish data for inserting the course of the Jumna in the maps with a greater degree of precision than has hitherto been done. ... The third sheet from Agra to Delhi is the more valuable, as that part of the river Jumna had not I believe ever been surveyed before.

It falls to most surveyors that their labours should be criticised in after years [6], and the following comment on Hoare's work was made only 12 years later; I am led to think the obstacles to the navigation of the Jumna may be removed at a very moderate expense. ... A correct survey of this river is much to be desired. That done some years since by Captain Hoare being of little value, as it is replete with errors; no sort of reliance is to be placed on it.

Early in 1797 great alarm was caused by Zamán Shah's invasion of the Punjab, and threat to advance on Delhi [55]; and Colebrooke, with a keen sense of his duties as Surveyor General, wrote,

I take the liberty of suggesting that a survey of the upper part of the Doon might be found to be of the highest utility and importance, in case of that country becoming at any future period the seat of war, and the late instead of Zemun Shaw into the Punjab would appear to render such an event not altogether improbable.

Accordingly in 1798 Thomas Wood was sent up to join Sir James Craig's army in Oudh in the capacity of Surveyor, whilst the Governor General sent General Craig instructions for the protection of Oudh against a possible attack by Zamán Shah, who crossed the Indus, and arrived at Lahore with a large army. The alarm caused by this intelligence was all the greater because of the war that was then in preparation against Tipu of Mysore. The strain was relaxed when it was learnt

1MRIO, M. 574. 15-5-93. 2Letter from SG, DDrn. 16 (44), 22-3-94. 3Maps, MRIO, 39 (9) and 31 (43-47). 4DDrn. 16 (80), 1-4-95. 5DDrn. 14 (127), 28-9-96. 6DDrn. 81 (27). Garstin to QMG, 5-7-1809. 7DDrn. 16 (39), 11-5-97. 8Martin, I (361 383, etc).
early in 1799 that Zamin Shah had started to withdraw owing to bad news reaching him from Herat.

Wood was first employed on surveys in the eastern provinces of Oudh, I think... that a survey of Gorakhpore and Baraat will be authorized. It is really much wanted, for we know nothing whatever of the country. What are called in the map, "tank or saull forests" is a fine natural cultivated country to very near the hills. The Boorah Raptee is laid down at mere random, and I sincerely believe the whole has been manufactured from harcarrah reports & such information.

Again, after reporting various routes that he has surveyed; the first three of these routes are not in any of our maps that I have seen, and the two last will I hope be found not only more correct, but very much more particular than what we now have, as I took it, by cross bearings, every town and village I could see to the right and left. ... There is much information relative to the interior divisions of the country which I might obtain from the public officers at Lucknow, and would most willingly be afforded, as I am authorized by the Resident to say that the Nabob, so far from having any objections to the survey being continued, is on the contrary very desirous of it.

For the next season, 1799-1800, Wood was directed to survey a route from Cawnpore to Baraat, and thence along the foot of the hills to Hardwar, from which place he is to return along the Ganges with a view to examine the different fords, and to survey the river to Ramgunt below Anopshair... as the Ganges from Ramgunt down to Cawnpore has never been accurately surveyed, and may even have shifted its course considerably... since it was laid down in the maps, Lt. Wood should be directed to continue his survey of the Ganges down to Cawnpore.

Wood’s report on this survey starts with an apology for not sending a copy of his field book to the Surveyor General each month.

That was a thing totally out of my power, my time being so completely taken up by my survey that I seldom, if ever, got in to my tent sooner than three or four in the afternoon, and frequently not until sunset. I will now take the liberty to acquaint you of what I have surveyed during the six months I have been absent; many parts of my track... were through jungles where I am certain no Human being ever was before, and that it is still a matter of surprise to me how I did pass without any accident to the people who were with me, as the number of Tigers is really incredible. I commenced my survey at this place [Cawnpore] and proceeded to Lucknow. From thence I went in about a westerly direction... Khairabad, up the Western side of the Cograh as far as Durmooapoor, further than which I could not penetrate... on account of the Forests... I proceeded towards Pheelibead passing... many other places not inserted in any of our Maps; from Pheelibead I went up to Nabnich Muttaah and here my progress to the Northward was again stopped by immense Forests. I therefore struck off to the westward, and passing through... Kasseeepoor... I arrived at Afsool Giur, from which I went through the Forest to Kallah Ghattah, at which place the Ram Gungah issues from the Mountains.

From this I made an attempt to pass to the Westward... keeping between the Forests and the Mountains; I very soon however found that this was not to be done. ... I was a little difficult about the Route... for the accounts I received as to the practicability of the road through the Mountains from Lol Dong to Hardwar were very contradictory; however... I determined... to make the attempt and... succeeded, having reached Chandiehaut on the Ganges (and immediately opposite to which is the town of Hardwar) the fourth day after reaching Nudjebabad, ... 

Though I did not exactly know what sort of reception I should meet with from the Seiks and Goopers who inhabit the Western Bank, yet I determined to make the trial, and passing over to Hardwar I surveyed down that side... a distance of... fifteen miles, at which I recrossed without the smallest objection having been made. ... I came down the eastern bank of the Ganges to Asopghur; ... from this I surveyed the country for a considerable way inland. ... The whole of my Land Survey comprises an extent of upwards of 800 miles in which every bearing is taken with a Theodolite to a minute of a degree. ... I have surveyed the Ganges in the most particular manner from Hardwar down to this place, amounting by its windings to upwards of 400 miles. ... I have examined every Ford and Ghaut betwixt Hardwar and Ramghaut, besides this there are particular plans of various Forts etc., to which you must well know takes a considerable time... during my Survey I have taken at least 180 observations.
BEYOND THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

for Latitude; 20 for...magnetic variation, and 19 for the Emsdorians or Immersions of Jupiter's Satellites for Longitude; ...I think I am not much wrong in saying that very few Surveyors in this Country ever did so much in the same time, and without any assistance whatever.¹

CHITTAGONG FRONTIER, 1794

Other surveys of this period include surveys made by Thomas Robertson in Chittagong, under instructions from the military officer commanding. In July 1794 he submitted the survey of the Southern Frontier of this Province, ...but have to regret that from the advanced season of the year, as well as the impenetrable nature of this country, it being chiefly Hills & Forests etc., I have not been able to render the survey so complete or so extensive as I could have wished, ...its having been out of my power to trace the course of the Naaf River², but the Banks of this River are so covered with Forests as to be impenetrable to a single person, and of course impracticable to carry a series of measured lines along them; neither was it possible to proceed by water, as Boats were not to be procured³.

His survey lay from Maiakhāl Island⁴ to the mouth of the Naaf River.

During season 1799-1800 William Parker of the Artillery ran a survey from Ramu to Ukhin Ghanṭ⁵ on the Naaf estuary.

CHUNĀR TO RAJAHMUNDRY, 1795

Early in 1795 a survey of particular importance was made by James Blunt from Chunār⁶ to the East coast; in recommending which, the Surveyor General wrote,

As his route would lay through a tract of country never yet traversed by Europeans, our Geographical knowledge would be considerably increased by such a survey. ... There does not occur in Major Rennell's map the names of more than three or four places in the whole track he proposes to explore, being in length nearly 500 miles.

In a political point of view this survey might... be considered as an object of the highest importance, as it would lead us to the knowledge of the native powers inhabiting those hitherto unexplored regions.

It would furnish a route, and it might be hoped ultimately, a high military Road, leading from the extreme point of our Dominions in Bengal to...our Territories on the coast, forming a more direct channel of communication for succours, supplies, or intelligence than any we yet know. ... The whole distance might be marched in fifty days provided no extraordinary impediments occurred [41]⁷.

Government granted their approval;

The necessary passes from the Rajah of Berar have now been obtained; ... as however the Nagoor Government might be jealous of his surveying any part of its dominions, you are to direct him to be particularly circumspect during his route thro' Berar, that the object of his commission be executed with a caution to prevent suspicion. ... The Commander in Chief will be requested to order an Escort of a Jemadar and 30 sepoys to accompany Ensign Blunt from Chunār, and the Military Paymaster General will be instructed to give orders for an advance of three months allowances for himself and the Escort.⁸

The Surveyor General's detailed instructions to Blunt read.

The most likely way of attaining that desirable end will be to set out from Chunarghir in a southerly direction, and not to deviate materially from that course until you reach Cossimcotta⁹ in the Northern Circars, or any other place of note in the Vizagapatam District. But as a variety of natural impediments might occur on the way, ...you will... perhaps be obliged to alter the direction of your march by a few points of the compass. ... The propriety of such a direct course will appear more obvious as it is the object of Government to establish a communication between the upper provinces and the Circars, and to find a road by which an Army might upon any emergency march with ease and expedition [41].

Wishing you every success in your undertaking and that you may gain every credit and reward that will be due to your labours.

It is easy to understand the interest Colebrooke took in such an enterprise, when his experiences with Colonel Pearse's detachment on the east coast route are remembered.

Blunt left Chunár on January 27th 1796, with a party consisting 150 men, women, and children, his sepoys, servants, and their belongings. His route lay southwards across the Son, then through the hilly country along the borders between Mirzapur and Rewah, over the difficult passes of Korea and Surguja, into the fertile country of Bilaspur and Raipur. Reaching Kánker, he had to turn west to avoid the inhospitable country of the Khonds, and after following the Waianganga River made another abortive effort to work his way through to the east coast. But it is better to tell his story by extracts from his journal [290];

February 1st Bilwanya [north of Son]. No supplies of grain, of any kind, were to be had here; ... The latter part of the road had dwindled to a mere footpath, and I was informed that we could expect nothing but the wildest and most desolate regions for a considerable distance. ...  
February 15th. ... Buy rice, or rather requisition it, at 23 seers to the rupee, 60% dearer than we had paid at Shawpour. ...  
March 11th [from Mahin, north of Bilaspur]. I proceeded about 13 miles to the little village of Nospharrah, consisting of only 3 miserable huts. ... This day one of my camels died with symptoms of the hydrophobia; having for some days been so restless and unruly, that he was continually throwing off his load. I could not easily account for this circumstance, until I recollected that the night before I left Rajgunt near Benares, a dog had run into our camp, and bit the animal in the face, as also a Tattoo in the leg, which had afterwards died in a very unaccountable manner. ...  
March 13th. Ruttanpour [met friendly Maratha chief]; he expressed much surprise at our having travelled through such dreary wilds and mountainous paths; and told me that the Mahadala troops always experienced the greatest inconvenience, when sent into that country from the want of provisions, and always suffered much from the badness of the water. ...  
I had now travelled 306 miles from Chunár to Ruttanpour, in 44 days. The local people advised against any attempt to visit Omercunutuk [15], for fear of the Goonds. ...  
April 4th. A journey of 7 days terminated this day on the southern confines of Chotessur [18]. It was here that I first met the Mahauddée or Cuttack river, and crossed it to enter upon the thick woods of Coonair. ...  
5th. This day a very serious misfortune befell me, in the loss of the only Hircarwah who had ever before been in these wild and unfrequented tracts. ... He had three days before, been indisposed with a complaint in his bowels, probably owing to the change of water, which had induced me to dispense with his attendance, in order that he might travel at his leisure; in company with another sick man; ... they were both missing. ... The Maharathee Hircarwah replied by conjuring, that they had been robbed and murdered on the road by the Goonds. ...  
At Kánker the Raja dissuaded Blunt from trying to reach Vizianagaram [14] by way of Bastar and Jeypore, and turned him westwards towards Chândia [16]; and to support a request for a trustworthy guide Blunt sent the Raja a quire of gilt writing paper, and some coloured China paper. In the evening my messenger returned with an account that the Raja had been delighted with the little present and had in very satisfactory manner complied with my request.  
April 12th. Two Hindu mendicants, goslings, joined the party, having escaped from the Khonds who had massacred the rest of their band. ...  
19th. Purda. Proceeded through the eastern side of Chanda, skirting round the Goond hills and jungles which lay to the left of my route. Bastar is so wild that it is never frequented by travellers; and I was told of more instances of Fakirs having been murdered in attempting to penetrate through it. ...  
20th. The hostilities which at this time existed between the Nisam and the Mahratta empire [17] suggested to me the necessity of proceeding with caution in passing the frontier.

1.Dib. 18 (90), 4-12-94. 2.As B. 71 VIII 1801 (57-191) & As AB. 1800 (128-220), cf. Wills (119-125). 3.On old maps, MRIO. 95 (58) etc., Shawpour is chief town of Singrowla, in S. extremity of Mirzapur; names still locally known, the' dropped from modern maps. 4.Amarchant, 64 J/4. 5.Matin, 64 J/6. 6.Pony. 7.Eastapur, 64 J/4. 8.75 N/8. 9.56 J/18. 10.56 M/5.
of their respective countries, i.e., having no pass...to produce to the Nizam's officers, it was
uncertain in what manner they might receive me.

Leaving the Wainganga River at Dowalmari, a few miles below its junction
with the Wardha, Blunt proceeded south-eastwards towards the Indravati River, and
on April 30th was fired on by a party of Khonds;

At this instant fortunately, I was joined by a naik and four sepoys of my escort, and im-
mediately formed them, priming and loading in a little space of open ground on our right. As
soon as the sepoys had loaded, I would fear have parleyed with the savages before firing, but
all my endeavours towards it were ineffectual; and as they continued to rush with impetuosity
in the direction of about twenty yards; when four or five of them instantly dropped. This gave them an immediate check, and they ran off, ballooning and shouting, into the
woods. I directed a large party of a watch and four sepoys to drive them from the hill; thus
they soon effectuated....

Came to the bank of the Inderowty river, where not being able to find a ford, we were
necessitated to encamp on its bank. ...

Finding the people of the country thus inhospitably inclined towards us, I conceived it
would be hazardous to send a messenger to Bhopalpattan; for should he be detained or put
to death, we might wait in vain for an answer, until the numbers by which we should be sur-
rounded would effectually cut off our retreat. The Goonds appeared to be in full expectation
of our attempting to pass the river; which they would no doubt have resisted; so that the
only way to extricate ourselves from the present embarrassing situation, was to retreat as
fast as possible by the road we had come; ...the weather clearing up at daybreak, we moved
off in perfect silence.

Arrived back at Dowalmari, Blunt found a friendly Khond chief, and after
making him a present of his fowling piece, was given a letter to the Dewan in the
Nizam's territory; never having expected to be forced so far to the south he had not been
provided with any letters to the officials of the Nizam. He now followed down
the Wainganga to Sironcha at the junction with the Godavari, which he crossed
and coming into the Nizam's dominions, followed the right bank of the river to-
wards the south-east.

May 9th. Marching at this season in the heat of the day oppressed us exceedingly; but
the unsettled state of the country, and the probable risk of being attacked, rendered it un-
avoidable. Although the road was a beaten one, and tolerably clear of brushwood, yet the
forest on each side, being excessively thick, might if we had moved in the dark have enabled
an enemy to come upon us unawares; whereas by travelling in the day and taking our ground
in a clear spot, we were always in a situation to defend ourselves with advantage.

The women and children who had accompanied the sepoys, and who, at the commencement
of our journey, had been accustomed to ride, were now, from the reduced state of the cattle,
compelled to walk. They appeared however to be fully impressed with the necessity of the
case; and although they would have suffered less by travelling in the cool of the night, yet
they must have created considerable confusion, in case of an attack at that time; exclusive
of which considerations, the daylight was essentially necessary to my geographical pur-
suits....

May 15th. Intercepted by officials of the Paloncha\(^8\) Raja, with 25 armed horse-
men and about 300 infantry, who demanded a Pass from the Nizam.

May 16th. Marched 16 miles to Paloncha. The Rajah's people told tales of the
desperate state of the English in the Circars\(^*\) and said that he proposed to send
Blunt's party as prisoners to Hyderabad; Blunt said he knew many of the Nizam's
officials at Hyderabad and would welcome such a stop; "their astonishment was so
great that they immediately departed to make a report thereof to the Rajah." During the
night about 1,500 armed men surrounded the camp.

17th. This morning the Vakeel came to me with a request, that I would send my Toorky
horse, and three sheep which I had brought with me from Chunarchur, for the Rajah's inspec-
tion. This I readily complied with; and at the same time demanded an interview with the
Rajah, and permission to depart. In about an hour the horse was returned, with a very
polite message from the Rajah, expressing how much he had been gratified by the sight of so

---

\(^{1}\) near Deoli, 65 A.4. \(^{2}\) Bhopalpattan, 65 B.5. \(^{3}\) N.13. \(^{4}\) C.10. \(^{5}\) A fairy tale.

\(^{6}\) Blunt had spent the summer of 1792 at Hyderabad [43, 116].
BENGAL SURVEYS

beautiful an animal; and requesting to know if anything would induce me to part with him; but as the evening had been appointed for the interview, I deferred returning an answer. ...

In the meantime the Rajah had detained my sheep, which having tails, were considered here as great curiosities and had sent me three others in return, the produce of his country, on whom nature had not bestowed that curious appendage. ...

Later in the day came the interview with the Rajah; He began by putting many pertinent questions to me concerning Hyderabad, the Nizam, his minister, and the principal officers of his empire; with a view to finding out if what I had asserted the previous evening was true. My answers convinced him that I was much better acquainted with the Nizam's court... than he was. ...

As I suspected that the beauty of my horse had been the principal cause of our being brought to Pulomsah, I now took the opportunity of presenting him to the Rajah. His satisfaction at this event was warmly expressed, and he immediately desired I would make myself perfectly easy; for I should be at liberty to depart on the ensuing day. ...

The whole of the ensuing day was spent in procuring a supply of grain, and guides to direct us across the country. Our departure was consequently delayed until the morning of the 19th, when... the Vahed... advised me to lose no time in quitting the Rajah's territory. ...

At my departure, every household servant belonging to the Rajah, came out in expectation of some gratuity. ...

They were yet to pass the last point of danger; May 20th. At daybreak we moved forward, and as the post of Dommapett¹ was only seven miles distant, it behoved me to pass it with caution. I collected therefore my party into a compact body; and we soon came in sight of it. I found it consisted of a small mud fort from which about fifty armed men issued, as we approached, and attempted to stop us. I showed them the Rajah's pass, to which however they paid no regard, but being now within five kos of the Company's frontier, I was determined not to be troubled by them; and drawing up the sepoys opposite to their party, I told the man in command that I would not be detained. ...

I ordered the followers to move on with the baggage, and soon after followed myself with the sepoys. Some parties stole into the jungle upon our flanks: but finding that we kept a constant watch over them, they did not attempt to fire upon us. ...

May 21st. We had marched 27 miles from our last encampment; and the heat, for the last two days, had harassed us a good deal; but being now arrived within the Company's territory, our troubles were nearly at an end. Our grain was exhausted, and the village being too small to afford us any. I moved about six miles to the village of Tarpilly. ...

In two more easy marches we reached Yennagoodam², a place in Colonel Pearse's route from Madras to Calcutta, where my geographical labours ended. ...

May 24th... I proceeded to Rajamundry³, and having recrossed the Godavery, encamped under the north side of the fort. Here I had the first grateful sight of an European countenance. ...

The due southing of this journey was little more than eight degrees, but the circuitous windings we were obliged to take had increased the whole distance to 1,725 British miles.

The hard service which the cattle had endured, had reduced them so low, that a fourth part were now too much exhausted to recover, and perished. Two of my Hiarkaths had been cut off by the Godads; which with four followers attached to the sepoys was the whole loss our party had sustained; ...

Indeed the utter impossibility of any individual escaping, who might leave the party, had necessitated the utmost precaution and indefatigable exertion of the whole, for our mutual preservation. ...

In forwarding Blunt's maps to Government, the Surveyor General writes,

The work has been projected upon a large scale, and will be accompanied by his Field Book containing all the original measurements, and many particulars of useful information.

As his tract lay mostly through countries unexplored, and which were deemed inaccessible to European Travellers, his survey has afforded a new and extensive measured line, to rectify the positions of several places, which had been doubtfully inserted in the maps, and has brought to light many more till then unknown. ...

He was obliged to deviate from the track which had been proposed, as he found it impossible to penetrate through the wild and inaccessible regions bordering the Northern Circars. ...

This deviation, however, enabled him to ascertain the existence of a high road from Nagpoor to Rajamundry, and partly to trace the course of the Bounganga River which falls into the Godavery at Suroncha, the confluence being more than 100 miles higher up than it is given in any former map⁴.

Blunt’s journey through this inhospitable country was not repeated by any European official for over sixty years, and his route remained the only source of geographical information of the western borders of the Central Provinces for an even longer period.

GANGES–HOOGHLY RIVER PASSAGE, 1777–96

Bennell’s survey of 1764–5 had not brought to light any new route from Calcutta to the Ganges; during the dry season heavy boats still had to go all the way round through the Sundarbans before they could get a clear run up the Great River.

In 1777, possibly inspired by the success of Major Tolly with his canal south of Calcutta which had been opened that year [65], John McGowan put forward a scheme to keep open the channel from the Ganges into the Cossimbazar River, and to keep the river open to navigation down to its junction with the Hooghly at Nadia, with the concession of being allowed to collect tolls. Permission was given with certain restrictions, but two years later the Chief of Cossimbazar protested against the collection of tolls before any attempt had been made to improve navigation. On McGowan pointing out that he had spent nearly two years in making surveys and levels, Government allowed him the salary of a surveyor, and withdrew his permit to collect tolls. His contract was annulled shortly after.

It was possibly in 1788 that Wilford made a careful survey of the channels into the Cossimbazar and Jalangi Rivers from the Ganges, with several lines of levels. His fieldbook contains a reasoned discussion of the feasibility of opening a cut to allow navigation in the dry season. He concludes that this would not be successful as the difference of levels would vary considerably at different seasons;

The Bagtrutty with the other Branches of the Ganges labour under all the disadvantages common to all large Rivers, which is, that near their mouths they generally have but little descent. For the Land above their mouths for a considerable extent is but an incroachment upon the sea, occasioned by a vast quantity of Sand and Earth brought down by the Current, which being repelled by the Sea falls to the bottom, forms at first shoals and Banks, which raising continually, at length appear out of the Water, forming a solid ground which is soon covered with grass and trees.

Such is all the Country from the Rajemall Hills down to the Sea. The bottom of the Bay of Bengal reaching formerly up to these hills....

He then quotes ancient Hindu records about the rivers of Lower Bengal.

At the end of 1794 James Hoare was deputed to survey the Hurdum and Jamuna rivers for a navigable connection to enter the Hooghly from the east below Nadia, and in considering his report the Governor General observed.

The communication between Calcutta and the Upper Provinces during 7 months of the year is only practicable by the Sunderbuns, a hardy and dangerous navigation.... I do not think Lt. Hoare’s survey a sufficient ground for undertaking the object in view, but merely as furnishing materials for a further investigation, which I recommend to be made by the Surveyor General....

and the Council thought it proper to direct the Surveyor General to ascertain the existence or practicality of a communication by water between the Houghly River and Ganges at all seasons of the year, either by the channel of the Hurdum and Howleah, or that of the Jubbana, Issamutti and Howleah, taking into consideration the length of the navigation, the expense of making it practicable, and the probability of its continuing so after having been once made.

In March 1795, therefore, Colebrooke surveyed the Jamuna and found it unsuitable, but reported more favourably on the Hurdum, or Churni, submitting a survey from its source at Sibnibas to its confluence with the Hooghly; he described certain narrow parts connecting with the Ichhâmati;

1Grant (81). 2William Tolly, Ben. Inf. (DIB) 6G n. 5. 3BPC, 8-12-77 (15). 4Fedk. 5BPC, 23-1-95 6. 6B to CD 5-2-96 (83). 7BPC, 23-1-95 (2). 8B to CD 5-2-96 (83). 921 m. east of Krishnagar, 79 A/11.
I proceeded next to observe with the proper instruments the difference of level between the two rivers, commencing from the place where the Hindum ceases to be navigable; I carried my levels in line as direct as possible to the Issamutty, erecting the station staves at equal intervals of one furlong...each. The distance thus measured was six miles one furong and a half. ...1

He recommended a cut to be made for this distance, 20 feet wide, by 15 or 20 feet deep, at an estimated cost of Rs. 30,000 and made a further survey of the Ichāmati River during May, when the river was at its lowest. In submitting this survey to Government, together with his survey of the whole route from Calcutta, through Tolly's Nullah and the Sunderbans, he strongly recommended the cut between the Churni and the Ichāmati, and said that it would save 155 miles on the route through the Sunderbans. 2

The Directors referred Colebrooke's proposals to Rennell, who commented very unfavourably upon their prospects of success; and made a wise appreciation of the problems involved, with conclusions that would hardly be disputed to-day;

Nature seems to have adjusted matters very nicely, in respect to the capacity of River beds and their levels; so that any tampering with them in delicate cases (particularly where there is so great a periodical swelling [in volume] and velocity of current) may be productive of much mischief. 3

In calling for the Surveyor General's reply, the Directors ordered that the cut which he proposed "must not be commenced without our previous approbation." 4

GANGES RIVER ABOVE COSSIMBAZAR

In 1796 the Surveyor General suggested that he should make a survey up the Ganges from the head of the Jalangi River to Bhāgalpur:

The object of this Survey should be not only to delineate and report on the present state of this part of the great river, but also to endeavour by observing the Direction and Rapidity of the current, and the nature of its Banks, Islands, and Shoals, to form some probable conjecture as to the changes which are likely to ensue. 5

This was approved, and Colebrooke spent from November 1796 to the following February on an excursion up the river. His fieldbooks are filled with interesting comments, some in particular describing the changes that had occurred in the river course at the Colgong rocks. 6 He submitted maps on the one-inch scale and among other matters pointed out the danger of encroachments on the city of Murshidabad, and the possible protection that might be afforded by cutting a navigable channel into the Bhāgrathī.

He also put in a long memoir, comparing the course of the Ganges in the various years that he had travelled along it with that described by Rennell many years earlier, with various suggestions for the maintenance of free navigation along the river channels. The following extract may be of interest:

The encroachments, however, are as often carried on gradually, and that partly in the dry season; at which time the natives have time to remove their effects, and change the sites of their dwellings, if too near the steep and crumbling banks. I have seen whole villages thus deserted, the inhabitants of which had rebuilt their huts on safer spots inland, or had removed entirely to some neighbouring village or town. The Topography, I might almost say the Geography, of a large portion of the country, will be liable to perpetual fluctuation from this cause; as the face of the country is not only altered by the rivers, but the villages are sometimes removed from one side to the other; some are completely destroyed, and new villages are continually rising up in other spots. 7 [21, 229]

Colebrooke made a particular hobby of these river changes, and spent much time on his many journeys up and down the river in recording them in detail, and Thomas Wood writes to him from Dinapore after a journey up the river during the rains of 1798 [57].

GANGES RIVER ABOVE COSIMBAZAR

Here I am at length arrived after a pretty favourable passage considering the season of the year. Though I most fully intended to have at least attempted what you recommended, a sketch of the river from Colgong upwards, yet I am sorry to acquaint you, it was completely out of my power. For many, many years past the Ganges has not been known to overflow its banks so much as it has done this season, and it was but seldom, even with Rennell's map of the river, that I could make out where I was. I had not the smallest idea of what the Ganges is during the rains, until now that I have seen it, and though I have repeatedly gone up and come down at other seasons, believe me, I could not have known it for the same river.1

Colebrooke's later journeys up the river as far as Cawnpore will be described in another volume.

SPECIAL SURVEYS IN CALCUTTA, 1785-6

In 1795 the Surveyor General was called on to advise the Military Board about a scheme for draining the land "near the General Hospital and the back of Chowringhee", by means of a canal draining into Tolly's Nullah, and to make a survey with levels for the purpose; he writes,

Upon the whole, the proposed scheme appears to be practicable, and highly eligible, as a quantity of putrid and stagnant waters which lodge in the drains and ditches about Chowringhee all the year round, might thereby be drained off, and the place would of course become more healthy.2

and later,

As the business of my office at the present juncture occupies almost the whole of my time, I am apprehensive...that it will not be in my power personally to pay that attention which would be requisite to complete it as soon as may be expected, but...I have directed Ensign Blunt, one of my assistants, to begin the survey under my superintendence3.

Blunt completed the survey at the end of 1796, on the scale of 200 feet to an inch, "with a table of levels carried out to govern the excavation of the drain"4.

The same year Government reviewed the lease which had been granted to Major Tolly and his widow for collecting tolls on the traffic passing through Tolly's Nullah5:

The Governor General in Council observes that previously to coming to any final determination with respect to the proposed surrender of the grant of Tolley's Nullah, he thinks it necessary to ascertain, fully, the present state of the Nullah, and the probable expense of making the necessary excavations for the purpose of facilitating the navigation of it.

Agreed...that orders be issued...to the Surveyor General...to proceed immediately to survey the Nullah, and to report the present state of it, ...and the annual expense of making the necessary excavations in future for...rendering the Nullah at all times navigable6.

In June 1796 the Surveyor General submitted his report together with a survey made with the assistance of Blunt7, who was then directed to see that the canal was cleaned out and excavated to the necessary depth.

CHITTAGONG COAST, 1799-1800

At the end of 1799 the Marine Board asked for a survey of the Chittagong coast, and Government ruled that "the service properly appertains to the Surveyor General's Department". Upjohn [54], who had now become an assistant in the office, was appointed to the survey with Mr. Jeremiah McCarthy and the vessel Harriet at his disposal, and with the following instructions from the Surveyor General;

The primary object being to survey the Chittagong River as high as it is usually navigated, with its entrance, and such a portion of the coast as vessels are liable to fall in

---

1Dnn. 15 (61), Sept. 1798. 2Dnn. 16 (127), Jan. 1796. 3Dnn. 16 (145), 1-10. 4Map, BM. Addl. MSS. 1380. (B) printed copy, BM Lib. 5Tolly's Nullah was made by Major Tolly at his own expense between 1779 and 1779. Being granted a 12 years lease for collection of the toll, he died on his voyage home in 1784, and the lease was extended for a further period of 15 years to his widow; the Nullah was taken over by Government in 1806. 6Dnn. 16 (125), 30-6-96; Survey, MRIO. III (486).
with previous to making the port, you will of course begin with these several parts of the survey in the order in which they are here stated, viz. The Chittagong River to Islamabad, or as high as it is navigated, with its soundings, sand-banks, entrance and bar. This part of the survey, in order to be rendered more accurate and complete, should be performed partly with a theodolite and chain, or perambulator, and the latitudes of entrance, as well as of the highest spot up the river to which your survey will extend, should be accurately determined by observation of the sun and stars taken on shore.

The next object of your attention will be the coast. ... If this is begun...about 20 miles north of the entrance of the river, and continued down to Red Crab Island south of Masual, the end as far as relates to the navigation of the coast of Chittagong will be answered. You will of course include in this part of the survey, the east and south sides of the island of Sunapea, with the islands of Kuttubdia and Masula, and be particularly careful to include all the shoals, rocks, and soundings, so as to construct such a chart as will be of real use and benefit to navigation. The variation of the magnetic needle and the latitudes of a few points within this track should be observed, and with a view to greater accuracy your operations may occasionally be conducted on shore. ...

P.S. I need hardly mention that in every part of the survey the soundings and track of the vessel should be laid down; and the set of the currents and the time of high-water noticed.

A few extracts are here given from Upjohn's journal, which extends from January 3rd to April 16th 1800; 15th February. This day, the boat having been stove on shore and rendered unserviceable by the violence of the surf, at 11 a.m. weighed for Chittagong to procure others,

Monday, 17th. Busily employed using every exertion to procure boats; for which purpose waited on Mr. P. the acting Collector, who could give me no assistance.

Tuesday, 18th. Purchased a large Dingey, and employed carpenters etc. to make the necessary alterations.

N.B. This day very ill in bed.

Wednesday, the 19th February. At 1 past 12, the boat being finished, and having hired another, weighed and proceeded down the river.

Wednesday, 26th...N.B. Returned on board very ill this day.

Monday, 1st of March. At daylight weighed and dropped down nearly opposite Captain Cox's bungalow. Went on shore to the northward, in order to avoid as much of the surf as possible; in doing which the boat was swamped.

On my return to the ship, Captain Collins expressed his opinion that the Harriet would not be capable of proceeding further to the southward, in consequence of there being a heavy swell, the breakers near the ship having much increased, and his apprehension of approaching bad weather; that therefore I could not expect to receive any assistance from the Harriet, if I persisted in continuing my operations further south.

Upjohn was now continually on the sick list and died on 21st June 1800, shortly after he "had returned to the Presidency and handed in his charts, executed in a masterly manner".

Upon Upjohn's death the Surveyor General asked for the regular appointment of an assistant, who should be qualified to Survey by Sea as well as by Land, and who should be ready to perform any service of that nature which might be required by the Marine Board.

But Government did not approve;

If the Marine Board deem such an appointment necessary, or if they are desirous of having any particular Survey of that nature performed, the Governor General in Council will readily take into consideration such Propositions...as shall be submitted to him by that Board.

There was no Marine Survey department established in Bengal until 1809, and until that time the Surveyor General was responsible for various coastal surveys, and for the collection & custody of marine charts.

1Sandwip 1, 79 N 7/4. 2DDn. 14 (139), 10-11-99. 3DDn. 39, M. 355. 4Cox's Bazaar, 79 O.14. 5Charts, MRO, 171 (69, 70); DDn. 67, from SG. to Marine Board, 23-8-1800. 6BMC, 16-10-1800 (34).
Reduced by one-eighth from map facing p. 1 of Markham's Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet [70-1].

The English edn. 1788, of Du Halde's Description de l'Empire de Chine [70] contains the five sections of the Lamas' survey as adjusted by Father Regis, and used by D'Anville for the map above, which sections are three times the scale of this plate 7; they bear the following note by the translator:

Drawn by the Lama Mathematicians & corrected and improved by the Missionaries in 1717. As the Lamas made no Astronomical observations, the Missionaries have connected this Map with their own, as well as Adjusted the Situation of the Country in General by means of the following Places of China, whose Latitudes were observed and Longitudes determined Geometrically. Lasa, is, according to P. P. Dorville and Grober [149], in the Latd. of 29° 6', but the Map differs from their observations above 30 minutes. The Country to the South & West of Mount Kensias, where the travels of the Lama Mathematicians end, is laid down from Report of the Natives.

Du Halde takes the following notes (II pp. 334, 336) from the account sent home by Regis, the original source of the many versions of the story [70]:

The map of 1711 had been rejected by Regis because no situation had been fixed by celestial Observation, and the Distances were not measured, but laid down from common Computation.

The two Lamas, sent later, had studied Arithmetic and Geometry in a mathematical Academy. They were ordered to compile in their map all the Country from Si-ning to Lasa, the Grand Lama's Residence, and from thence to the Source of the Ganges; and likewise to bring some of the Water of that River back with them. This Map was laid before the Missionary Geographers in 1717, who found it vastly preferable to that of 1712, but without

Faults. However, by the Help of the Measures used in this Map, by comparing it with some Itineraries, they found themselves not unprovided with Materials for drawing a Map of all Tibet, more correct than any hitherto published.

The reason for the Lamas having to break off their survey was the invasion of Tibet by Tartars from the North:

All the Lamas that could be found were transported into Tartary. The two Lamas employed in making the Map of Tibet, who were of the Yellow-Hat Party, narrowly escaped the Fate of their Brethren. But as they were hurried by this Accident, they were obliged to content themselves, in many Circumstances relating to the Countries round the Source of the Ganges, with such information as the Lamas in the neighbouring Pagoda could afford them, and with what they could learn from the Historical Account found at the Grand Lama's at Lasa.

The River Ganges issues from the W. of the Mountain Kenlas... If therefore the Latitude of that Mountain had been taken by Observation, the course of the Ganges might have been more easily determined. But our Lama Geographers followed and measured the course of the Tan pu, which flows from the E. of the same Mountain, and their Measures alone cannot be supposed sufficient for accurately fixing the Latitude of Kenlas.

The Lamas have been held to scorn for foisting upon the world their crazy course for the upper Ganges; but it was an honest mistake, the best they could make of the information collected. They had not shirked their task; retreat was unavoidable. Their map of Tibet was not too bad, and it was unfortunate that their big mistake should affect a problem that was of particular interest to the geographical world [72-3].
CHAPTER V

BEYOND THE BARRIERS

HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS: Jesuit Missionaries — Lama Survey of Tibet, 1712-7 — Sources of the Ganges & Gogra — Bogle & Turner, 1774-84 — Nepal — The Snowy Range — Assam; The Brahmaputra — Walsh’s Expedition, 1792-1 — The Eastern Frontier — Burma.

In describing the boundaries of “Indostan” Orme writes,

Mount Caucasus forms its barrier to the north, separating it from the various nations of Tartars, from the great and little Thibet. From mount Caucasus to Chittigan, marshes and rivers divide it from the kingdoms of Tepra, Assam, and Arakan.

In this chapter we tell of the early efforts to explore these barriers and the countries that lay beyond.

Ptolemy [207] shows the Caucasus, Mons Imaus, and Emodi Montes, stretching as a continuous barrier along parallel 38°, and the ideas of geographers of the 16th and 17th centuries may be seen in plates 11 and 16.

Marshall writes in 1670 [17 n. 5].

The Murung, Neopoll and Botton hills are in Tartary and the last of which are called Nette Cuttee, which are Caucasus hills. All are out of the great Mogull’s Dominions.

The name Caucasus was given to the whole range because it was considered properly a continuation of the great Caucasus, which stretches from the ancient Media and the shores of the Caspian sea, round the north-east frontiers of Persia, to Candahar and Cassimire, and thence, continuing its course more easterly, forms the great northern barrier to the various provinces of the Mogul Empire, and ends, as we have reason to believe, in Assam or China.

Wilford, writing at the end of the 18th century, applies the name to the present Hindu Kush, recording that this country, which very much resembles the valleys of Cashmir, and Nepal, is mentioned in the Ayeen Akberry [133 n. 3]; ...It must not however be confounded with the famous country of Cash-ghar or Cashgar to the eastward of Samarcand... The original country of Chasce seems to have been the present country Cash-gar, to the north-east of Cabul, ...hence Ptolemy with great propriety, asserts, that the mountains to the north-east of Cabul, are the real Caucasus.... The capital city of Cashgar is called Chattraul, ..., and is the place of residence of a petty Mahometan prince.

The mountains presented a formidable barrier to all knowledge, and it was not until the 17th century that the first Jesuit missionaries made their adventurous journeys, endeavouring to establish mission posts in these inhospitable regions, and sending back accounts of their travels, and descriptions of the mountains, country, and people. They did not make their journeys for the sake of exploration or geography, but to carry the Gospel into the far lands.

The French geographers of the Sanson family [209] were the first to map the information sent home by the missionaries “but”, writes Markham, Guillaume Delisle, was the first to publish a map of Tibet. ... His map of Central Asia of 1706 [208] contains many details, published for the first time, which must have been obtained from the Jesuit missionaries. ... Delisle obtained much information, but he had no precise knowledge respecting relative positions, so that his map is very confused. For instance, Tibet and Utsang are inserted at a distance from each other, as if they were different places.

The following is a brief summary of the travels of these missionaries, and of the principal contributions they made to geography through their journals, letters and observations. We have already told of Father Monseirrate at the court of Akbar [11]. In the map of his travels [pl. 10], certainly not known to D'Anville or Rennell, he gives a very fair representation of the lie of the mountains, and the courses of the upper Indus and Punjab rivers, and shows Lake Mainsarowar.

He first saw the mountains from south of Ambula; Mount Inaus, which local people call Camun, burst into view, covered with snow, and throwing off a chilly wind. ... The inhabitants say that the sources of the Jumna are in this region, where the mountains slope westward towards the plains of Delhi. The Ganges rises on a slope that faces east, with a difference in longitude of 280 miles, and on the same latitude, 30 degrees and a third; information that would account for the curious position assigned to the Ganges on his map.

In 1602 Benedict de Goes, who had been member of the third Jesuit mission to Akbar in 1595, was sent from Goa on a mission to “Cathay”, which was then thought to be an unknown country in the heart of Asia. Leaving Lahore in 1603 he travelled in company with trading caravans, by Peshawar, Jalalabad and Kabul to Yarkand; from here he visited Khotan, then from Yarkand through Turfan to Suchow, where he died in 1607, having proved conclusively that Cathay was but another name for China. His property was looted after his death by the local people, and his diary torn open and mutilated.

In 1624 Antonio de Andrade travelled from Agra through Srinagar in Garhwal, over the Mansa Pass to Tsaparang on the Sutlej, and back to Agra. He returned to Tsaparang the following year, established a mission, built a church, and stayed there till 1629, when the Tibetan chief was overthrown by the Ladakhis, and he had to withdraw.

He was followed by Francisco de Azevedo who went to Tsaparang in 1631, but finding it impossible to re-open the mission, travelled on to Leh, and then by way of Lahul and Kulu returned to Agra early in 1632.

We now come to the travels of Ippolito Desideri, and begin with his start from Delhi in 1714:

On the 23rd of September we together began our journey towards Tibet. We went by way of Lahore, which we reached on the 10th of October. ... We left Lahore on the 19th of October, and in the course of a few days reached the foot of the Caucasus.

The Caucasus is a long range, consisting of remarkably steep and lofty mountains. After crossing one mountain you encounter a second still higher; this is in turn succeeded by a third, higher than either of the two former ones; and the farther you go the higher you climb, till you reach the highest of all, namely Per-Pangial. ... The summits of the highest mountains are always covered with snow and ice. We took twelve days to traverse these mountains on foot, crossing at times, with incredible difficulty, impetuous torrents, which formed by the melting of the snow, dash down with extreme violence amid rocks and boulders.

On the 10th of November we arrived at Kashmir. The enormous quantity of snow which falls during winter, and which absolutely closes up the passes, obliged us to remain there for six months. ...

We had left Kashmir on the 17th of May 1715, and the 30th ... we crossed the mountain and entered Tibet. Much snow had fallen on the path, which winds between mountains as far as Leh, or Ladak, the fortress where the King resides, which are the very picture of desolation, horror, and death itself. They are piled one atop of another, and so close as scarcely to leave room for the torrents which course impetuously from their heights, and dash with such
-deafening noise against the rocks as to appal the stoutest traveller. ... [reached Ladak June 25th]... We left Ladak on the 17th of August 1715.

Finally, two years and four months after I left Goa, and one year and a half since our departure from Delhi, and ten whole months since leaving Kashmir, we arrived by the grace of God, on the 18th day of March 1716, at the city of Lhasa.

The full MS. narrative of Desideri's journey was not discovered until 1875, and was published in Italian 29 years later. An English translation was published in 1923, and once more we find that most valuable contributions to geography had been lost to the 18th century. Among those pointed out by De Filippi are the following:

We find the first hint of the sacred mountain Kailas, of Lake Manasarowar, of the great valley of the Tsang-po, ... news of Baltistan, and news also of Ladak.

Desideri... states unequivocally that Southern Tibet is traversed through its whole extension from east to west by a single great river, which he identifies in a manner which leaves no room for doubt with the upper flow of the Brahmaputra—a remarkable affirmation at that date, when one thinks of the long controversy on that subject that was only settled at the beginning of the present century [78-80].

Desideri described the extent and boundaries of Tibet, and placed the latitude of Lhasa at 29° 6', as compared with its true of 29° 39′ 16″; he stayed in or near Lhasa until 1721 he received instructions that the mission field of Tibet was to be surrendered to the Capuchins, and he left on April 25th 1721", returning to India by way of Nepal.

Turning now to the east, we find that two of these devoted missionaries had entered Tibet from Assam and Bhutan nearly 90 years before Desideri's great journey through Kashmir.

On August 2nd 1626 Stephen Cacella and John Cabral left Hoogly, and travelling through Daeca reached Azo [pl. 13], the capital of Lower Assam, on September 26th and Biom [Cooch Behar] on October 21st.

Leaving Biom on February 2nd 1627 they reached Paro in Bhutan on March 25th. They were here received in a most friendly manner, and it was with some difficulty that they were able to leave and continue their way into Tibet. Cabral reached Shigatse 7 in January the following year, and after Cacella's arrival returned by himself through Nepal to Hoogly. Cacella remained behind and after a visit to Bhutan died at Shigatse in 1639. Cabral made another journey to Shigatse and back to Hoogly during 1631-2. 8 It will be noted that Cacella and Cabral were making their visits to Shigatse at about the same time that Andrade and Azevedo were travelling in the Sutlej valley and Ladak.

And now we come to our last two figures in this romantic epoch, Johann Grueber 11 and Albert d'Orville 12, both members of the band of Jesuit missionaries working in China, of which we shall have more to say shortly [70]. Receiving a summons to Rome, and being unable to travel by sea because of war with Holland, Grueber was ordered to find a route overland.

With d'Orville as companion, he set out from Pekin on April 13th 1661, and travelling through Shiningfu 13 they reached Lhasa on October 8th, the first Europeans, with one doubtful exception, to visit that holy city. Crossing the Kampa La they reached Kāmāndū in January, and passing through Motihāri and Patna reached Agra in March 1662, where d'Orville died the following month. The only account of this journey that was ever published was written up from their letters, and gave the values of the latitudes observed [149] 14.

After d'Orville's death Grueber continued his overland journey to Italy, travelling through Makrān, Persia, and Asia Minor. His full journal, which would have been of thrilling interest to geographers, has never been found.15

1Translation of letter from Lhasa, 16.4-16: Clements Markham (302). 2De Filippi (90). 3ib. (156 et seq). 4ib. (36, 48). 5ib. (108). 6ib. 1854, at Aviz, Portugal RJ, 1614; to India 1614; d. 6-3-20, at Shigatse. 7Haq. 78 N.7. 8ib. 1609, at Celorio, Portugal; SJ. 1615; to India 1614. 9ib. Ct.15. 10Wessels (152). 11ib. 1623 at Linn on Dampse; SJ. 1641; d. 1680. 12ib. August 1621, at Brussels; SJ. 1646; with Grueber from Europe 1636 to Goa; 1638 to Macao 1640 to Pekin; d. 8-4-42, at Agra. 13W. 36° N; 101° 45′ E. 14Clements Markham (305-302); Wessels (166-239); of. EE. Journal, Sept. 1922. (325a.). 15Clements Markham (ivii).
Beyond the Barriers

Further knowledge of Tibet was acquired from the Capuchin missionaries, who reached Lhasa in 1719 by way of Nepal, and whose letters were written up by Horace della Penna. He makes reference to the country of Kamal, which appears on Gastaldi’s map of 1561 [pl. 16], and this was first described by Marco Polo, from whose travels Gastaldi takes most of his information for Central Asia. Marco Polo’s contributions to geography were indeed remarkable, but were narrated from memory with the assistance of a few notes, in 1298—9, after his return to Europe.

LAMA SURVEY OF TIBET, 1712-17

The first map of Tibet and the Himalaya range to be based on systematic exploration was D’Anville’s map of 1783, compiled from the maps and surveys sent home by the Jesuit missionaries at Pekin with their great survey of China.

We have already mentioned the astronomical observatory at Pekin where Grueber and d’Orville worked in 1660. In 1698 the mission was joined by Father Jean-Baptiste Regis, who worked on the survey and mapping of China for the next twenty years.

Whilst he took the general geography from Chinese books which gave general descriptions, distances between important towns, and a few rough sketches, he and his fellow missionaries made systematic astronomical observations over a wide area. It is said that in 1701 alone they observed at Pekin and 1700 neighbouring towns and villages. In 1708 they measured the Great Wall & found it to be 20 degrees longitude in extent. The western end brought them to Si-ning, on the frontier of Tibet, near the great lake Kuikunor. They returned to Peking in 1709, in the same year... and in 1710... they made a map of Liao-tung and Manchuria.

Regis continued his work for the rest of China, either going himself, or sending his Jesuit companions to Mongolia, Formosa;... the new map was completed on January 1st 1717.

The survey was extended to Tibet by other agency:

The Emperor Kang-hi, having been satisfied of the accuracy of the European method of surveying, from the examination of a map which the Jesuit missionaries had executed of the country round Peking, resolved to have a survey made of the whole Empire on the same principles. ...

About 1705 a dispute arose amongst the Lamas of Tibet. ... The emperor... despatched a Mandarin to arrange matters. ... The latter took with him two of his subordinates who were ordered to draw maps of the country of the Great Lama. After their return to China in 1711, the maps were handed to the Jesuit Regis, with the direction to draw them to the scale of the existing maps of the other Chinese provinces.

As the maps indicated neither longitudes nor latitudes, Regis declared his inability to comply with the Emperor’s request; whereupon Canghi selected two Lamas who had been trained... at the academy founded by his third son, and despatched them to Tibet with orders to draw accurate maps of that country as far west as the Ganges. Their expedition was so far successful that they reached Lampa-Dhe (the Rakas Lake). They learned from the Lamas of a local monastery, that the Ganges had its origin in that lake. However, before they were able to take latitudes of the Lampa-Dhe region... the two Lamas had to flee from the country.

On their return to Pekin in 1717, their maps were again submitted for comment to the missionaries. These distrusted the work, but had not the courage to reject it altogether for fear of giving offence. ... The result of this half-hearted attempt was that, the Lamas’ map, showing the Ganges issuing from Lampa-Dhe, was accepted as correct. ... they gave a fair idea of the upper gorges of the Sutlej and Indus, but were completely misled when they swept these round to become the Ganges [pl. 7].

From the maps sent home to Paris, D’Anville produced his atlas of 42 maps, as a companion volume to Father du Halde’s four-volume Description de l’Empire de la Chine...
A portion of the Carte générale du Tibet, ou Brou-tan..., dated April 1733, appears on plate 7. Other “cartes particulières du Tibet” appear in the atlas which was published in Paris, with the following Avertissement. Toutes les Cartes ayant été mises au même point et sous une projection générale, les originaux sont présentés à S.M.T.C.² par le P. du Halde tels qu’ils les a vus reçus des missionnaires et se conservent dans la Bibliothèque du Roi.

Avant que d’être mises entre les mains des graveurs, elles ont passées par celles de M. D’Anville.

Rennell had no other authority for those regions, but records his distrust:

We have the history of the Lamas’ map in Du Halde, which is not altogether favourable to its character, especially in the parts towards the source of the Sampo & Ganges. A close examination of its particulars turns out still more unfavourable to it. For instance the place where the Ganges enters the plains of Hindoostan, is placed under the 28th degree of latitude, though it is known by our late observations to be in about 30° [pl. 6].

He was blamed by his contemporaries for not having taken a stronger line and rejected the Lamas’ map altogether, but his only alternative was to leave the area blank as he did in his final map of 1792 [pl. 8].

Sources of the Ganges & Gogra

From the earliest times there had been speculation about the source of the Ganges, and it was natural that legends of mystery should be attached to the source of a river whose waters were endowed with such special sanctity. D’Anville writes that,

According to Ptolémé, the ancients knew as little of it as of the origin of the Nile: ... We mistook for the head of the Ganges, a place inclosed between the mountains which separate India from Tibet, through which this river runs into India. According to... Terry, the Indians are of opinion that the waters...rise in the province of Siba. ... The Persian historian of Timur, conducting that conqueror as far as the entrance of the Strait of Kupela¹, says that 15 miles above this strat, there is a stone cut in the shape of a cow, from whence the Ganges springs.²

The curiosity of the Emperor Akbar was intrigued by the legend, and towards the end of the 16th century he sent a special mission of exploration, which penetrated to the neighbourhood of Gangotri;

On s’avança toujours du côté du Nord, & plus on approchait de la source, plus le lit du fleuve s’étrecissait. On traversa des forêts inhabitées, où il fallut se faire des chemins nouveaux. Enfin on arriva à une haute montagne, qui sembla taillée par l’art en forme d’une tête de vache. De la coule une grande abondance d’eaux, qui semblerent aux Députés être la première origine du Gange. On ne pénétra pas plus avant. On revint après avoir couru de grands dangers, faire à l’Empereur le rapport du voyage. La Relation des Députes fit insérée dans la Chronique³.

It was some years after this journey that Terry⁴ wrote in 1655 describing Hardware, where the famous river Ganges, passing through or amongst large rocks, makes presently after a pretty full current; but both this and that other great river Indus have their rise & original out of the mountain Caucasus, from whence they both first issue.

That principal rock, through which this river Ganges there makes a current, is indeed, or (if not), according to the fancy of the superstitious Indians, like a Cow’s Head, which of all sensible creatures they love best.⁵

Father Desideri who passed close under Mount Kailas⁶ on his march from Ladak to Lhassa in 1715-16 [67-9] noted that this seemed to be the source of the Indus and the water parting between east and west;

It seems that the above mentioned mountain Ngmar Giogar must be regarded as the fountain head not only of the river Ganges, but also of the Indus. ... Being the highest point of this region, the water drains off on two sides. To the west it flows through Second Tibet to Lesser Tibet it reaches the Mountains of Cascimir, and finally, near Lesser Guzerat.⁷

---

forms the navigable river Indus. On the eastern side, another large body of water flows into lake Retoa and eventually forms the river Ganges. But Desideri's report did not reach D'Anville or Rennell who followed the Lamas' map, as D'Anville writes:

We have learned that at the foot of the Kentsisse mountains, the Ganges, formed by several springs, crosses successively two great lakes, and takes its course to the Westward, where meeting with a chain of mountains that obliges to turn to the Southward, and then wanders itself between the East and South, till wholly directed towards the latter it enters India, which it cannot do but by opening itself a passage between the mountains. ... This discovery has added to the Ganges about 200 leagues.

Wilford explains that it is one of the Southern peaks of Mount Cauntisch, which, rising behind the subordinate peak of Kyeqmulung, is considered by pilgrims as the source of the Ganges. There ended the survey of the Lama mathematicians, and the countries to the South and South West were added afterwards, from the report of natives.

D'Anville made slight modifications which Rennell accepted and wrote, in placing the heads of the Ganges and Sanpoo rivers, I have followed M. D'Anville's correction of the Lamas' map in Da Halde. ... and have continued the course of the Ganges to the place where it enters Hindosstan, from the same map. I have said before, that I consider this part of the Lamas' map as a very vague performance; but the want of better materials obliges me to make use of it. I suspect that the Ganges does not take quite so wide a circuit to the northwest, as is there described.

Duperron on the other hand was emphatic in his scorn and justly remarks, Sans peut-être en avoir de meilleurs, M. Rennell ne peut plus employer des Materiaux dont on connoit maintenant le defectueux ... whilst Hodgson, in 1821, overlooking perhaps the doubts that Rennell expressed, wrote that in some few instances he failed, particularly in his conjectures respecting the [upper?] part of the course and the source of the Ganges.

In 1786 the publication by Bernoulli of the maps and writings of Father Tiefenthaler brought fresh information from a new and apparently trustworthy source. Anquetil-Duperron had compiled Tiefenthaler's maps into a general map which he published with notes of his own in 1784; learning thus of Tiefenthaler's work, Bernoulli, then a professor in Berlin, obtained his Descriptive Indus from Denmark, and published a translation, to which he added, in two further volumes, an expanded edition of Duperron's treatise, and a translation of Rennell's Memoir.

He included Duperron's general map with large-scale insets shewing the sources of the Ganges and Gogra as sketched by Tiefenthaler from native information. These place the famous Cow's Mouth at Gangotri about 3 degrees west and 34 degrees north from Hardwar (the correct distance being about 40° E. and 65° N.), though Tiefenthaler observes that, La vraie source du Gange est inconnue, & elle ne sera jamais decouverte, parce qu'an delà de la bouche de la Vache les chemins sont impraticables, a suggestion ridiculed by Duperron.

In a sketch of the lakes Mansarroi and Lanka Dhe, three rivers are shown rising from the former; against that flowing to the east Tiefenthaler notes, On dit que le Brahmapoutren qui va à Assam et à Rangamati, sort de ce Lac [80, 309, and against that flowing to the north-west.

On dit que le Satlouj qui va à Belaspour et à Lodiane, sort de ce Lac; mais cette assumption ne mérite aucune croyance, car il est plus vraisemblable qu'il se jette dans l'Allaknanda qui arrose Badrinath et Sirinagar, ou dans une autre Riviere.

The Gogra is shown flowing from the "Lanka Dhe", with the notes, Le Sardjou sort de ce Lac. On appelle ce fleuve Sardjou tandis que c'est réellement le Gogra, à cause de Sardjou qui s'y jette à Pasca.

---

1 De Filippi (83-4). 2 D'Anville. 3 Herbert. 4 As. E. VIII, 1805 (332-3). 5 Memoir, 1783 (99). 6 Bernoulli, II (491). 7 DDN. 198 (99): 8G. to Govt. 18-9-1821. 8 Maclagan notes that Tiefenthaler never quoted his authorities. 9 Jean Bernoulli, b. 8-11-44, at Basle; a great astronomer; d. 1807, at Berlin. 10 1786 Edn. 11 Bernoulli, II (579). 12 Mansarwar or Tso Mapham; Lagang or Rakas, if NW.
Part of Rennell's Map of the Countries situated between Delhi and Kundahor, 1792, which faces p. 65 of his Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, 1793. Scale 14 inches to a degree.

Rennell has received a new value for the position of Sirinagur, Garhwal, and changed the course of the Ganges above Hardwar to conform [73].

He has now abandoned the Lamas' version of the Upper Ganges, but has no idea of the source of the Indus, which Monserrate had shown 200 years earlier [Plate 10].
C'est par le récit des Voyageurs qui vont à ce Lac qu'on connoit la source de ce fleuve; pour avoir quelque chose de plus certain, il faut d'autres recherches.

Just above its exit from the "Cumaum Hills" the Gogra is shown passing through the reservoir du Sardjou ou Kanar, que l'on bien appeler sa seconde source; ici il est nommé Kanar; ailleurs Sardjou; ailleurs Gogra et Devha... and nearly 30 miles lower the river passes through the "Catarracte du Kanar". Bernoulli's publication reached Rennell in time for Tiefenthaler's work to be incorporated into his map of 1788 [pl. 6], and here again he was misled, wrongly assuming that Tiefenthaler had visited Gangotri himself, though Duperron had been emphatic that he had never done so, but had trusted to "des renseignemens qui lui ont été donné par les gens du pays". In his new Memoir Rennell discusses at length all the evidence now available regarding the source of the Ganges, concluding with this magnificent picture:

To sum up the whole information, collected from different accounts of the upper part of the course of the Ganges, it appears that the two branches of it, which spring from the western side of Mt. Kentsissee, take course westward, inclining considerably to the north, for a course of about 300 miles; ...when, meeting the great chain...of Mount Himmaleh, which extends from Cabul along the north of Hindoostan, ...the rivers are compelled to turn to the south; in which course they unite their waters, and form what is properly termed the river Ganges. This great body of water now forces a passage through the ridge of Mount Himmaleh...and sapping its very foundations, rushes through a cavern, and precipitates itself into a vast basin which it has worn in the rock, at the bither foot of the mountains. ... From this second source...its course becomes more easterly than before, through the rugged country of Sirinagar; until, at Hardwar, it finally escapes from the mountainous tract, in which it has wandered for about 800 B. miles.

Five years later he dropped the Lamas' course altogether and corrected his map immediately above Hardwar [pl. 8];

I find that I was misled by the map of the Ganges, made from the materials furnished by the late M. Tiefenthaler; having placed the town of Srinagar...on the north of Hardwar; whereas it appears by the observations of some English gentlemen,...in 1789...to lie nearly to the ENE. of Hardwar. The position of Srinagar is at present established,...on the authority of Capt. John Guthrie...who visited it in 1769,...asserted by a compass and perambulator. Mr. Daniel...also visited Srinagar the same year, and he gives nearly the same idea...

Some geographical information concerning the upper part of the course of the Ganges and its principal branches, appears at the foot of a...beautiful sketch...drawn by Mr. Daniel;...the Alackmunda river, which passes under Srinagar is made perfectly distinct from the Bhagretty;...Mr. Daniel's sketch shows it as a branch which separates from the Baghretty below the cow's mouth, and rejoins it below Srinagar [pl. 6, 8].

The Lamas' version of the sources of the Ganges was last reproduced in Arrowsmith's Map of India published in 1804, and a full review of the misconceptions that had so long prevailed was written by Henry Colebrooke [77 n. 3] in 1809, and published in Asiatic Researches.

BOGLE & TURNER, 1774–84

As early as 1768 the Directors had expressed a wish for intercourse and trade with Tibet and the countries to the north, and they repeated this desire in 1771; it having been represented to us that the Company may be greatly benefited in the sale of Broadsheet, Iron, Copper, Lead, and other European commodities by sending proper persons to reside at Rungpor, and to explore the interior parts of Butum, Assam, and other countries adjacent to Gaulparah; and as you well know our earnest wish to extend the vend of the

Staples of this Kingdom to as great a degree as possible, we are surprised you have not already made an attempt to carry so desirable an object into execution. 1

An opportunity came shortly after; early in 1778 an expedition had been sent against the people of Bhutan, who had been invading the Company's territories north of Cooch Behar; and on receiving a letter from the Teshu Lama interceding on behalf of the Bhutanese, Warren Hastings took the opportunity to send George Bogle on a mission of goodwill to Tibet. 2

His instructions were chiefly concerned with commerce, but two items refer to geographical matters.

To inquire what countries lie between Lhasa & Siberia, and what communication there is between them. The same with regard to China and Kashmir. 3

To inform yourself of the course and navigation of the Brahmaputra, and of the state of the countries through which it runs [80] 4

Bogle's official report makes no reference to these matters, and he was particularly anxious to avoid suspicion of having come to spy out the land 5. In his account of an interview with the Teshu Lama on January 13th 1775 he writes,

That I was exceedingly concerned that Gesub still continued to...imagine that I was come with a design of making an unfriendly account of this kingdom: that I knew nothing about surveying or war: that Mr. Hamilton who was with me, knew as little; that as to the country of Tibet, the Cosain 6, who had been down in Calcutta, could tell him that the Governor had plans of it, and knew the names & situations of the principal places. ...

To tell the truth, I had restrained my curiosity merely in order to counteract the idea of my having come to examine & pry into the country. ... The Lama, upon this, offered to give me a map of Tibet from Ladak to the frontier of China, with the names of places and their distances. This was a splendid object, and to obtain it, I was sensible would reflect much lustre on my commission. ... I replied...in the same style of indifference, after thanking the Lama for his kind offer, that the situation of the country, its strength, forces, &c. were no concern of my constituents...and that in taking a map of this country I would only afford ground for Gesub's suspicions. 7

Bogle was away for 15 months, and, according to Rennell, the only information of geographical interest arising from his mission lay in the details of his route, which ran by way of Cooch Behar, through Buxa 8, Paro in Bhutan, the head of the Chumbi valley, between the lakes Kala Tso and Ban Tso 9, and, down the Paimam river through Gyantse to Shigatse 10; he then crossed the Tsang-po and, reaching "Deheripingyay", the residence of the Teshu Lama, on November 12th 1774, stayed there five months 11.

Stewart's interesting account of Tibet, written up from Bogle's letters and reports, appears in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, and, besides identifying the Brahmaputra with the Great River of Tibet [80], records that

Mr. Bogle divides the territories of the Delai Lama into 2 different parts. That which lies immediately contiguous to Bengal...he distinguishes by the name of Boutan [222 n. 5.]; and the other, which extends to the northward as far as the frontiers of Tartary, called by the natives Pu, he styles Thibet 12.

Eight years later a second mission was despatched to Tibet, this time to acknowledge the re-incarnation of the Teshu Lama. Samuel Turner, a cousin of Warren Hastings, was selected for the charge, and with Samuel Davis as surveyor and Robert Saunders as medical attendant [77], followed Bogle's route through Bhutan turning aside to visit Punaka, the capital. Davis was regarded with suspicion on account of his profession and was not allowed to proceed further. Turner published an account of his mission in 1800, which included several sketches which Davis made in Bhutan, as well as a map of his route 13, whilst observations made to the snowy peaks were quoted by Sir William Jones [77]. After this mission of 1783-84, there was no further official intercourse with Tibet for over 100 years.

1CD to R. 10-4-71 (16). 2Dellamoota Fort captured by Jones (q.v.) [220]. 3Stewart (189). 4Instructions dated 15-5-74; Clements Markham (8). 5He took with him a set of D'Anville's maps of Tibet; ib. (6xix). 6"Gossaya Poomunggar" who accompanied Turner and gave useful geographical information to Wilford. As R. I. (237) & IX (64). 7Clements Markham (154). See also Bogle's Journal. HMS. 118 (371). 878 F. 1. 977 H. 7. 8. 1077/3/2. 11Map of Route: Clements Markham (298). 12Stewart, (196). 13Survey of the road from Durandum to Tassaudun in Bhutan and...to Teshu Loomboe in Tibet; scale 5 in. to an inch; see also MBFO. 41 (2).
In 1786 the Directors wrote out to ask for copies of a "Plan of the Thibet Mountains" and of a "View of Thibet or Bhutan"; apparently in response to this request, the Surveyor General sent home in 1792 a "Plan—The High Mountains of Thibet and those between Nepal and the low Countries"; this has not been found and nothing is known of its authorship.

Nepal

We have noticed that various missionaries had travelled through Nepal during the 18th and 17th centuries [69–70], and after they had penetrated to Lhasa, the Capuchin mission established headquarters at Bettiah in 1745. Rennell acknowledges an itinerary, with distances, taken from Father Giorgi's record of the mission, but adds "we are almost entirely in the dark as to the particular direction...". For his maps of 1774 he took the course of the Gundack River beyond Soupour, and all the places beyond the Bettiah Hills, from a MS. Map made by the Jesuits in Nepal.

There were two official missions sent to Nepal by the Government of Bengal during the 15th century. The first was an expedition under Captain Kinloch made in 1767, to assist the Raja of Nepal in his defence of Kātmāndū against the Raja of Gorkha.

Kinloch marched a small force of 4 companies of sepoys from Patna through Janakpur, but was held up by a thousand difficulties, and but for knowledge gained of a small portion of the frontier, and the extension of the Company's influence, nothing was accomplished. Kinloch sent maps to the Governor:

I send you his present attack of Cuttandar & Paton, by which the terrible situation of Jay Percass [Raja of Nepal] may be easily seen, notwithstanding the Rudeness of the Work, which indeed is neither Plan, Perspective, or Profile, and altogether out of proportion. It is done by Macha Uder, the man who did the Map which was sent to you.

In recommending that Kinloch should be allowed to make a second advance, the Chief at Patna wrote in February 1768:

The knowledge Capt. Kinloch has obtained of that part of the Country, which was before so little known, will be a means of not subjecting him to so many difficulties as he before met with... and again,

I have deliverd to the President some Plans Capt. Kinloch has sent me down, shewing the Rout he intends to take.

Robert Kyd made a sketch of Kinloch's route "to Seedly & Harriporr", beyond the Nepal border.

In 1792 the Gurkhas appealed to Calcutta for help in a war against Tibet; military aid was refused, but a mission under William Kirkpatrick was sent to offer mediation. Starting in February from Munari up the Baghmati River, it reached Kātmāndū after the trouble had been settled, and returned at once, travelling down the Rapti, and reaching Sagauli on the Gandak in April.

A survey of the route was kept by John Gerard, one of the officers of the escort, and compiled into the map which was published with Kirkpatrick's account of the mission.

The original of the accompanying map is the performance of Lieut. Gerard, who has also the merit of having taken considerable pains in the course of our journey to ascertain with exactness the relative position of places; a task which was rendered the more laborious by the circumvallation with which he was obliged to use the compass. As the use of the perambulator was entirely out of the question; and as, owing perhaps to the nature of the country, we did not find the peedometer answer, we had no other means of measuring the distances but by the watch. No doubt this was a very inaccurate method, but we endeavou-

ed to correct it, in some degree, by comparing notes after each day's journey; and by paying due regard, in our computations, to the varieties of the road with respect to ruggedness or facility. Accordingly we have allowed, in different situations, from two to four miles per hour though it was very rarely indeed after entering the Nepal territories, that we proceeded at the latter rate. ... It is much to be regretted that we were not able to fix the situation of a few points, at least, of our route by observations of the latitude and longitude. ... We were not absolutely without the means of accomplishing the former of these interesting objects, but as we did not sufficiently understand the management of the astronomical quadrant, ... we were too ill satisfied ourselves with the results of our operations to think them entitled to any confidence.

The Snowy Range

Without going back to the days of Alexander the Great, we will now record the comments made by some of the early surveyors and other travellers on their first sight of the snowy peaks of the Himalaya. We have already noticed the first impressions of Father Monserrate in 1551 [68], and the awe which Father Desideri felt when passing through the mountains into Kashmir and over to the Indus valley [68–69], which contrast with the restraint of the surveyor (probably Bruce) with the first Rohilla campaign of 1774, who indicated the foothills with a simple line of conventional hills, with a further conventional line marked "Mountains covered with snow".

Marshall writes in 1870 [67],
About Morung [pl. 14], which is a great place, are very high hills which upon the 31 July 1671 I see, being at Singhee about 8 Courses North from Patna. ... They by directly North from hence and seem a vaster distance of [sic] than any object my eyes ever beheld. I see them before Sunrise about 2 minutes of an hour, when I could see the sun shine upon the tops of them, which hills seemed about 3 degree above the horizon. These people, when they go thither, they go first to Neopol and some days journey beyond pass over vast valleys before come to these hills. They go to Botton for Musk that being the chiefest place where the Musk-deer are. Travelling over the Neopol hills requires 24 or 25 days time, which being up most vast hills and down vast valleys, the way in a straight line may not be much, and considering the crookedness of the way passing through vast woods etc., and going by Neopol to Botton, which is out of the way, lying about 1 point of the Compass East of it, and then considering that they come to these hills 4 or 5 days before come to Botton. ... I reckon that the real distance of these hills from hence may bee in a straight line about 140 Courses, which at 2 1/2 mile per Course, make 315 English miles.

Several Arminians and Jesuits which have come from them parts, which come from China, and have travelled the most Countries in the World, say that these Botton hills are the highest hills they ever see or heard of.

Rennell saves his emotion for the view of the plains looking back from the hills of the Buxa Duirs.

The southernmost ridge of the Bootan mountains rises nearly a mile and a half perpendicular above the plains of Bengal in a horizontal distance of only 15 miles, and the astonished traveller looks back on the plains, as on an extensive ocean beneath him. He considered the mountains as outside his province, being beyond the frontiers of Bengal, but plate 5 shows that he sketched them in where he could, and intersected occasional prominent peaks; for example, one to the north of Buxa Duir bears the note, "This sharp mountain is seen from Chilmari, Purneah, etc.", and he notes generally that the Situation of different Peaks in the chain of mountains covered with snow were ascertained by good bases, many parts of it being distinctly seen at distance of 60 miles from the foot of the first chain.

He was definitely impressed by their height but attempted no estimate;
They are among the highest of the mountains of the old hemisphere. I was not able to determine their height; but it may in some measure be guessed, by the circumstance of their

---

The Snowy Range

rising considerably above the horizon, when viewed from the plains of Bengal, at the distance of 150 miles\(^1\) [23].

and again.

I suppose them to be in point of elevation equal to any of the mountains of the old hemisphere. Indeed the country of Thibet is altogether one of the highest in Asia; it being a part of that high elevated tract which gives rise not only to the rivers of India and China, but to those also of Siberia and Tartary. ...\(^2\)

This lack of inquisitiveness puzzled Henry Colebrooke\(^3\), who points out that,

Travellers through Bhutan into Tibet had enabled him to determine, with considerable accuracy, the geographical position of some of the peaks, and establish the important fact that the snowy range was removed by a vast tract of hill country from the plains\(^4\).

Sir William Jones, founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, was quick to appreciate the immense height of the peaks, which he saw about a year after his arrival in India; he writes,

Just after sun-set, on the 5th of October 1784, I had a distinct view from Bhagilpoor of Chumalury peak, and the adjoining mountains of Tibet, which are very clearly seen from Pernia\(^5\), and were perfectly recollected by a learned member of our society [Samuel Turner], one of the latest travellers to that interesting country, who had obligingly communicated to me a correct note of the bearings and courses observed in his journey from Rengpur\(^6\) to Tassissuden, and thence through Paradong to Chumalury\(^7\). ... From the most accurate calculations that I could make, the horizontal distance at which it was distinctly visible must be at least 244 British miles. ...

By an observation of Mr. Davis [74] at Rengpur, and another at Tassissudden, the difference of latitude between the place last mentioned and Bhagilpoor, is 163 geographical or 188 and a fraction British miles; now although the road from Buxadewar in Butan, the latitude of which was found to be 26° 53', consisted of rough mountains and deep valleys, yet the way between Paradong and Chumalury, especially from...the frontier of Tibet, was very level; and the accuracy of our travellers gives us reason to believe, that their computed miles from Tassissudden were but little above the standard; so that having measured the northern sides of the two triangles, formed by...their courses WNW. and NNW., we could not be far from the truth. ...

The mountains of Chumalury are the second or third ridge described in the Memoir\(^8\). The Major justly considers the mountains of Himola, for so they are named by the natives from a word signifying snow, as equal in elevation to any in the old hemisphere; and an observation of Mr. Saunders [74] at Pernia, added to a remark of Mr. Smith\(^9\) on the appearance of Chumalury from Moreng, gives abundant reason to think, that we saw from Bhagilpoor, the highest mountains in the world, without excepting the Andes\(^10\).

Henry Colebrooke became a great enthusiast on the subject of the height of the snowy peaks:

His attention was first drawn to this question during his residence at Purnea [1788-03], from which station there is a fine view of the majestic range 150 miles distant\(^11\). He was the first to attempt to decide the height of the range by observation, and found that an estimated distance of 150 English miles, with elevation of 1° 1', gave a height of 26,000 feet; he was transferred from Purnea before he could conclude his observations.

Reuben Burrow, during his visit to Godlpura in 1788 [150], measured a base and fixed all the peaks of the Bhutan mountains that he could, taking panorama sketches, and on his journey to Hardwar took observations to the Kumaun Hills [161].

There are at least two ranges of hills (but I suspect many more); it is the farthest and highest range that is called the Almora Hills; ... I could not get the name of the nearest range of hills\(^12\).

When he got to Hardwar he took observations to all the peaks he could see from the top of the hills near "Chandyghaut."

In 1796 Thomas Hardwicke, the botanist, visited Hardwar, and travelled up the Ganges as far as Srinagar [150 p. 6,8], making a plot of his route and of the course of the river, and leaving vivid descriptions of the country:

\(^1\) Memoir, 1788 (25th). \(^2\) ib. 1793 (302). \(^3\) First Cours of Robert Colebrooke (op.). \(^4\) Colebrooke (288) & A. R. XII. 1818 (255-8). \(^5\) Bhagilpur, 72 K 10. \(^6\) Purnea, 72 0/9. \(^7\) Rengpur, 78 8/5. \(^8\) Phari Drong, 76 K 2; Chumalari, 78 E/0, 26,990 ft. \(^9\) Memoir, 1783. \(^10\) William Bruce Smith, merchant & Indigo factor, Purne & Nathypan (Nautpore, pl. 14); HIMS. 379 (239-7); had sent a sketch of Kool K. to SG. v. Ddn. 131 (89), 8-8-1814. \(^11\) Telgunworth, 11 (48); see also Colebrooke (288 et seq.). \(^12\) Colebrooke (288). \(^13\) 2830; 62 E.C. \(^14\) Journal, 10 Maps MS 5. \(^15\) Memo. M. 329 (31).
April 27th at Teyla-ka-Maanda. The road continuing with an ascent for about half an hour brought me to the summit of a ridge, from whence is seen the lofty chain of snow-covered mountains in a very extended line from E. to W. From the distant and indistinct point of view these mountains are seen in some parts of Rohilkund, no just idea can be formed of the sublimity of the scene here exhibited, and which every moment appeared with additional grandeur and brilliancy as the rising sun gradually increased his altitude.

One of the most conspicuous summits of this Chain is distinguished by the name of Hem, on the base of which...is the famous place of Hindoo worship called Budhres Nauth 1; ... its hearing from where I made these notes was NNE.

April 28th. Chet Kote. ... I was brought to another view of the lofty snow-covered mountains, which the moment before were hid by the neighbouring hills, and from the increased elevation of this spot above the one I last saw them from, their magnitude and extent were seen in proportionate degree, but the grandeur of the scene was so infinitely increased, that description must fail as far short of doing justice, as would the pencil of the most eminent artist. ...

April 29th. Had a distinct view of the town and valley of Sirenaugur, and the winding course of the Alekmandra River 2.

Hardwicke discusses the distance of the base of the snowy range beyond Srinagar, and quotes the descriptions given by Daniel in 1789 [ 73 n. 6 ].

We may close with a reference to Kirkpatrick's description of the "terrific appearance" of the snow-covered range as seen during his visit to Katmandoo, and his estimate that one peak "cannot be supposed to be less elevated than the Peak of Teneriffe 3".

ASSAM: THE BRAHMAPUTRA

Nothing whatever was known of the geography of Assam before the days of Rennell, and most maps shewed the Brahmaputra as a short river not 500 miles long flowing from north to south [ pls. 3, 11, 16 ]. D'Anville shows it as high as "Azoo" [ 69 n. 7 ] just above Rangamati [ pl. 13 ], and gives the following description:

Un peu au dessous de Daka, le Gange est joint par une grosse rivière, que sort de la frontière du Tibet. Le nom de Bramanpourt qu'on lui trouve dans quelques cartes, est une corruption de celui de Brahmaputori, qui dans le langue du pays signifie ' tirant son origine de Brahmu '. Cette rivière, en remontant conduit à Rangamati et à Azoo, qui sont la frontière de l'état du Mogul 4.

A prominent feature of the old maps was the great lake "Chianay" lying between Assam and Upper Burma [ pls. 3, 11, 16 & p. 48 ] of which Wilford writes,

The Brahma-cunda, 5 from which issued the Brahma-putra, is the same which is called Chianay by De Barros [ 210 n. 6, 211 ], and other Portuguese writers. De Barros calls the Brahmaputra the Coor river, and says that it comes from the lake Chianay, and from thence it goes to the town of Coor. ...

The Chianay Lake was said to be 180 miles in circumference. ... Four rivers are supposed to spring from this lake, but except the Brahma-putra, the others must issue from it through subterranean channels. The Poonaute is delight in such mystical communications 6.

Herman Moll wrote, before 1722 [ 209 ],

Acham. The Lake of Chianay lies in this Country, betwixt Latitude 25° and 27°, and is, says Laytys, 180 leagues in Compass. The river Cacoumo runs from it into the Bay of Bengal thro' several Kingdoms, and there are divers other Rivers which fall into it. T was by sailing up this River that the Moguls first discover'd the Country. Tavernier [ 49 ] says that several other Rivers flow from this Lake, which he places in the 24th or 26th degree.

In 1765 Rennell took his survey of the Brahmaputra a short distance above Gokhpura, where he was stopped by the Assam frontier posts [ 20 ]. He was greatly impressed by the size of the river, and astonished to find it flowing from the east,

very different to the description given of it in the Maps. ... This River must needs have a very long course before it enters the Bengal Provinces, since 400 miles from the sea it is twice as big as the Thames. 1 ... and again,

The size of the Ganges has been very much magnified by those Historians who make any mention of it; and on the contrary the Burramputre, of the largest rivers in the world, has been scarce taken notice of. The Burramputre 60 miles from the sea is in some places 7½ miles broad, and is navigable for Boats of 150 tons 748 miles above its mouth; its stream is not very rapid, scarce exceeding the rate of 5 miles an Hour during all the above-mentioned space. 2

His observations and enquiries convinced him that the Brahmaputra was identical with the Tsang-po, and he writes,

I have placed Kirgaman, the capital of Assam, 160 miles E. by N. from Goalpara, according to the reports of the Assamers. They also informed me, that the Burrampooster has a very long course previous to its entering Assam; and that it comes from the NW. through the Thibet mountains. 3

The Sampo... was supposed by M. D’Anville to the same with that which is called, in the lower part of its course, the River of Ava: but we have now little doubt of its being the same with the Burrampooter. ... It was traced by me in 1765, to about 400 miles above the conflux; that is, as high as the latitude of 26°, longitude 91°; where the Bengal districts and those of Assam begin; but I was not permitted to go any higher. ...

The Lamas’ map of Tibet in Du Halde [70] describes the course of the Sampo to within 120° miles of the assumed situation of the capital of Assam; and still nearer to some parts of the Burrampooster, that are known, and have been described by the Assamers. These facts together with those respecting the Ava river... establish (I think) the strongest prescriptive proof possible of the Sampo and Burrampooter being one and the same river, under different names; and positive proof can never be obtained, but by actually tracing them; a circumstance unlikely ever to happen to any Europeans, or their dependants. 4

He summarised his conclusions in a paper first published in 1781 5, from which the following extract is taken;

Father Du Halde expresses his doubts concerning the course that the Sampo takes after leaving Thibet, and only supposes generally that it falls into the gulph of Bengal. M. D’Anville, his geographer, not without reason, supposed the Sampo and Ava river to be the same. 6...

The Burrampooter was represented to him as one of the inferior streams that contributed its waters to the Ganges, and not as its equal or superior. ... Till the year 1765, the Burrampooter, as a capital river, was unknown in Europe.

On tracing this river in 1765, I was no less surprised at finding it rather larger than the Ganges, than at its course previous to its entering Bengal. This I found to be from the east; although all the former accounts represented it as from the north; and this unexpected discovery soon led to enquiries, which furnished me with an account of its general course to within 100 miles of the place where Du Halde left the Sampo.

I could no longer doubt, that the Burrampooter and Sampo were one and the same river: and to this was added the positive assurance of the Assamers, “that their river came from the north-west, through the Bootan mountains”. 7

In 1830, discussent recent discoveries which seemed to confirm the identity of the Tsang-po and Brahmaputra, J. D. Herbert 8 writes,

The paper... will add another to the many proofs we have of the sagacity of the father of our Indian Geography, Major Rennell, whose very guesses appear better founded than the laboured erudition of other men. 9

But long before Rennell’s day Father Desideri [69] had, in his journal of 1715–6, recorded as a definite fact that,

There is one [river] which flowing from West to East traverses the centre of Third Thibet and the province of Kong-to... and then turning to the South-East enters the country of Luoba (Bootan), whence it descends to Rongmati [Rangamati], a province of Mogol beyond the Ganges into which this principal river of Thibet at last flows 10, on which De Filippi notes,

This is a clear mention of the Tsang-po. ... That Desideri, alone of the men of his time, should have identified in no equivocal manner the Tsang-po with the Brahmaputra is a notable

fact. Turner, too, at the end of the 18th century, knew that the two rivers were the same: the Berhampooter...penetrates the frontier mountains that divide Tibet from Assam. In this latter region it receives a copious supply...before it rushes to the notice of Europeans below Rangamati, on the borders of Bengal.¹

Tiefenthaler also had, before 1776, recorded information that the Brahmaputra rose in the Manasarowar Lake, to emerge through Assam and Rangamati,² and in describing his maps Duperron supports this conclusion, and quotes³ amongst other evidence, Stewart's⁴ account.⁵

The city of Labassa, which is the capital, is of no inconsiderable size:...The waters of the Great River, as it is emphatically called in their language, wash its walls.

Father Da Halde with great accuracy traces this river, which he never suspects to be the Borampooter, from its origin in the Cassinian Mountains (probably from the same spring which gives rise to the Ganges) through the great valley of Thibet, till, turning suddenly to the Southward, he loses it in the kingdom of Assam; but still, with great judgement and probability of conjecture, supposes it reaches the Indian Sea somewhere in Pegu or Arakan.

The truth is, however, that it turns suddenly again in the middle of Assam, and traversing that Country, enters Bengal towards Rangamatty under the above mentioned name, and thence bending its course more suddenly, joins the Ganges, its sister and rival, with an equal, if not more copious stream; forming at the conflux a body of running fresh water, hardly to be paralleled in the known World, which disembogues itself into the Bay of Bengal.⁶

Duperron concludes,

Mais c'est toujours une satisfaction réelle pour moi, de me trouver d'accord sur ce point important de Geographie, l'identité du Tsanpon & du Brahmapoutren, réuni au Gange, etc, avec trois Voyageurs instruits: MM. Bogle, Stewart & Rennell, lesquels, comme moi, ont résidé dans le Bengale.⁷

The earliest trading with Assam appears to have been in the hands of one Daniel Rausch [159], who was established at Golapura from about 1758 till his death in 1794 [82]. He never appears to have contributed any information of a geographical character, though he probably knew more about the Assamese of that time than anyone else.⁸

Welsh's⁹ Expedition, 1792–4

In 1792 the Governor General received an appeal from the Raja of Assam to assist him against a wide-spread rebellion, which was being carried on with the help of a large number of “barkandazes”, or hired soldiers, from Bengal. On September 10th the Commissioner of Rangpur¹° gave a deplorable account of the state of affairs in Assam; Mr. Rausch had been robbed of Rs. 45,000 worth of goods between Gauhati and Golapura, and recruits were said to be daily passing up from Bengal in large numbers to join the plundering bands¹¹. In deputing Captain Welsh to enter Assam, and ascertain the real situation, the Governor General observed,

However extraordinary it may appear to people in Europe, we are under the necessity of admitting that owing to the unremitting jealousy with which the Chiefs of those countries have hitherto shown to the English, we know little more of the interior parts of Nipal and Assam than the interior parts of China, and I therefore think that no pains should be spared to avail ourselves of so favourable an opportunity to obtain good surveys and to acquire every information that may be possible.¹²

Thomas Wood was appointed surveyor to the expedition, and in December Welsh reported from Gauhati,

Mr. Wood joined me on the 7th inst. I am employed in gaining every information I possibly can of this country. I intend sending him down to Nugrabaun Hill¹³ to connect Rennell's

¹th. [309 n. 17] quoting Turner (298), who thus aptly described the junction of the Dihang and Lohit below Sadka (84 M.9). ²Bernoulli, II (354, 355–9). ³John Stewart: Writer, Madras, 1761; in 1776. Secretary to Govt., Ft. William; a great traveller; D.E.B. ⁴Stewart (194); reproduced in Annual Register of 1778. ⁵Bernoulli, II (460–3). ⁶Formerly an officer of the armies of Frederick the Great. Rausch came to India in 1760. & established a trade agency at Golapura; m. Miss May at Rangpur, Oct. 1782; murdered by Assamese, 1784 [82]. ⁷Thomas Welsh, Brev. Cav. & Inf.; Cornet 12–9–49; Col. 20–5–1800; d. 11–4–1822. ⁸Rangpur Dist. 78 G. to be distinguished from the Assam capital [81 n. 7]. ⁹78 N.16. ¹⁰B.P.O.C. 19–9–92. ¹¹Johnstone (10). ¹²Near Golapura. 78 J.12.
Welsh's Expedition

survey with this place; as soon as he returns I shall push him on towards Naogong¹ about 7 days journey further up the river.²

On January 4th 1793 Welsh reported that Wood had reached Gauháti, having completed the survey up from Nagrabora Hill, and in March, after the rebels had been heavily defeated.

Mr. Wood left this on 4th inst. to survey the river to the Eastward as far as Kolibabar about 100 miles from here.³

Before moving up the river Wood had surveyed a route from this place, thro' the country of Druugh⁴ to...the Borders of Bootan, as likewise along part of the present boundary of Assam...⁵

Such Remarks on the appearance of the country as occurred to me while passing thro' it, as likewise the little information I could acquire as to the rivers that have their courses thro' Druugh and the interior Division of the country⁶.

Of his survey up the river he writes,

I still have about one hundred and forty miles of the Burnamooter River to protract and finish, as likewise the march of Captain Welsh's detachment, from where it left the Boats, to proceed to Rungpore ⁷ the Capital, and thence to Ghuangsong...⁸ and again, whilst still held up in Gauháti during the rains,

I am sorry it has not been in my power to obtain any general information respecting the geography of Assam or of the bordering countries, as might naturally have been effected from a person sent up here for that purpose, and I regret the circumstance the more, as the natives are by no means averse to make any communications in their power. ... This circumstance I beg leave to notice for my own credit, lest I might have been supposed inattentive to the purpose for which I was appointed.⁹

At the end of October 1793 a detachment was sent up the Brahmaputra to Kolibabar, and Wood writes to the Surveyor General,

At last I have got away from Gwahatty to my great satisfaction. I am going up with a detachment. ... I propose taking up my survey at the village of Littoree, where I left off, and hope to be able to send you down by & by, thirty or forty miles more of this wonderful river. ... I shall in the course of a few days send down my survey of the south side of Gwahatty, and indeed might have done it some weeks ago, had I not been in hopes that the country would have been dry enough to admit of my adding the north side of the river, but after attempting it I found it was impracticable. ... I had an observation of the second of Jupiter's satellites...which agreed so closely with my former ones, that I think the longitude I gave you for Gwahatty is very near the truth indeed. I have likewise made several observations for the variation of the compass.¹⁰

In January 1794 Welsh left Gauháti in company with the Raja, with the intention of restoring him to his capital at Rangpur, but while he was still at Kolibabar, his advanced force had a fierce engagement with a large body of the "Moarnia" rebels, who were opposing the march to Jorhat¹¹. Wood [qv] gives a vivid account of this action, in which he took an active part; Rangpur was occupied without further opposition on March 18th and he concludes his report,

I returned to the boats... and have continued my survey up to the south of the Dhikani River.¹² I am now going up that river [Brahmaputra] with the fleet as near to Rungpore as we have water, but am disappointed in surveying it. The banks are perpendicular on each side, and covered with an impenetrable jungle. So soon however as I get up to Rungapore, I mean to survey down the road we first marched up, at the commencement of which I left a mark, doubtful of being able to survey up the Dhikani at this season of the year, and I am happy I did so, as I shall be able without any great trouble to lay down the situation of the Capital.¹³

The expedition was now recalled:

A small force, ably commanded, had advanced many hundreds of miles into an unknown country vanquishing enemies vastly superior in number, settling... the country as it proceeded....

Sir John Shore¹⁴...now ordered Welsh to return to British territory by July 1st at latest.

On 25th May Welsh left Rungpoor on his downward voyage. The Rajah wrote many

letters to Calcutta begging that the troops might remain. The troops arrived at Goalpara on 3rd July leaving the country...a prey to anarchy. The Rajah was soon deposed, and many of the leading men fled to British territory ... Mr. Rausch was shortly afterwards murdered by the Rajah of Darrang.

Wood brought his surveys down to Calcutta where he spent several months drawing his maps.

This was the first visit ever made by the British into Assam and no further attempt was made until the Burmese war which started in 1824, exactly thirty years later.

The Eastern Frontier

Sylhet had nothing to do with Assam till late in the nineteenth century; it formed part of the provinces ceded to the Company in 1760, and was surveyed by Rennell himself between 1768 and 1771, though another surveyor had visited the province as early as 1763.

In 1762 the Raja of Manipur, or “Meekley”, sent an agent to the Company’s officers at Chittagong, asking for an alliance and protection against the Burmese. Mr. Verelst, then Chief at Chittagong, sent proposals for such an alliance to Fort William, and was directed to send a body of six companies of Sepoys to fix a post at Moneypoor, & make themselves acquainted with the strength and dispositions of the Burmans, and the situation of their country, ...cultivating the further friendship of the Meckley Rajah...

Verelst led the expedition from Chittagong, across the Fenny river, through Tippera and Sylhet, but was unable to proceed further than the Country of Kochhar on account of the violent rains, and having been cantoned there some time were, upon the troubles breaking out, recalled to Dacca.

A complete survey of the march up from Chittagong is still preserved in Calcutta, and was made use of by Rennell. The survey comprises eight sections and appears good work, but there is no record of the name of the surveyor. One section bears a note:

The road is measured with a Perambulator in statute miles, and laid down on a scale of one inch. The squares are parallels of Latitude & Longitude, each 2 Geographical miles on a proportionate scale to the other.

From a confident reference to his Hadley’s quadrant, this was undoubtedly the work of Bartholomew Plaisted who had been employed on surveys for the Chittagong Council since 1760; and it was probably on the recall of the expedition from Cachar that Plaisted surveyed the rivers and creeks of Sylhet to their junction with the Meghna near Dacca, to which Rennell refers in his Journal, June 16th 1765.

Rennell also incorporated into his maps “particulars of the road between that place [Cospur] and Ava” as described by the guides who accompanied Verelst.

On the northern frontier of Sylhet, the Raja of Jaintia caused much trouble and anxiety by raids into the Company’s lands, and in 1774 Rennell was consulted as to the best way of putting an end to his hostilities. Though he had never actually crossed the border he had acquired a fair knowledge of the “Khasia & Jaintia Hills.”

The Soorahm, or Sylhet, River is the General Boundary of the Sylhet Province on the north. ... A chain of high Mountains on the North side runs nearly parallel to its Course, which is from east to west; at the distance of 10 to 16 Mile; from it, forming a narrow Tract of flat Country in extent 60 Miles long & from 10 to 16 Broad. This Tract which is known by the General name of Coseyah, or the Country of Freebooters or Plunderers, is subject to Several petty Rajahs, among which the Gentia Rajah is the principal. His Territories include

---

1. Johnstone (30, 45).
2. On scales 1500 yds & 2 miles to an inch; M.R.O.; 171 (23), 172 (37 & 40), 173 (1 to 17).
4. To CD. 39-13-63 (51).
5. B.M. & P. 334 (R).
6. By La Touche (46). Near Silchar, 63 D/19, 73 O.
7. From Moseley, 1768 (56) & 1793 (206).
8. 1790.
the eastern part of the above Tract, together with the Hilly Country between that and Assam. His whole Territory may be reckoned 40 miles long and 30 broad; one half of which is flat, arable Land, the remainder Mountainous. ... The Western Cossyhas possess the Country between Gentyah & Laour. I understand that they are subject to several distinct Rajahs...& that they are often quarrelling & fighting among themselves. The only Town of note in these Parts is Bandar1 which is the mart where the Bengali, Assam, and Garrow Goods, are bought and sold. The Cossyhas' Country in General and Especially the western part of it, is woody and almost impenetrable. Their force is very contendible. both from the smallness of their Numbers, and the nature of their weapons which last are Bows and Arrows & Short Lances, but when attacked in their woods, they are reported to make use of a variety of stratagems to ensure their pursuers. On the strength of Rennell's advice operations against the Jaintia rulers were confined to the plains, and in due course met with success.2

In 1757 the Collector of Sylhet reported that, The Cossehas inhabit that tract of mountainous country from Laour, the N. W. extremity of Sylhet, to the eastern boundaries of Cachar. The mountains, according to Rennell's calculation, are 1,200 yards high, so perpendicular as to be inaccessible to a foreign enemy... and again, Considering the situation of Sylhet as a frontier inhabited by timid ryotts, and surrounded by some encroaching neighbors, I cannot but think it advisable to recommend an accurate survey that the Company's limits may be defined, especially toward the Jaintia country.3

Of the Garo Hills to the west, and of Tripura to the east, Rennell had no knowledge; he writes in 1774, That part of Rangamati to east of Bumrapooster... [was] never explored, but the mountains that form the Boundary, and even most of the detached hills, were laid down by Bases. The Eastern part of Tiparar is an entire forest... it is not with any certainty known how far this forest extends Eastwards, and the first Territories we hear of beyond it are those of Ava. I am of opinion that the uninhabited tract extends at least 150 miles from west to east, and about 100 from north to south.

The Chingree river is taken from a sketch drawn by a Dutchman who navigated that river during the time it was swollen by the annual rains. The Eastern Boundary of Tiparar is from the reports of the Rajah's people, who made an excursion that way some years before Tiparar was subjected to Bengali. During their journey they saw no habitations except those of the Cookies, who are a kind of wild men and build their Huts on Trees for the greater security against the wild Beasts.4

BURMA

Till very late in the 18th century nothing was known of Burma except for
scrapsof coast-line recorded by navigators5 and rare observations for latitude; the Irrawaddy was known as far as Ava, but otherwise all was conjecture. D'Anville makes use of "a Dutch MS. map... for the river of Ava, ...one of its large sheets is missing", probably the same map that according to Rennell, described the river as high up as the city of Ava itself, which it places in lat. 21° 48', and also says in a note 'by obs.', and indeed the whole scale of the map seems to be formed from the difference of latitude.

The difference of longitude, as inferred from this Dutch map, places Ava in 97°, but Capt. George Baker, of whose accuracy I entertain a high opinion, took bearings and estimated the distance, the whole way from Negrais to Ava, and the result corrected by the observation at Ava, 21° 48', gives the longitude 97° 45', and this longitude I have adopted.6 Baker was one of several captains11 of the Company's ships whose observations along the coasts are quoted by Rennell and Dalrymple. His map and "journal

1 Pandu, 5 m. from Gahtor, 78 N 12. 2 Sylhet Dist. E. I (13) 13-2-7k. 3 Height of Shillong Peak 6,441 ft. 4b. II (206), 14-12-67. 5b. III 110 of 27-12-88. 6 T. Maps L. AC. 13. 7 Ritchie (ms.) "Instructions for the West Coast of Ava etc." Dalrymple, March 1786. 8 Herbert (70). 9 Ava, 12 m. SW. of Mandalay, 21° 51' N. 90° 59' E. 10 "Memoir, 1785. (228). 11 Others were George Hayer, Walter Alres & Thomas Forrest (49): Baker commanded the Cudalore in which Dalrymple sailed to Borneo in 1759.
of an Embassy to the King of the Buraghnahme", made in 1755, were published by Dalrymple, together with the Dutch map above described, and Baker writes,
I must give you a view of the Ava River. The chief river in this Empire, traverses it from North to South, passing Ava and many other Cities; it is generally called by the natives "the river" by way of Excellence, as the Ganges in Bengal, Tsanpu in Thibet, and Kiang in China; all of which are nothing more than appellations, which have abolished the common use of their proper names. ...

This river discharges itself into the sea by a multitude of channels. ... The eastern channel is junction with Pegu River, into which that of Ava falls, a little way below Dagon¹, a very noted Pagoda.

Some Modern Geographers have imagined that of Ava to be the River Yarou, or Tsanpu; the more ancient reckon it the Lukiang; a middle opinion, from the best information I have been able to obtain, appears the most rational.

I am assured, that not very far above Ava there is a very large lake, from whence the river proceeds.

This lake I am inclined to believe, is the receptacle of the many large rivers, which run from Thibet and China towards Ava; it is probably the Chiamay lake of the old maps, though that lake is deemed imaginary, by the omission of it in the modern draughts; out of this lake run not only the Ava River, but those of Siam and Cassay, and probably those of Arakan, Chatigan, and some others on this side².

This famous lake is a prominent feature of the maps which accompany Capt. Baker's journal, and indeed of all maps before D'Anville³ [78, 209].

In 1795 the Bengal Government deputed Captain Symes to visit Ava on a political mission, with Thomas Wood as his assistant and surveyor, and Francis Buchanan as surgeon.

The embassy embarked at Calcutta on February 21st, and called at the Andaman Islands on the way to Rangoon⁴. After a visit to Pegu by river, they returned to Rangoon, and set out again by river on May 29th for Amarapura. Wood's survey was performed confined to the river and to astronomical observations for the map, which he entitled,

Draft of the River Irrawaddy, or Irravatty, from Rangoon to Umerapoora, the present Capital of the Birman Dominions, made between the months of May and December 1795. Scale about 14 miles to an inch⁵.

Buchanan spent all his time collecting information about the geography and people of the country, and submitted his materials to Government with the following notes⁶.

My original intention was to have taken as a basis Mr. Wood's survey of the Rivers Irrawady and Buramootoo, Mr. Rennell's survey of Bengal, Mr. D'Anville's Atlas de la Chine, and the Sea Charts, and with the assistance of these to have formed a map of all the countries east from Bengal and south from China.

My present seclusion from Books...has made me give up all thoughts of completing...my original intentions.

He suggests that his paper may be communicated to Mr. Rennell or some other Geographer of Distinction. ... The General outline of the discoveries is as follows. That Mukiya⁷ and Cassay are the same country and not subject to the Burmas;

(2) That to the east of Mukiya are people called by themselves Parloong⁸.

(3) That nearly where Mr. Rennell supposes Cassay to be situated, is inhabited by a nation called Go.

(4) That what in Mr. Rennell's map of Hindostan is supposed to be Upper Siam, is a country which has been long subject to the Burmas, and is called by them Myelapan. It is in fact the country of M. Louberè's Grandis Sians⁹.

(5) That the people of Java and Mergui are a distinct nation from both those of Siam and Pegu, and at present subject to the Burmas.

(6) ...accounts of many rude tribes of whom Europeans have scarcely ever heard, ... the Karayn, Kian, Kakiayn, and Lowa¹¹.

¹Shwe Dagon pagoda, of Rangoon. ²Chittagong. ³Oriental Repository, II (H). ⁴The only lakes in this region are Indawgyi in the Chin Hills, 99 C/S and Logtak, in Manipur, 99 H/13. ⁵Full narrative, Symes. ⁶Map, MROI, 174 (15); there is also a 1/4 inch map, 174 (17) which was probably Wood's first draft. ⁷BPOC. 2-6-97 (17 & 18). ⁸Manipur [83]. ⁹Palaung. ¹⁰Probably Shana. ¹¹Karen, Chin, Kachin, Wa.
(7) ... the Loos, Jangomays, Lanyans, and other nations situated between Siam and China. New information...relative to Great Rivers;
(8) The Arakan river is not so considerable as has been supposed; but takes it rise from Hills at no great distance to the North.
(9) That the river coming from Thibet and which is supposed by Mr. Rennell to be that of Araken, is in fact the Krayamduavum or the Great Western branch of the Ava River.
(10) That what he supposes to be the Western branch of the Ayrawade is in fact the Eastern one, which passes by Ava...keeping west from the Province of Yunan.
(11) That the Lunkiang, which Mr. Rennell supposes to be the great branch of the Ayrawade, has no communication with that river, but on entering the Burma dominions assumes the name of Tholuyan...and falls into the sea at Martabaa.
(12) That the river of Pegue which Mr. Rennell supposes to come from China, is a river from hills about 100 miles from the sea...
(13) That between the Pegue and Martaban rivers there is a lake from which two rivers proceed; the one runs north to old Ava, where it joins the Myeengnaga, a little river of Ava, which comes from mountains on the frontier of China; the other river runs south from the lake to the Sea, and is the Sitang river of Mr. Rennell, but it is by no means a branch of the river of Pegue, as he supposes.
(14) That the rivers of China, which Mr. Rennell supposes to be the heads of the Pegue river are those of the rivers of Siam.
(15) That the rivers of Siam and Camboda communicate by a very considerable branch called the Anan.

Buchanan’s charts and papers were passed to the Surveyor General and on to the Directors, and compiled by Dalrymple, whose map is thus acknowledged by Synnes.

I am obliged to the kindness of Mr. Dalrymple for the construction of the general map prefixed to this work, which has been compiled from the materials collected by Dr. Buchanan, ...it is laid down on a contracted scale, being designed merely to point out the relative situation of the Kingdom of Ava, with reference to other countries. ... The materials requisite to give an accurate topographic display of all parts of so extensive an empire, could not be procured during the short period of our residence; but the ability and indefatigable industry of Dr. Buchanan have effected much, to which the astronomical labours of Mr. Wood have considerably added.

Wood’s map of the Irrawaddy was a careful piece of professional work, and was of the utmost value to the army in the Burmese war, 1824–6, when the experienced surveyor Peter Grant writes,

Since an opinion generally prevails that Amarapoor is placed 10 minutes too far to the eastward, ... the operations of the army provide no conclusive data on this head. ... Yandabu ...is said to be laid down erroneously in Wood’s map. I shall add here that I entertain the highest opinion of his general accuracy, and indeed looking to the obstructions thrown in his way, the restraint imposed on him by circumstances his survey of the Irrawady does him the highest credit. Errors in longitude were unavoidable.

Again in the war of 1852–3, one hundred copies of Wood’s map were specially lithographed and eagerly sought for, whilst Grant’s more deliberate survey was apparently overlooked.

1Gazetteer of Burma. 2Chindwin R. 85 O&L, 74 R&J. 3Salween. 4This might refer to the Inle Lake. 5D.D., 1814, 16. 6Original rough sketches, MRIO. 197 (11-38). 7Synnes (ix). 8DDn. 240, 1825. 9DDn. 558 (3-4) 24-1-1852.
CHAPTER VI

MADRAS SURVEYS TO 1788


Although the Company had established a factory at Masulipatam so early as 1611 and that at Madraspatam in 1639, over fifty years before the founding of Calcutta, it was not until 1763, that the Nawab of Arcot ceded the district of Chingleput, which henceforth became known as the Jaggir.

From the earliest days the English had been regarded as the guests of the Nawab, and during the long struggle with the French from 1745 to 1761, when each side sought the favour of rival princes, it was the support of English arms that enabled Muhammad Ali to establish his succession.

As Nawab of the Carnatic he was suzerain of practically the whole country “below the Ghauts”, from the Kistna to Cape Comorin, and it was part of the price of his friendship, that he expected, and got, the help of the Company’s troops in the maintenance of authority over refractory chiefs and subjects.

The war against the French closed with the English in complete supremacy, having warded off the siege of Madras of 1758–9 [98], and followed up with Eyre Coote’s decisive victory at Wandiwash in January 1760, and the capture of Pondicherry a year later.

Geographical knowledge of the Carnatic was greatly advanced during this long period of war, but not in time to help D’Anville with his map of 1758 [239]. He took his coast-line from the work of Aprés de Manneville and other sailors, but did not speak highly of the Portuguese maps of the west coast; he quoted Fathers Vincent-Marina and Noel as authorities for the Malabar coast, and took parts south of Calicut from a particular map, for which we are indebted to some bare-footed Carmelites, sent to the Christians of St. Thomas, under the pontificate of Alexander VII.

He had already made use of the work sent home in 1719 by Father Bouchet for the inland areas of Madura and the extreme south [238], and writes, in French of course, what we know of Maissur we owe to the Jesuits, whose missions have existed hitherto;... the representation thereof...is drawn from a particular draught sent me by Father du Halde. In a letter from Father Calmette...the latitude of Shima-Ballabaram in this inland part of the Carnate, is observed to be 13° 23′;...it is of great consequence to be thus fixed in some point at so great a distance from the coast [170].

D’Anville found that the Carnatic was so much better known than other parts of India, that he issued his separate map of the Coast of Coromandel on four times the scale of his Carte de l’Inde, and observes,

We might mention different parts of Europe, in which geography is less informed, than of many places in Coromandel.

The earliest record of survey by a servant of the Company is of “a measured line” drawn from Devicotai to Trichinopoly “by way of Tanjore by Mr. John Barker”, at some time before 1751.

1 Also called Nawab of the Carnatic: Muhammad Ali, from 1749 till death in 1795; resided in “Chespan” a mile S. of Ft. St. George. 2 Guntur: Cirrak, remained the jagir of Basalat Jang till ceded to the Company in 1788 [111]. 3 Herbert (46–9). 4 Near Chilk Ballapur, 57 G/11. 5 lb. (26–81). 6 Divioote, pl. 9: A fort at mouth of Coleroon R. 58 M/15, now washed away; captured by English in 1748, & granted to Company by Raja of Tanjore; Imp. Gaz. Mad. II (167). 7 Memoir, 1783 (23).
The SOUTH PENINSULA
from Kelly, 1782.

Plate 9

Redrawn and reduced from Robert Kelly’s Index Map to the Atlas submitted to the Governor General and Supreme Council in 1789 [vol. 2].

The political divisions as shown by Kelly are thus distinguished:
- Green: British
- Blue: French
- Yellow: English

Though Kelly shows the whole Carnatic as English, full possession was not obtained till 1803 [vol. 2, p. 6].

Names shown in brackets are taken from map published by R. Bowyer, Pall Mall, 1-3-94, published with Select Views in Mysore by Mr. Home.
From this time onward many surveys were made by military officers with the armies in the south. There is an undated French route survey, from Palamcoottah through the "Boyaume de Madura" to Trichinopoly, on the scale of about 3 miles to an inch, in colours. It may belong to the same period as several beautifully drawn plans, showing actions against the French round Trichinopoly during 1753 and 1754, made by George Erbb, "Sergt. d'Artillerie au service de l'hon. Co. des Indes Englissoes", then serving in the army of Major Stringer Lawrence. In 1755 William Jennings, also of the Artillery, made surveys round Madura of the marches of Colonel Heron, who was sent to collect the Revenues in Madura & Tinnyvelly on behalf of the Nawab of Arcot.

Orme gives many large-scale maps of this period in the third volume of his history, mostly elaborate ones of forts or battlefields, and amongst MS. maps at Calcutta is one by Robert Barker of the capture of Kārikāl in April 1760, and one of Pondicherry showing positions of guns, redoubts, &c., at the time of the English attack in January [1761] in a great storm; both of which are reproduced by Orme, with some changes.

Many of the maps and surveys of this time are signed by John Call, mostly in his capacity as Chief Engineer, as in the case of a chart of the Madura and Tinnyvelly Provinces and part of the adjacent countries, surveyed by the Engineers employed on the expedition against Ussoff Cawn in the year 1764, under the direction of John Call, Chief Engineer. 5 miles to an inch.

One of these engineers was probably William Stevens who was deputed the following year to carry out a survey of the straits between India and Ceylon, with the following instructions:

The communication with our Garrison at Palamcoottah & with the Troops in the Tinnyvelly Country being very tedious by Land,... and it being of great Importance to have a more easy and frequent communication by Sea between this Country and that of Malabar than the usual Passage round Ceylon,... we are desirous to obtain a certain knowledge whether there is, or is not, a Passage for vessels of 300 tons burthen or more... thro' the bank of sands which is commonly called Adam's Bridge. ...

We have therefore chosen you to go in search of this Channel; ... you are... to proceed towards Ramissanem continuing your soundings from the Station where Mr. Rennell, in the Neptune Snow [47 n. 1] (whose Chart you are furnished with) left off. If you can get through any Channel to the South of Adam's Bridge, you are to continue your soundings & Navigation to Colpatnam or Purnicale & note in going thither all Rocks & shoals. ...

You will be particularly careful not to give Offence to the People of Ramissanem or any of the blacks You meet, & You must also avoid giving any Jealousy or cause of Complaint to the Dutch, and for this we recommended that you keep at a Distance from the Coast of Ceylon.

Stevens carried out his survey in February and March 1765 "without being able to discover any passage for vessels of any considerable Burthen".

The Directors commended this enterprise;

We much approve of your sending Mr. Stevens...to survey the passage between Ramissanem and the Main. We would have you also avail yourselves of the influence you have in the Country whilst Peace & Tranquility subsist, to obtain as perfect a knowledge of every part as possible, and if it were practicable to have exact surveys made of the whole Province of Arcot, it would be a good & useful work; and if such an undertaking should prove agreeable to the Nabob, he might probably be willing to bear the Charge; but as this is a delicate affair, we would have you act with circumspection that the Nabob may have no justification for taking offence. [90-1].

Such a proposal had already been made ten years before, without any tangible result, the Madras Council having written home in 1755.

1Imp. Lib. M & F. 280. 2Grose, II (133-43). 3BM. K. 115 (84, 1 & 2) & Addl. MSS. 15739 (12-14); engraved copy faces p. 15 of "Cambridge", also Orme, III (Maps ref. to 2, pp. 514, 946). 4BM. K. 115 (84, 57) & Addl. MSS. 15730 (11); engraved copy faces p. 80 of "Cambridge"; Orme, I (260-46). 5S & N. 13; Imp. Lib. M & F. 363. 6ib. 303. 7Orme, III, last two maps. 8MRB. Map. 140. 9Named Falk Straits, after Robert Falk, Governor of Madras, 1793-7. 10Rameswaram, 58 0/7. 11Bennell's chart, 1763-4, showing "Falk's Streights, with soundings", Orne MSS. 293 (1). 12Kajatapattam, 58 1/2. 13MS. & M. 18-9-46, m. to CD. 14-16-65 (55); chart pub. by Dalrymple 29-7-81. 14IO. Maps II A 30-36 (35). 15CD to M. 24-12-65 (11).
MADRAS SURVEYS

It might be of great use hereafter could we obtain an accurate survey of the whole Arcot Province; and, if possible, we propose to have it done.

BARNARD’S SURVEY OF THE JAGIR, 1767-74

In reply to the Directors’ further order for the early survey of the lands ceded in 1763 [86] the Council wrote,

What you are pleased to recommend regarding Surveys to be made of the whole Province shall be compiled with as soon as proper people can be found for that purpose, and the Engineer is preparing a Draft of the Company's Jageer, which shall be sent you as soon as completed.

and two months later,

Your Chief Engineer has sent Mr. Thos. Barnard, his assistant, to make an exact survey of the Company’s Territorial Possessions round Madras; it is a work which will require much time and labour, but we have that confidence in Mr. Barnard’s abilities that we doubt not but his greatest Diligence & Attention will be exerted on this occasion.

This survey proved to be a long job, especially as Barnard, without any assistants, was expected to combine with his topographical survey a detailed report and report for revenue purposes, and experienced many interruptions. He eventually finished the field work in 1773, and submitted his maps and reports in November 1774, together with a copy of the instructions given him at the start, with the following comments:

It was scarcely...be expected...that they could in any shape be executed through an extent of Country 110 miles in length and 50 in Breadth, by any one person; even tho' he had not the extremities of an Eastern Climate to contend with...the task was much above the powers of a single man to accomplish.

The survey commenced in February 1767; in the course of that and the two succeeding years, I was kept from it near a year supervising the repairs of Poomamlee Fort; the war not permitting me to continue it. In 1770 and 1771 another year was lost when I was ordered to attend Mr. Dawson. In 1772 I had finished the Survey in part, but not the fair drawings of them [3].

The survey was laid down in 16 sheets on the scale of two inches to a mile, and covered 2,436 square miles. It was reduced later to the 1-inch scale in the Chief Engineer’s office, and the reduction was sent home to the Directors and engraved and published by Dalrymple in 1778.

MILITARY SURVEYS IN THE SOUTH, 1765-75

Surveys were continually required for a variety of military purposes. During 1765 and 1766 there was much trouble along the frontiers between the Carnatic and Mysore, and in July 1765, Government wrote to the officer commanding at Trichinopoly:

Whilst the exact Boundaries of the Country belonging to the Nabob & the Mysoreans remains undetermined, We must always expect Disputes & Troubles in those Parts, & if we are on all occasions obliged to send out such considerable detachments as that with Capt. Bonjour, the revenues of the Country will not support the expense. We therefore desire You will procure what information You can with regard to the exact limits and advise us thereof.

He replied:

I have people examining the Bounds of Carour, Manapar, and Trichinopoly Countries, &c, and when it is done I shall be able to transmit a Plan...of the Nabob’s possessions which will enable you to judge of the just rights between him and the Mysoreans. In the

1M to CD. 10-3-65.  2M to CD. 22-1-67 (19).  3M to CD. 31-3-67 (33).  46 C/4.  5MBC. 29-12-74.  6Report by Mackenzie, 20-11-1616. MRIO. M. 60.  7MRIO. Map 10 also Oriental Repository and Orme MSS. 65 (187).  8Haidar Ali had seized the Mysore throne in 1761, and was extending his dominions in every direction; Imp. Gaz. Madras, I (18).  9MS & M. 3-7-65.  10Karár, 58 J/1.
meantime I...transmit to you a sketch of Swamy & Moods Naque's Countries, but as I have not yet been able to get the measure of them, therefore the scrawl cannot be perfect 1.

Some months later Bonjour was directed "to take a survey of the Passes leading into the Carnatic down the Ghauts"; he "visited all those under the Nabob of Arcot, but not those in the hands of the Mysorians", and reported,

If I have committed a mistake in applying to you for fresh orders, I beg you will attribute it to the different significations of the word survey.

In order to report the Situation of the different Passes leading into the Nabob's dominions, ...I...present you a chart in which I have fixed their positions, and an account of each in particular, mentioning their distance one from the other, as well as from Arcot and other places of consideration. ...

Having used no Quadrant for the observation of the different Latitudes I have regulated myself as near as my remarks could permit, by Mr. Danwill's Geography 2.

Bonjour's survey is thus described by Rennell,

A curious MS...entitled An Account of the Passes between the parallels of Udaghor and Sartgul, from which I have received great assistance, has the distances in computed miles from one pass to another, and often from some distant capital place also; but without bearings 4.

In 1767 the Directors write out again,

As an accurate knowledge of every part of the Country may be very useful. We recommended to you last year, to encourage and promote the making of Surveys, with the Nabob's concurrence, of the whole Province; this may be too great a work to be undertaken at once, ... therefore it would be well to encourage such of the young officers...as have any turn that way, to make Surveys and draw Plans of the Forts & Districts, where at any time they may happen to be quartered; these if taken with any accuracy, when collected together, may be united into a General Draft; we shall send you...an Instrument, called a Pentagraph, by the help of which the outlines of any Draft may be copied with great ease and dispatch, & with sufficient accuracy.

to which the Council reply,

We have omitted no opportunities of encouragement to obtain Charts and Surveys of the Countries through which our troops have marched, and we hope time and experience will render them compleat, and correct the very erroneous Charts now existing, particularly with regard to the Boundaries and Passes between Mysore Country and the Carnatic 1.

None of the surveys of this period have been found, though Rennell writes,

A variety of MS. Maps of the country lying on the west of the Carnatic, and between it and Seringapatam, have appeared; most of them, I believe, the offspring of the War of 1767-68 with Hyder Ally. ... 

A map of the Barra-mahal [113]. This map is in Mr. Dalrymple's collection, and has much the appearance of general accuracy; the number of Forts placed on rocky eminences...affording an easy means of determining the relative positions by triangles 5.

One of the officers who took a large part in surveys of the Carnatic was Robert Kelly, who in 1778 thus describes his early efforts;

In the course of above ten years service in this country I could not help observing a variety of Distresses and Difficulties which Armies and Detachments have been led into, either by the Ignorance or Villany of Hancarras [93], and the Vast Opportunities which were lost by want of knowledge of the face of the Country even two Miles of our Camp or of the Field of Battle. ... I therefore determined, in the year 1770, to put together the few Observations I had already made, and to continue Surveying every Road I should have occasion to march in future.

By the time I had Collected a Number of Observations and thrown them into some form, the Utility and importance of the Work struck me in so Forceable a light that I could not resist the impulse I felt of making it a matter of Public Concern. I consequently wrote a letter to Mr. Du Pré, then Governor, ... enclosing him a few rough Sketches of the Roads I had surveyed, and requested to know whether I should continue the Work under the Auspices of Government. ... He laid my papers before the Board and his answer of the roth of May 1770 conveyed to me the appreciation they had met with 7 [249-1].

---

1 MS M.16-7-65. 2 A sad distortion of D'Auvill's name; MS M.4 F.5-8-68. 3 Udavagiri, 57 N/4, 4 Memoir, 1738 (280:1). 5 To CD. 4-11-67 (17). 6 Memoir 1788 (180); account of 1st Mysore War, Bowling (49-68). 7 Th. (191). 8 John Du Pré, Governor of Madras, 1770-3. 9 MMC 22-12-78.
The Governor later told the Board that when Capt. Kelly went to Trichinopoly he had desired him to take an exact Survey of the Roads & Country in his Journey, and at the same time to consider how far it might be practicable with the assistance of any of the officers and Cadets in the service, who are capable of drawing, to have an exact and accurate Survey taken of the Carnatic. ...

The Board being very sensible of the great advantage & utility of such an Undertaking, it is agreed that the President...apply to the Nabob to obtain his consent to the Survey being taken, and that upon the proper Instruments &c. be procured.

At the next meeting the President acquaints the Board that he hath applied to the Nabob for his consent to the taking an exact Survey of the Carnatic, which he had readily granted, and that in consequence thereof, he had Enquired of the Engineer regarding the Theodolites and other Instruments required by Capt. Kelly and finds there are none in the Garrison. ...

Resolved that enquiry be made by the Storekeeper, whether any can be procured out of the Europe ships, and if so that they be purchased.

No immediate action was taken on these resolutions, and Kelly records that, I accordingly got together some young gentlemen who understood surveying and drawing, bought Mathematical Instruments and stationery, hired draughtsmen &c. and set seriously about the business. After I had laboured upwards of a year, without receiving either the appointment or Assistance from Government which they had given me reason to expect, I grew weary and impatient of the task I had imposed upon myself and once more remonstrated to Mr. Dupré, how impossible it was for me to support the expense of so extensive a work, and prayed that I might at least be permitted to send in my bills of unavoidable expenses, as the work I had undertaken was solely for the use of the Company.

To this I received a very polite answer, and many promises of service on some future day, but that day never came; though to do that Gentleman's memory justice, I know it was no fault of his that the work was not warmly patronised.

In 1771 and 1772, during operations to the southward which resulted in the capture of Râmnâud, Montresor, Pittman, and Dugood carried out surveys over a large part of Madura, Marawar and Trichinopoly.

In May 1773 the Commander in Chief put forward a scheme for raising a corps of guides under a Quartermaster-General, whose main object must be to procure or form a Chart as accurate and complete as possible, to the extent of all the principal places in the Country, their situations & bearings from each other, with the nature of the Roads between, and their distance, this should form on a large scale...with all informations to form a compleat Military Chart.

On this the Council reported homoe;

General Smith delivered a minute, to show in what manner his scheme could be carried into execution without putting the Company to any additional expense. It was agreed to establish a Company of Guides, & to commence the Survey as soon as the necessary Preparations could be made.

As General Smith recommended Captain Montresor as an officer well qualified for this undertaking, he was accordingly appointed there to; but as to the appointment of a Quartermaster-General, it was referred to your Honors. The Siege of Tanjore was soon after undertaken and the death of Captain Montresor...obliged us for some time to lay aside all thoughts of the Survey.

A few months later the Council record that the country being at present in Tranquility, it is resolved that the Survey be commenced with all possible Expedition, and that the necessary orders be issued for establishing the Company of Guides at Vellore, from the several Sepoy Carnatick Battalions.

Liar. Geils being strongly recommended by General Smith...resolved...that Lieut. Geils be appointed to the Command of the Company of Guides, and to execute the Survey, however at a later meeting.

The President reports that on his Application to the Nabob, he appeared much alarmed at the idea of Surveying his Country, and requested the undertaking might be set aside, asserting that there was no necessity for a Survey, as the country was abundantly well known. The Nabob enumerated many objections such as that the Company of Guides...
marching through his Country would be productive of many Disputes with the Inhabitants; that the Villagers would complain of the Sepoys, & the Sepoys would complain of his People for not supplying them with what they wanted; and he further added, that the having his Country surveyed would lessen him exceedingly in the Eyes of the Country Powers, as they would immediately conceive that the next step would be to deprive him of his Country altogether 1.

Several efforts were made to break down the objections of the Nawab, even to the point of offering to place Geils and the company of Guides under his control, but they were of no avail, and the scheme had to be abandoned 2.

Northeen Circars, 1767–76

The Northern Circars from Guntur to Ganjam had long been tributary to the Nizam, and for many years there had been both French and English factories along the coast.

In 1758 Bussy [115] the French commander at Hyderabad obtained from the Nizam the grant of the revenues of four of the Circars to meet the pay of his troops, and in 1758 he proceeded to establish French authority to the northern limits of Ganjam 3. In July 1758 he was called down to the Coast 4, and the same year, at the invitation of local chiefs, Clive sent down a force of Bengal troops under Colonel Forde, which defeated the French and re-established the English factories at Masulipatam and elsewhere.

Rennell notes various surveys made during this campaign:

- Between Rajahmundry 4 and Vizagapatam, the particulars of the inland parts have been taken chiefly from a large MS. map, in which Col. Ford's marches are described. Between Vizagapatam and Coonpilli is taken from another MS. map, seemingly not very accurate 5. ... Between Vizagapatam and Jagarana 6, Pagoda, an interval of 180 G. miles, the bearings by compass, and distance by a Perambulator, were taken by Major Polier in 1759 (on his return to Bengal with Col. Ford from the Masulipatam expedition) 7.

In 1765 the Emperor of Delhi granted to the Company the dewami of all these Circars in addition to the provinces of Bengal and the Madras Jâgir, and the following year a treaty was signed with the Nizam for their occupation, with the exception of Guntur [86 n.] 8.

The Directors were anxious to avoid further wars, and wrote out:

Respecting your negotiations with Nizam...for the Northern Circars, ...Military Expeditions are so expensive & ruinous and their consequences so indefinite, that we shall be better contented to enjoy what we already possess in Peace, than to risk the least part in new Engagements. ... We do not mean to prescribe such bounds as shall prevent you taking advantage of any circumstances which may tend to the Security or Enlargement of our Possessions & Revenues, provided you do not suffer yourselves to be borne away with the ideas of Conquest, which has indeed been too much the case lately with our Servants in Bengal 9.

However, by the time this letter reached Madras General Caillaud had already advanced north of the Kistna into the Circars 10.

The occupation was not effected peacefully; in 1767 war broke out with Haidar Ali of Mysore [86], and the Nizam supporting Haidar Ali, Bengal troops under Colonel Peach were sent to the Circars [20], and marched up through Ellore as far as Warangal 11 to threaten Hyderabad; in March 1768 the Council were able to report the signing of a new treaty by which the Nizam confirmed thecession of the Circars 12. Peach's force was then employed "reducing and settling" Ganjam.

---

1 MMC 23.5-74. 2 M to CD, 9.15-75, (22). 3 Courmichael (172-5); Maltby (102-10). 4 A term generally applied to the Commandant Coast, Madras or Pondicherry in particular Hobson-Jobson. 55 G.6. 6 Memoir 1783 (96-8). 7 Purl. 76 E.10. 8 lb (21). 9 M to CD, 7.12-65. 10 M to CD, 1-4-66. 11 MMC 9. 12 M to CD, 1-3-66.
Various surveyors were employed during these campaigns; Gardiner surveyed the route to Warangal, and Cridland the country round Chieneole, with "a very accurate survey of the Tickelly District".

Cotsford sent up to Ganjam at the end of 1766 "to act both as Engineer and Resident", had to return owing to the unsettled state of the country, but was able to give the Chief Engineer a description of the country, with "a plan of Chieneole Circuit" and a sketch of the "Town of Ganjam" [3].

In 1768 he was sent up again to establish a factory at Ganjam with the support of Pech's brigade, and in October sent in a plan of the district and promised to send a large and more exact Plan than I am now able, in which I will mark out the different Parganas & Zemindaries.

A year later he sent a small scale "Plan of the Ithapour District" [93].

In 1767 the Council at Masulipatam proposed to order Stevens, their engineer, to make a survey of the whole frontier towards the Nizam's territories, and in 1771 they write that,

"we determine on building new forts, it is absolutely necessary that we should have a more accurate knowledge of the Geography of the Country, a Survey of which should be taken as soon as possible; in which should be ascertained the Limits of the Circars, the Bearings & distances of the several places, the most remarkable Passes, & the Roads leading to them, and Government reply that the senior engineer, Major Mitchell, will either reside at Masulipatam to carry on the works there, or proceed to survey the several forts in the Circars, or proceed to make a general survey of the Country as may appear most advisable."

It was Stevens, however, who was more often on survey; and in 1773 he was selected for charge of the southern section of a survey of the Circars for which the Chief Engineer made the following proposals:

As the Circars are very extensive & as the Survey of which is now resolved on, is a great and useful undertaking, I think as many people as can be properly spared, should be employed on that service. ... For which purpose I would have the Surveyors formed in two divisions, under Captains Stevens & Pittman, with as many intelligent Assistants as can be procured.

As Capt. Stevens has already surveyed a considerable part of the most Southern Circuit, I recommend that he, with at least one Assistant, should be directed to finish them, completing the most Southern parts first, and then to work Northwards; that Capt. Pittman in like manner should begin to the Northward, where Mr. Cotsford has left off, and work towards the South, until he meets Capt. Stevens. Both these Gentlemen should be directed to intersect the same stations, that their Surveys may correspond when closed.

They should be directed to ascertain the Company's Boundaries with Precision; the Courses of the Rivers, the direction of the Roads, together with the Inlets from the Country by which an Enemy can enter it. ...

The Engineers are from time to time to forward their Surveys to the Chief of the Settlement under which they may act, who will transmit them to the Board [196].

Detailed instructions to this effect were sent to Stevens and Pittman, and James Johnston was sent as assistant with Pittman. Suitable letters were written to the Chiefs at Masulipatam & Vizapatam, and the following to Cotsford at Ganjam:

You will be pleased to inform Mr. Stratton [at Vizagapatam] how far has been Surveyed to the Southward of Ganjam, that he may give the Necessary Direction to Capt. Pittman. We desire you will transmit to us Drafts of the Surveys which may have been made in your District.

Pittman was instructed to begin in the Tickelly country, and having completed the same to go from thence to Jolmore & Kimmedy, which are the Northernmost parts of the Chineole Circar, on this side the Ithapore District.

At the end of the year Cotsford handed over charge at Ganjam, and submitted his final reports, before proceeding on furlough;

1Memoir, 1790 (21). 305 X/15. 2Tehkari, 74 B/3: Memoir, 1783 (86); Map, on 1" scale MRIO. 140 (1-4). 74 E/3. 3MCC, 25-5-67. 4Pimb. 13-10. 68. 7Ithapura, 74 A/21. 8ib. 2-11-68. 8ib. 24-6-71. 31Map by Mitchell, recorded in M. 329, ib. 3-4-71. 32Patrick Ross. 33Beamish acknowledges much information from these surveys by Stevens; Memoir, 1783 (passim). 34MCC, 2-3-73. 35ib. 50-3-73. 36Jalmur, 74 B/3: Farhadkhali, 74 B/1. 37ib. 19-7-73.
Accompanying this letter You have a general Plan of the Itchapoor District, which view serves to explain what I have written; a great Part of it is from an Actual Survey, but the state of the Country has hitherto prevented an exact Survey of the whole to be made, so that I have not been able to shew the separate Purgunnaus & Zemindaries in it. [92]

This map was afterwards published by Dalrymple, scale 21 miles to an inch, and described by Rennell as “Mr. Cotsford’s elegant map” [3].

Stevens had not been more than six weeks on the survey before he was withdrawn to take a leading part in the siege of Tanjore, and Dugood was sent up to carry on, which he did with many interruptions till the end of 1776; much of his time was spent on the survey of a canal taking off from the Godavari River [105].

Pittman died in January 1776, and Johnston carried on till his health broke down at the end of the following year when he was transferred to other duties. During the latter part of the survey assistance was given by Charles Martone, of the civil service, an officer who made other useful surveys later on [143].

There is a very old undated map of the Ganjam District in the Madras Record Office, scale about 1 1/2 miles to an inch, carried out in pictorial style, with trees, buildings, and hills in elevation, and a marvellous headpiece; it extends from Chincote on the south to the hills on the north; it is said to have been one of 20 sections. There is also a map entitled “Survey of part of Vizagapatam Circar, including the districts of Chincote, Bonally, and Teckally,” scale 6 1/4 miles to an inch, with a note “copied from a tracing on china paper, deposited in the Revenue Office, Madras, 1804.” Both these maps are probably copied or reduced from the surveys of Pittman and Johnston [252–3].

### Fort St. George & Madras

The earliest known large-scale map of Madras is dated 1710 and inscribed, Plan of the City of Madras; actually surveyed by order of the late Governor Thos. Pitt Esq.; Engraven, Printed, and sold by Jn. Harris, Newgate St. Scale 140 yds. to an inch.

This was followed by a map of Madras and its villages, showing village boundaries and names of some streets and gardens, drawn in 1788. The survey was made, and the map probably drawn, by Mr. John Hoxton to assist the repair of defence works.

We then find a map shewing Madras at the time of its capture by the French in 1746; the names are shown in both French and English; a very neat map, with little pictures of French ships, inscribed, A Plan of Madras & Fort St. George, taken by the French commanded by Monsieur Mab de la Bourdonaus on Sept. 21st 1746. Published by John Rocque, cartographer to the late and present Prince of Wales, 1751. R. Benning, Sculp. ... The corner of Buckingham Street in the Strand.

In the British Museum are, Plan of Ft. St. George, according to Colonel Scott [51], drawn by Robert Barker. ... October 1753. Scale 300 feet to an inch, showing fortifications proposed by Scott.

Plan of Ft. St. George and the Bounds of Madraspatnam, Surveyed and drawn by F.L. Conradi, 1755. Plotted to a scale of 60 yards to the inch.

Conradi’s map was obviously the outcome of an order dated December 31st 1754, that, a survey of the Company’s Present Bounds of Madras and its Districts be made by Messrs. Hume and Saussure ... under the direction of Mr. Broplier, ... the Directors being advised that,

We have directed a new Survey to be made of your Antient and present Bounds, and some of the Engineer’s Assistants are now actually employed on that Business.

Orme published two maps illustrating the siege by the French between December 12th 1758 and February 16th 1759 [86], one on the scale of 600 feet to an inch,
and the larger one 300 yards to 3½ inches. Both are excellently drawn and show much detail.

In 1769 the Council approve the Chief Engineer's plan for fortifying the Black Town, and with regard to the manner of raising a sum for defraying the expense, propose making an Assessment on every House, Garden, and spot of Ground within the walls, according to the value thereof. ... Resolved that Mr. Marsden & Machin...be instructed to take a regular Survey of each street, to number each house, garden, and spot of Ground, specifying the Name of the Proprietor, and the value thereof, and to affix a board at the corner of every street, with the name of such street wrote in English and Malabar, and at the end of the year Marsden lays a plan of the Survey before them, with valuation of property and numbers of each lot, and notes of encroachments.

The "Book of the Survey" gave the contents of the gardens for each owner in square feet, with their values. Unfortunately a year later Marsden's plan could not be found and Pittman had to be ordered to make a new survey. In September 1771 a civil servant, Eyles Irwin, was appointed to make a survey of all the ground lying within the walls of Blacktown, as many grounds "have been fraudulently obtained since the commencement of the Fortifications"; he was at the same time appointed "Superintendent of the Lands and Grounds belonging to the Town of Madras, St. Thomé, Chippauk and the Environs", and was allowed "20 Pagodas per month for the charges of an horse and Palanquin for this service".

In 1776 Irwin lays before the Board a Survey of the whole of Black Town; several sets of Books containing details of properties and waste lands, areas in square feet, and values, however the Committee of Works reported that M. Irwin has made no report of the Grounds belonging to St. Thomé...nor fixed Landmarks between the Boundaries of Poonamalee & Madras. ... and the appointment was abolished. The following year, the many late encroachments on the Public Roads rendering it necessary that an Exact Survey should be had of them, agreed that Lieut. Schouler be appointed on that service under the Chief Engineer.

In 1778 Hugh Maxwell, a Civil Servant, was appointed to be "Superintendent of the Company's Grounds" with the same allowances as were given to Irwin, and in 1788 Torriano was appointed to succeed Maxwell. This post was still maintained in 1791 under the designation of "Superintendent of the Company's Lands and Roads" and carried the allowances of a Surveyor.

In 1771 Montresor and Pittman proposed a large scale survey:

Being desirous to render ourselves useful to the Honourable Company by performing some Service that may merit their attention, We take the liberty of proposing a Survey of Fort St. George and its Environs of 10 miles in Circumference on a scale of 400 feet to an inch; the utility of such a work is too obvious to require a Detail of the many good Purposes it may assure.

It is an undertaking that will require great Perseverance and Fatigue on our Parts, and should the Proposal be approved of, we flatter ourselves We shall have the necessary assistance granted Us for carrying on so great a Work.

The Council approved the scheme, but revoked their approval at a later meeting on the grounds that it should have been made through the Chief Engineer.

In 1776 Dugood was employed on a survey of "the Home Farms", or suburban villages, "particularly describing the Level of the tanks and Water Courses".

No further record of town surveys of Madras has been found until 1798, when the Chief Engineer received the following orders:

The Governor in Council has been pleased to fix the limits and boundaries of the town of Madras in the following manner. ... I am therefore directed to desire that a map of the
whole of these lands may be prepared as soon as possible...and that the whole of the public lands paying revenue to the Company may be distinguished from the private lands, which have been granted to individuals; ...and as it is a matter of importance that the limits above described should determined with accuracy the Governor in Council desires that careful persons may be employed on this duty. 1

The Chief Engineer supplied Government with three copies of this survey in January 1800; the limits shown are practically those of the Madras Municipality of later date; no street names were shown 2.

Pringle and the Guides

All attempts having failed to persuade the Nawab to allow a regular survey to be made of the Carnatic [99-1], the army was entirely dependent for information about the country and its roads on the casual service of individual officers, or on the vague reports of Hircars, men who, we have too often experienced, may be not only ignorant of it themselves...but prove treacherous 3 [89, 241].

No engineer officers could now be spared from their more legitimate duties, and though Kelly continued to carry on his route surveys as a private hobby, he had his duties as battalion commander. But another star now rises, and around John Pringle is built a new school of surveyors, the officers of the Madras Guides.

In March 1777 the Commander-in-Chief 4 submitted to Government a “Book of Roads” prepared by Pringle:

As far as comes within my Observation, the Distances &c. are exact, and as I think it for the Benefit of the Service to encourage an Officer of Lt. Pringle’s merit & Abilities, I request permission to employ Lt. Pringle in the Survey of some other Roads.

If upon further acquaintance I find Lt. Pringle practically Master of the Roads & Situations of the most remarkable places in the Carnatic...I intend to recommend him to be Captain of the Guides & Hircariras, according to the plan proposed by me some months ago. Government expressed “entire approbation” and “wish at all times to encourage merit.” 5

Pringle was then ordered on a survey of the Tanjore ancient 6 and the irrigation channels which it controlled. The river Cauvery had risen in heavy flood, and burst the bank which separated it from the Coleroon, and the Nawab of the Carnatic refused to let the Raja of Tanjore carry out the necessary repairs. Pringle’s report and survey formed the basis of a satisfactory settlement 7, and in forwarding his plans the Commander-in-Chief wrote from Tanjore:

Lieutenant Pringle has finished his survey of the Anacuttia with great exactness; a separate plan is made of it upon a large scale 8. He has likewise made a Survey...as far as its course extends, to near this place, so that it may be easily joined to Major Stevens’s actual Survey for three miles round the Fort. ... 9

I propose that Mr. Pringle shall attend me, for the Public Service, to make a Survey as exact as the time will permit, of the Road &c. by which I mean to return. 10

Two months later he submitted a second Book of Roads by Lt. Pringle, measured during his late progress through the Carnatic...

After personal acquaintance & most minute investigation of Lieut. Pringle’s Character & abilities, he is of opinion that the important Office of Captain of Guides to the Army cannot be conferred upon any officer who will perform the duties with more advantage to the Service than Mr. Pringle will do. ... With Mr. Pringle’s Assistance he will shortly put the Department of Guides and Hircariras on such a footing, as to be ready for service at the shortest notice.

Lieut. Pringle has hitherto at his own expense measured & made his Remarks upon more than 600 miles of Roads, besides the actual Survey of the Annacatty, &c. 11

Government thereupon approved Pringle’s appointment as Captain of Guides to the Army.

1 MFC. 2-11-98. 2 Love, II (533). 3 Gen. Joseph Smith [99], MMC. 10-5-73: the maps in Orme, III show how vague was the information then available. 4 General Joseph Stuart. 5 MMC. 24-3-77. 6 A masonry dam described. Imp. Gov. Misc. J (177). 7 Lt. to C1. 15-10-77 (11). 8 Ten years later Byres (qv.) was sent to Seringham, on a similar duty. 9 Mack. MSS. LXIX, 15-5-87. 10 MMC. 7-6-77.
Throughout the various campaigns and expeditions of the following years Pringle was engaged on the duties of his appointment, which were those of Surveyor, Quartermaster, and Intelligence officer. One of his most interesting experiences was with Colonel Braithwaite's force, that marched from Trichinopoly at the end of 1778, through Travancore, to Anjengo, on the Malabar coast, and there embarked for Bombay for service against the Marathas.

Pringle writes from Anjengo,

I proceeded to this place by way of Palamcotah, but my journey was so retarded in the beginning by the rivers and tanks which were full, and afterwards by a dangerous Complaint with which I was seized, that I did not arrive till yesterday morning.

Inclosed is a rouf of the only Road I was permitted to see in the Travancore Country, and that by which the Raja intends to conduct any troops that may march this way. ... I am sorry I had it not in my power to make it more perfect, having been escorted by a Subadar & 20 Sepoys all the way through, who watched me so narrowly that I never had an opportunity of seeing more than 200 yards from the sea shore, along which the road goes, after my first day's journey.

In 1780 he put forward a scheme for giving the Corps of Guides a regular establishment;

The uncertainty of procuring people out of the Villages to conduct an Army through the Country, the inhabitants generally flying at the approach of a Body of Troops, whether Friends or Foes, renders the Establishment of a Corps of Guides or Hircarrahns of more importance here than perhaps in any other part of the World. ...

Accompanying this I send a Book of Roads I have measured, being the third of the kind I have had the honor of presenting to the Board.

The Commander-in-Chief then recommended that a corps of sepoy guides should be established with Pringle as Captain, and 3 native officers, 2 drummers, 1 pakhdak and 63 sepoys, three from each of the Carnatic battalions;

The Commanding Officers of the Seapoy Corps will be careful to send such men as they think best qualified for this kind of Duty.

The men were to assemble on June 1st 1780, "without their arms and accoutrements, at Nagore...a Central Place." This corps was sanctioned and, with various fluctuations of establishment, did valuable work in peace and war for the next 25 years.

When Haidar Ali invaded the Carnatic in July 1780, Pringle was recalled from survey near Ongole, and joined the headquarters staff. During the three years war that followed he and his guides did yeoman service; as Reunell puts it,

Mr. Pringle, who surveyed the marches of the army under Sir Eyre Coote during the war of 1780 has ascertained some interesting geographical positions...and by this means extended very considerably the dimensions of what may be called the Surveyed tract; ... By means also of Mr. Pringle's bearings, and measured routes the positions of Porto Novo, Saugtud, and Amboor are obtained; which last may be considered the most westerly point determined with accuracy, anywhere north of Trichinopoly.

After the war Pringle compiled a plan and book of the routes of the Carnatic; The Right Hon'ble the President having communicated to me the desire of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to have a plan of the routes of the Army during the late War with Hyder Ali, I have the honor to lay one before you for your inspection, the accuracy of which I can with some degree of certainty pronounce, as it was my good fortune to possess such health as never to be one day absent from the Army throughout the War, and I never failed to measure the roads...of every mile it marched over. ... I have accompanied it with a book of upwards of 2000 miles of Roads measured by myself in the Carnatic.

Several copies of the book are still preserved as well as of the map; they vary in their contents, having been made by hand at different dates. One copy of the map is entitled,

A Chart of the route of the Grand Army in the Carnatic under the command of Major General Sir Hector Munro, K.B., Lieut. General Sir Eyre Coote K.B. and Major General James Stuart from August 25th 1780 to June 7th 1783, with the different encampments and places

1,8 D/0 & 14: abandoned later as a Company's factory, Anjengo sank to a small fishing village,
Wright (1). 2,9 Pringle 23-1-70; M. Sol. C. Misc. Book. 3, Nagari, 57 0/11; MMC. 18-3-80,
4, Amboor, 57 1/9. 5, Memoir, 1793 (261). 6, MMC. 8-2-86.
of action: the march of the detachment from Gomripund under Lt.-Colonel Baillie, and place of its detention [40]. ... John Pringle, Captain of Guides to the Army on the Coast of Coromandel. Copied and drawn by J. Reichel 1787. Scale 1 inch = 24 miles.

One copy of the book, beautifully got up, with a fine autograph of Pringle's on the title page, dated Feb. 8th 1785, has a note in Mackenzie's handwriting:

This Book was purchased with some other MS. & Charts at the Public Auction of Lt.-Col. De Meuron's effects at Seringapatam in Nov. 1804 by Mr. K.-- for C. Mackenzie².

The title page reads,

A book containing upwards of 4000 miles of Roads in the Carnatic, with tables of the Principal Stages on the Grand Roads, shewing at one view their respective Distances from one another, the Bearings of places from many of the Hills, Forts & Pagodas, & the Latitudes & Longitudes of some of the most remarkable Cities & Places in the Carnatic.

There are notes that

the measurements were all made by Perambulators 20 & 22 feet in Circumference [199]. ... Includes Route to Calcutta of Pearse's Detachment [40-2], the only road not actually measured by the Author.

In a letter dated April 9th 1785, Pringle asked that whilst peace lasted, he might be employed in exploring all roads throughout the Carnatic, and making a general military survey of the Country, mentioning particularly that the Pulnaud country [110] and many parts of the Ongole and South West parts of the Nellore countries are but little known, and may probably become scenes of importance, and that as the Hon'ble the Court of Directors in their letter of the 6th March 1783 have desired to be furnished with the road from Madras to Masulipatam, I might make a plan of it. ...

In the course of the investigation a great part of the country adjacent to the roads may be laid down, and should be expressed, not only in Plan, but by a full description in writing of all the villages, tanks, courses of Rivers, Watercourses, ... Passes, Hills, ... Forts and Pagodas, with Topes, Bushwoods, or jungles of every kind,...and particularly...the best situations...of encampments, with every remark that can be of any use to the Commander in Chief of an army; ... to which may be added as an embellishment, and for the benefit of Geographer in general, the exact longitude and latitude of the most remarkable cities and places, mouths of rivers &c, for the ascertaining of which, as well as for surveying I am already in possession of every instrument requisite.

This was approved, and Pringle has left a later book of "Roads in the Carnatic, ... 1786-87."³

In 1786 an establishment of three officers was sanctioned for the Corps of Guides, and Beatson and Allan were posted to serve under Pringle, on whose death in 1788 Beatson succeeded to the command.

Kelly & Other Surveyors, 1778-88

In 1778 Kelly [89] put forward proposals for a regular Survey department, with himself as "Geographer"; after some consideration the Council decided to refer the scheme to the Directors, giving Kelly permission in the meantime to continue his survey, with a small extra allowance⁴ [241]. He had spent about a year away from his battalion when, in October 1780, after Haidar Ali's first successes near Conjeevaram, he was ordered to rejoin his corps. In 1782 he obtained leave to visit Calcutta, and there laid before the Governor General the atlas which he had now put into shape from his work of many years [240], and repeated his request to be appointed Geographer. His application was warmly recommended to the Directors:

Lieut Col. Kelly...has lately made us tender of a most valuable collection of Charts and surveys of the Carnatic ... We understand they have already proved a serviceable guide to General Sir Eyre Coote in regulating the motions of his army; we have therefore...resolved to make him a gratuity, and to recommend him to you for the appointment of Geographer.

¹Map, MRO. 150 (9) of 150 (8) & (42-49). ²MRO. M. 144; cf. M. 74, M. 148. ³MMC. 28-4-85. ⁴MRO. M. 147. ⁵M Sel. C. 33-10-79.
to the Company in the Carnatic; in the meantime we have requested that he will continue to furnish us with such further additions...as he may be able to obtain without prejudice or hindrance to his military duty.  

The continued fighting in the Carnatic gave Kelly little further opportunity for survey until July 1788, when he joined Fullarton's army, and surveyed its marches from the east coast through Madura to Palghat and Coimbatore.  As a diversion...to draw Tippa's attention away from Mangalore, ...Colonel Fullarton, in command of a force of 1700 Europeans and 17 battalions of sepoys, which had been organised by Mr. Sullivan, the Resident of Tanjore [243], to operate in Mysore, pushed westward from Dindigul...towards Palghaut. ... The vaguest ideas regarding the topography of the country prevailed, and Mangalore was found to be too distant to be reached by the force, but the siege of Palghaut...appeared...an operation of the greatest importance.  

Palghat was captured on November 16th, and Fullarton then captured Coimbatore, and was preparing to advance northwards towards Seringapatam, when he was recalled by the Peace Commissioners. Kelly himself writes:

On the cessation of Arms with the French at Cuddalore I obtained permission to join the Southern Army, and went prepared with Astronomical and other Instruments, in order to ascertain as correctly as possible the Latitudes, Longitudes, bearings and distances of every place my duty should call me to, or to which I could, with any degree of safety, send any Surveyors. Happily the enterprising genius of Colonel Fullarton gave me an opportunity of succeeding beyond my most sanguine expectations, as the routes on the accompanying Map will evince.

Considering Nagapatnam as a given point, the longitude of which has been well determined by its bearing and distance from Madras, and its latitude by my own observations, I have here commenced my reckoning. ... The road from hence to Madura, by way of...Trichinopoly, Dindigul, ...has been carefully measured; ...in like manner both the routes from Madura back to Trichinopoly have been surveyed by way of Natum, as well as Trichcur, and a new route explored through the Tondaiman's country to Tanjore. And all these surveys further corrected by Astronomical observations made at Nagapatnam, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Dindigul and Madura. In this way the whole map Westward hath been compared as the marches of the Army or Detachments of it would permit.

He points out that many of the routes surveyed were never explored before by any European Army or Detachment; ...some not even by Hyder Ali's Native Troops, who had always considered them as quite impracticable with cannon; even these which had been traversed before we found very different from the accounts given of them in the journals of officers from whom we thought we might have expected more accuracy. ...

My former map of the Coimbatore Country, when compared with that which I now have the honor of transmitting, will...show the utility of a regular survey.

Kelly then points out many instances of his disagreement with the maps of Montresor and Rennell [179].

Of his assistants on this survey we only know of Worsebe and Byres, the latter of whom writes to the Chief Engineer,

I also made an actual Survey of the Routes of the Southern Army while I was with it, for which, though out of the line of my duty, I never received one Fandam [278 n. 7]. I also made an actual Survey of the Walls of Madura. ... I had a Perambulator totally spoiled and a graphometer very much injured in our marches [11].

In acknowledging these and other surveys Rennell writes,

Kelly and Tinnively are chiefly from Col. Call's old map, with many additions from Kelly and Worsebe. ... Nor is this the only new matter afforded us by Col. Fullarton's march during the late war into the southern provinces, the geography of which now wears an entirely new face. The intention of this expedition was to open a communication between the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar; and at the same time to deprive Hyder Ali of the use of the valuable province of Coimbatore; and if necessary to open a ready way into that of Mysore [12]. We learn from him...of there being a break in the continuity of the...ghauts...about 10 miles wide [13].

1B to CD. 15-7-32 (23). 58 B/9. 1 Logan (443). 2 Nagapatnam. 58 N/14. 3 Tirappattur. 58 J/12. 4 Padukottal. 58 J. 756 F/15. 5 of MBO. Map 168 & Frontispiece, Fullarton. 6 BPC. 30-5-84. 7 Map. MBO. 150 (20); Dwm. 240 (143). 8 Mack. MSS. LXVIII. 6-7-85. 9 of Fullarton, Roberts (189). 10 Memoir, 1798 (276).
Connection to the west coast was made by Humberstone's 1 march of October 1782, of which Rennell writes,

Of the route of Col. Humberstone from Tanora to Palicaud, I have seen no less than 5 different plans; some of them differing 5' in longitude...where the whole space did not exceed 57 miles. One alone among these had the author's name to it, and therefore demanded the preference; it was by Lieut. D'Auvergne. I am yet to learn whether the distance was measured or not 8.

Worsese was an officer of the Hanoverian Corps 4 who did useful survey between 1783 and 1785, and compiled a map of Tanjore which Mackenzie says was published, though it has not been found 5 [243]. There is, however, in the British Museum a MS. map 6 by Charles Schlegel, an officer of the Hanoverians, who, from the following notes, appears to have made some original survey himself:

Map of Part of the Carnatic, collected on official Travels, by command and under the direction of Lieut. General Sir John Dalling, Bart..., when Commander in Chief in the Carnatic.

Vandivash, fixed from Mr. Barnard's Survey. Pondicherry, from Bourzet's map.

Bearsings taken from the hills in the Plains, and all of these have been laid down by Triangles, and as little use made of perambulator measurements of routes as possible, it having been observed that such routes measured near the sea coast differ too much from those measured on a Rocky ground near the West mountains, that it is almost impossible to make allowances with a sufficient degree of certainty.

The north part of this map [Tripety and Chittoo] has been made on a Tour with Major O. Great help have been received by Major Pringle and the late Capt. Worsebe and Capt. du Plis.

Rennell further notes about his Map of Hindostan that "the road from Seringapatam to Calicut is from Col. Humberstone's report", and Sir George Staunton's journey across the peninsula, from Madras to Mangalore in 1783, as one of the commissioners for negotiating a treaty of peace with Tippoo Sultan, furnished a list of stages, and the estimated bearings and distances between them the whole way; whilst a "Map of the Peninsula of India", published in 1843 by Wyld, of London, bears the note.

The road across the Peninsula...followed by the British Prisoners from Condappoor to Madras on their release in March 1784. ... The course of the Cauvery and the route of the prisoners is upon the authority of Capt. Wheeler.

Reumell laments the want of any sustained or continuous survey of the Carnatic, which, as we have seen [90-1], had been prevented by the Nawab's opposition;

The determination of the positions in that part of the southern Carnatic beyond the extent of Mr. Pringle's measured lines, was what interested me particularly;...accuracy was not to be attained; for no position was determined mathematically, in the line between Trichinopoly & Velore 10; nor even a single line measured from the sea to the hills, to determine the breadth of the Carnatic; nor even a series of triangles, although such a succession of tempting marks occur, throughout this whole space. The only particular that presented itself, in the shape of actual measurement, was Mr. Pringle's route from Trichinopoly to Velore; but this was without bearings, save from the top of Tihar Hill 11.

Reumell further notes that "Condavir" 13 and places marked on "his circuitous route

---

1 Thomas Frederick MacKenzie Humberstone, Comdg. HM's 100th Foot, 2nd cousin to Kenneth MacKenzie, 7th Earl of Seaforth; For his march to Palghat, e. Late War in Asia, 1 (466-82) & Cadell (101-3).
2 Timur, 46 M.16; Memoir. 1793 (55).
3 Memoir. 1793 (55). Two regiments employed by E.I.C. for nearly 10 years; ard. Madras 1782-3, HMS. 84 (708) & Wylly (429).
4 Memoir. 1793 (278-5).
5 BM. K. 116 (70).
6 Wandivash. 57 P.10.
7 Tirapatti, 57 O.8; Chittoor, 57 O.4.
8 ib. (269); Rennell's error; the journey to Mangalore in 1783 was by sea; the return land journey 1784, after conclusion of peace. Staunton was secretary to Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras 1780-5.
9 Vellore, 57 F.1.
10 Prud'homme, 56 M.2; Memoir, 1763 (372).
11 ib. (280).
13 ib. (264, 288).

---
from Ongole to Timerycotta"¹. This survey must have been made between 1779 and 1782, the period of Davis's stay on the Madras establishment.

We are indebted to Dalrymple for an account by Walter Lennon of a survey made by him of the country between Ongole and Cuddapah²; the accompanying sketch was made in the year 1783, when I attended the Detachment under General Jones, which was designed against Cudapah and Sidout. ... From the Hill of Ongole I took bearings...with an Azimuth Compass. ... The bearings of each day's march laid down from the former, the distances measured by a perambulator...to within sight of Bodewall¹ but could not with safety venture further. ... From Parnamalin³ the two routes to Cudapah and Sidout are taken from the concurring reports of Black People, sent out for the purpose; I believe them to be tolerably exact, for when shown to the Rajah of Cotacotah he immediately named the places as they were represented. ... Roads by the Dormal pass I collected from the reports of those who escaped by these roads from Bodewall to Nellore. ... The road from Nellore to Coiway...I have from Lt. Robinson⁴, who explored these places in person [185-6]. ...

The detachment remained a considerable time at Cameral, from whence I was sent to destroy the Fort of Cotacotah, and thence to Duppaud⁴; these roads are all laid down by Compass and perambulator. ... Before I had quite finished my work at Duppaud, the enemy's horse...poured in from the Westward, and I was obliged to take refuge at Courcheir. From this hill I took bearings. ... Having caught a violent fever here, from the ill treatment of the Rajah, who had a design of delivering me up to the enemy, I was incapable of measuring the distances to Ongole, where I was permitted, at last, to go for my recovery.

Lennon later continued his survey in the direction of Cumbum⁵, tracing all the roads and rivers;

I was sorry that I could not take the latitudes and longitudes of the principal places in this sketch, but had no other instruments with me than a compass and Perambulator. From the circumstance of my having been attacked with the Hill-fever in 1786, when attempting a survey of the river Godavery, [105] ...and being obliged to go to China for my recovery, I lost almost all my papers ⁴.

Reference is made elsewhere to the share taken by civil officers in the survey of the Presidency, and in 1783 the Chief Engineer, Ross, remarks,

Some of the Gentlemen in the Civil Branch of the service who had turned their thoughts to surveying were occasionally employed in different parts of the country making detached plans, as the knowledge of any particular spot might at the Moment be required. Some of them were completed...some were not, and a considerable Expense was incurred without gaining one essential step towards the great End proposed⁶.

CHAPTER VII

MADRAS SURVEYS, 1786 TO 1800


The Coromandel coast, stretching from Point Calimere to Orissa, was ever a dangerous beat for the Company’s ships. It was fully exposed to the monsoon weather for seven months of the year, and there was no safe anchorage in all its length.

Though the sea-passage from Calcutta to Madras occupied but seven days between December and April, yet for the rest of the year the same passage took from 20 to 30 days; before 1780 even six weeks was considered a fair passage during the monsoon, and ships were frequently wrecked.

In 1772 the Directors wrote out to Madras,

It having been represented to us that Coringa Bay is a proper place for our Europe Ships to put into during the Severity of the Monsoons on your Coast, We would have you cause the same to be surveyed, and report to us;

and the Council replied,

We ordered Mr. Engineer Stevens from Masulipatam on this Service. He has finished his Survey & we have the pleasure to forward to you...a chart taken by him of the Bay & Harbour of Coringa.

Five years later the Directors wrote out again;

We are much concerned at the disagreeable intelligence... respecting the Loss of the Ship Margins of Rockingham upon your Coast, and as the Rock on which she struck is but little known,... we direct you take the first opportunity of sending a Vessel with a proper Surveyor, to take a survey of the Rock’s distance from the Shore, together with its extent, and the soundings within and without it, also the bearings from the most remarkable Land or Pagoda thereabouts.

No action was taken on this request, and five years later again the Court direct that you do order surveys to be made when practicable, of the Coasts and shoals from Madras to Masulipatam, of the Rock on which the Rockingham was lost, and of the coast and Banks to the Southward.

This was referred to the Chief Engineer, who suggested that the survey may be undertaken when the monsoon breaks up, if proper People, proper Instruments, and Proper Vessels for the purpose are provided.

This was more than the Council could manage, and they wrote off to Bengal.

Havisa under stood that you had employed Mr. Ritchie upon a similar service in Bengal,... should Mr. Ritchie be judged by you properly qualified for such an undertaking, he may be directed to make the surveys required, as we have not been able to find any person here who is capable of executing the Hon’ble Court’s orders in a satisfactory manner.

As might be expected, Ritchie could not be spared, and it was not until the end of 1786 that a suitable surveyor was found in the person of Michael Topping, of whom the Governor wrote on March 2nd 1787.

In the month of November last, Mr. Michael Topping, a person of very considerable Mathematical and Geographical knowledge, had at his request ascertained the Latitudes and Longitudes of many of the principal stations between Masulipatam and Bengal,... which...

---

2. CD to M. 15–2–73 (6).
3. CD to M. 45–3–78 (2).
4. CD to M. 15–1–83 (40).
5. MPC. 23–1–83.
7. Maj Gen Sir Archibald Campbell, KB, HMS. Egeria. CE. Bengal 1786–73; Governor of Madras 1786–7; d. 1791; bur. Westminster Abbey, DNB.
will prove of very essential advantage in correcting many errors which have been observed in the charts of this coast. He has now the pleasure to bring Mr. Topping's journal before the Board, and his observations and remarks appear to him not only ingenious and scientific, but likewise of utility to Government, from the accuracy with which he seems to have laid down the bearings and distances of the principal stations in the Circars. ... [176-177].

From the laudable anxiety expressed by the Court of Directors, ... Sir Archibald begs leave to recommend...that Mr. Topping be instructed to prosecute his observations along the coast to the Southward.1

Later in the year the following instructions were issued to Topping:

This Board have come to the resolution of having an accurate survey taken of the sea coast from Madras to the Southmost extremity of the peninsula, with a view not only to ascertain...the actual line of the Sea Coast, but...of obtaining a complete Survey of those parts of the Peninsula of India which belong to the Company and to their allies. ...

As soon as the season will permit, you will accordingly lose no time in proceeding upon your survey. ... You will be particularly attentive to ascertain the exact position...of any remarkable town, Pagoda, Point of Land, or Hill; ... you will observe the depth of water, and direction, of the different rivers through which you pass, where they empty themselves into the sea, the depth of water on the bars, and...you will communicate...any remarks about the possibility of making the entrance more accessible to vessels of considerable burthen. ...

If you have it in your power to ascertain the bearings of any remarkable point of land or shoal sea-ward, with the soundings to a certain distance from the shore...by means of any small vessel that you may be able to procure for this occasional purpose, Government will defray the extra expense, ... relying on your prudence to put the Company to as little expense as possible. ...

You will pay particular attention to lay down with the utmost accuracy possible the position, extent, and depth of water upon the Armegon Shoal to the Northward of Pulicat [104 n.2], for although this is not within the limits of the line...for your survey, yet...it is pretty certain that this shoal is very erroneously laid down, in consequence of which some of the Company's ships have been in the most imminent danger of being lost [104]. ... You can then proceed to survey the rock or shoal where the Rockingham Indianman was lost; ... the shoal of Devicotah[56 n.7]...will also require your attention. Although it is the intention of the Board that the survey shall be carried on through the Straits of Manar8 and along the coast of Marawar8 and Tinnavally districts towards the Southmost point of the Peninsula of India, ...you are for the present to consider these instructions as only extending from the Armegon shoal to the Southmost Termination of this coast... opposite to the Island of Ramesvaram4; the survey of that Island, as far as the Bramins of these pagodas will permit; from thence round the point of the Peninsula to Kolkarre5.

Early in January 1788 Topping reported that he had "taken every necessary measure" for his survey, and arranged for correspondent astronomical observations at Mr. Petrie's private observatory [171]. No ship was forthcoming, so the survey was carried out by land, and was the first Indian survey of any extent to have been based on triangulation [191].

Topping sent home an account of this triangulation and a base-line measured at Porto Novo4 to a friend in London, who read it before the Royal Society on February 16th 1792 [191 n.2] and in a letter to Government in 1791 he wrote,

Totally unaided—except by lascars—I conducted a series of Triangles near three hundred miles in length (besides measuring a base line of six miles and a half) through a country in which I had to elevate myself for each observation above the tops of the highest trees, to go through the fatigue of traveling some thousands of miles, to endure the rigors of the hottest season, besides the mental labor of taking and computing innumerable astronomical observations8 [202].

Having carried his triangulation from Madras to Adirampatnam9 on the northern shore of Palk Strait, and surveyed the coast line southwards from Pondicherry10, Topping returned to Madras in December, expecting to return shortly to complete the survey to Cape Comorin, which however he was never given the opportunity of doing.

1MFC. 11-9-57. 258 O/12. 3Ramsd., 58 K. 458 O/7. 5Kilhami, 58 K/10. MFC. 30-11-57. 618 M/15. 7Phil. Trans. LXXI (59). 8MFC. 27-12-91. 958 N/7. 10His survey was sent home in 1760 and returned to India many years later: MRC. 133 (9-11) is possibly part of it.
Goldingham made use of this survey in compiling a map of Negapatam districts, and part of those dependent on Nagore, laid down chiefly from surveys by Mr. G. I. Hoisard in 1791. Corrected by Mr. Topping's survey of the coast July 25th 1797. Scale 6 miles to an inch.

An application to the Governor General for the loan of a "Bombay Cruiser" for Topping's use was not successful, and on his return he looked for a suitable vessel at Madras.

Having...used every endeavour...to procure a small vessel for the marine part of my survey, ...my enquiries, till very lately, have been wholly unsuccessful but...two days ago I very fortunately met with a small well-built cutter of about 30 tons burthen...suited to the purpose. This vessel is quite new, having been launched about three months ago at Pegu, where she was constructed of the very best teak timber...after an English model.

He asked permission to purchase it for 1200 pagodas, and to spend "the trifling" extra cost of providing copper sheathing to her bottom and a small boat to attend her. As he further assured Government that she would be in every way suited to the purpose wanted, and particularly for exploring the passages situated between the Coast of India and Ceylon, her purchase was sanctioned. Topping indentured on the Paymaster for two caddies of sheet copper for the use of the Mary, but, after much fruitless trouble and vexation, not being able to procure the sort I wanted from the Company's stores, I was compelled to purchase the necessary quantity from a Merchant in the Black Town.

In the meantime the Directors had written out welcoming Topping's appointment, and ordering that his first task should be to re-examine the coast for a safe harbour.

It would be of the utmost consequence to have a Port of Shelter for large ships within our own territories on the Coast of Choromandal, and a doubt having been suggested, on attention to Major Stevens's plan of Coringa, whether there be such a passage for a large ship into the river Godavery; but the late dreadful calamity at Coringa may have made essential alterations since Major Stevens's survey was taken [101]; we therefore direct that Mr. Topping be employed as soon as possible in making a survey of the mouth of the river Godavery. ...Possibly planting the mud banks of the mouth of the Godavery with Mangroves might tend to deepen the channel. It will be proper to survey also the road of Coringa to ascertain what shelter it can afford. If...neither the river Godavery nor Coringa can afford safe shelter for large ships we think the Bay of Pettaopoly ought to be carefully examined.

As Topping estimated that it would take eight months to finish his survey to the south, the Council decided that he should first carry out the survey at the mouth of the Godavari.

He commenced his survey of the Bay of Coringa in August 1789 and made a thorough survey with soundings, besides taking systematic observations of the tides.

In his report submitted in February 1790 he pointed out the inaccuracy of former charts, apparently including that of Stevens, made in 1772;

This led the Hon. Court of Directors to expect that a passage for their shipping into the Godavery might be found, ...a matter as will now appear of utter impossibility. ...I have determined to submit the materials with which I have constructed my Chart to their inspection, being of opinion that were the means by which all maps and Charts are made exposed to the test of examinations, much fewer impositions would be attempted than are at present practiced, with too frequent success, by persons who depend more on the operations of their own fancy than on their knowledge of things requisite for the construction of geographical documents.

Though the passage of ships into the Godavery was quite impracticable, he described the safe harbourage and convenience of the Road of Coringa at every season of the year, and, alluding to a rumour that the object of the Directors was to make Coringa the place of rendezvous for their Bengal shipping, in order to avoid the dangerous, and too often fatal, navigation of the Ganges.

1 Negapatam & Nagore, Dutch Settlements annexed by EIC in 1781. 58 N/13. 2 MBO. Map 322.
3 MPC. 8-12-88. 4 About 2 500. 5 The northern quarter of Madras. MPC. 16-6-88. 6 Tidal wave, 1787: Imp. G. M. 1 (320). 7 186 A/0 (see pl. 9). 8 CD to M. 30-8-88 (10). 9 MBO. Map 108.
added that "no place can be better for these purposes".

During 1790 and 1791 Topping was employed on arrangements for building the observatory at Madras [172-3], and he wrote in December 1791,

Being at present occupied...in erecting an Astronomical Observatory at this Presidency, it will not be possible for me to proceed on any distant service; ... the late heavy monsoon must have impeded not only that, but every other outdoor operation that I might have been engaged in; ... as however the Rivers will probably subside in a few days, I think I may venture to promise that the observatory shall be completed within three months from the setting in of the fair weather. ...

Although my present occupations will not admit of my immediately commencing my service Southward, yet, if the Hon'ble Board approve of my entering upon an examination and survey of the Pulicate and Armejon Shoals during the present favorable season, and will allow me the assistance of Mr. Goldingham, I can, as those dangers are not very distant from Madras, arrange to conduct that service. ...

The investigation of these dangerous shoals make a part of my instructions; ... the uncertainty of their true situation and extent has long been an evil very justly complained of; and, if I am rightly informed, the Festal Frigate, with the Right Hon'ble the Governor General on board, had lately a narrow escape of being wrecked or one or the other of them.

This was approved, and in the following October Topping reported,

The survey of the Pulicate shoals have been completed some time but, ... before Mr. Goldingham could accomplish his examination of the Armejon and other Banks to the northward, ... he had the misfortune to lose the cutter's mast and, ... notwithstanding I have searched everywhere for a spare to replace it, I have not yet succeeded in finding one.

In consequence of this disaster I have ordered the lascars to be discharged and the vessel to be secured in Pulicate River, directing at the same time Mr. Goldingham to proceed with his survey on shore to beyond the Armejon, in order that by a connected series of observations, in addition to that formerly made by myself, we may at length obtain a true figure of the whole peninsula [178].

In December he reported that the survey of the sea coast northward by Mr. Goldingham is going on, and will extend to Point Devy including Pettypolly Bay very shortly.

In March 1793 he submitted

Mr. John Goldingham's survey of the sea coast from Madras to the Kistna, together with a very particular investigation of the Pulicate Reefs. ... As the work will speak for itself, I shall only observe that the method adopted was recommended by myself, and that the execution of it discovers great zeal, application, and ingenuity in Mr. Goldingham.

In acknowledging this survey and Topping's letter that accompanied it, the Directors write,

We recommend that the Mary be fitted as a Schooner, and the survey of the Bay of Pettipolle and the Soundings on the other parts of the Coast be completed by Mr. Goldingham as soon as opportunity will allow. ...

Although correspondent observations at the observatory are very desirable, yet that consideration cannot be admitted as a competent excuse for postponing the actual surveys. ... Without deprecating the extreme precision with which Mr. Topping and his Assistant seem so meritoriously to have executed the survey of the sea Line, and which we wish to have continued, yet there are surveys of more general importance, but none which merit more attention than that of the Godavary and Kistna, as they affect the cultivation of the countries adjacent [179-7].

These surveys of the coast were compiled by Goldingham into a map which bears the following note [162];

The coast from Aadipatah to Fort St. George (a distance of about 240 miles) ... was surveyed by means of a continued series of large triangles, formed with high signals. ... The same method was adopted in the survey of the coast from the Western mouth of the Kistna River to Masulipatam, a distance of about 47 miles. Both these surveys were executed solely by Mr. Michael Topping.

The coast from Fort St. George to the Western mouth of the Kistna (an extent of 250 miles) was surveyed by means of high signals ranged along the coast at intervals of 9 or 10 miles, the relative bearings and distances of these having been found by Astronomical

1To Dalrymple, 10-7-90, Mad. Sec. XIX. 1855 (232). 28 m. from shore, off present lighthouse Monapalem. 68 C 1: Imp. Gaz. Mad. 1 (1863). 3MPC. 27-12-91. 4MPC. 16-10-92. 5Devil Point, 66 E71; False Div. Point, 66 A12. 6MRO. Map 44, engraved by J. Walker; pub. 1-5-1821. 7MPC. 10-4-98. 8CD to W. 23-4-94 (61-64). 9MRIO. 137 (49) & MRO. Map 125.
observations, and smaller curves ascertained by theodolite and perambulator. The Pulicato Shallows were surveyed by the help of signals ranged on shore. Both these surveys were executed by myself...

The coast from Masulpateam to Point Gardewar (about 106 miles) was surveyed by bearings and distances with the Theodolite and perambulator, by Lt. Caldwell of the Engineers, when Assistant...in the Survey of the Kistna and Godavari Rivers [106].

The Bay of Coringa was laid down from an accurate survey by the late Marine Surveyor.

**KISTNA-GODAVARI IRRIGATION SURVEYS**

The first recorded survey carried out for irrigation purposes was one by Dugood on the Godavari River in 1775 [93];

33 sheets of a sketch showing the Zally Brooke and its environs, from its leaving the Godavary to its joining the Cotare. Done to a scale of 8 inches to a mile; done large for the purpose of distinguishing minutely the Dams &c.

The canals had been constructed by the local people to make the Country about them produce Paddy; the purpose of tracing the canal was to improve it by deepening, widening, &c, and improve the passage of water; and with his survey Dugood estimated "the cost of taking away and re-making the dams?".

Dalrymple has published an account of a survey of the Godavari by Walter Lennon in 1786 with a view to the "improvement of cultivation";

Mr. Lennon in 1786 went in a boat up the Godavary & Sheevry Rivers, about 200 miles above Rajahmundry, and reported on the various tributaries, and that he found no cataracts.

In 1788 Lennon represented to the Governor,

That he had, in 1786, at his own expense, undertaken to make a Survey of the Godavary, upon a scale of one inch to a mile, distinguishing the different districts above its Bank; that his intentions were to begin near Rajahmundry, and to go as far North and West as he should be permitted; he surveyed in this manner about 9 miles of the river. What he did was merely for trial of the practicality of the Work.

He now proposed to make an exact Survey of the River Godavary, on a scale of an inch to a mile, and also of the Rivers Sheevry & Sheelain...and offered to complete the whole at his own expense. The only assistance desired, a few lascars; and the only Emolument expected, was the privilege of sending down Teak Timbers, secure...from the exactions & plunder of the Zemindars [144].

Dalrymple also reproduces a report from Dr. Roxburgh, the botanist, dated October 17th 1792, with a sketch of the Cola, with those parts of the little Rivers that supplied it with water, taken from a manuscript Map, which he believed to be exact, but of this Map no copy is come to England, & Dr. Roxburgh has not an exact idea of the Channel from the Godavary, which was surveyed very minutely by Capt. Dugood.

In 1792 the Directors wrote out,

We recommend that Mr. Topping...may be employed in Surveying the Circars, particularly the Rajahmundry Circar... Such a Survey would at once shew, not only the position and nature of the Lands at present in cultivation, and with what cultivated, but...what Improvements might be made.

One consideration of much moment is, the easy communication with the Sea or Water carriage. The Inland Navigation of the Rajahmundry Circar is not known to us; it would therefore be of the utmost consequence to Survey Branches of the Godavarry River as well as of the Kistna, one very great object is floating down Teak, which...might thus be brought by Water to the Sea.

The Council passed this last letter to Topping and at the same time consulted Beaton, the Governor noting that,

---

1Godavari Point, 66 L/6. 2But see 3rd & 4th Instructions to Barnard [142]. 3Mask MSS. LKXIII, 27-4-75. 4Oriental Repository, II: Watering the Colonies, Dalrymple, 1793, with map. 5God G/16. 6William Roxburgh, Asst. Surg. Mad. 28-5-76; succeeded to charge Botanical Gardens, Sibpur, 1793. 7Colin Lake, 65 H/2. 8See proposals made by Lennon [144]. 9CD to M. 16-5-92 (11-19).
The late famine in that quarter has again naturally turned the public attention to the practicability of securing water, in future, by means of the two rivers, ... appropriating the waters to the purposes of cultivation, as a point of the first public importance.

Beaton was strongly in favour of an aqueduct judiciously constructed; ... in forming an aqueduct, there would be no unnecessary slope of descent... which ought not to exceed five inches in a mile, whereby the water would be retained at a high level and would flow so gently as to run no risk of injuring the work. 

But as to the probable expense of such a work, it is impossible to form any judgement, without a minute examination of this part of the river; ... in my humble opinion, the expense cannot be put in competition with the great advantages which would accrue from the accomplishment of such work.

He further recommended that levels should be taken along the rivers, and surveys of the ground, for a mile or two on each side of these levels, to be made, and all original observations of the Surveys & Levellings to be arranged in a clear & distinct manner, so that from them the results may be computed by those who are competent in business of this nature.

The necessary instructions were then passed to Topping, who first went down to Tanjore to see the ancient [95 n.6] and study the irrigation system taking off from the Cauvery and Coleroon rivers; he then left Madras in March 1798 for Masulipatam, taking James Caldwell with him as assistant. He made a survey of the Kistna from Masulipatam to Bezvâda, taking a series of levels on its northern bank; ... The Godavari River was executed in like manner by Lient. Caldwell.

An account of his levelling operations is given in a report dated February 14th 1794 [102-3], and a year later he wrote, apparently in a mood of depression,

But to particularise a service in which I have laboured these two seasons past, and indeed that on which I indulge warm hopes of support and encouragement from the Hon'ble Company—namely my exertions in the Northern Circars. In spite of illiberal opposition, and an almost total want of proper assistance, in spite of the rigors of a climate (perhaps the hottest and most unhealthy in the habitable world) I have conducted a series of levels near two hundred miles in length; and a minute survey of the Kistnah, with its several branches, to near a hundred miles from the sea; and I purpose to do the same by the Godavery and its adjacent territory, if life and health permit.

Much has been said, and much written, on this important subject, The Watering of the Circars; It will however appear from the delineations already laid before Government, and more fully from those which I shall shortly submit... that nothing can be more wild and extravagant than the idea of those who recommend undertakings of this kind to be blindly commenced... without method, nay, without first ascertaining the practicability of the scheme, a work of great (but indispensable) labour; ... and. ... supposing the proposed work has... been found practicable, a second survey and series of levels, more minute than those previously accomplished, must also be undertaken, in order to mark out... the ground over which the intended canals are to be carried, to determine their proper dimensions, their figure and slope &c., all of which will require ample assistance and a band of practical surveyors, well instructed, and capable of enduring the climate.

His chart of the "Lower Division of the Kistnah", and chart of levels, was sent home to the Directors later in the year, the Council noting that,

This work completes the Kistna from its several entrances to beyond Amritkala, a distance of near 110 miles from the sea, and furnishes determinations of the levels of the adjacent country to that furthest inland point.

Mr. Topping, from want of sufficient materials is still...[anxious] to suspend his judgement upon the practicability of the ultimate object we have in view.

After Topping's death in January 1796 the Directors ordered that Beaton should complete the survey, which was now widened in character so as to cover all means by which the irrigation of the cultivated lands in the Circars could be improved. Beaton came out from home for this special purpose, and left Madras in March 1798, taking with him a map of the countries between the Kistna and Gaudiavery rivers, with a survey of those rivers by the late Mr. Topping and Captain Caldwell, their lines of levels at every roth
station being marked thereon and also profiles of the levels taken...up the Kistna and across the adjacent country to the Gauadavary.

He travelled up to Ellore through Calastry...Ongole...Chintapally; ... throughout this tract the objects I have constantly kept in view, were to ascertain the various modes of watering and cultivation—the nature and situation of the best tanks—the different methods of constructing...sluices, and to discover every means of improvement that might be successfully introduced in the Circars.

At Chintapally, I examined that narrow part of the Kistnah, about a mile above the fort, where the waters are confined between two rocks, in a space of little more than 300 yards; afterwards I proceeded to explore the face of the country on each side of the river. from Chintapally to Ilamattal, which...appears to me totally ineligible, and I may add impracticable, for canals or aqueducts, however favourable the levels might have been found.

On his march to Ellore Beaslon had employed several intelligent Bramins of the Corps of Guides, ... in different parts, to ascertain some points connected with the investigation, and they brought in surveys of the more important rivers flowing through the Guntur and Ellore Circars. He goes on to say that,

During this investigation I have often had reason to regret that so small a portion of these districts has as yet undergone an actual survey, and that there is no map of the interior of the circars which could afford me any material assistance. To the late Mr. Topping’s and Captain Caldwell’s accurate surveys of the Kistnah and Godavary I am indeed much indebted; and to Captain Dugood’s of the Wayayru; but excepting these the rest of the map of the Masulipatam circar is extremely imperfect, being a Mooshy map, constructed many years ago in the Engineer’s office at Masulipatam.

Beaslon suggested that a similar survey should be carried out in Guntur Circar to that which he had made some years before in Pahool [110]. At the same time that this Survey is carrying on, I beg leave to recommend that a similar Survey of the rivers in the Guntur Circar (including 2 miles on each side of them, representing principal watercourses from these rivers, villages, and Tanks) be made upon the same scale; this survey with the Routes already surveyed by Captain Mackenzie and myself will form an useful map of that Circa.

He was not able to accomplish much, for war clouds were gathering, and in July 1798, the very next month, he was called away to join the Governor General’s staff and act as adviser on the geography and local conditions of the Mysore frontier [118]. Topping’s scheme was not pursued further.

The first idea of the Godavary Asicut originated with Mr. Michael Topping, who reported how desirable it would be to throw a dam across the Godavary, so as to raise the water, and make it available for irrigation. The project was permitted to slumber for half a century and was revived in 1844 [by the great engineer Arthur Cotton].

Tank Repairs

The Company having assumed the administration of several of the Carnatic districts from the beginning of the war of 1796, and suggestions being made by district officers for the improvement of the revenues from cultivation, the Directors wrote out in 1796.

The Letter from Mr. Andrews of the 16th August 1799, has stated in such forcible terms the advantages which are likely to accrue from cutting a Channel for supplying the Devicotah District with Water from the Coleroon, that we trust no time has been lost in making the necessary previous examination and Survey, and in commencing the Work, if the Report shall have been in favor of the project. ...

We observe by the Letter from the Board of Revenue, ... that from the present ruins state of the Water Courses and Tanks, it is to be apprehended, that without the aid of

1 MPC. May 1798. 2 Kilabarti, 57/10: Ongola, 63 A/3; Chintapally, 65 D/2. 3 MRC. 27. 7. 98. 4 Mack. MSS. LIX, 10.6. 68. "A Collection of papers illustrative of the different W. terworks in the Carnatic". 5 Mack. (100). 6 In 1781 the Nawab of the Carnatic assigned to the Company the revenue of his district to provide for their defence; this was not confirmed by the Directors, but a treaty of 1789 provided for such assignment in the event of another war, and this was put into force in 1796. e. M. Pol. to CD. 16. 9. 90 (162). At the close of the war administration of certain districts remained with the Company, and complete transfer followed in 1861. [pl. 4].
Government...no effectual repair will be made by the Renters. ... We authorize you, if the state of your finances shall admit of it, to disburse the Sum...necessary for giving a thorough repair to the Water Courses and Tanks¹, a measure which, ...if effected by skilful Persons, could not fail to induce Proposals for an increased Rent...ultimately attended with a proportionate increase of Revenue².

The matter was referred to Topping whose recommendations were eminently practical; he wrote to the Board of Revenue on January 5th 1794:

Your resolution...to recommend a thorough repair of the reservoirs in the Company’s Districts, was doubtless a necessary one. Before, however, so extensive a work can with propriety be undertaken, a particular survey of each reservoir, natural or Artificial, should be made, or the Company will certainly be obliged to pay double the money bonafide expended on them.

To effect this salutary purpose, a regular Surveyor General’s office should be instituted...

[264].

In the execution itself of the work, ten or twelve practitioner Surveyors will be wanted, to act under the Surveyor General and his Assistants; These should, in my opinion, be formed into a regular body, and established in the fixed pay and service of the Company.

The Board of Revenue endorsed this proposal,

We beg leave to recommend that a Surveyor General’s office be instituted at Madras, with the authority and the number of assistants, both European and Native, pointed out by Mr. Topping...

As you have consented to the repair of the Tanks &c in the Jaghire, and as it would appear that the Hon’ble Court of Directors...intend to extend such improvements throughout the districts under this presidency; we conceive an establishment of this nature to be of the utmost importance, not only to effect the necessary survey of the state of the Tanks, the repairs they require, and where others may with advantage be constructed, but afterwards to Superintend the execution of the works³.

Government accepted these recommendations so far as the establishment in 1794 of a Surveying School [284.], and the following year resolved that,

Being convinced of the necessity of appointing a scientific person to superintend the repair of tanks and watercourses, it is agreed that Mr. Topping be nominated to that duty under the designation of “Superintendent of Tank Repair & Watercourses”.

As the execution of the orders which have been received...upon this important subject will necessarily involve the Company in a very heavy expence, and as great responsibility consequently attached to the person employed in the work, resolved that Mr. Topping be allowed...400 pagodas per month in the Revenue Department from the date of his appointment⁴.

On Topping’s death in 1796 Caldwell succeeded him in charge of the “Department of Tank Repairs”, the first regular department of Public Works to be established in India.

Early in 1794 John Norris was deputed “to survey the Devicotta District [86 n. 7]...and report on the scheme put forward for its Irrigation”. He reported that he considered a survey necessary of all the watercourses, tanks, and communications with the Coleroon River, but he does not appear to have done much towards such survey, for a year later Government told the Chief Engineer that further employment of Captain Norris at Devicottah is useless and unnecessary. He is to be recalled, and to submit...such materials or information as he may have procured relative to the Survey, upon which he was ordered so far back as January 1794⁴.

In his place Caldwell was sent down in 1795 from Masulipatam, “to examine how far the waters of the Coleroon could be applied to water the lands of Derycoñah⁶”, and in pursuance of his report, the first two boys passing out from the surveying school were sent down to survey the district. The following letter shows that the survey was in the nature of a “Revenue Survey”, but as time went on the Department of Tank Repairs developed its own type of survey, and produced district maps for its special purposes which were of considerable topographical value;

In Captain Caldwell’s last letter he wrote me that we must make a survey of the whole of all the Paddy grounds which are cultivated, and which are not cultivated, and to find the contents of them, and for that, Sir, we want about 50 or 60 bamboos for flags... and we do want also a

¹ cf. 5th Instruction to Barnard [143]. ² CD to M. Rev. 25-6-93 (3, 36). ³ MRC. 10-1-94. ⁴ MRC 7-2-95. ⁵ Mack. MSS. LXIX, 24-5-96. ⁶ CD to M. 9-5-97 (59).
person out of the village to shew us the boundary of them, and also to shew us properly which are cultivated, and which are not cultivated. ... We have orders to make a survey of all the salt-water Rivers; for that, Sir, we must have a Boat, to be for our Survey; if Captain Caldwell was here we would have them by his orders, but he, being so distant from us, it is with much difficulty to receive one of his letters in a month, and therefore I have mentioned it to you, Sir. We have not persons enough to cut the jungle as it is so thick between the boundary of Devicottah and also at the Salt-water Rivers. ... We are going on with the nullahs from the Yarri [reservoir]; at present we have rained here most days in the week; Allan desires to be remembered to you, Sir; I hope all our friends are well [195].

On this Goldingham wrote to the Board of Revenue,

It is absolutely necessary for the person these lads are placed immediately under to be on the spot, ready to give them the requisite assistance, and to support them through the opposition they are likely to meet with from persons interested in keeping from Government the information they are ordered to obtain, by which the real value of the country will be ascertained, as well as to give them due encouragement to persevere in the prosecution of a difficult and laborious duty.

Such troubles were of course the lot of all surveyors, though more particularly of those engaged in revenue surveys.

The Corps of Guides

On Pringle’s death in 1789 Beatson succeeded to the command of the company of Guides [97]. The establishment and composition of the company had been frequently changed; Pringle had left a scheme for 400 men, 100 to be employed north of the Kistna, 200 in the Carnatic, and 100 south of the Coleroon, but the Directors considered these numbers too high;

With reference to Captain Pringle’s proposal for establishing a numerous body of guides ...and the Commander-in-Chief’s opinions of 1773 and 1775 [90] we are led to form an opinion in favour of the utility of some regular Establishment of this nature. ... We are inclined to think that the labours of Colonel Kelly and Captain Pringle have rendered the Establishment of Guides so large an amount as 400 less necessary than formerly, and we desire to know whether you are in possession of the maps which were presented to the Governor General in Council by the former in 1782 [240]. If not, you must make application for them, and you must inform us whether you really think it necessary to keep up so large an establishment of Guides as Captain Pringle recommends.

The Chief Engineer then recommended an establishment one quarter of that suggested by Pringle, but Government only sanctioned 50 men, whom Allan was authorized to raise in time for the war of 1790. During peace time many of the guides had been employed as hevraaks under the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief.

Both Beatson and Allan were enthusiastic surveyors and it is recorded that, during the interval of peace, until the commencement of the war with Tipoo in 1790, Captain Beatson was indefatigable in surveying and exploring the whole face of the Carnatic. ... His surveys extended from the River Godavery to Cape Comorin; and by the routes he had selected, especially by the ranges separating the Carnatic from Travancore and Mysore, he had obtained a knowledge of every pass or defile, above 60 in number, which lead through that range.

He embodied this work, together with much that must have been collected “from information”, into a map of which Rennell writes:

Toom-buddra River, ... the remainder of its course, and its place of junction with the Kistna, is from Capt. Beatson’s map of the Coromandel cœ., drawn and transmitted to the Court of Directors of the East India Company in 1789. This valuable piece of geography... contains material for correcting a considerable portion of the course of the Kistna river. ...

1From Thomas/Turnbull to Goldingham; MRev. Ed. 13-9-98. 2CD to M. 8-4-88 (25). 3Mack. MSS. LXIX. 39-1-90. 4ETMC. II (175). 57 1/1.
Capt. Beatson's survey of the Palnaud district [shows the...Kistnab...to a point more
than 90 miles above Condappali]. Thence to Scoropour, or Solapur, is from authorities
obtained by Capt. Beatson. ...

Balhary 25 G. miles to south-west of Adoni, Beatson's map of 1785. ...

Within those [boundaries] of the Nizam, on the side of Cuddapah and Gooty, the places
are taken, chiefly, from Capt. Beatson's map, as are those also in the north Carnatic, Guntoor,
and Palnaud 8.

A map of Beatson's preserved at Calcutta is entitled Countries between the
Penman and Godavari Rivers, compiled for Sir Archibald Campbell (presumably
during 1788-9) [101 n.9]. It is on the scale of 6 miles to an inch and carries the
following notes:

The district of Palnaud, the principal points in the Guntoor Circar, and the routes
expressed in double lines are from my own survey. The Masulipatam Circar is chiefly from
Major Stevens's map, and Nizampatam...from an original survey by Mr. Scott. The interior
parts, and the routes expressed by the single line, are from cursory surveys by Capt. Alexander
Read, and from itineraries kept by Hircarhahs sent to explore the roads 1.

Another map shows "the roads to Madras from Masulipatam drawn by Major
Beatson from the report of Hircarhahs" 6.

Beatson's Military survey of the district of Palnaud 6 is preserved at Madras, a
sketch made in 1787, apparently on a framework of measured roads. Beatson says
that he finished in "in about three months, during which time I visited every
village and every pass in the district." 7 [193].

His invaluable surveys and reconnaissances made when commanding the Guides
during the Mysore War of 1790–2 were sent home with the following note from the
Council:

We send the third volume of Capt. Beatson's Geographical Observations in Mysore & the
Earamabahal6, with an examination of the Passes, ... to which we added some Military sketches of
Hill Forts & of Seringapatam. Captain Beatson will lose no time in arranging the earlier
materials into a first & second volume to be transmitted to England.

The Directors replied,

The performances of Capt. Beatson, whether of General Geography, or of sketches meant
to convey ideas of particular spots of ground for military purposes, ... appear to be executed
with great judgment and accuracy. ... The map of Coromandel transmitted by the same
dispatch is a monument of great industry, skill, and minute accuracy.

Allan's surveys were hardly less valuable and include,

A Survey of the Sea Coast from Fort David 11 to Kollay, and of the country in the
neighbourhood of Porto Novo and Chillumbrum 12. Several Surveys of Roads. A military
survey of the Provinces South of the River Coleroon 13. Fieldbooks and maps of the Marches
of the Army under the command of General Medows, from May 1790 to January 1791. A
Field Book of the Marches of the Army under Command of Earl Cornwallis, from February 5th
1791 to May 1792

During 1790 General Medows had worked backwards and forwards along the
southern frontiers of Mysore in vain attempt to bring Tipu to decisive action,
and it was in an effort to bring the war to some conclusion that the Governor General,
Lord Cornwallis, assumed command of the army in February 1791, and
by invading Mysore with a greatly larger force, was able to force Tipu to surrender
before Seringapatam in March 1792 14.

Allan gives the following account of his surveys:

Of the Military survey of the Provinces South of the Coleroon, it may be proper to
remark that I commenced it in May 1789, and in December following, on the prospect of a
war, it became incumbent on me to quit that service and proceed to...Trichinopoly for the
purposes of raising a Corps of Guides and endeavouring to investigate...the nature of the
country and roads in such parts of Tipuco's Dominions, as were likely...to become the theatre of future operations of the Army.

1 Kondapalli, 65 D/10 [pl. g]. 2 Bellary, 67 A.16. 3 Peninsulae (4. 10. 13). 4 M. 136 (11). 5 M. 159 (15). 6 W. of Guatot [pl. g]. MEO. Map 115. 7 M. 147 (II). 8 Revenues mortgaged to the
Mysore War, Bowring (154–173).
Some parts of the Map are...sketched in from information, and distinguished accordingly. ... In the Field Book of the Marches of the Army under Maj. General Medows, the distances of the Marches from September 14th to October 7th I received from the Officers of Engineers 1 by whom they were measured. After the distribution of the troops in August 1790, ... General Medows approved my making a more minute survey of the country from Caroor 2 to Coimbatore than my official duties as Captain of Guides with the army had permitted me to do on the March.

One of his maps, entitled “a Map of the Marches of the British Armies in the Peninsula of India, during the Campaigns of 1790, 1791, and 1792” was prepared from a map published by Rennell in London early in 1792, to which Allan added his own later surveys. The map showed all the new boundaries fixed by treaty, the marches of the British and Mysore troops distinguished by different colours, every encampment with its date of occupation, and all the Forts captured during the war 3. Rennell’s map was compiled from maps sent home by Lord Cornwallis;

They consisted of 2 distinct maps, on very large and similar scales (9 inches to a degree); the one containing the campaign of General Medows in 1790; the other that of Lord Cornwallis in 1791. The 1st was compiled by Capt. Allan, who held the office of Capt. of Guides to the Army during the campaign of 1790; the other by Capt. Beaton who held a similar post during the succeeding campaign; and who had previously given very sufficient proofs of his ability as a geographer, by his surveys and remarks made in the N. E. of the Peninsula. Each of these maps possesses a very considerable share of merit, and collectively they describe a chain of positions fixed by cursory measurement, and angles taken from the distant hills 4 [255].

After the conclusion of peace Beaton was appointed Town Major at the Presidency, whilst Allan was appointed to make “a complete military survey of the Baramahal and Salem districts”, which had been ceded by Tipu [113]. In submitting the results of this survey, he writes,

I have the honor to lay before your Lordship in Council, several volumes of Geographical observations, made in the countries ceded by Tipoo [287].

The course of that part of the Cavery which forms the Western Boundary is ascertained, as also the nature of the several fords across that river, and the remainder of the Frontier line from the Cavery to Amboor is determined 4.

Early in 1798 Allan resigned command of the Guides, and was relieved by Alexander Orr, who commanded them through the fourth Mysore war, and was in turn relieved by Thomas Sydenham, followed by James Colebrooke in October 1799; these officers upheld the tradition they inherited, and continued to add to the knowledge of the new territories ceded to the Company on the fall of Tipu.

COLIN MACKENZIE

Though he has himself noted that he made his first surveys as early as 1784 5, probably when serving with his battalion in Coimbatore, the first survey made by Colin Mackenzie of which we have any particulars is a “Survey of Nellore and Seropilly with the roads between them...1787...scale 250 yards to an Inch”, which the critical Montgomery classed forty years later as “good” 7. The following year he made an extensive survey of the roads of Guntār.

Under the treaty with the Nizām of 1768 [91], the cirkār of Guntūr 8, granted to the Company by the Emperor of Delhi, remained the jāfūr of the Nizām’s brother Basālāt Jang for his life; Basālāt died in 1781 but it was not until 1788 that the Company took possession, as Mackenzie writes,

Guntor had been a subject of important political discussion before my arrival in India, but no trace of any attempt to survey it existed in 1788 when the Detachment under Lieut. Colonel Ellington was sent to resume possession of it from the Nizam. At that time I was employed to survey the roads marched by the Detachment, and the principal Forts 9.

1 Of whom one was Mackenzie [112]. 2 Karār, 56 J/1. 3 MMC. 1-3-92. 4 Rennell (Advertisement). 5 MIRs 138-40, Sketch of the passes between Nukli [57 K125] & Gazalāh [58 E123] (showing country between Arcot & Seringapatam) by Allan; sl. Biramahal, 50-9-96; Ambār, 57 L60. 6 Letter of 13-1-1811; MMC. 8-2-1811. 7 Dnn. 296 (1412). 8 The Cirkār was a much smaller area than the present district [pl. 9]. 9 MMC. 19-6-1817.
MADRAS SURVEYS

His detailed account of this survey, illustrated by a couple of maps, was published by Dalrymple [186]. He had commenced without any fixed appointment, from an opinion of the utility of the work, and which was approved by Government...on my presenting the work1.

A year later,
A complete survey of the District appearing desirable to Government, in December 1789 I was appointed to survey Guntur, but after preparing for that undertaking I was ordered to join the Army about to take the Field2.
He was warned for field service in March 1790 and, joining General Meadows's army to the south, made survey of the routes of the army "in the Coimbatoor Country", and also of the fort of "Palgaucherry"3.
During the campaigns of 1791 and 1792 he served as assistant to the Chief Engineer in Mysore, and on the conclusion of peace was posted as "Engineer and Surveyor with the Ellore Detachment" attached to the Nizam's service [115].

From 1792 to 1794 he surveyed the newly Ceded Districts of the Nizam, Cuddapah, Canoul, the wild mountains of Yermulla and Nalmulla4 etc. bounding the Carnatic as far as the Kistna...5 continuing his survey of the Penner River through Nellore to the sea [116] and being called away for a few months in June 1793 for the siege of Pondicherry6. In 1794 he moved up to Hyderabad, submitting to the Resident a plan, in four sheets, of the passes and roads on the frontier of the Carnatic, between the rivers "Penanar and Kistna" reduced from his surveys7.
His subsequent surveys north of the Kistna are described later [116–8]. On his journey back from Ceylon in 1796, I was employed...to take a cursory inspection and view of the Fortresses and Military Posts in the tract between Ongole, Masulipatam and Condapalli8, including Guntur.
No detailed Provincial Map or survey of Guntur, or of the adjacent Country existed at that time, and I had recourse for the necessary information to my own former Itinerary Surveys of the cross roads, and to Hacoorah routes and sketches supplied by the Collectors9.

THIRD MYSORE WAR, 1790–92

We have already noticed the surveys of Beatson, Allan and the Guides, and we now come to the work of the Bengal and Bombay surveyors during the third Mysore War.

In November 1790 the Governor General sent the Surveyor General, Alexander Kyd, in advance to Madras to collect information, especially regarding the approaches into Mysore. On his own arrival at Madras, he appointed Kyd as one of his A D C ' s, and during the rest of the war Kyd not only performed the duties of Surveyor General in the field, but also acted as personal adviser on engineering matters.
The chief surveying duty, apart from that carried out by the Guides, was entrusted to Robert Colebrooke who, leaving Madras at the end of January, carried a continuous survey, through Vellore10 where Lord Cornwallis took over command of the Grand Army, up into Mysore. He ran a series of triangles from Madras to Seringapatam11, correcting it by numerous observations for latitude; but, though he took several observations for longitude, he did not take these into account, trusting more to the perambulator measurements of the route12 [175].
His journals contain water-colour sketches and panoramas [187], and his map is very neatly drawn13. It is by no means a complete map of Mysore, for it only shows the country along the routes actually marched, crossing and re-crossing the south and east parts of Mysore, with the farther hill ranges sketched where visible.

1DDn. 154 (6), 30–1–1817. 2MMG. 19–6–1817. 3Palghat. 58 B/9. 4Mountain ranges. Ernakulam, 57 I/2; Nallavanji, 56 F/4 to 57 M/2. 5DDn. 105 (13). 6Surrendered 23–8–15. 7MMG.
28–12–94; MEO. Map 112. 8Kondapalli, 65 D/10. 9MMG. 19–6–1817. 10DDn. 157/11. 11Journals MEO. M. 120, 134, 142 etc. Map BM. Addl. MSS. 18109 (F), 4 miles to an inch, on one sheet, 26′ by over 4 feet. 12Original copy, MEO. 128 (5) etc., 1819 (1, 2).
After his return to Calcutta Colebrooke submitted his fair map, in part, the Result of my labours for two years; it represents, upon a scale of two miles to an inch, such parts of the Mysore country as were traversed...during the campaigns of 1791 and 1792, likewise a part of the country between Vellore and the Ghatas.

I thought it needless to join to this sheet the March of the Army through the Carnatic, as being only a single track, it would have added greatly to the length of the paper, without showing any considerable portion of the country; this part of my work has been projected upon separate sheets.

I shall be enabled likewise, from my journals and field Books, to lay down upon larger scales, plans of Bangalore, Seringapatam, and their environs, and to furnish routes or itineraries showing the distances as measured by the Perambulator...and containing written Descriptions of the Roads, passes, Grounds for encamping, and other particulars.

I have the honor to present with the Map a copy of the astronomical observations, and have ventured also to forward a few pages descriptive of the climate, topography, and History of the Mysore country.

In submitting a copy of Colebrooke's surveys for the Directors, Kyd also sent various other surveys and routes collected by him in the course of the war. Amongst these were his own survey made at the conclusion of the war from Seringapatam through Coorg to the sea, and then along the coast to Cochin—surveys by William Stewart, attached to the Nizam's army, of country round Bangalore and marches through Cuddapah [116];—surveys by Johnson of the Bombay establishment with the Bombay force from Cannanore to Seringapatam—surveys by Emmitt, also of Bombay, who accompanied the Maratha army [128–30].

By the treaty of Seringapatam signed on March 17th 1792, Tipu ceded to the Company the districts of Malabar, Dindigul, Salem and Baramahal [pl. 1 & 9].

District Surveys

Administrative charge of the Salem and Baramahal districts was given to Alexander Read, who was specially commissioned to settle the revenues [144]. One of his first acts was to make a rapid survey which he did himself by plan table, covering the whole area in two months [193]. A copy is still preserved in the British Museum.

Sketch of the Countries North & East of the Couvery, made by Tipoo Sultan in March 1792; inscribed to Marquis Cornwallis by Alexander Read. Scale about 3 inches to a mile.

Tabular Statement of Revenue, showing the totals for each Tahsildari—Table of Distances—Note on method of Survey—Tahsil Boundaries shown by dotted lines and areas distinguished by different colours.

The sketch, of which this is a copy, was done by the Superintendent...as particularly useful in the management of their civil affairs;...it has taken only two months thanks to local knowledge, ... what by the usual mode of surveying would be a work for any one man of some years. ....

These considerations, the ease with which surveys of this kind are made, and the great use of which they are in Revenue affairs, may recommend the having similar ones made of all the Companies possessions in Coromandel; especially as with the help of the numerous situations ascertained by astronomical observations, and routes that have been surveyed with proper instruments, they might afterwards be laid down with sufficient exactness for everything in which assistance is derived from Geography.

Allan's "military survey" [111] was but a rough reconnaissance of the roads, so in 1794 Read engaged a civilian surveyor, John Mathar, whose work he thus describes:

The first Geographical Survey of these districts was began in January 1793, and in the August following Government and the Revenue Board of Fort St. George were presented with Maps of them. But as those were only Sketches, and inaccurate, from the slender means and haste with which they were executed, another was began in August 1794 with

1BP Col. C. 19–2. 2MRIO. 150/32–35. 3Mr. W. S. 1843 shows Col. Hartley's route from Calcut through Coimbatore to Mysore. 4BM. Add. MSS. 26102 (A).
proper instruments and upon a much larger scale. From its being impossible for the superintendent of these districts to prosecute a business of that nature and pay due attention to the many other duties of his station, he could only propose to set it on foot, and employed Mr. Mather, a professional surveyor, to carry it on. This extensive undertaking is now finished.

The superintendent proposes, if circumstances permit, to put the finishing hand to this work himself by performing another circuit of the districts, to examine all the principal points made use of in the survey, and determine their latitudes and longitudes by astronomical observations. As exhibiting the aspect of the country in respect to Hills, Plains, Woods and Rivers, the true shape and extent of Districts, and as containing every village and tank, it will be one of the most particular surveys of the kind in India, and, relying on Mr. Mather’s ability, the superintendent supposes it will be one of the most correct.

This survey of Mather’s was indeed the most thorough and complete survey of any district in India made since Barnard’s survey of the Madras jüger; but it was of no value thirty years later, when Montgomerie reported.

The Records of the survey of the Baramahal and Salem Districts executed by Mr. Mather under the direction of Colonel Read, are in a tolerable state of preservation, although considerably worn and eaten. The whole tract included in the survey is divided into 25 districts, or Talooks, each of which is laid down on a separate sheet, on a scale of one mile to an inch, accompanied by its statistical tables; there is attached to the memoirs a general map of the district, together with a map showing the political divisions of the country [194].

Mather says that his survey took 4 years and 3 months, and contained 6,900 and odd square miles, coming to 150 miles annually. His work was so well thought of that Mackenzie was very glad to obtain his services for the survey of Mysore which was commenced in 1800 [9, 119].

When authorizing an establishment of Assistant Surveyors for tank repairs [108], Government directed that they should, when fully trained, be sent out to the districts to make any surveys that might be useful to the district officer.

With this object Goldingham drew up detailed instructions, under which he divided the district survey into two parts, General, for topographical detail and Particular for revenue information [145-6]. For the General part, he gave instructions for measuring a base—triangulating the whole district—and fixing the village sites [194-5]—and continued.

You will trace out the Principal Roads, and remark on all woods and inaccessible jungles: ascertain the course of all the Rivers and Watercourses; and, to assist the person who may be appointed to superintend the repairs of Tanks, mark the places where Rivers may probably be branched off, so as to prove beneficial to the country by increasing its cultivation [146].

Three boys were sent out from the school to the Dindigul District in January 1797 at the urgent request of the Collector [146-7], and in December two others were sent to Devicottai to work for the Superintendent of Tank Repairs [108]. Others followed to other districts as they were declared fit for independent work, and in the course of a few years most of the districts had useful topographical maps prepared by these young surveyors.

Two of the boys sent to Dindigul succumbed to the climate within a couple of years [285], and were replaced by Turnbull and Allan from Devicottai, who seem to have been kept on surveys of a revenue nature, for in 1799 the Collector, Mr. Hurdis, tried to secure the services of de Havilland to make a complete geographical survey of his district, but, though he made a reconnaissance map covering the whole of Dindigul and Coimbatore, he could not be spared from his military duties for a more regular survey. Hurdis then tried to get the services of Mather, but he was wanted for the more urgent survey of Mysore, and, after trying in vain to get a young Engineer officer “to superintend the boys from the Surveying School”, he had to be content with the map that these boys eventually completed by the end of 1801 [1].

In 1795 the Collector of Guntur asked that some officer might be sent to make a complete survey of that circuit, and pressed for the services first of Mackenzie

---

1 Dn. 12: Memoir (1). 2 Dn. 302 (91) 22-3-1825. 3 M Rev. Bd. 22-12-96. 459 F. 5 M Rev. Bd. 12-5-1800 & 14-4-1803.
and then of Orr¹, but neither of them could be spared, and though two boys were sent from the surveying school in 1798, they did not produce the complete survey which the Collector wanted [147].

NIZÂM’S DOMINIONS

In 1775 D’Anville acknowledged that he had received, too late of course for his Carte de l’Inde which left the whole of central India blank, a large manuscript map, dresser sous les ordres de M. de Bussy, dans son commandement militaire au centre du Deccan².

In 1751 Bussy [91] then a lieutenant-colonel, had been sent out in command of a French force to Hyderabad, where his influence had greatly forwarded French interests, though Rennell considered his geographical contributions of far greater importance than his political services;

M. Bussy’s marches in the Deccan afford data for fixing the positions of many capital places there, particularly Hyderabad, Aurangabad, Bisanagar, and Sanore³. But still there are plans of some of his marches wanting, which, could they be procured, would throw much light on the Geography of the Peninsula and the Deccan, such as that from Pondicherry to Cuddapah, Adoni & Hyderabad; that from Aurangabad to Nagpaur, and the campaign towards Poonah⁴.

Had it not been for these marches of M. Bussy, the only remaining monuments to the French nation of their former short-lived influence and power in the Deccan, the geography of these parts would have been extremely imperfect; but as they extend through more than four degrees of latitude, and more than five of longitude, they occupy...the principal part of the Deccan.

Few Europeans, excepted, have visited these places since the time of M. Bussy, ... and it is a misfortune to geography that his marches between Arcot, Hyderabad, Adoni, Canoul, and Seringapatam, have not been recorded in the same intelligent manner as the rest of his marches have been. ... But, however I may repine as a Geographer, I ought perhaps, as a philosopher, to be satisfied that so much has been preserved.

It is of course most unlikely that Bussy carried out any surveys in person, and it is reasonable to accept the evidence of Duperron that the map, and possibly most or all of the surveys, were the work of one of his officers, Jean-Baptiste St. Paul; "Les Marches de M. de Bussy dans le Deccan"; vraisemblablement ce sont celles que j’ai vues en 1758, entre les mains de M. de St. Paul...commandant le Département des Allemands, au pié de Dowlatabad⁵. Cet officier me dit alors que c’était lui-même qui les dressait d’après les marches de l’armée. ...

Des gens de mérite citent en Angleterre les Marches de M. de Bussy, que je crois être les Cartes de M. de St. Paul⁶.

In 1773 Orme visited Paris and called on Bussy who gave him a copy of his map of the Deccan, which Orme published in 1782⁷; it covers the area 17° to 21° N. by 75° to 79° E.

Gardiner’s survey to Warangal in 1767 [92], appears to have been the only survey of any part of the Nizam’s territory by an officer of the Company, till Reynolds passed through in 1751 [128].

In 1790 Lord Cornwallis made treaties with the Peshwa and the Nizam to secure their assistance against Mysore during the campaigns of 1791–2. From the treaty of July 7th 1759, the Nizam had paid a monthly subsidy for two battalions of sepoys and 6 field-pieces, manned by Europeans, a force known as the Ellora, or Madras, Detachment⁸. This detachment marched with the Nizam’s army in 1790, and joined the Grand Army under Lord Cornwallis in November 1791. Its marches from Koppal⁹ along the north bank of the Tungabhadra to

¹M Rev Bd. 5-1-98. ²Antiquités Géographiques, Preface. MS. map of these marches drawn by D’Anville in 1770 is indexed in BM. Adel. 3185. 1788, but was never received in BM. ³Savarkar: 45 N.5. ⁴Mémoire, 1783 (viii). ⁵Ib. 1798 (349). ⁶Ib. (294). ⁷Dowlatabad, 47 M./l. rocky fortress standing 500 ft. above the plain. ⁸Bernoulli, II (496-7). ⁹Robert Orme, 1 (2). ¹⁰HMS. 543 (128). ¹¹57 A/3.
Kurnool and south to Cuddapah were surveyed by MacAlister, who also surveyed the return route to Hyderabad in the following year. Other routes to Hyderabad were surveyed in 1792 by Nuthall and Blunt. After spending the rains at Hyderabad Blunt continued his survey in company with Anbury northwards through Berar to the Jumna. A line through Aurangabad and Bidar was surveyed by William Stewart in 1790 on transfer from Sindha's camp at Agra to join the Nizam's camp at Pangel; Stewart then accompanied the Nizam's army to Mysore as assistant to the Resident, who instructed him to survey the country, "and in so doing to act with caution so as not to excite jealousy." Reynolds also surveyed a line northwards from Mysore, through Hyderabad to Agra, during 1792-3, and Rennell made use of his sketch for the "country between Adoni and Paimaul" south of the Kistna, and for "all places within the new boundaries of the Maharrattas, and of the Nizam, in the Doocah" between the Tungabhadra and Kistna. Plates 1 and 9 show generally the extent of the Nizam's dominions south of the Kistna before thecession of this area to the Company in 1800.

At the close of the war, Mackenzie was appointed to the Subsidiary Force, with directions to make a survey of the districts just ceded by Tipu to the Nizam, and then to collect as much material as he could towards the geography of the Deccan, in such time as he could spare from his duties as Engineer.

Having been ordered in April to join the Detachment with the Nizam from the Grand Army as Surveyor and Engineer, and to survey the Routes and to make remarks on the Roads, Forts, Passes, ... joined the detachment near Bangalore, surveyed with it thence to Gundecotta, &c, and Kurpa from whence I afterwards extended the survey...through the Kurpa, Cunnool, & Cambam Cicar, examined the passes from these countries into the Carnatic, and, having laid down upwards of 700 miles, hitherto very imperfectly known to Geographers, have been only prevented from carrying it across the Kistna to Hyderabad by an illness contracted in the hills.

He did not reach Hyderabad till 1794, and during his absence Alexander Orr, Quartermaster with the detachment, had opportunities of making surveys in several directions. Early in 1794 a rebellion broke out in the districts of Eljundel and Warrangole, and Orr accompanied the detachment which marched up to "Rungapora" and remained there during the rains.

At the end of that year the Peshwa declared war against the Nizam who, owing to treaties between the Company and the Marathas, was not permitted to employ the subsidiary force against them, and dismissed it in disgust; Mackenzie, however, accompanied the Resident with the Nizam's army and surveyed the route to Kharda, where the Nizam was defeated on March 11th 1795. As Emmitt, the Bombay surveyor with the Maratha army, was able to pay a visit to the Nizam's camp, a junction was effected between his survey and Mackenzie's, thereby giving a continuous route between Hyderabad and Poona. On his return Mackenzie obtained special permission to stay in Hyderabad to work up his maps, instead of accompanying the "Madras detachment" on its march down country. As it happened, however, the detachment was recalled in July to help the Nizam against another rebellion, and these marches and counter-marches gave Orr further opportunities to add to his surveys, which were extended in 1796 by an expedition which resulted in the capture of "Rachoor" on April 5th, and return by "Gujimergur", "Mudgul" and Pagoor to Hyderabad. Mackenzie describes his first map thus:

All the surveys I had executed myself, with several other measured routes which have been obligingly communicated to me, have been laid down on one general plan connected by such observations as have been made, and connected with well ascertained points extending...
north from the parallel of Bangalore to Bunkers
1 about nine degrees of latitude, and extending west from the Sea Coast to Moore Ghat, whose distance to Poona appears well
ascertained. ... On this ground work I have laid down all the Cross-roads and information that
could be depended on. ...

All the Chief points being thus laid down as accurately as could be expected. I have now
to mark out the parts belonging to each Circar, which I shall be enabled to do with some
precision, from the accounts of the Soumphals and Circars which you have been pleased to
communicate to me.

In October 1795 Mackenzie was called down to command the engineers on the
expedition to Colombo, not returning to Hyderabad till January 1797. He then
made a survey westwards to Gulkurga, the ancient capital of the Deccan, but later
in the year he was again called away for the abortive expedition to Manila, and
whilst at Madras took the opportunity to submit a supplementary map shewing all
the material he had been able to add to his earlier map of the Deccan [245].
By this time the “Madras detachment” had been withdrawn, and in 1788 he marched
up to Hyderabad once more, this time as Engineer with the “Bengal detachment” to
which was entrusted the task of disbanding the French corps [175].

During his stay at Madras Mackenzie had obtained the services of a lad from
the surveying school and a suitable staff of subordinates, and also an assistant
engineer, Benjamin Sydenham, who took part in the surveys and astronomical
observations both on the march up from the Masulipatam and after arrival in
Hyderabad [175]. Mackenzie writes of his own surveys.

In the Nizam’s country all that I have effected, exclusive of the measured routes of the
Detachment, has been by availing myself of favourable circumstances as they occurred in the
intervals of several years, sometimes yielding, then embracing the lucky moment, and
frequently I have been obliged to suspend my operations altogether, as was the case last year
when our troops were encamped close to Hyderabad, and performing the most important
services to Government [7].

The following extracts are taken from the memoir which he submitted with
his map of 1796:

Memorandum of the materials and construction of a Map of the Dominions of Nizam Ali Khan,
Subedar of the Deccan, compiled and written in 1795 by Colin Mackenzie, Field Engineer &
Surveyor to the Subsidary Force with the Nizam.

The interior Provinces of that part of the Peninsula of India, distinguished by the
general name of The Deccan, are so imperfectly known to us, that it was imagined any attempt
to give a most accurate definition of its extent, limits, internal divisions and natural produc-
tions would be acceptable; ...

Independent of these general motives, others more immediately interesting to our
Military establishments suggest the propriety of acquiring an intimate knowledge of the
roads, fortresses, rivers, passes and strong posts. ...

On the appointment of a Surveyor to the Nizam’s Detachment in 1792, it had been
recommended that every opportunity if improving our knowledge of the geography of the
interior countries should be attended to, and surveys of particular parts of the frontier of the
Company’s possessions bordering on those of the Nizam were ordered and executed. The
result of these and of the marches of the Detachment across the country, opened a wider
field for extending them still further. ...

The progress made in this attempt (already interrupted by unavoidable circumstances)
was threatened to be finally stopped by the Detachment’s being sent back to the Carnatic in
1795; there appeared a danger that the whole would be rendered useless for want or being
arranged and brought together, while the authorities on which it had been formed were
known or within reach of enquiry.

The want of this precaution had rendered of little use “The Plans of Marches in the
Dekan” by Mr. Bussy, and of our Armies in 1797 and 1768, which are become obscure and
difficult to reconcile for want of the authorities on which they were constructed.

To prevent this by taking the opportunity of arranging the materials where many
advantages of local information could be procured, the permission of the Government of
Madras was...obtained for the compiler...to remain at Hyderabad for a limited time, during

1Bangalore, 13° N: Bunkers, 21° N. 2MCC. 17–8–35. 35 C.15, Map, MRIO, 64 (39); Fubks.
BM. Addl. MSS, 13529 (19). 3MRIO, 66b; See also BM. Addl. MSS, 13583. 4Remarks made on the
survey in the Nizam’s Dominions in 1797; C.M. 5–2–48. 5Printed 25–10–36. 6Fubks, MRIO, M 89
& M 166. 7D.11. 41; to Residt. Mysore, 6–12–99.
which the liberal assistance that was received from several quarters...contributed to enlarge the find of authentic documents. ... Though the actual surveys (containing 570 English miles) may be relied on, and much of the countries adjacent to them are laid down from collateral information that must be tolerably correct, yet many parts are still obscure, particularly the Soulbah of Berar which has scarcely any one assured line across it. ... 97,859 square geographical miles were included within the Nizam's boundary; ... the attempt to survey it is subject to many impediments unknown elsewhere, ... the prejudices of the religion, political jealousy, and manners differing far from European, present difficulties scarcely to be surmounted.¹

In another place² Mackenzie describes his work thus:

In 1792, after the Peace of Seringapatam, I was sent, a Subaltern from the army in Mysore, by the desire of the late reverend Lord Cornwallis, with the small detachment at first employed in the Nizam's dominions, for the purpose of acquiring some information of the Geography of these countries, and of the relative boundaries of the several States. ...

From 1792 to 1799 it was tedious to relate the difficulties, the accidents, and the discouragement, that impeded the progress of this design. The slender means allotted from the necessity of a rigid...economy; the doubts and the hindrance ever attendant on new attempts; difficulties arising from the nature of the climate of the country; of the Government; from conflicting interests, and passions and prejudices, difficult to contend with and unpleasant to recollect.

In returning to Hyderabad in 1798, for the third time, to resume the investigation of Deckan Geography, measures were proposed, and in part methodized, for analyzing the whole Deckan; and before 1799, considerable help was attained by obtaining a copy of the regular official Difter of the Deckan...as well as certain MSS. of authority. ... The Deckan was in fact then a Terra- Incognita, of which no authentic evidence existed, excepting in some uncertain notices and mutilated Sketches of the marches of Dassy; and in the Travels of Tavernier and Thevenot³.

Fourth Mysore War, 1799

This last and conclusive war against Tipu gave little scope for survey operations; for the purposes of the rapid advance on Seringapatam, the surveys already collected were sufficient. Not-but what Beatson, the most experienced surveyor of the Madras establishment, was selected to join the Governor General's staff, and appointed Surveyor General to the Grand Army, where he soon established himself as one of the most strong-minded and purposeful of the Commander-in-Chief's counsellors. His history of the campaign became a standard authority⁴. Allan was D.Q.M.G., and took a leading part in reconnaissance, and has left a most interesting account of the campaign⁵. Orr commanded the Guides.

From the survey point of view the most interesting feature of the campaign was the march of the Nizam's army from Hyderabad to join the Grand Army at Ambur⁶. A complete survey of the route was kept by Mackenzie and Sydenham, starting from Hyderabad on December 16th, and reaching Ambur on February 21st 1799. The Nizam's force was then placed under the command of Lt. Colonel the Hon'ble Arthur Wellesley⁷, who brought his own regiment, the 33rd Foot, to stiffen it. Mackenzie remained as his Engineer, and constructed the northern batteries which effected breaches through which Seringapatam was successfully stormed on May 4th.

Johnson and Monereoff brought up surveyed lines from various points of the west coast to Seringapatam with columns of the Bombay army.

After the capture of Seringapatam, Fraser, of the Engineers, made a survey of the island and its fortifications, whilst Thomas Sydenham, of the Guides, was deputed to survey the new south and east boundaries of Mysore, "but a violent illness obliged him to abandon this work" [194]. De Havilland, who was Engineer

with the column which took over the province of Coimbatore, "laid down a considerable part...as a voluntary act" though "not employed or paid as a surveyor[11]."

Mackenzie was deputed to attend the Commission which sat at Seringapatam to settle the affairs of the newly constituted government[2] and prepared maps to assist in the determination of the boundaries[3]. He writes that,

Few satisfactory materials could be there procured, and those of inferior merit, and disagreeing in their nature, and it appeared absolutely necessary to commence such a work from an entire new foundation, for...though the Central parts of the country had been repeatedly traversed by our armies in the Mysorean Wars, yet the limits and extent of the several Districts were not defined, nor were even any plans of the surveys...to be procured at this time, unless we except the results published so far back as 1792 by Major Rennell [111], and some manuscripts of detached parts in private hands[4].

This state of affairs, whereby the work of earlier surveyors was so often lost or hidden away and thus of no avail when sadly needed in later years, was of course the direct result of the refusal of the Directors to establish a special survey department and surveyor general at Fort St. George, in spite of the frequent requests of the Governor and his Council.

The story of the survey of Mysore by Mackenzie will be told in a later volume. The charge could not have fallen in better hands; by his thorough professional methods and his wise organisation of the work, he set a sure foundation and high standard for the future topographical surveys of India.

[1] Mackenzie's View of the measures to be taken to Survey the Mysore Country. BM. Addl. MSS. 18059 (2447), 1-5-1800. [2] Bentzen (221). [3] r. map facing Bentzen (250); Mysore was now reduced to the limits which exist to this day. Coimbatore, Wynad, and Canara went to the Company, Bellary & Anantapur to the Nizam; in 1800 an agreement was settled by which the Nizam ceded the two latter districts, with Kurnool & Cuddapah to the Company in return for military support, and these became known as "The Ceded Districts" of Madras (pl. 1). [4] DDE. 68 (21).
CHAPTER VIII

BOGMBAY SURVEYS


ALTHOUGH the Bombay Presidency holds the honour of possessing the first factory established by the East India Company in India, namely Surat, founded in 1612, yet it did not acquire any further territory, other than a few factories along the west coast and the islands of Bombay and Salsette, until the nineteenth century.

In 1661 Bombay Island came to Charles II of England on his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, and was transferred to the East India Company in 1668. Salsette, though included in the dowry, was retained by the Portuguese, and captured from them by the Marathas early in the 18th century, and first taken by the British in 1774.

Plans of Bombay illustrate books by the following authors: Ovington, 1688, *Plan of the Citadel*; Dr. Fryer, 1698, *Bombay Harbour and Island*, "so inaccurate that it is difficult to identify" those islands that are named; Herr Niebuhr, 1764, a map of the Island; and Mr. Grose, 1772, a skeleton *Plan of Bombay*; these two last may have been taken from the following maps by De Groot and De Funck.

Orme records a *Plan of the Island of Bombay* by De Groot dated 1754, and in the British Museum there is a *Plan of Bombay Town*, 1756, by De Funck, which shows the Fort and its immediate surroundings, scale about 100 feet to an inch; it is accompanied by an account of the survey and a forwarding letter addressed to the Governor and Council.

The British Museum also holds a *Plan of Surat*, in colours, scale 300 feet to an inch, by De Groot, dated 1758. Both De Groot and De Funck were engineer officers of Bombay Artillery.

*The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, besides reproducing the maps from Fryer and Grose, includes a *Sketch of Bombay Harbour*, 1626, by Davies, and a map "prepared for the Peshwa" by his agent in Bombay about 1770.

In 1784 Reynolds was employed on a survey of Bombay and Salsette, and Malet, with whom he was to work for several years, writes :

Capt. Reynolds, Surveyor to this Establishment, by the Governor’s desire, who is ever desirous of promoting useful knowledge, has furnished me with the enclosed sketch of Bombay, its Harbor and Environs. ... This chart has been taken in a hurry from materials that have not yet the sanction of official authority, and consequently are only meant for your individual Information. Captain Reynolds hopes soon to be able to furnish an authentic chart of these parts.

In February 1785 he was relieved by Sartorius who was ordered to "proceed with the survey of Salsette".

During 1794-5 William Brooke, of the Engineers, was employed on a survey of Bombay town for the "Committee of Buildings".
Bombay was closely surrounded by three Maratha powers; the Peshwa at Poona; the Nizam of Baroda, and Sindhia; most of the surveys carried out in western India during the 18th century were of Maratha territories.

In 1772, to effect a settlement of debts owed to the Company, the Bombay Council took possession of the important town of Broach, which had belonged to the Emperor of Delhi. In December 1774, to forestall the Portuguese, they seized Salsette Island from the Marathas, and the following year, in supporting a Maratha claimant Raghubha against the ministry at Poona, a force under Colonel Keating invaded Gujarat with the assistance of troops from Madras.

Peace was settled by Colonel Upton's mission to Poona [30-1], and under the treaty of Purandhar possession of Salsette and the smaller islands in Bombay Harbour was confirmed.

In 1778 war broke out again, once more in support of Raghubha, and the Marathas re-occupied Salsette. General Goddard's force from Bengal arrived too late to prevent the disaster of Wadgaon, but in the campaigns which now followed Goddard not only recaptured Salsette, but occupied the northern Konkan and a large part of Gujarat, and also captured the port of Bassein.

The Supreme Government were by now, however, most anxious about the outcome of the war against Mysore, and came to terms with the Marathas. Under the treaty of Salbai, December 20th 1782, all these acquisitions were surrendered except those covered by the treaty of Purandhar; Broach was handed over to Sindhia.

Surveys of the Deccan were first made by the redoubtable Torrino, who in March 1777 accompanied the British ambassador to Poona, in the command of his honorary guard, companies of Sepoys; but with secret directions from the Select Committee at Bombay to take privately such surveys of the roads and views of the forts as could be effected without alarming the Mahatta Government, and, to more effectually accomplish this purpose, he travelled to Aurangabad and other cities in the peninsula of India.

Reynolds writes in the memoir of his map of 1787 [127].

The road from Poona to Aurangabad I have laid down from an actual survey made by Major Torrino, when he was at Poona in the time of Mr. Mostyn's residency; it was communicated to me by a friend some years ago; the situation of the principal branches of the Beena and Gunga Godwry Rivers are particularly described in that plan, and become the more of consequence as they are corroborated by a late survey of my own.

The route from Poona by way of Jamgum to Caarbarry in the Kandaish is laid down... from Mr. Charles Stewart's Journal when he was an Hostage with Madaje Scindia; the bearings were regularly taken with a Compass, the Distances are computed.

Stewart and Farmer of the civil service were left as hostages with the Marathas after the signing of the "Convention of Wadgaon" in January 1779, and Rennell writes of the road from Poona to Nursergur... and round to Soangur, which was described by Messrs. Farmer & Stewart, during the time they remained as hostages in the Mahatta camp.

Mr. Farmer, in his way from Poona towards Naderbar, observed that the passes had all a descent northward, forming, as it were, a series of steps, until he landed in Candeish. He was then a hostage with Madaje Scindia, who marched the grand Mahatta army into Gujarat against General Goddard.

The last stage of Goddard's famous march [4, 38-9], Burhanpur to Surat, a distance of 300 miles, was completed in 19 days, a dash by which he eluded the force of 20,000 Marathas sent to intercept him. The march was through a country then utterly unknown, and of which no maps existed.

1 Imp. G. E. The Indian Empire, ii (442-3) gives 1st M. War 1775-6; 2nd, 1778-82; 3rd, 1803-04; 4th, 1817-9; other authorities count these first two as one; for an account of these wars see Oudell (54-66).
2 1744.
3 47 A. 16.
4 C. 16.
5 Sagmarnath.
6 The central plain N. of Narbuda R. and E. of Cutch.
7 Hill fort 30 m. S.W. of Poona; treaty, 1-2-76.
10 Hill fort 29 m. S.E. of Poona; treaty, 1-2-76.
11 Rhina R., 47 F. J. O. 17.
12 Godsevari R., 47 F. M. 17.
13 Bo S. 47 A. 15; 21-12-76.
14 RIMC II (117).
15 47 F. J. O. 12.
17 Sorgur, 46 G. 22.
18 Pol. 8-1-83.
19 1763.
20 1766 (223, 258).
21 Feb. 6th to 23th. 1779.
This part of the route was surveyed by Duncan Stewart, who remained Surveyor to the detachment throughout its stay on the Bombay side. In a letter addressed to the Supreme Council in 1781, he advises the despatch of a survey of the route of the Army commanded by General Goddard, from the Capture of Bassein till the close of the last campaign. The survey of the March from Surat to Bassein I have not yet been able to accomplish in a manner sufficiently correct, having been indisposed during part of the time. The next season will, I hope, give me an opportunity of completing it. In October last I transmitted a survey of the movements made by the army in Gujerat during the preceding Campaign, but I have not yet learned whether, or my survey from Burhanpore to Surat, have been received.

To return to Reynolds's memoir:

The road from Callian to Surat is from the survey made of Colonel Morgan's route by Lieut. Duncan Stewart, the Surveyor to that Detachment. The road from Surat to Ahmedabad was surveyed by Mr. Duncan Stewart, as well as the Conkun from Bassein to the Bhor Gault, when General Goddard marched through those Countries.

The Conkun was also surveyed by Capt. Jackson by order of this Government. I was also employed under General Goddard on those services, and tho' not the Surveyor, I always kept the route of the army, etc., and upon a reference to the surveys of Captain Jackson and Mr. Stewart, I find mine does not agree with the scale of either, but as I have had opportunities since, of comparing my own original Plans, I have inserted them in my map in preference.

The routes through the Broach Purgunnah were made when I was employed on that survey with Captain Turner, and the others to Dubhoy, Jamboosur, Cambay and Ahmedabad... were taken by me for my own private satisfaction as opportunity occurred, and when I was not employed in the surveying line.

After the capture of Broach, Charles Turner had been given charge of the engineering works there, and in 1775 the Council resolved that,

Survey of the Broach Purgunnah upon the Plan proposed by the Factors... will be attended with Infinite Benefit to the Revenue, and it must accordingly be carried into Execution; and... it will also be of use to have a geographical survey made at the same time of the Purgunnah; this business must be committed to Lieutenant Turner.

Other officers were appointed to assist, but the survey was still incomplete by April 1779, when Turner, being called upon to explain the delay, reported that,

At the time I accepted of the appointment of Surveyor, it was upon a supposition of being Principal, and that the assisting Surveyors were to have been under my immediate Direction; had that been the case, the work would have been much sooner completed, but I was consulted only as to the mode of carrying the survey into execution: the several Gentlemen employed were independent of me & received their orders of the Chief as Collector General, and to him only they made their reports and delivered their Plans & Calculates. As I have not yet received an account of those Plans & Calculates, it is not possible for me to ascertain at present the true state of the Survey, but from the enquiries I have made here [Bombay], I find that much depends upon the assiduity of Messrs. Lindrum & Reynolds, who will require almost the remainder of this year to complete the work.

The officers... were recalled to the Presidency soon after the last rains, and from that time have been constantly doing Military Duty. On the return of the Army from the late service I applied to go to Broach purposely to forward the survey, but could not obtain permission.

On this the Council resolved that,

As it is highly necessary it should be finished with all possible Expedition, several important arrangements being necessarily deferred for want of it, resolved that Capt. Turner's Proposals be complied with, & that himself & Capt. Lindrum do immediately proceed to Broach, where they will be joined by Capt. James Jackson & Lieut. Reynolds, now to the Northward, who, with any other Officers properly qualified... must be put under the Orders of Capt. Turner.[4]

The Directors showed particular interest in this survey, writing in 1780.

---

1 Map, M.R.10., 118 (5). 2 Rough sketch of "the Konkan Campaign", 1781. M.R.10., 118 (225); map of same period by Ensl. Stoekes, covering march from Kolpi. Upton's march to Poona and campaigns in Gujerat, M.R.10. 31 (23-4); unsigned map, BM, Addl. M.S. 81., 1800 (B). 3 B.P.C. 4-9-81. 4 Kalyan, 74 E. 4. 46 A. 12. 5 Bo S & Pol. 8. 4-9-88. 6 Bo B & Pol. 8. 4-9-88. 8 Bo B & Pol. 9-1-88. 7 Bo P.C. 3-10-75. 9 Bo P.C. 3-16-73.
Not having yet received a report of the survey at Broach, which we have so long expected, we are not competent to give our final directions respecting the management of our affairs there.

The survey was completed by 1782, and the Council was able to send home to the Directors, a Map of the Broach Purgannahs, and the march of the troops under Lt. Col. Keating in 1775, during the Guzerat Campaign.

The British Museum holds an undated "Sketch of the Guzerat by Habfizoo," a rough skeleton map distinguishing the areas belonging to the Peshwa, the Gueckwar, and Scindia, scale about 12 inches to a mile, and Rennell speaks highly of a MS. map of Guzerat, which has the appearance of greater accuracy in the outline, and certainly contains more matter within it, than any other map of the tract; ... drawn by a native of Cambay, a Brahmin of uncommon genius and knowledge named Sadanund; ... given me by Sir Charles Malet...who first suggested the idea of drawing the map.

This genuine Hindoo map, contains much new matter; ... it gives the form of Guzerat with more accuracy than the European maps could boast of.

**Marine Surveys**

Though it is not intended to give any connected account of the marine surveyors, reference must be made to the share they have taken in mapping the coasts of India; fuller particulars have been given by Markham and Low.

We have already referred to the early work and lifelong enthusiasm of Alexander Dalrymple, to the work of Ritchie and Topping in the Bay of Bengal and of Blair in the Andaman Islands, and now tell of the work along the western coasts.

The first knowledge came from the early navigators, Portuguese, Dutch, and English, and then the more reliable work of Après de Manneville. There is an undated French map, Cochino to Craganore, decorated with ships sailing the sea, and houses and churches marking the town sites.

Of later work there were the astronomical longitudes of Howe and Haddart, a land survey by De Funck from Mt. Dilli to Mahe, and another by D'Anvergne from Ponnani to Calicut.

The first surveying expedition sent out by the Bombay Marine was in 1772, when Blair and Maccall explored the coasts of Kathiwar, Sind, Makrân, and part of the coasts of Persia and Arabia. In 1773 Skyner surveyed the Broach river, the Gulf of Cambay, and the coast of Kathiwar, Dalrymple writing.

The Gulf of Cambay is taken from the MS. of Mr. Skyner's Survey; I attribute to the inattention of his Engraver the differences to be found in the *elegant Chart* published by that Gentleman.

Rennell also makes use of Skyner's charts for these coasts, but finds them disagree with charts by Ringrose, also of the Bombay Marine, whose work Reynolds uses for his map of 1787.

In 1786 an expedition was sent to take possession of the island of Diego Garcia, or Chagos, sailing from Bombay on March 15th, and proclaiming the island a British possession on May 4th.

A Senior Merchant was sent in charge, with Sartorius as Engineer, Surveyor, and in command of the military detachment. Blair of the Marine, and Ennitt of Infantry, were sent as assistant surveyors, and had the *Drake* and *Viper* for survey ships; Ennitt carried out a survey of the main island, whilst Blair explored and mapped the surrounding islands and shoals.

---

1CD to Bo 5-7-30.  2Bo to CD 10-2-84 (141).  3Map subsequently engraved by Dalrymple (176 n. 14); MRO. MS. Map 678.  4BM. Addl. MSS. 1857 (c).  5Malet was Resident at Cambay in 1775.  6M. Addl. 1793 (14).  7from List of Charts, Dalrymple (xx); Memoir, 1783 (23-5).  8Low (188).  9W. Augustus Skynner, Bom. Mar.  10Collection Dalrymple (xx); Memoir, 1783 (23-5).  11Bo S.A. Pol. 8-1-88.  12Bo P & P. 16-1-88, et seq.  13Viper accompanied Blair to Andamans (47.43).
On May 7th Blair was "instructed...to set out next morning on a survey of the Harbour", being allowed only 16 days.

For facilitating the more particular survey of the Island afterwards, he was to leave a distinguishing mark on all the principal points, which should terminate his angles, or form stations, to enable those points to be found at any future time.

Received great assistance...from Lieutenant Wales [49.7],... otherwise should not have been able to complete it in double the time. ... On July 3rd sailed with Experiment and Viper to examine the outward coast of the Island.

The expedition was withdrawn on receipt of orders from Bengal dated August 22nd, and the Directors afterwards expressed great surprise at its magnitude and unnecessary cost.

Blair was left to continue his survey, and "November 8th proceeded on a Survey of the Adjacent Islands, continuing till January 29th 1787." On his passage back to Bombay he made observations of the positions of Minicoi and the Laccadive Islands.

The Directors meanwhile had issued instructions for a regular survey of the coasts by officers of the marine service, and had sent out a set of instruments.

It is our intention that these Chronometers and Instruments be always on board the same vessel [203]. We direct that a Supernumerary Lieutenant do always proceed with the Chronometers, under whose especial charge they are to be, and we recommend that Lieutenant John McCluer be employed as the Supernumerary Lieutenant for making the observations...

We would have the vessel proceed along the coast from Bombay to Surat, determining carefully the Latitudes and Longitudes of the various points, as well as of the Peaks and Hills inland, with explanatory views of the Lands, taking Altitudes for determining the time by Chronometer every hour, and taking the bearings and altitudes of the lands &c. by the Hadley at such time.

Instructions then followed for carrying the survey round the coast of Kathiawar:

Let what is done be done completely and nothing left undetermined in this space; if any doubt arises let them repeat their observations in such part, that an implicit confidence may be safely placed in their work when finished.

When this work is finished, we direct that a particular examination be made of the Laccadive Islands and the various banks between them and the Coast of Malabar. In the course of this Voyage it will be proper to determine the relative position of the Laccadives, Malico, and the Head of the Mudives.

In another letter they write:

The facility which the use of Timekeepers and Lunar Observations give to Surveys, sufficiently accurate for the safety of navigation, will enable you to get this important service completed with expedition. We rely upon your selecting Persons of every rank in our Marine best qualified for this employment, and that you will inform us that from proofs of activity and Science in their profession will entitle them to our particular notice and encouragement.

On November 16th 1787, "the Season being now sufficiently open for prosecuting that object", McCluer sailed in the Experiment, and carried on survey till the following April when monsoon conditions drove him into Surat in distress. On the 11th... it blowing a fresh gale from the S.W. ward, we were necessitated to leave the Guzarat shore, it being void of any shelter from these winds, even for so small a vessel. In coming across the banks at the entrance of the gulf, the seas ran so high that we swamped our large boat, and several of them broke upon us. On the afternoon of the 15th, being half-tide, weighed to go into the river, but our stupid fellow of a Pilot ran us on the W'era Bank, where with a few heavy strokes we unshipped our rudder; then came broadside to the sea, which broke over us, and in this disabled condition we lay beating very hard, and as the Vessel is so very slightly built, I expected every stroke to be our finishing one; however by God's providence and the exertion of our People at the oars, got her again before the wind and the sea, and with them conducted her up the river. ...

We have been four days wind-bound in the River, it blowing fresh the South, and are now safe over the Bar again, intending to go once more so far as Dua, then traverse down to Bombay the whole extent of soundings, if the Vessel will stand the weather.

Blair's Journal, Dalrymple. 6CD to Bo. (S & P) 23-3-87. 7Bo F & P. 27-11-88. 8CD to Bo. 8-3-86 (30-3, 29-7). 9CD to Bo. 23-3-87. 10Letter of 29-4-88, Bo FC. 92 A (518-50).
In September McCluer reports that I have...surveyed the Coast of India from the Lid. 17° 12' N. to 21° 40' N. including the Gulph of Cambay, and on the Guzarat shore to Diu head, with the soundings 40 leagues from the Coast. By what I can learn from Mr. Dalrymple's Letters, the Surveys are to be carried on So. ward, and among the Islands; if such is the case, for the greater perfection of the work and safety of those employed, it will be expedient to have a larger Vessel than the one I now command, which is very little larger than a long boat, and of a force sufficient to protect herself...from insult, that may be given by the freebooters on the Coast.

McCluer continued his surveys southwards to Cape Comorin till 1790, and Rennell records that an extent of about 360 miles, out of 570, between Zygiur and Anjenga, has been explored;...the remaining parts were left unexamined because of the then state of hostility with Tipoo. Part of this defect is supplied, between Merjee and Candipoor, by Capt. Reynolds's survey in 1781.

**CHARLES REYNOLDS, 1783-90**

So long as the war against the Marathas dragged on, Bombay could send but little aid to Madras in her struggle against Haider Ali. In April 1781 a small force under Major Abington had been sent down for the defence of Tellicherry, and during February 1782 had captured Mahé from the French, and Calicut from Mysore; before the end of the month he was joined by Colonel Humberstone [98 n. 13] who landed with about 1000 British infantry, and took over command.

During April Humberstone marched south, intending to reach Palghat, but after defeating the Mysore forces at Trincooor he had to shelter from the monsoon at Tanur. In the following October he marched to the walls of Palghat, but had to retreat in haste, being however successful in drawing Tipu and his main forces away from the Carnatic. We have already noticed the surveys made of his marches by James D'Auvergne [99, 123].

After the treaty of Salbai in December 1782 a strong force under General Mathews captured Mangalore and Onore on the coast of Kanara, and marched up to Bednur, a small district above the Ghats which commanded the north-west approaches into Mysore.

Reynolds accompanied the army and, being employed in surveying, escaped being taken prisoner when Mathews and his army were overwhelmed at Hydernagar in April 1783. He was however shut up in Onore which was gallantly defended by Torrano until peace was signed in March 1784.

On return to Bombay he handed in his survey of part of the Bedanore Province. taken by me on the late service as Surveyor General to the Army; it contains all the principal Gaunts that are within that space, and the whole from actual survey.

The survey appears to have covered a good deal more than the small district of Bednur, for Rennell took the coast between Barcolore and Meercaw...from a recent map by Captain Reynolds, during the war which terminated so unfortunately for the British arms in 1783, in the Bednore country, to which this part of the coast is opposite.

This map is drawn in a most masterly style and contains near 60 geographical miles of the coast, and extends inland to the foot of the Ghats, which here approach, in some places, within 6 miles of the sea. ... It includes the positions of Bednore, and Bilgher, within the Ghats, and also Onore...on the coast.
After a few months spent on a survey of Bombay Island [120], Reynolds was ordered to accompany Malet who had been deputed by the Governor General to visit Sindia1, and then proceed to Calcutta to discuss policy before taking up the appointment of Resident at the Peshwa’s court at Poona [6]. The Bombay Council write to Malet,

As it is our fixed intention to embrace every proper opportunity of procuring a knowledge of the interior parts of Hindoostan, We have directed Captain Reynolds our Surveyor to accompany you. ... Captain Reynolds will be directed to obey such directions as he may receive from you during his absence from hence, to embrace every proffered opportunity of making observations upon the Countries he passes through, at the same time taking every possible precaution to give no alarm or jealously to the people, where it can be by any means avoided.

The mission started from Surat on March 12th 1785, and travelled “through country alive with Bhils”. The camp was robbed, and Cruso, the surgeon, lost a set of valuable surgical instruments; passing through Ujjain [56 n. 10] they reached Gwalior on May 2nd, and Sindhia’s camp near Muttra on the 23rd. The following extracts from letters by the way give an idea of the interest taken in this journey.

I have the honour to acquaint you of our arrival at Broda1. We left Surat on the 12th and arrived here by the way of Broach on the 22nd. ... We move from before tomorrow; our route leads by the way of Champanier2, through a Country totally unknown to Europeans as far as Ugen, and will afford me an opportunity to furnish information that has never yet been in the power of any other Geographer. ...

The 26th I arrived at Hallole7, the first place subject to Madju Scindia since leaving the Broach Purgannah. The Country is beautiful, richly wooded, and intersected by numerous Gullies and rivulets, some of which at this advanced season have water. ... Champanier is situated at the bottom of the vast Mountain of Powagar8, which with very little assistance from art forms an almost impregnable Fortress. ... This place, notwithstanding it appears so totally inaccessible, was taken by surprise by Humayun9 from Sultan Rahadur, King of Guzerat. Captain Reynolds is employed in taking a view of this famous and extraordinary mountain10. ...

We arrived here [Ugen] on the 10th instant, & in the course of the route have gathered information respecting the country... that is much wanted in Reynell’s Geography, and of every other that I have yet met with. The country is in general laid down from Champanur as belonging totally to Holcar and Scindia; on the contrary, the whole of it, from about 50 miles on this side of Brodera, till within 60 or 70 of this place, is in the hands of distinct Grasiah Rajahs or Zemindars, the Capitals of most of which I have been able to ascertain with tolerable accuracy, and in this last: 60 or 70 miles of our route, the country is partly divided between Scindia, Holcar, and the Power Family of Marattas, whose Capital, Dhar11, I have also been able to fix with respect to situation. I find Indore as well as Dhar to be exceedingly misplaced in Rennell, and even this place as laid down by him does not correspond with my observations, which, from experience of my Instruments, I can venture to say are perfectly correct [177]. I have been able to determine the source of the Mhye12, which takes a totally different direction from that given it by any other Geographer. Thus far our route will throw a deal of light on the situation of this part of Hindoostan. ... We march tomorrow and shall proceed on a different route from any yet travelled by Europeans, till we reach Kallaness13 when we shall fall into the road laid down in Rennell’s Map11. ...

I shall proceed tomorrow morning by the route of Ragouir Hill10, wishing to avoid the Common road from mohillas already mentioned of extending our Geographical knowledge, which, from what I have already observed, I have reason to think will receive great elucidation from the accuracy of Captain Reynolds’s survey.

I have taken the liberty to enclose you a table of my journey hitherto, in which you will excuse any want of Precision and method, since my confidence in Captain Reynolds’s well known skill and ability has made me less solicitous on those points 12. ...

My last respects were under the 17th ultimo from Ugen. ... I have now the honor to enclose a continuation of it from thence to Gwalior, where I arrived the 2nd instant, having been

---

forced to halt two days for the refreshment of our people and cattle, after our late brisk marching at this very warm season; shall proceed tomorrow and to be at Akbarabad 1 the 13th instant.

Rennell received this route in time for incorporation in the 1792 edition of his map [214], and records that,

This survey of Captain Reynolds’s came to hand long after the construction of the Map of Hindooostan, 1788. ... Captain Reynolds’s route must be regarded as a very capital one; being through a tract which was heretofore the most vacant part of the map; and of which our general knowledge was so limited that we supposed the courses of its rivers to be to the south and into the Nerbuddah, when in fact they were to the north and into the Jumna River.

The mission reached Sindhi’s camp near Muttra on May 23rd, and after calling on the Emperor at Delhi left Agra for Cawnpore, where on August 10th they embarked in budgegers for their journey down the river, reaching Calcutta on October 18th. From Calcutta they returned to Bombay by sea.

At the desire of the Governor General, Reynolds was now deputed to accompany Malet to Poona, so that our knowledge of the interior parts of this country may be increased by the future exertion of his useful talents.

They left Bombay in February 1788, and passing through Poona made a journey to the Maratha Army when besieging Buddance about 250 miles from this city, that will tend greatly to elucidate many points which Major Rennell, from want of authentic materials, has not been able to ascertain.

After a week’s halt they accompanied the Peshwa back to Poona. Reynolds kept a survey of the route the whole way, through a country that had only been known hitherto by the travels of Mandelslo from Goa to Bijapur [176], and of Anquetil-Duperron whose travels from Goa to Poona [writes Rennell] furnished some useful matter towards filling up a part that has long remained almost a perfect void [28], but a great part of it is now superseded by the survey of Capt. Reynolds.

Obtaining permission to return to Surat for the recovery of his health, Reynolds surveyed one route down to Surat, and returned to Poona by another early in 1787. He returned again to Surat for the rains, and at the end of the year submitted to Government a “corrected Plan of Hindooostan...on a very large scale”, covering an area from 12° to 29° N, and from 71° to 80° E; he attached a full account of all his sources of information, and gave his reasons for improving on the details of Rennell’s Map of Hindooostan:

I have accompanied my map with a copy from Major Rennell’s on the same scale. It will point out more readily the total change these surveys of mine give to the Geographical system of Hindooostan. The rivers in the Province of Malwa that run under Uggein, etc., have always been supposed to be branches of the Narbudda River: my surveys determine that they are all Tributaries to the Chumbul 2 and ultimately to the Ganges. I hope I shall not be considered as endeavouring to depreciate Major Rennell’s performance by contrasting it with mine. I preferred his as being the best extant.

He took every care that his surveys should not attract the attention of the Maratha officials;

I also request that your Honors will be pleased to point out to them [the Directors] the inconvenience that may occur from allowing them to be published, or in any way made public; the Ministers at Poona would probably get the information, and in that case the loss of my liberty and perhaps more serious consequences to me may ensue from it and by the loss of my papers etc., defeat the intention of employing me [297].

In April 1788 Malet arranged through George Forster, now Resident at Nagpur, to get passports for Reynolds to travel through the territories of the Bhonsla Raja 11, and suggested that he might make a journey right through to Mysilpatam.
which he succeeded in doing by way of Hyderabad in November, travelling on through Guntur to Fort St. George, and showing his survey to Sir Archibald Campbell [101 n.g].

From Madras he travelled back to Hyderabad, and from there followed a new route to Surat by way of Aurangabad, the necessary passports being obtained on the grounds that the state of his health prevented a journey through Poona. Malet reports this as giving a new opportunity to Captain Reynolds’ investigations without much cause of additional jealousy, which is less active while the object is at a distance.

In acknowledging the passports Reynolds writes,

My return to Surat, while it is favourable to my completing my map of that Quarter, which will take me some time, will also be attended with less difficulty to any further excursion than if I was to return to Poona. ... It will require at least one other trip from Surat to Hyderabad after the rains to complete the Map of the Dukan. ... There will be no difficulty in procuring Purwanas from this Government, and I trust you will find none in obtaining permission...from the Minister at Poona.

Since my leaving Poona, I have collected a very considerable stock of materials independent of my Survey, sufficient to determine the practicability of my perfecting a General Survey of India; but as it is impossible that I can arrange them during my travelling, I can in fact only now be considered as laying the foundation for the future structure.

and later,

My route from hence [Chimbly, 55 miles S.E. of Poona] will be by Singumneres, Chandore, Saboree, Moolore, Soanghur, and Surat, where I can hardly expect to arrive much before the setting in of the rains; ... The variety of materials from whence I draw my information is such that...the arranging of them is utterly impracticable while I am on my journey, where every moment of my time is taken up in collecting them. I shall therefore employ myself till the opening of the season of them, and in the vicinity of Surat. I have also an idea, if time permits, of making a trip to Cambay for some matters relative to the Geography of the parts of Goornerat to the westward of it.

You know very well the Ardour with which I pursue the object of my employment, and I make no doubt that you will do justice to it. ... I must beg...that you will forward my request that my assistant Lieut. Emmett may be ordered to Surat to join me, for whom as well as myself I have enough to do [273].

In October the Governor General gave orders that Reynolds’s proposed trip to Hyderabad should be cancelled, for fear of its arousing resentment, and he was directed to remain at Surat and continue the arrangement of material already collected [6]. In April 1790 he accompanied the Bombay detachment that proceeded to Malabar to take part in the war against Tipu of Mysore [130].

EMMETT WITH THE MARATHAS, 1790–5

On the outbreak of the Third Mysore War in 1790, the Governor General having secured the co-operation of the Nizám and the Marathas, a small detachment of Bombay troops, two battalions of sepoys and a few guns under Captain Little, was deputed to stiffen up the Maratha army which was marching south from Poona.

The detachment joined the Maratha army in May 1790 and reached Dhurwar at the end of October, where it met with stubborn resistance; as there was no equipment for conducting a major siege, operations were held up to await reinforcements from Bombay. These landed at Carloma on the Jaigarah River on November 25th under the command of Colonel Frederick, with Sartorius as second in command, John Johnson as Engineer and Emmett as Surveyor. Emmett observed a latitude at the mouth of the Jaigarah River, and ran a traverse to Dhurwar, with occasional latitudes [177]. The siege of Dhurwar Fort occupied several months, Sartorius succeeding to the command on Frederick’s death in March 1791. After its fall, Emmett was appointed surveyor to Little’s detachment which

1 ib. 19±1±80.
2 ib. 9±1±80.
3 Letters of authority, or passports.
4 From Reynolds, 26±1±80.
5 Sangamesha, 47±12; Chandor, 46±1; Malhar, 46±1/2; Sopgarh, 46 G/12.
6 Bo S ± Pol. 3±4±80.
7 48 M/3.
8 47 G/3.
9 Emmett’s report, Bo S ± Pol. 20±11±92.
EMMITT WITH THE MARATHAS

he accompanied southwards to Mysore, whilst Johnson, who had acted as assistant whilst on the march, was appointed surveyor to the rest of forces, which marched back by way of Poona and reached Bombay on June 2nd. The Maratha army now made forced marches and joined Lord Cornwallis 20 miles north of Seringapatam on May 28th. Emmitt completing his surveyed line to make junction with Colebrooke's survey from Madras [112-3]. He continued his line to Bangalore and Sirsa, and in October started a survey from Harihar eastward down the Tungabhadra to its junction with the Krishna, then on to Pangal in the Nizam's Dominions, and from thence westwards through Badami and Dharwar to Goa. As the position of Goa had long been fixed by the Portuguese Jesuits, and more recent values of its longitude obtained by Huddart [170], this junction gave Emmitt a value for his longitudes [177].

Emmitt was the first English surveyor to visit Goa by land: D'Anville had taken its geography from a particular map I had from Portugal; but I must own, that the scale of that map not being exactly known to me, I am afraid I have given the continent in this map rather too much extent.

Rennell also notes that on his map, the environs of Goa and the country to the foot of the Gants are from a Portuguese MS.; it is from Goa only; if from any quarter, that we are to expect the geography of the tract between Gants...and Adoni, and which yet remains almost a perfect void in the map.

Many references to Emmitt and his survey are given by Moor in his Narrative of the operations of Captain Little's Detachment:

In the beginning of March (1792) Lieut. Emmitt...arrived here [Harihar] from his surveys. When he left Hurryval, he proceeded along the Toomubra's banks to its junction with the Krishna; visited the famous city of Annaogoooy; went to Paungal, the residence of the Nizam and his court, and thence to Goa; from which place by the route of Dharwar, he was now arrived.

We shall here take occasion to mention the great acquisition our geographical knowledge of the peninsula will have met with from the labours of this gentleman; his surveys comprehend the greater part of the country in which the scene of this narrative lies, and...the lovers of science will be pleased to hear that the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Emmitt have produced accurate surveys of a great portion of that part of the peninsula, which exhibits so melancholy a blank in the map of our eminent geographer, Major Rennell.

Mr. Emmitt's surveys...comprehend considerably more than 2000 miles of distance;...a number of desirable points and stations will be determined...; his route commences at Jauger, where Captain Little's & Colonel Frederick's detachments left the sea, and continues in this order; to Dharwar, Seringapatam, Bangalore, Sera, and the route just mentioned.

After...March 22nd, Mr. Emmitt proceeded to the source of the Toomubra, and returned to Bombay by way Simog...Dharwar...Bejafoo...and Poona.

Lt. Emmitt being desirous to proceed to the army, Lt. R. and the writer of this narrative determined to accompany him... As completing the survey of the Toomubra was a desideratum in Geography, we resolved on taking the route of Hooey Honore and Simoga... by which means another road to Seringapatam would be surveyed, and we should avoid approaching too near the garrison of Chittaldroom, and some of other forts in Tippoo's hands. [News arrived] of the glorious successes before Seringapatam of the 6th of February, and the cessation of hostilities.

We agree to leave Hurry Hal on the 23rd of March, with 45...sepoys and 3 Europeans, to join Captain Little's detachment at Seringapatam. It was of course necessary to proceed with all care and circumspection, having a journey to perform of nearly 200 miles, through a country, which although the greater part conquered, remained in a very unsettled state, and had many forts in the hands of the enemy.

Left Hurry Hal the 23rd of March:... on 27th...halted at Hooey Honore. About midnight we were alarmed by a cry of thieves, and repairing to the place whence it proceeded, we found Mr. Emmitt's tent robbed of several trunks, and among them that which contained all his surveys, instruments and papers; this would have been an irreparable loss, but fortunately, not being carried far, it was found near the road. Had the robbers succeeded in carrying...
off Mr. Emmitt’s trunk of papers, it would have been a very distressing circumstance; for although he had sent copies of almost all his surveys to Poona, there were many valuable geographical materials, drawings, etc., that would have been a serious loss; until lately he had always slept upon that trunk, but supposing no danger of thieves amongst so many sepoys, and not being in perfect health, had omitted it; from this time however, he recommenced the custom, and never, while in the field, left it off.

After being joined by Johnson on March 26th,

We left Holy Honore on the 29th, and crossed the Budra; ... marched past Simoga Fort. ...

April 15th March from Hoosdroog. ... Harassed by enemy; ... Messrs Emmitt & R. both lost some part of their baggage. For our part, having been so recently stripped, we had but little to lose; that little however was lost; but nothing of any consequence, save for the stock of grain for our domestics and cattle, which could not be replaced in camp but at enormous expense. Our tents, bullocks, and such things did not much signify; ... Mr. Emmitt’s horse was killed under him, which, and a Maharatta or two wounded, were the only accidents received from the enemy’s masqueraty. ... Joined up with the Bhow’s army that evening.

Describes the falls into the “Gutpurba River”, a mile west of “Gocauk”, where the “Heron Cassey River” falls in a cataract.

Mr. Emmitt, with his usual industry and accuracy, made drawings of the cataract, from above and below. The breadth of the river was carefully measured, and the space through which the water falls ascertained by dropping a plummet from the top, to the water in the cason. ... May 12th we crossed the Gotpurba.

After his return to Poona Emmitt completed his map, compiling all his surveys with the aid of astronomical observations, both his own and others taken by surveyors working under Kyd in Mysore [112–3].

In November 1792 Emmitt was joined with Johnson to Malabar to survey the frontiers of that province [131], but by the end of 1794 he had returned to Poona, to work under the instructions of Malet who was still Resident there [299]. He was nominally on sick leave from Malabar, but was allowed to accompany the Resident and the Maratha Army during the campaign against the Nizám which resulted in the defeat of the Nizám’s troops at Khairia [116]. In December he was granted sick leave to Europe.

MALABAR, 1790–1800

The immediate cause of the Third Mysore War in 1790 [112–3] was Tipu’s invasion of Travancore, to oppose which a Bombay force under Lt. Colonel Hartley was sent down to the west coast in April, and successfully advanced to Palghat in October.

The main Bombay army followed in December under the command of the Governor, General Abercromby, landed at Tellicherry, captured Cannanore and, driving all Tipu’s forces out of Malabar, reached the borders of Mysore in May 1791. Reynolds had accompanied Hartley’s detachment in the capacity of A.D.Q.M.G. and appears to have been mostly employed upon surveys, sometimes assisted by Blenchford of the Engineers. He writes,

Almost immediately after our arrival at Farakabad, at the top of the Ghauts, in 1791, I was detached by Colonel Hartley to examine a part of the Malabar Coast, and immediately on my return, I was again detached by Sir Robert Abercromby’s orders to explore the Tambucherry Pass [131 n.8], and to ascertain whether his army could penetrate that way to Seringapatam.

We find records of a “survey of Cochin”, a “survey between the Hills about Paulghauteherry”, a “survey of the Malabar Coast & Calicut Country, and a Map of Malabar showing the limits of Koorga”, all made by Reynolds during this period[117].
Under the treaty of Seringapatam Malabar was ceded to the Company, and was administered from Bombay for the next twelve years. It is recorded that Captain Reynolds had made a sketch of the whole the Countries that had been ceded to the Allies respectively, excepting the District of Soondoo, which belonged to the portion that fell to the Maharattas, but of the extent and position of which it had not been in his power to obtain accurate information.

Reynolds had, however, moved up to Mysore early in 1792, and in November the Governor describes the various defence works and surveys necessary for the security of Malabar:

For these purposes as well as to effect a general survey of the frontiers of the ceded country, I have to propose that Major Sartorius may be ordered down the Coast on duty. It is unnecessary for me to point out the advantages that will result from a complete survey of the Frontiers; I have already ordered Lieutenant Emmit and Johnston to proceed to the Coast for that purpose, and have to propose they may be employed under the inspection of Major Sartorius.

Johnson had already during the course of the war made a survey of the route of the Bombay army "from Nujul Ghat to Seringapatam", and in January 1792 from "the Eecoor River to Seringapatam". Some of his letters whilst on survey in south Malabar have been preserved; in March 1793 "having surveyed the west end of the Paugalt Range...south of the Munmar Pass", he has had difficulties with guides; his fever has been relieved by bark, and he asks that you will request of General Abercromby to order bark enough to last me until the Survey be ever.... I have laboured under great difficulties for want of people to shew me the Boundary.

I am going to the Mallicocote District...to survey the Munmar Pass.

After, again describing the extent of the area over which the revenues had been collected by the emisaries of Tipu, I deemed it best to proceed and survey the Boundary towards Tipoo's Country of the Upper Todenear District; I am now arrived in the District of Nombilitary coty. The District lies about 7 miles to the norward, or within the opening laid down in Captain Rennell's [obviously Reynolds'] survey between the Munmar Ghat and the Tembercherry Range of Hills. I wish to be informed whether I am to return and survey the Western boundary of the three districts of Mahanaar, Poringal, and Nombilitary coty...or whether I am to proceed to survey the Wymast District (which must now be very near us).

Moncrieff and Woodington assisted Emmit in his survey of "the Northern Superintendency" which included Coorg, Wynad, and "Mount Delia with the Coast as far as Neisuran". Their survey was not entirely without incident, for the political officer received a report in July 1793:

"The Coorga Rajah says that the Engineer came to examine the Boundaries and settle differences; that Tipoo's fellows came to surround him; that the Engineer told them that he was an English Sirdar come to inspect the Boundaries, and do justice on both sides. This they would not listen to, but abused him and fired at him."

In 1806 the Resident in Mysore records that a survey of the Coorg-Mysore boundary was made about 1792, "two Gentlemen having been deputed by the then Supreme authority in Malabar to effect that object"; he refers to it as authoritative, if it can be obtained.

In December 1794, Sartorius sent the completed maps up to Bombay under Emmit's charge.

I have now the honor of transmitting the Maps of the Northern and Southern districts of the Malabar Province; both Surveyors, Messrs. Emmit and Johnson have endeavoured to render them as perfect in every respect as unremitting application could make these surveys. With regard to the few observable spaces which have yet not been explored, I have every reason to think they will not take much more than one season to survey, after which such public roads as may be deemed conducive to promote trade, and procure the speediest movement of our troops from one end of the Province to the other, may easily be traced out.

1Senda, 48 J/14. 2HMS. 615 B to CD, 5-4-92. 3Bo MC, 23-11-92. 4Yarpattanam B., north of Cannanore, from Ikrar, 49 M.9. 5Quinnie. 6Bo Sur.; Vol. 18, 23-3-93. 7Nambalakot, part of Gudalur taluk, 58 A/10. 8Timarasari, 58 A/3. 9Wynad, 49 M/13, 58 A/NW. 10ib. 11-4-93. 11Map MRO, 135 (46) & 144 (57). Scale 2 m. to 1 inch; Mount Dilli, 48 P/4; Biliewaram, 48 P/3. 12HMS. 610 (61); Malabar Corr., 8-7-93. 13DDN. 68 (938), 18-1-1805. 14Bo MC, 20-1-94.
In October 1795 Moncrieff was appointed in Emmitt’s place, and employed on a more thorough survey of the southern province for the Civil Commissioners, which was, however, broken off for other duties.

Captain Moncrieff was then employed under us in carrying on a survey, which we had proposed should extend throughout the whole province on a plan that will materially aid the ascertainmmt of the Revenue Funds, and otherwise prove of great public utility should it ever be completed. Captain Moncrieff, previous to his quitting us, did, however, finish a survey of the Betulnad District.¹

His work was commended to the Directors;

A great addition has been made to our knowledge of the Geography of Malabar since the map of the Ceded Countries prepared by Major Saricrus; for the elucidation of the First Commissioner’s General Report we called upon Captain Moncrieff, who had been employed to survey the Southern Districts for as complete a Map as possible.²

After the final defeat of Tipu, Moncrieff, with the assistance of Williams, one of his subalterns in the Pioneers, was employed in North Malabar and Kannara, some of the work taking place during military operations against the Puchy Raja of Kottayam.³

Mountford ¹ writes of one of their maps 25 years later;

I consider it to be little more than a sketch made during troublesome times, and therefore capable of very great improvement. In fact when compared with the surveys executed under this office it exhibits little more than a blank, as may be seen by the enclosed copies of the same tract of country from that map ⁴.

Reynolds & His Map, 1792 to 1800

On his return journey from Mysore in 1792 [116], Reynolds was able to fulfill the wish, that had been denied to him three years earlier, to carry another line of survey through the Deccan; this he did through Hyderabadd, Aurangabad, and Kotah, to Agra.⁵ From Agra he obtained permission to go down to Calcutta, where he pressed a scheme which he had long cherished, that he should be given authority, and means, to work up his own great map [217].

In pursuit of this purpose he obtained Blunt’s services as assistant, and a grant of Rs. 500 a month for an escort, and during the cold weather of 1793-4 he and Blunt ran surveys from Allahabad to Paniapat, and back to Lucknow [255]. Reynolds was then recalled to Bombay to attend a court martial, and on its conclusion returned to Surat, and once more took up the compilation of his map, and the collection of material. It does not appear that he made any further expeditions himself [218], but he employed a number of native surveyors, trained by himself, whom he sent out in all directions to measure new routes and fill in blanks. Their most valuable work was carried out in Gujrat, Cutch, Sind, Rajputana, and the Punjab [219].

¹ Vettstnud, a former taluk in north Ponnari, 58 B/1. Logan (597, 598-59): From the Malabar Commissioners, Bo MC. 17-1-407. ² He lived in CD. 31.-7-97 (321). ³ The Puchy Raja of Cududo (Kottayam), with capital at Pathassi (49 M9), claimed both Kottayam & Wynaad taluks. MRO. Map 173; MRO. 134 (8) & 128 (8); to CD. 18-3-1801 (254). ⁴ Deputy SG. Madras, 1818-24. ⁵ DTA. 200 (179). Report by DTA. 5-8-83. ⁶ Map, MRO. 54 (17).
CHAPTER IX

REVENUE SURVEYS


In many countries land surveys for revenue purposes have taken priority over all topographical or geographical surveys. Such land survey may take various forms, according to the manner in which the rights of the occupier are recognized, the conditions of his tenure, and the extent to which he is expected to pay for the privilege of holding, or occupying, the land. In India the ultimate ownership of the land has always rested with the State, or rather, the supreme authority in the State. For some time before the middle of the eighteenth century this supreme authority for the greater part of India was the Mughal Emperor of Delhi. As a general rule the rulers of provinces paid tribute to the Emperor according to the reputed wealth of their provinces, and in similar fashion they collected revenues from their subordinates. In all cases the final call was met by the peasant, or raiyât, who lived on, and cultivated, the land, though between him and the ruler of the province were many middlemen. As a ruler the raiyât held the land at the pleasure of the hereditary landlord, or zamindar, who was responsible for all revenues to higher authority, and used his own means for collecting from his raiyâts. In case of inānu, or jâgîr, lands, the landholder held the lands as a free gift, generally on account of special services rendered by him or his family.

The system by which the lands were assessed, and by which revenues were collected, varied from province to province;

The legitimate government share of the gross produce...was one-fourth, but Akbar demanded one-third generally, and one-half in Kashmir. ... In practice, nearly every ruler, Hindu or Musalman, took all he could get, and often the principle was avowed that the... raiyât should be left no more than a bare subsistence and seed grain. ... Even the early "settlements" made by British officers frequently erred on the side of over-assessment, with disastrous results. ... In Bengal of the eighteenth century the information accessible was so crude that a decently fair assessment was impossible.

In most provinces there was some system under which a record was kept of the area and ownership of all cultivated land, and some system of assessment of revenue, with spasmodic attempts at a fair measurement of the land.

It is recorded that Rajaraja I of Tanjore (A.D. 985—1011) "carried out a careful survey of the land under cultivation, and assessed it" and there must have been other surveys of which no clear record has been preserved.

Much information is available of the surveys instituted by the Emperor Akbar [10 n. 1] during the 16th century in the Akbar-Names and An-i-Akbari, records of his reign kept by his minister Abu-l-Fazl, from which the following notes are taken;

7th Year of Akbar's reign. ... At the beginning of this year His Majesty directed his attention to an improvement of the administration of his territories, and passed new laws for the management of civil and revenue business. ... More definite reforms were effected in the 15th year (1570-1) when Muzaffar K—T—, with the assistance of Todar Mall, prepared a revised assessment of the land revenue, based on estimates framed by the local Kanungsos and checked by ten superior Kanungsos. ...
The conquest of Gujarat in 1573 gave Todar Mall the opportunity for further exercise of his special abilities. He was sent to make the land revenue assessment of the newly conquered province, and was engaged on the task for six months. ... 64 out of 184 parganas ...were surveyed. ...

The "settlement" was made for a term of ten years, with a demand uniform for each year.

Raja Todar Mall's later "settlement" in Northern India—Akbar and his advisers fixed the units of measurement as the necessary preliminary to survey. ...

Measurements had been formerly made by a hempa rope—...from A. D. 1575 the rope was replaced by a jarib of bamboos joined by iron rings, which remained of constant length. ...

The first step in the new system of "settlement" operations was measurement. The next was the classification of lands; the third was the fixation of rates. ...

Todar Mall...took no account of soils ...and based...classification on the continuity or discontinuity of cultivation. ...

The Government share was one-third of the average. ...

Only the area actually under cultivation was assessed. The area under each crop had its own rate. ...

Akbar's revenue system was ryotwari; ...the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue. ... Provision was however made that the headman should be paid a commission for collection, not exceeding 2½ per cent for work done.

Smith remarks that the system was an admirable one, the principles sound, and the practical instructions to officials all that could be desired, but he expresses "considerable scepticism concerning the conformity of practice with precept 1."

Akbar's survey was extended into Bengal:—

In the time of the kings the particulars of the measurement were as follows. During the reign of Akbar, Rahaj Toorul Mull made the measurement in every district in Bengal, in conformity to the Customs respectively Established in them. Different places being different in their local circumstances, and the practice of measurement diversified, these arrangements were attended to in the Mofussil Serishta.

The Country was then covered with Jheels or Jungle; on these accounts in many places it was not being practical to Effect the measurements of the lands by means of a rope, the lands were rated by a Toomar Jumma, the number of begahs...being Estimated, and the Jumnah fixed accordingly.

In such places, on the other hand, as were free from water or Jungle, and in good condition for cultivation, a measurement being made, the Jumnah was rated according to that standard, and called Tuzzamy. ... Many mahals...were never at that period submitted to measurement. ... The Zamindars of such Pargunnas were unwilling to submit to the measurement of their lands, from the apprehension of diminishing the revenue by introducing a new Custom, being used to make an arbitrary Settlement with their Royatts [142]: ...

The business of measuring lands being of so great importance, the persons employed in it should be men of ability. Their functions will be difficult and intricate; the measure of the Cottah & Begah is various and the names appropriated to these measures vary also. In some districts three different standards are in use: One of the Zamindar, a second of that peculiar to the place, and the third of Government: by which last the Cottah and Begah is of larger dimensions than by the two former. ...

Such a business requires a man of respectability. If such a one be Employed as an Aumaen, the measurement of any place having once been made by him, there will be no occasion for a repetition of it. But if, on the contrary, a careless or incapable person be Employed, it becomes necessary that the business should be done a second time, & such is the Custom of the Country 2.

The indigenous method of land-measurement by simple geometry is commented on by Macnab, brother-in-law and private secretary to Philip Francis;

We drove out again to the Gardens. I have been strolling all round and showing the Boundaries to a Black Surveyor. How the plague these people measure land I cannot conceive. They neither use the compass nor take sights as our people do, and yet they get the contents of ground with tolerable accuracy. It is by a means of Squares, I believe 3.

METHODS OF THE COUNTRY

By the time that the English came into possession of Bengal there remained no periodical system of revenue settlements, or land measurements:
Most native Governments made rough "annual settlements". Akbar had preferred longer terms, and actually, the Bengal "settlement" made by his finance minister Raja Todar Mall, lasted for seventy-six years.
In the 18th century everything fell into confusion. In Bengal the village communities...dissolved, and the hanungos ceased to maintain their records properly. ... Individual zamindars...developed into hereditary potenates, each controlling a huge extent of country. 1

GLOSSARY

Before proceeding to give an account of the revenue surveys undertaken during the early years of the Company’s administration, it will be well to give a glossary of the more common Indian terms.

Amin. A native official appointed to collect revenues or to investigate and report their amounts; or employed on land measurement.

Band-o-bast. The settlement operations under which the amounts of revenue to be paid on the land are settled in detail.

Bigha. An area of one square jarda, a unit which varied according to the length assumed for the katha.

Hast-o-budd. Literally that which is and that which was. A comparative account, generally made by a measurement, of the assets or resources of a country immediately before the harvest. A detailed enquiry into the financial value of the lands.

Hath. The primary unit, taken from the length of the fore-arm. No two districts accepted the same length.

Jagir. An area of land held free of tribute.

Jama-bandi. A measurement of the lands, with assessment of the revenue to be paid on them.

Jarda. Measuring chain of 80 haths or 60 gos in length.

Kausung. An official responsible for maintaining revenue records and accounts.

Kista-budd. Rent-roll showing the actual measurements and area of the land, and its appropriation.

Malaquaari. Rent-paying lands.

Khadyawadri. Dealing direct with the individual peasant landholders.

BENGAL

In November 1757, whilst waiting for Mr Jafar to sign the formal grant of the Twenty-four Parganas [12 n.7], the Secret Committee at Fort William recorded the following resolution:
The Committee now took into consideration in what manner to regulate the lands when we receive the Grant of them from the Nabob, & it being judged necessary for one person to examine into the extent & Nature of the Territories to be held by the Company in Farm, to enquire into the Revenues now collected by the Nabob, Zamindars & Holders of the Parganas, to scrutinize and lay before us what advantages may be made of them by following any particular Plan, and to execute the said Plan, Collect the Revenues, &c.
It is unanimously agreed Wm. Frankland Esq. should be appointed to that Employ [13].
In the following month Clive wrote from Murshidabad that,
The Comangoes having finished the Survey of the granted Lands, and ascertained to what Pargannahs they belong, the Purwannah for them is at last drawn out and signed by the Nabob 4 on which the Committee resolved,

The original Sunnad for the Lands being received, Agreed, We request of Mr. Frankland to set out without delay on the Survey of them, and take possession in the name of the Company as he goes along. 5

1 Vincent Smith (693). 2 "Aur Mushtidahd Letters. 3 BSAM. 12-11-57. 4 From Clive, 29-12-57; HMS. 899 (290). 5 BSAM. 4-1-58.
Frankland's report was eagerly awaited, one member writing. At the time Mr. Frankland was appointed...to take a Survey of the Lands. I proposed some other Gentleman...might be appointed to accompany him in the Survey, but as the rest of the Committee were of a different opinion, I acquiesced, induced thereto by the imagination that the Survey would be completed in a month...I find so long a time as three months has elapsed since Mr. Frankland set out on his survey, and as yet we have no account laid before us, nor...can we expect any for four months 1.

In due course Frankland submitted his survey, giving the number of bighas with other statistics; it was forwarded to the Directors who replied:

With respect to the Lands ceded to us, Mr. Frankland's letter is too prolix, and not very intelligible, but his account of the different parganas, the Grounds, and the Revenues are judicious and clear; the barren and untenanted Lands are very extensive, but through Care and Attention We shall hope for large increased Revenue improvements.

You are certainly right to order an exact measurement of all our new acquired Lands, but we hope by more than one Person, and at no great expense; such persons if they have judgement, may from their observation of the different Grounds be able to furnish you with many beneficial hints 2.

The Company's servants had at this time no experience whatever of revenue administration and it is recorded that:

From the treaty of 1757 up to July 1759, the Parganas were farmed by the Company, but a suspicion arose that they had not a perfect knowledge of their value, and they were put up for sale by public auction, as the only means of arriving at this knowledge. The sale produced 7,64,700 sicca rupees, which, with the royalties, estimated at 1 1/2 lacs, made a total of over 9 lacs; deducting Clive's Jaghire 3 of 2,22,000, this left a revenue of nearly 7 lacs.

After Cameron's survey of the district boundary in 1761-2 [14], he was directed to make a "Survey & Measurement of the several Pargannahs" 4, and it was agreed the same opportunity be taken of making a Register of the Villages, Tenants, &c., and that each Gentleman of the Committee of Lands do for that purpose appoint a proper Person to attend Mr. Cameron during the measurement of the respective Pargannahs under their management 5.

Cameron continued to work for "the Committee of the New Lands" till his death two years later, but we have no record of the work done [13], nor of anyone carrying it on, though possibly Stuart and Martin may have been so employed [137].

The conditions of the cession of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong made by Mir Kasim in 1760 [21 n. 7] were that the Nawab should "be vested with the administration of all affairs of Provinces", and that for all charges of the Company and...army and provisions for the field, the Lands of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong shall be assigned. ...The Company is to stand to all losses and receive all the profits of these three Countries 6.

The actual collection of revenues was left in the hands of the former Indian officials as agents for the Company until 1771, when the Controlling Committee of Revenue 7 was established at Calcutta, and the functions of the Supervisors [137] of districts changed to those of Collectors of Revenue 8. From this time each district had a fresh settlement of its land-revenue every five years.

The impossibility of the Company attempting to undertake any close control at an earlier date will be realised when it is considered how small was their staff of officers, none of whom were really trained in administration; in 1761 the Council had written home,

We are extremely in want of Assistants for the Business of all our Offices; our whole list consisting of only 65 for the service of the Presidency, and all the subordinates. The Engineer and his assistants are of this number 9.

Continual anxiety was expressed from home as to the amount of revenue that could be collected from the provinces; although the increase of the Revenue of this Province [Chittagong] is very agreeable to us, yet much remains to be done before We can be assured that We draw all the Advantage

1BSSC. 14-4.58. 2CD to B. 1-4-60 (94, 96). 3Granted by Mr Jafar in 1769, being the quit-rent due by the Company to the Nawab. 4BPC. 19-4-64. 54th para. of treaty with Mr Kasim. BSSC. 27-9-60. 6Superseding Controlling Council of Murshidabad. 7Foster. 8B to CD. 12-11-61 (319).
of which it is capable, and therefore direct you to cause an Actual Survey to be taken of
the whole Province, that we may know what is cultivated, what waste, what pays taxes,
what free, and how the whole is disposed of. ...

We have already approved the Method you took to ascertain the Value of the Calcutta
Lands, you write us it has increased the Revenue... 
and the Council report that,
By an account of the Jumhabandi, or new measurement, of part of the Calcutta
Purgunmas lately delivered in by the Collector, it appears that the rent of them for the
present year...amount to Siccà Rupees [274.4.3], ...we hope that a proportional increase
will arise from a re-measurement of the remaining purganna which we have now ordered .

In 1768 the Collector-General writes,
I request your instructions...whether I must continue to collect the Rents of the
Calcutta Lands at these rates henceforth, or in what manner you may think proper to have
the Surveyor's Office reimbursed. I further request your sentiments as to the future
Establishment of the Surveyor's Office .

From the heading of Martin's map [51], it is probable that these Calcutta Lands
were the same as the New Lands of the 24-Parganas which Cameron had started to
survey [135]; and the surveyor just referred to may have been a certain Alexander
Stuart, who, being
lately employed in surveying some of the Calcutta Lands, sends in a letter requesting
payment of wages he advanced to his assistants and servants previous to being called in.

The Hon. the President acquaints the Board...that his surveys are so very incorrect,
and he has been so inattentive to, and neglectful of, his duty, that he thinks him unworthy
of any Indulgence whatever. ... The Board decide...that we shall not therefore repay him the
money he applies for .

As early as 1766 some effort was being made to investigate the state of the
revenues of the more distant provinces;

Mr. Verestl [22 n.4], as Supervisor of the Midnapore Revenues, lays before us an
account of the situation of the Jungles to the Westward of Midnapore, agreeably to the
ancient Statement,
and the Resident was instructed,
To persevere in a scrutiny of the Zemindars' private account, and obtain the most exact
valuation possible of the Midnapore and Jellaisore Lands. To visit the several Parganas
in order to ascertain the spot a more accurate knowledge of the subject, and to re-
dress the Complaints of the Rottos .

In 1769 English Supervisors of Revenue were appointed with the following
instructions,
To investigate & ascertain in a minute, clear, and comprehensive manner, a variety of
circumstances which intimately concern the welfare of the country: ... The State, produce, &
Capacity of the Lands.

The first measure...is to procure a compleat kistabood or Rent-Roll with the number of
Bighas or Measures of Land contained in each district, according to original Surveys &
Measurements, and the method in which they were laid out and appropriated.

The next is to fix the ancient Boundaries & Divisions. ... The title of the Present Posses-
sions should...be examined, together with the valuation of such Lands before they became
Talooks. ... You are also to particularize the Extent, Production, & Value of Jagheeres, the
Titles of the present possessors &c. ... Among the chief objects which are hoped from Your
Residence...are to convince the Ryott that you will stand between him & the hand of
Oppression; that you will be his Refuge & the Redressor of his Wrongs. ... Having thus
obtained sufficient & authentic accounts of the Rent Rolls of the Districts, by searching
into the Papers & Record,...comparing their respective Rusto-bades, surveying & measuring
the lands which appear rated above or below their value or extent, you are to bring your
investigation home to the Zemindar .

The Supervisor at Purnea describes the native system of collection as "sheer
plunder";
The method pursued for these last few years has been as follows; At the beginning of
the year they have made a kind of estimated Bandibust with the Amulis, but without

1CD to B. 24-12 65 (46, 69).
2B to CD. 31-1-66, (70).
3BPC. 29-8-68. 4BPC. 15-8-68. 5BSC. 10-3-69.
6BSC. 16-6-69.
7For view of the work of these Supervisors, see Murshidabad Letters, Introduction et seq.
finally settling what they were to pay, only limiting them in their charges. At the time of the Harvest they have sent Aumeens into all parts of the Country to measure the cultivated lands, and then Seawulls to collect accordingly; by these means they have at least had it in their power to lay hold of whatever the Tenants had by industry raised 1.

The Supervisor at "Ragionautpure, Patcheet", reports about his district (now Manbhun),

This district has never been measured; but...the Malgazury has hitherto been settled by mere surmise. ... This province should be properly surveyed, by which means alone its true extent and quantity of land will be ascertained...

and asks if he should await the arrival of a Surveyor, or if...I should send people into the different pergannahs to find out the number of Bigas of arable land contained in each 2.

The Controlling Council at Murshidabad reply,

We understand that a Gentleman has lately been sent from the Presidency to compleat a survey of all the Western Provinces 3, but we do not apprehend the result of such a survey will afford you the knowledge you wish to acquire in regard to the Quantity of Land and the nature of the Cultivation. These informations, we apprehend, must rather be obtained by an actual mensuration, and local inspection of the Country 4.

About this time the Chittagong Council report that they have carried out a survey of their lands, but have no confidence in the results;

The mensuration of the Lands of this Province which cost...so much money that a just assessment of the ground should take place, has rather been a Burthen than any ease to
the Lower class of Inhabitants, and prejudicial to the Public Revenues.

The vocality of the Black Servants employed in the measurement of the Country, having for a valuable Consideration excused the rich, and rendered a short measurement of their lands, and the Poor who were incapable of complying with their demands have had theirs measured with the most rigorous exactness, and the formation of the Jumma under, in consequence of the mensuration, has been so partial through the Arts of the Black servants in office here, that to this cause alone the fixed Revenues of this Province...have been annually realised, and therefore may rather be deemed nominal 5.

The efforts of the Supervisors to make measurements through the ageny of amias, met with strong opposition on the part of the landlords, one of whom makes the following complaint;

The Supervisor of Bhootottiehan has sent an Aumeen to the Jaghier, who interrupts the Collection of the Revenues, and measures every particular Division of it. I am hopeful that you will give an order for recalling the Aumeen, that the Ryottes, being delivered from his oppression, may attend to the Cultivation of their lands and the Payment of their rents.

The Council write to the Supervisor,

As you have received no orders from us for entering upon this measurement, we do direct that you immediately withdraw your Aumeen, and immediately restore to Rajah R—'s Agents whatever collection he may have made from the Ryotus 6.

It was soon realised that there were great objections to basing the collection of revenues on native measurements, and that collection through the agency of rent-farmers was simpler to work; the Supervisor at Hooghly writes,

Being persuaded therefore of the inefficacy of a measurement in which there is so much room for Fraud and Collusion, and that Annual Farms will by the competition of individuals at the commencement every year raise the lands to an adequate revenue in the course of three or four years, ...

he recommends that "the latter method may be adopted?".

The choice between the two systems was decided differently from one district to another; it was often very difficult to find suitable farmers.

The Supervisors had no powers to interfere with the collection of revenues in any way; they could only watch and report what they saw. The number of civil servants available was at that time far too small to take over the administration of so vast a country, with no sort of staff that could be trusted. The Collectors

1 BSC.12-10-69. 2 CrRev. II (14), 12-1-70. 3 It is not known to whom this refers; possibly Carter [32]. 4 lb. II (17), 3-12-70. 5 Chittagong Dist. E. No. 371, June 1770. 6 CrRev. II (609), 30-8-71. Pb. VII (81), 21-12-71.
appointed in 1772 were only a little better off in that they were now fully responsible.

Detailed investigations or measurements were not encouraged by the Directors, who in a letter of July 4th 1777 expressed "disapproval of the Governor General's Scheme for a new investigation of the Provinces, by the deputation of Native Aumeens into the Districts", and later noted that

one of those Aumeens has been furnished with a guard of 50 Sepoys from Dacca without the knowledge of the Commander in Chief. It appears that N—I has also deputed subordinate Aumeens, for whose protection the Governor General seems to think part of this Military force might be necessary. We confess ourselves alarmed at these proceedings, and more so when we consider that Zimindars and other respectable Inhabitants...should be liable to vexatious inquisitions.

In 1779 an effort was made to put the survey of the lands of the 24-Pargannas on a regular footing, and the Calcutta Committee of Revenue write,

Finding that considerable tracts...were held by individuals in the 24 Pargannas on grants from the former Collector-General, yielding little or no revenue to Government..., we find that in...May 1777, the Collector General issued 81 grants...of lands, which had either become wild or always been in that state.

They recommend

that the jummadunbee should be formed every ten years: that a survey of the Lands granted should in 12 months be made by the Company, so that a description of their boundaries might be inserted...to the grant....

Many people under the authority of these grants had cultivated considerable tracts without paying the smallest Revenue to Government, there were even some who had cultivated and possessed themselves of Lands without holding any title, and without paying revenue....

This committee, so long ago as...1776, ordered that Aumins should be sent into the districts, but no provision was made for the support of the aumins, and they were left to receive their pay from the Talookdars themselves, who were particularly interested in frustrating the intention of their appointment.... Their investigation was consequently incomplete...they surveyed only a part of the lands....

Of about 1,75,000 given out in grants, the Aumeens had surveyed 35,637 Beegas that were still wild or waste, and 5,805 that were brought into cultivation. That the Jumma of revenue for the cultivated ground for year 1814 amounted to Rs. 5,710, but only 930 had been collected.

The Committee then recommended that

a separate office should be formed in our Curchery whose duty it may be to survey all the lands possessed under pretence of these grants, to ascertain such as are illegally held, to distinguish how much land each possess or has brought into cultivation, to fix the revenue which each...ought to pay for the ensuing year...

and they asked for provision to be made for payment of the aumins?

In 1789 a ten-year settlement was undertaken in all Bengal Districts, and the following notes about the necessary measurements were left to his successor by the Collector at Comilla;

The Munsiff will demand...the Chittas, or accounts, of the last year's measurement, that he may ascertain the Daugs or divisions, but when he has got them, will, if the Reiatts liberally pay him, make out an account from them without measuring the lands at all;...

an experienced Munsiff will measure the whole, both with a view to manage the Reiatts, and secure himself if he is likely to be punished with severity. In the field they generally set down the real length and breadth in dots, & afterwards at their leisure draw figures over these dots, according to their agreements with the Reiatts, but as they will be stiff & not finient like the rest of the writing you may easily see that deception has been practised by a bare inspection of the Chitta. It is not only in the quantity of the land but in the quality that you be deceived....

The difference occasioned by these manoeuvres is too considerable to be slightly passed over, being nearly equal to one half the Revenue at least. To detect the imposition you must go into the detail yourself; it is an object of too much importance to be trusted to native Agents. Portal is the term for a re-measurement, but the manner in which it is

1CD to B. 90-1-78 (60). 2Calcutta Com. of Rev. 7-5-79.
conducted is partial and oppressive; the Purlat Munisiff does not measure the whole village he is sent to, but a few parcels of land only, & in proportion to the concealments found in those parcels of land, charge the whole village with what is called a *dukh*. ...

The chicanery of the munisiffs is however upon a confined scale when compared with that in the *Ammassy & Jummatunaby* Serishtas; the Munisiff has but a village or two to exert his talents in, but these Serishtas have the whole Zemindary for the display of their abilities; ...Nothing but indefatigable attention & local knowledge will carry you thro' so as to do equal Justice to the Reiat & Government; As every Reiat is personally concerned, their applications to you will be innumerable. Justice requires that their complaints should be heard & redressed if well founded.

The Collector of Sylhet met with considerable opposition from the *samindars* especially along the borders of the district; he writes:

I have as far as possible completed the several measurements of the district, but the management and examination of the papers will not be effected under four or five months. ...

Many advantages...will result from the Hustabood. No revenue will be demanded from the natives which the apparent condition of their land does not justify. Government will know what they possess, and by the knowledge, provided they do not exact too large a share of revenue, will have a right to insist on a punctual performance of their agreements. ...When a Hustabood has been once made with tolerable accuracy, I think the *jumma* ought to be fixed for ever, otherwise the Hustabood papers will be constant scourge over the head of the land-holders. By the Hustabood the constant litigation in this district will be much less frequent.

and a few months later;

I adhered to the Hustabood papers, which may have been falsified for private purposes. *Abadie lands* may have been concealed out of favour, and in other instances *Jungiah lands* may have been measured as abadie. Where any have been concealed it is not so material, as the welfare of the chowrie and ryot is ultimately and truly the advantage of the Government. By overrating temporary profit only is obtained at the expense of the country, but when pique or some other motive has caused Jungiah to be rated as Abadie, some allowances must be made.

During the course of the year, especially if I can find leisure, before the setting in of the rains to go into the mofussil, I shall learn where the assessment bears too hard; ...a dedication will willingly be granted.

and again,

The hustabood of the district did not originate with me. It was recommended...by my predecessor. ...In December...as soon as the rains would admit, I entered on the disagreeable task; and in the execution of it...I have received every possible opposition from the Cannongoes and principal Mussulman inhabitants, who had obtained great advantage for the depression of the zamindars. Against such opposition...I consider myself fortunate in having effected the measure, at a small expense to Government, with a considerable increase of Revenue.

In 1793, under the administration of Lord Cornwallis as Governor General, the terms of the decennial settlement of 1789–90 were made permanent, with the result that a great part of Bengal, together with other portions of India, became liable for no further increase in revenue. The information collected previous to 1789 regarding the limits and areas of existing estates was incomplete, and probably in most cases very inaccurate, so it was not long before the Collectors of Districts found themselves in difficulties when deciding what land had actually been included in the permanent settlement. It is interesting to note the prophetic comments of Warren Hastings on the subject a few years before. Writing his memoirs on board ship during his voyage home in 1786, he observes, I shall only further observe on the proposed plan of restoring the zamindars to the possession of their lands, and the management of their Revenues, that unless care should be taken at the same time to establish some mode of guardianship, with a view to remedy the defects of minority, profusion, and incapacity of the Zemindars, their restoration...will often terminate in acts of the greatest severity; in the total dispossession of the Zemindars, or in concession on the part of Government in their demands for the Revenues.

The subject was complex, and gave rise to heated discussion;
Hastings...looked to experience, as acquired from a succession of quinquennial settlements, to furnish the standard rate of the future. Francis on the other hand...advocated the fixing of the state demand in perpetuity. The same view recommended itself to the authorities at home. ... Accordingly Cornwallis took out with him in 1786 instructions to introduce a permanent settlement.

The process of assessment began in 1789, and terminated in 1791. No attempt was made to measure the field or calculate the outturn, as had been done by Akbar. The amount to be paid in the future was fixed by reference to what had been paid in the past. At first the settlement was called decennial, but in 1793...it was declared permanent...

Shore[1] [Sr. n. 14] would have proceeded more cautiously than Cornwallis's preconceived English idea of a proprietary body, and the Court of Directors' haste after fixity, permitted[2].

In a review of the system written in 1883, nearly 100 years later, it is stated[3].
The claim of Government against the Zemindars was fixed for ever, and the Law intended that the rights of the Zemindars over their own tenants should equitably be restricted. But no detailed record of Tenant-right was inserted in the settlement papers. The rights of the Landlords as against the State were defined by the regulations of 1793; the rights of the tenants as against the Landlord were reserved, but were not defined; ...it was taken for granted that the law-courts would afford sufficient protection to subordinate rights. However, large zemindaries were speedily broken up; widespread default in payment of Government dues, and extensive sales[ followed].

By the end of the eighteenth century the greater portions of the Estate of Nuddea, Rajshahi, Bishenpor, and Dinajpur Rajahs had been alienated; ...a host of smaller zemindaries had shared the same fate[4].

Although the permanent settlement rendered measurement of lands belonging to zemindars of no account for many years, yet there were other lands which called for surveys, as shown by the following letter from the Collector of Shahabad in 1800;

I beg leave to submit to the consideration of the Board the expediency of having an accurate survey and measurement made of the lands, the property of the Government, by European Officers qualified for the task. The benefit which would be immediately derived from it, in detecting fraudulent evasions, in the disposal of reservoirs to the most advantage, and in establishing boundaries beyond the possibility of dispute, would amply repay any expense with which it would be attended[5].

Nothing came of this request at the time.

MADRAS: THE JÄGIR, 1767-91

On hearing of the grant of the Jägir lands by the Nawab of Areot [86], the Directors were prompt in ordering them to be surveyed;

With respect to the Lands & Territories ceded to us by the Nabob... We esteem it a Work of that importance to have accurate surveys of them, that no time must be lost; you are therefore to cause the same to be set about immediately[6] [88].

and in March 1767 the Council record that,

The Engineer... has sent Mr. Barnard, one of his assistants, with proper Instruments and attendants, to make a survey of the Company's Jägir Lands round Madras, and has given him the following instructions, ...

1st. You will survey as exactly as possible, on a scale of two inches to a mile at least, the whole extent of Country comprehended within the limits of the Jägir lately granted to the company by the Nabob, beginning on the North of Madras, & so continuing along the Sea side till you reach the Northern extremity, and that you may be more certain what Districts and villages compose this Jägir, a List of them is annexed hereto.

You have also a person sent with you to serve as an Interpreter, and orders from the Nabob (now Renter of this Jägir[7]) to his Amnildars to assist you... 2ndly. In the course of your survey you are to be particularly careful to note the Nature of the Country adjacent to, and between, each village, whether it be fit for cultivation of Beef, & Paddy, or dry grain[s], or whether it be Pasture Land, Woody, or Sandy.

[1] Recognized by Cornwallis as the most trustworthy of his local advisors.
[3] For a searching indictment of this settlement by a revenue officer of long experience, see Vincent Smith (606-70); see also Hunter's Bengal MS. Records, Vol. I. "Land Revenue of Old Rev. Surveys" (4).
[6] As the simplest way of administration, the Jägir had been farmed out to the Nawab.
REVENUE SURVEYS

3rdly. You must carefully trace all rivers, or Watercourses, and mark the places where Watercourses are, or may be, opened out of rivers so as to water the adjacent Grounds, and render them proper for the Cultivation of Paddy.

4thly. You must exactly Survey all Tanks, remarking the Water Courses that lead from them, and how they are supply’d with Water, whether by rain or from any River [107-9].

5thly. As the collection and Preservation of Water is the grand Object of Cultivation, You are minutely to enquire into the state of each Tank or Reservoir, and report how it may be repaired or improved, and at what expense, and you must also note what Countries or Grounds are water’d thereby. ... You are, moreover, to enquire whether any new Tanks can conveniently be dug, in what part, and at what expense [140]. ... 6thly. You are to remark on all Hills, Woods, or Waste Grounds, and trace with Exactness all Roads, observing at the same time...whether good or bad.

7thly. You must enquire from the Amulders...what Improvements can be made...for the mutual benefit of the Inhabitants & the Company, and obtain the best account you can...of the yearly produce of each village, both within the last 5 years, & in the time of Dost Ali. ... The different Produces you’ll note opposite the Name of each village in your list of villages. ...

8thly. Number of Inhabitants. ... Manufacturers.

Barnard saw that single handed he could not possibly carry out these instructions in full, so after two months work he obtained permission to modify them. He covered his country with a network of traverse circuits, just as in modern revenue surveys, and in the southern area took advantage of the hills for occasional triangles [189-90].

He did not find the Nawab’s officials as helpful as they should have been, and had to write to the Board representing the difficulty he finds in obtaining an account of the value of the Jagheer Lands, owing to the neglect and inattention of the Amulders and other people belonging to the Cirear, who studiously endeavour to prevent his procuring any information on that Subject, and that unless some speedy and effectual remedy be applied, it will be out of his power in a great measure to execute that part of his instructions [140].

After protesting to the Nawab, the Board reported to England, Mr. Barnard...advances but slowly. He hath often represented the delays and impediments he met with from the backwardness of the Managers & Chiefs of the Districts in giving him the necessary assistance; the Nabob has been frequently requested to issue his orders that Mr. Barnard may have all proper helps, and he hath promised to do so, but without much effect.

When this survey shall be completed, We hope to acquire a more accurate knowledge of the value of these Lands than hath hitherto been practicable 4.

The large scale of the survey made serious inroads on the stock of drawing paper; Mr. Thomas Barnard has nearly completed the Survey of the Jagheer, but is much distressed for Vellum & drawing paper. We request at his desire that you will be pleased to order forty skins of Vellum of the largest sort, with a Quantity of the largest sort of drawing paper to be sent to us...almost as large again as Imperial.

The field work was practically completed during 1772, but more than a year was required to finish the drawings, reports and statistics, and acivil servant, Jewell Call, was attached to help. In submitting his report Barnard writes:

Regarding the State of the Country, and the improvements which might be made, I had recourse to the records which are kept in every village; ...the insight I obtained of this matter was furnished me by the Interpreter appointed by Colonel Call: ....

The extract I caused to be made from the records contain the quantity, disposal, and appropriation, of the grounds in every village; the number of the Inhabitants, with their possessions and privileges, where they are entitled to any; also the total of cattle in every village.

He also comments on the system of farming out the rents, and the oppression that resulted.

Other surveys of less importance followed. In 1776 Dugood was employed on a survey of the "Home Farms" near Madras [94], but was transferred before he could complete it;

1 Dost Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, c. 1740. 2 MFC. 6-3-67. 3 MMC. 10-7-69. 4 M to CD. 27-6-69 (13). 5 M to CD. 26-2-72 (100). 6 MRC. 30-12-74.
From Mr. Dalrymple I had no written Orders...relative to the particular business; the verbal ones, to the best of my memory, were.

To draw it on a large scale so that everything might be shown, & he approved of the scale of 220 yards to an inch. That it should be executed with a Pen for the purpose of being engraved from. That the Paddy Grounds, Estates, Water Canals, etc., should be exactly surveyed. And when he last saw it, he approved of the method and desired it to be continued.

I likewise now deliver you a part of the Survey of the Jaghir by Mr. Barnard, and an old Plan of St. Thomas Redoubt, both of which I received from Mr. Dalrymple. Mr. Beaton has surveyed & drawn a correct Plan of this Building with a Pen, as per Mr. Dalrymple's directions.

In 1785 it is recorded that three surveyors were employed "when absolutely necessary" on the "Company's Lands", presumably at Madras, under the Committee of Circuit [inf], which had been reconstituted in 1780.

In 1788 Norris, of the Engineers, was employed under the Chief Engineer on surveying grounds for new settlers in certain village areas near Madras, and reports,

It is my duty as a surveyor to inform the Board of Revenue, on examining the Papers originally made out by Mr. Barnard 14 years ago, with the grounds, that my survey considerably exceeds his, and on a comparative view...all advantages to the cultivators is at least 1% under rated.

And in 1791 the Chief Engineer reports that,

There is but one Engineer, Lieutenant Norris, now on that Establishment [Surveying]; he has been employed of late in surveying and adjusting claims in particular places of the Jaghir for the Board of Revenue.

Beyond the Jaghir and the Northern Circars the Company possessed no other lands under the Presidency of Fort St. George except small areas at Cuddalore and Devicottai which were surveyed in 1775 by George Cadogan, of the Civil service.

NORTHERN CIRCARS, 1774–83

Revenue surveys in the Northern Circars were few and scattered; in 1774, Andrew Scott, a civil servant "having recommended himself by a knowledge of Drawing & Surveying" was appointed to survey "the Home Farms under Masulipatam...to begin with the southernmost first?".

In 1775, during the governorship of Lord Pigot, the Directors ordered an investigation of the resources of the Company's territories on the Coast, with a view of their better development; another object of your early attention must be to acquire a complete knowledge of those territories which have been granted to the Company on the Coast of Choromandel, and to establish a judicious and permanent system for their future management.

And being well assured that the Jaghir Lands and Northern Circars, and especially the latter, will be found capable of answering this desirable purpose, if duly explored and properly regulated, [recommend] a Committee of Circuit to tour the country and report on its resources...and devise a system of control for revenue purposes.

A Committee was then appointed to tour the Northern Circars to ascertain with all possible exactness the produce of the Country, the State of the Manufactures, the fortified places, the gross amount of the Revenues.

Alexander Dalrymple was a member of this Committee, and being also a member of the Council, saw that the committee was supplied with the best available maps; nothing came of this, for the committee was broken up during the upheaval that occurred the following year [256].

In 1776 Maxtone, who had been helping Johnston in the survey of Vizagapatam District [94], made a two-inch survey of "Wooratla" pargana, and afterwards...
REVENUE SURVEYS

surveyed all the Zemindary of Sattiavaram and the Hively lands of Casia Cotah; also a Purugunna named Uppulam Pykanadoo, adjoining to Sattiavera.

In 1788 Lennon [100] was stationed at Rajahmundry, and in reporting on surveys he had made up the Godavari [105], recommended the systematic survey of cultivated lands in the Circars.

The proper management of the Revenues of this Country can derive no greater assistance from anything than good geographical plans of all the separate districts, upon a scale sufficiently large to set clearly before the view the different kinds of Soil, and the exact quantity of cultivated ground, to ascertain the precise limits & boundaries of each division, ...and particularly point out the possibility of Improvement of Cultivation ...

To have exact and expressive plans of these (the Haviley Lands, in the Ganjam, Chicolose, & Masulipatam Districts), after the mode of Mr. Bernard’s Map of the Jaghire, would, I conceive, be a very desirable object.

I therefore propose to make surveys of each, to lay down every village, the nature of each soil, the quantity & quality of arable ground, the Tanks & Reservoirs of Water

Nothing so ambitious was undertaken when Topping was sent up four years later [105], when the Directors particularly ordered, this should be a mere Land Survey expressing the kind of land, without any reference to the value, which might raise jealousy and discontent

SALEM & BARAMAHAL, 1792-9

The first successful ratiyatwari settlement was that made in Salem and Baramahal by Alexander Read [113], who held charge of these districts as Superintendent of Revenue, one of his assistants being Thomas Munro, famous afterwards as a revenue administrator.

There was at this time, 1792, no successful policy of settling land revenue, either in Bengal, or in the Northern Circars and Jaghir of Madras. In the Circars, a considerable portion of the land was in the hands of Zemindars, who collected the revenue from the ryots, paying a fixed sum to the Government. The Zemindars, for the most part, employed farmers of the revenue, who made the collections from the ryots, and oppressed them grievously by unauthorized exactions. The persons thus employed were usually strangers to the country; they were employed equally in lands directly under Government.

Lord Cornwallis, in Bengal, adopted the permanent settlement with the Zemindars; the Madras Government...resolved otherwise. The Board of Revenue issued instructions to Read, providing for the settlement being made with the ryots individually, for in the greater part of the Baramahal there were no Zemindars ...

For the first year temporary arrangements were made for the collection of the revenue, with the aid of such village accounts as were forthcoming, and then a survey & assessment of each division was set on foot.

The Ryotwari system does not involve the annual settlement of the rate of assessment; all that is inquired into each year is the extent of each ryot’s holding, as he has the option to give up, or diminish, or extend his holding from year to year. He is at liberty to sublet his property, or to transfer it by gift, sale, or mortgage. He cannot be ejected by Government so long as he pays the fixed assessment, fixed for 30 years.

This the system which, originated in its main features by Read in the Baramahal, and extended in after years by the powerful advocacy of Munro, has long prevailed in the greater part of the Madras Presidency and in the adjoining Presidency of Bombay.

We have no particulars about the manner in which Read’s revenue survey was carried out; it was obviously done by native measurers under the close personal supervision of himself and his three military assistants, and involved the measurement and assessment of the holdings of “upwards of 80,000 farmers”. Read’s great contribution to revenue administration was his code of regulations for working a settlement directly with the ryitals. It was left to Munro ten years later in the Ceded Districts [119 n.3] to work out a code of “Survey Regulations”, whereby a field-to-field survey should be carried out with a staff of native surveyors under the

1 Satyavaram, 65 K/11; Kasimcott, 65 K/14; Havelli lands or Government estats, CD to M. 9-5-07. (51).
2 Oriental Repository, Vol. II.
3 CD to M. 16-5-92 (11).
4 Governor of Madras 1830-7.
5 Arbuthnot (xi, xliii).
minimum of European supervision. In their report submitted with Read’s records of the survey 1 the Board of Revenue write in 1799, The whole of his records have...been divided into 22 sections, and when finished will form in all 60 folio volumes. [In the] 22nd section...he proposed to devise such a mode of management as may best suit the state of the country, the condition of the inhabitants, and ensure, if possible, under these circumstances a permanent revenue to Government.

We believe no investigation of revenue affairs, so able, so comprehensive and laborious, has ever been made by any European in India, as that exhibited in the Land and Geographical surveys of Colonel Read and his assistants. ... We have...been...anxious to reap the advantage...of this extensive information, towards the attainment of the ultimate object of his appointment, a permanent settlement of Revenue in the Ceded countries².

One of Read’s regulations declared the assessment to be fixed for ever, but this was never accepted by Government, and within 10 years Government introduced the muñadars system, under which the greater part of the land in Salem was parcelled out into estates, and sold by public auction to muñadars who acted as rent collectors; this system eventually failed, and Read’s ryotwari system re-introduced with modifications, and in some places enhancement of rent³.

A After the Mysore War of 1799, and the death of Tipu, the Salem District was enlarged by the cession of the small district of Hosur, and the Collector, who had been one of Read’s assistants, asked that the survey should be extended to cover it;

From the observations which I have, already, been enabled to make on the state of these newly acquired districts, in which I find the assessments of the villages extremely unequal, it appears to me of great importance to the future amelioration of Revenue, that the acknowledged benefits derived from an actual Survey and valuation of the lands, should, as early as possible, be extended to them.

Should your Board authorize the immediate adoption of this salutary measure, establishments, consisting of experienced Measurers and Surveyors who were employed in the Baramahal, can soon be formed, and I imagine that the whole may be completed within two years, at the expense of about Pagodas 8000⁴.

Government replied that they had no objection to so useful a measure as the Survey proposed by the Collector of Salem, previously to his settlement of a jumma bundy for the districts⁵.

Read’s survey and settlement of the Salem and Baramahal Districts was the prototype of the present Indian system of cadastral surveys.

Assistant Revenue Surveyors, 1795–1800

In sanctioning the surveying school in 1794 [284] Government had desired that the boys should be trained for carrying out all surveys of a revenue nature⁶, and it was not long before demands for their services came in from one Collector after another; for example, in 1795 the Board of Revenue wrote in regarding the Northern Circars,

Having been informed by Government that they were not in possession of any correct map defining the extent, limits, and relative situation of the Zemindaries in the five Circars, it is much to be wished that a Geographical Survey of the whole could be obtained, and when the establishment of Surveyors under Mr. Topping is sufficiently perfected to commence on the work, we shall hope to obtain a more comprehensive map, shewing the villages of each Fugunamah or Taluk, the Tanks, watercourses, and other particulars necessary in a revenue survey [167–9].

For the professional supervision of these young surveyors Goldingham was appointed Inspector of Revenue Surveys [285], and drafted instructions [114];

I propose a General, and then a particular Survey; the first is to exhibit a general view of the country and its divisions, to enable the Board to have before them the relative situation of Places...while the detailed Revenue Survey is going on, which from its minuteness (and that forms its use and excellence) will require much labour and time.

---

¹ There was no attempt to map the measurements made. ² Arbuthnot, I (2).
 Whilst the general survey proceeded, the Collector of the district was to be asked to have certain information about the villages collected from the inhabitants, so as to be ready by the time the particular survey was taken up.

In this particular survey, run the instructions,

You will survey each Taluk or Purgunnah in the District, by finding the contents of all the lands in each village, ...and in laying down your work you will distinguish each Purgunnah by different colours, but every village belonging to it by the same colour; you will ascertain the number of houses and inhabitants in each village, the number of cattle, sheep, ploughs and looms; the measures, weights, and current coins; the tenure by which the lands are held; the Cirar share of the crops, and the share of the inhabitants when a division takes place: ... when a money rent is paid for a particular measurement of lands the measure and rate of assessment to be stated; the estimated produce of a certain measure of paddy, lands of different sorts, and of dry grain lands; the average price of paddy and dry grains in different years; you will also take drawings of the different implements of husbandry, and their dimensions, mentioning of what wood made. To enable you to obtain this information and the materials necessary to fill up all the other points in the forms, exclusive of the measurement of lands and Geographical part of the survey, and to aid your enquiries connected therewith, the Collector will appoint one or more intelligent persons to attend you, or he will himself furnish you with the particulars required.

You will survey all Tanks, yaries, Tongels, and wells used in cultivation, note the means whereby they are filled, whether such means may be improved, the state of the bank, the state of the sluices for conveying the water to the Fields, and of what materials built; if not of brick and chunam, always make an estimate of the expense of building new ones with those materials: ...you will estimate the expense of all the repairs necessary, and the benefit to be derived in consequence, and this is to be done by ascertaining the quantity of land at present watered by such a tank, and how many crops it yields. ... As great judgement and care, with a knowledge of the level of the country, are requisite to take water out of its natural course, nothing of this sort should be attempted without a particular examination of the country. ...besides an exact calculation both of expense and advantage; this will be done on the large scale by the Superintendent of Tanks, who will receive the greatest assistance from your inquiries [142]. ...

You must also ascertain if any of the old channels from Rivers, suffered to fill up, can be cleared with advantage to the country.

This was indeed a formidable programme to set before young boys just out of school, but this wide field of statistical enquiry was a feature of all revenue surveys for the next fifty years; Government did not now accept it in full;

Though the instructions, which Mr. Goldingham has proposed for the native surveyors, are extremely well adapted to the acquisition of useful information, they comprise a very essential part of the duties of the Collectors themselves. ... For this reason the Board are desirous that Mr. Goldingham's instructions and correspondence should be strictly confined to the scientific part of the surveys; but, as the foregoing detailed instructions, with the proposed forms, appear to be well calculated for regulating the inquiries of the Collectors, the Board think that the best means of making them useful, and of avoiding the interference which they apprehend, is to transmit them by the authority of the Board of Revenue to the Collectors.

In sending out the three young surveyors to work under the Collector of Dindigul [114], the Board of Revenue wrote to the Collector,

Although the Board have pointed out what appears the best mode of proceeding, they must leave it to the Collector to take such measures as may appear to him best calculated to obtain with the greatest accuracy the information required by the forms annexed to the instructions, exclusive of the measurement and discrimination of the lands, and the geographical part of the survey; ...

and further,

that Mr. Goldingham is appointed "Inspector of Revenue Surveys", and that the Assistant Surveyors are to report to Mr. Goldingham through him on points relating to the scientific part of the survey; and that when all the materials are collected, they are to be brought down to his office to be arranged, protracted, and the astronomical observations computed under his immediate inspection.

The boys were first employed on the survey of disputed lands, but they were not sufficiently experienced to give the Collector all the help that he wanted; for

1M. Rev. Bd. 22-12-96. 2MRC. 30-12-96. 3M Rev Bd. 30-1-97.
besides wanting a complete geographical survey, he required assistance in dealing with the various sources of Revenue to be enquired into; the many translates of schedules; the constant and bitter complaints against the Amins and their Cacharies, to which I am obliged to give an attention which delays the information I am preparing for your Board.  

As the oldest of these boys sent to Dindigul was only 18 years of age, whilst the youngest was 15, it was hardly to be expected that they could give much assistance beyond the simplest of measurements or plans. What the Collectors really wanted at this time were experienced geographical surveyors such as Mather [163-5], and competent European assistants to supervise their native amins and measurers, such as Read had in Salem & Baramahal. The Collector of Guntur expressed the general need of all district officers at this time, when asking for the services of Captain Orr to take a survey of this Circair, more particularly to enquire into its extent. Boundaries, Divisions, Soil, Cultivation, Produce &c., which subjects are at present but partially and indifferently known from the representations of Natives, generally ignorant, frequently interested in misleading the Collector. It is therefore an object very much to be desired that a Person of known integrity and sufficient ability would undertake the labor of such a survey, which the Collector from his other avocations is not able to execute.  

Orr could not be spared, but two boys were sent up from Goldingham’s school [115].  

In the course of a few years a great deal of valuable work was turned out by these Assistant Surveyors, more particularly in providing district officers with general maps shewing the main topographical features, villages, and internal boundaries, but the only district maps of this nature existing in Madras in the year 1800 were Barnard’s map of the Jägir, and Mather’s map of Baramahal.

**Bombay**

It is from Bombay that we have the earliest record of a survey carried out in India, a Mr. Herman Blake being appointed “Engineer and Surveyor General” in 1670, and spending several months on a survey to show the “Works” and rights of property, which illness prevented him from completing. Other proposals for similar surveys are recorded in 1679, 1710, and 1747, but nothing is known of any action that followed.

In 1772 it was agreed that, an exact and accurate survey should be made of the whole Island, that the situation of these Villages, &c. of all the Honour Company’s Carts & Grounds may be exactly laid down as well as those of all Persons whatever... under the directions of the Collector, whom the... Principal Engineer must furnish with the most skilful persons for doing it.

The Collector estimated that the expense would amount to Rs. 3,912 for 18 Months, the time supposed necessary to complete it, including the pay to one Surveyor, &... that Lieutenant Turner is desirous of undertaking it alone, which as we are of Opinion he is a very fit & proper Person for the undertaking is therefore Agreed to [122]. ...

It may be begun as soon as the Season will admit.

Turner appears to have made a start on the survey with the assistance of Cadet Whiteman, but had to break off almost at once to accompany the expedition to Broach in November 1772, and a year later orders were sent to Brench for his return to Bombay “for Compleating the Survey of the Islands” as no record has been found of his actual work on this survey, and it is possible that the survey carried out by Reynolds and Sartorius in 1754 and 1755 may have been in the same connection [120].

---

2. *M. Rev. Bd. 5-1-88.
5. *Groves of coconut palms.
7. *Ib. 2-8-72.
8. *Ib. 10-10-73.
Chapter X

ASTRONOMICAL CONTROL, BENGAL


The value of the essential elements of latitude and longitude for indicating geographical positions had been realised as early as the second century A.D. by the Greek geographer Ptolemy [207], who, besides writing the *Almagest*, a treatise on astronomy, left a list of places with their geographical co-ordinates.

Both the Hindu astronomers of India and the Muslim astronomers of Arabia and Persia were indebted to the work of the Greeks. Hindu astronomy was at its height between A.D. 400 and 1100; whilst of the Muslim astronomers Nasir-al-Din was born in A.D. 1201, and Ulugh Beg, who founded a large observatory at Samarqand, was assassinated in 1449.

European astronomy made very little advance after the death of Ptolemy, and gained most of its knowledge of Greek astronomy through the Arabs.

The chief instrument was the astrolabe [206], but the Arabs also used quadrants and sextants, whilst massive masonry instruments were favoured because of their stability, and the ease with which their arcs could be graduated and read [157].

The Muslim astronomers followed Ptolemy’s example in preparing tables of geographical positions, but without distinguishing positions obtained from actual observation from those which were calculated from their estimated distances and directions from known places [pl. 10 n.1].

Both D’Anville and Rennell drew largely from these tables, D’Anville writing:

The situation of Kabul in 33° by Ebn-Maruph and the Astronomical Canon quoted by Gellus...should be corrected to 33°, without which the North of India would be contracted about a degree, which would occasion a remarkable distortion of several situations, particularly of Lahore and Kandahar, whose latitude appears to be pretty exact.

Kandahar is placed in the latitude of 31° by Nasir-ud-din and Uleg Beg, whose tables, among all those of the East, are most to be relied on. A Persian geographer...and the Turkish geographer agree in this. The Eastern astronomers have computed the difference of longitude, between Kandahar and Kabul, about 2°... The errors in the tables of Nasir-ud-din and Uleg Beg extend to the position of Benares, which the table makes 26°...  

Discussing the position of Delhi, Rennell writes,

To the list of dates must be added the latitudes and longitudes of the tables of Nasereddin and Uleg Beg; which...do not always agree in particulars. But we shall find them accord... in a sufficient number of points, to satisfy the reader that there is no violent disagreement in the chain of positions.

Rennell also makes use of tables from the *Ain-i-Alhari* [133 n. 3];

Latitude of Lahore by the Oriental Tables, 31° 30’. The table in the *Ayin Acbarre* (Vol. III, p. 53) places Sialkote in lat. 33°6’... again,

The *Ayin Acbarre* is much out. The difference on a medium here is 11’ in each degree too much. From such kind of materials, nothing very accurate can be expected; and therefore

Drawn from the enlargement of Monserrat's map which follows p. 704 of Vol. III,
Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1910-14; by permission.
See notes on reverse.
Monserrate's original map was about 5½ by 4½ inches in size; black for coast-line and place-names, red for rivers and their names, brown for mountains.

This enlargement is an exact copy of his border, rivers, sites, and coast-line; the hills have been simplified, and selected names re-written.

The map was drawn about 1590, and embodied in Monserrate’s Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius, the MS. of which, being discovered at Calcutta in 1906, was edited by Father Hosten, SJ., and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1914. Appendix C and plate XII of Hosten’s paper give a full description and an enlargement of the map.

Neither D’Anville nor Rennell knew of Monserrate’s map or surveyed route, but the survey was used by Call and Wilford, 1782–5 [11, 149].

The route ran from Surat, through Delhi, to Kābul, and many astronomical latitudes were observed; but, making Surat east of Goa instead of west, Monserrate made his whole map between Agra and Kābul four degrees too far to the east [149].

Monserrate gives a better idea of the Himalaya mountains and the upper courses of the Punjab rivers than Rennell did nearly 200 years later, but he had no knowledge east of the Jumna, as is evident from his depiction of the Ganges and Patna.

His longitudes are probably counted from the Pope’s line as revised by the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, which, being defined as 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, was about 40 degrees west of Greenwich; see article by S. E. Dawson in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2nd Series, Vol. V.

Note the symbol — used over vowel to denote a nasal sound, e.g. Gōgis for Ganges.

See also page 209, and an article by Father McFarland SJ. in the New Magazine, Calcutta, Dec. 1939, No. 60, X (473–86).
I have never had recourse to them but in a very few cases, where every other species of information has failed.

Tieffenbalther [11] writes of these early tables,
Voici maintenant les positions que je tire de ces Géographes Orientaux; Agra 26° 43’ N. 115° E. Panipat 28° 52’ N. 113° 20’ E. Delhi 28° 39’ N. 113° 25’ E. Kaboul 34° 30’ N. 114° 40’ E.

 Quiques la Latitude assignées ici à quelques unes de ces villes s’accorde assez avec la véritable, la plupart cependant en diffèrent en plus ou en moins. Les erreurs sont plus fort es encore à l’égard de la Longitude. Il est impossible, par exemple, que celle de Delhi soit de 113° 25’ si celle de Kaboul est de 114° 40’.

Reviewing Rennell’s Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan [213, 214], Duperron writes,
Cet habilé Géographe croit avoir découvert que Caboul & Candahar sont plus Ouest, au moins d’un degré, que M. D’Anville ne les fait, quoique probablement moins qu’ils ne sont dans l’Ain Akbar; de même que le cours de l’Indus est beaucoup plus occidental. Il diffère du Géographe français de près de deux degrés pour la distance en longitude, du Cap Mόsa, extrémité Ouest des bouches du Sinde, à Bombay.

We now come to the valuable observations made by the Jesuit missionaries, and begin with Father Monserrate [11] who left a list of over 100 positions recorded on his march from Surat to Fatehpur Sikri in 1780, and on to Jabābād the following year. Neither D’Anville nor Rennell appear to have known of this list, but at least some part of it was in the possession of Wilford [pl. 10 n.], who used Monserrate’s latitudes for Kalānour and Āttock, and notes that,
As his observations of the Latitude from Surat to Delhi are very accurate, we may suppose he was equally so in these others.

Monserrate’s list includes a large number of places which he never visited, and does not distinguish positions fixed by actual observation; however, from a comparison of about 20 identified points along his route, his latitudes have a mean error of about 11 minutes, and some at least of these would have been observed.

He cannot possibly have made any astronomical observations for longitude; he places Surat about 2 degrees too far east with reference to Goa, and accumulated a further easterly excess of 2 degrees on his journey to Agra; he holds this error with little further change along the measured route through the easy ground of the Punjab [pl. 10 n.].

We have already referred to the remarkable journey of Fathers Gruéber and d’Orville from Pekin to Agra in 1681-2 [69]; Gruéber had been specially trained in astronomy before he left Europe, and during his stay at Surat had observed the latitude, 10° 16’ 39” and calculated the longitude from a lunar eclipse; both he and d’Orville worked at the Pekin observatory under Father Adam Schull before they started for India, and amongst the latitudes they fixed by astrolabe were Siringth, 36° 20’ N., L’hass, 29° 6’ [69], and Patna, 24° 44’ 12” [150]. Wesells points out that,
Nearly all of Gruéber’s latitudes are too low by 3° on an average. Already Fathers Regis and Jartoux noticed this deviation when marking their cartographical determinations. Du Halde is of opinion that most probably his instruments were at fault, or else, perhaps, he did not take sufficient account of the sun’s diameter.

Pekin observations were of value to observers in India, and D’Anville records that,
By an observation at Fatehpur [18] of an immersion of the first satellite compared with one made at Pekin some days afterwards, the difference of meridians between Fatepur and Pe-kin is concluded to be...35° 30’ and some odd minutes. Between Paris and Pe-kin, according to the mean result of a great number of observations, which I had from father Regis, the difference of longitude is 114° 10...[giving] longitude of Fatepur...3° and some minutes [10].

Of all the Jesuit missionaries, Father Boulier is probably the best known astronomer, but it is well to introduce him by telling first of Raja Jai Singh Sawai of Jaipur, who

ruled his state from 1669 to 1742, and is the royal astronomer to whom India owes the famous observatories of Jaipur, Delhi, Mymuru, Ujain, and Benares.

A most interesting account of Jai Singh and his observatories has been written by Kaye. His observatory at Delhi, well known as the Jantar Mantar, was completed about 1724, and restored by the Maharaja of Jaipur in 1910–11.

The Raja had for many years made great progress...with the aid of his Brahmin experts, but the time came when he desired to test his observations with the help of European science. About 1728 he sent Father Figueredo home to Portugal for training, and received out, amongst other books, a copy of La Hire's Astronomical Tables. Finding that "the position of the moon as ascertained by the observations of his astronomers differed slightly from that given in the Tables", he wrote to Chandernagore for help, and Fathers Pons and Claude Boudier left Chandernagor on the 6th of January, 1734, stopped at Patna in the house of the Capuchins, stopped at the college at Agra, and at the Observatory of the Rajah of Delhi, and then proceeded to Jayapore, where they worked during August and September 1734.

Regarding the position of Jaipur, D'Anville writes,

Its latitude at the observatory in the raja's palace is 26° 56' North; we have also an observation of the longitude given us; for by an observation of a Lunar eclipse, in the month of December 1732, made at Jaipur by the Raja's brachmans, and compared with one made at Paris, father Boudier concludes the difference of meridians...74°3 all but 6' or 7', and an emersion of the first satellite, observed at Jaipur by father Boudier, makes it...74°3 all but 15', which agrees pretty well.

D'Anville records that Boudier's observation for latitude at Patna gave 25° 38', as against 25° 44' by Gruener, and how many essential situations are there in other parts...of India that we would be glad to find within 5 or 6 minutes of their true latitude.

Boudier's observations, taken on the way to Jaipur and back, and throughout his life in India, were frequently quoted. Amongst Orme's papers is a list of his observations between Jaipur, Calcutta, and Balsore, "par rapport à l'observatoire royal de Paris à Jaipur."

Father Noti has published a description of Jai Singh's observatory at Jaipur, as given by tieffenthaler in 1751, and continues,

Jai Singh died in 1743...and the observatory of Jayapore soon lost its prestige. Boudier and Gabelberger having also died, Father Ströbel was the only surviving member of the batch of European astronomers there. Two years later, 1745, Ströbel received an invitation from the Great Mogul to come to Delhi, presumably to take charge of the observatory of that city.

We have already referred to Father Tieffenthaler's travels and observations that were so great a contribution to geography [11]. Noti records the following passages regarding his astronomical observations;

As a rule, Tieffenthaler had at his disposal only a quadrant for latitudes, and an armillary astrolabe...for longitudes. In other cases he calculated the longitude by the mileage...from another place, the longitude of which was known to him. From time to time there occurred some phenomena in the sky, such as the occultation of one of Jupiter's moons...or a lunar eclipse. "At Goa...in 1743", he writes "on the 4th of November, at 2 p.m." I observed Mercury...passed across the disk of the sun; but owing to the lack of instruments I was unable to watch either the ingress or the egress." He assigned Goa a latitude of 15° 10' N. Thenceforward he kept a register of the latitudes of all places at which he was able to measure the sun's meridian altitude. This register is lost, and only about 100 values are given in his geography.

On 2nd February 1744, he was already at Surat, to observe the occultation of Jupiter by the moon;...71° 30' E. of Greenwich. Having also measured the sun's meridian altitude, he registered for Surat a northern latitude of 21° 5' [176 n.2].

26th April 1744, observed lunar eclipse at Damann...

Latitude of Agra by altitudes of the San. May 1st, and, 3rd, 1745; 27° 15' N; visited Mymuru to see the Observatory of Jai Singh. Longitudes of Agra, March 7th 1747, by lunar eclipse 76° 13' E...May 26th, 1747, Latitude of Delhi, 28° 25' N...
On his journey from Narwar to Bombay, 1750... he visited the astronomical observatory of the late Rajah Jey Singh [at Oojain], which consisted of only the most necessary astronomical apparatus. Making use of it, he assigned Oojain a latitude of 23° 12'.

Tieffenhaller's observations, however, were not accurate enough for more detailed maps, and Duperron had difficulty in assembling his maps of the Ganges and Gogra rivers [11-2] on account of his uncertainty both of the length adopted for the sides, and the positions of controlling stations.

Knowledge of the coast line of India came first from early mariners, of all nationalities, who observed their position at sea and off the coast, taking latitudes by sextant or astrolabe, following point to point along the coasts by compass bearings and estimating their longitudes. It will be seen from plates 3 and 16 of this volume how accurately they fixed the latitudes of the more striking coastal features, even so early as the 15th century. The most notable of these navigators was the Frenchman Après de Mannevillette, who used a Hadley's quadrant as early as 1736, when it was definitely regarded as an English instrument [199].

Rennell's Maps of Bengal, 1760-77

At the middle of the 18th century latitude could be readily determined by observing the meridian altitude of sun or star, but the determination of longitude was a very different matter; observers had to wait for some favourable phenomenon, such as an eclipse of sun, moon, or Jupiter's satellites in a clear sky; the observation was then of little value unless it corresponded with a similar observation at some known place, and even then the tables available for working out results were far from correct [163]. It is therefore not surprising to find that, though Rennell and his contemporaries made frequent observations for latitude, it was but seldom that they observed for longitude. Though Rennell made use of any available observations for his detailed surveys, he mostly relied for longitude on actual measurement by ground survey.

The determination of longitude was of such importance for navigation, that the British Government had long offered a reward for some sure means of effecting it [202]. An Act of Parliament was passed as late as June 1774, offering rewards for either "a Time keeper, the Principles whereof have not hitherto been made public", or for "improved Solar and Lunar Tables"; the reward to be £ 5,000, if such method determines the said Longitude to one Degree of a Great Circle, or Sixty Geographical Miles; ... £ 7,500, if it determines the same to Two Thirds of that Distance; and... £ 10,000, if it determine the same to one half of the said distance", and provision was made for satisfactory tests by the "Commissioners for the discovery of the Longitude at Sea" [154].

Plaisted, the first surveyor employed as such in Bengal, was, being a sailor, a skilled observer of latitudes, and on his survey of the Chittagong coast in 1760-1, used mostly observations to the sun [14].

On his survey of Verelst's march to Cachar two years later [82], he notes on his map that "The Latitudes are taken with Headly's Quadrant by Reflection in Water and may be depended on".

Rennell also, from the very beginning of his surveys, took regular observations for latitude. He further observed for the variation of his compass, often in regular sailor fashion at the close of the day when pole-star and horizon were both visible, and at other times "by y Sun's Amplitude". For his first two years he worked out his latitudes to the nearest minute only, but from 1767, to 15 seconds; he allowed for refraction at the round figure of 50 seconds.

He writes in his journal on December 18th 1764,

By an Observation of Latitude taken this day about four miles below the mouth of the Megna, I find myself in 22° 40', and being now at least 20 miles from the Sea, it appears that the old Maps have laid down the Latitude of the Mouth of the Ganges much too far Northerly; for instance M. d'AnVILLE places it in 22° 36' or thereabouts, ...whereas the ...Ganges Mouth must be about 22° 20' N. 1

At the end of 1766 Rennell had to re-survey part of the Tista because Richards had been without an "instrument for taking the Latitudes" [24]; on the other hand there is a note on the map of Midnapore by Adams and Carter.

The Latitudes and Longitudes were laid down from those of Midnapore, the former being settled for that place by more than 40 observations of the sun and different stars at 22° 25' 9" North, and the latter, by many observations on the Eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites, at 35° 49" 20', or 87° 20' East from Greenwich.

The following is an example of the instructions Rennell gave to his surveyors:

Should you find it impracticable or extremely difficult to measure the distance between Benares & the South Boundary [35], a correct line of bearing with the difference of latitude by observation between the two places will suffice, as the direction is so nearly meridional [20]. An observation must be taken at the northern extreme of your survey, and if opportunity offers at Musanagar, Bareilly, and Lucknow. Azimuths or amplitudes for determining the variation of the needle should frequently be taken, and with the same instrument that you commonly take the angles with [201].

In general, Rennell considered that the traverse measurements throughout his survey of Bengal agreed well with the astronomical observations.

The distances were measured, and they accorded with the observations of latitude and longitude; with the former minutely, and with the latter so nearly that it was unnecessary to make any correction.

The distances in the Map were measured with all possible exactness. As a proof of it I need only mention that an arch of the Meridian containing 4 degrees so measured scarce wanted any correction. The observations of Longitudes too (which were taken previous to the commencement of the Survey) show that the difference of Longitude is generally true.

Claud Baudier...makes the longitude of Benares to be 80° 47' E. from Paris, or from Greenwich 83° 07'.

9° 45'...Plaisted's Longitude of Islamabad.

8° 38'...Difference.

By mensuration the difference of Longitude between these places (which are in the extremes of the Map) is about 8° 36'; not that I would insinuate by any means that either observations of Longitude can be taken with such minute exactness, or that it is probable that the admission of an error in the course of a general survey could be attended with so trifling an error.

Discussing the agreement of longitudes Dalrymple also writes,

I do not mean to insinuate that any two astronomical observations can be confided in for the determination of so small a distance as a mile... and to illustrate the wide divergence that was possible, Plaisted's value may be compared against a value for Chittagong "calculated by P. Barbier, missionaire Jésuite français...93 degrés10", which would be 95° 20' East of Greenwich.

Anquetil-Duperron wrote in 1776, possibly thinking of conditions when he was in India nearly 20 years earlier,

All the leading nations...send their trading vessels, year after year, to the mouths of the Ganges, and they are ignorant even of the exact geographical position of the otherwise well-known city of Chattagh11 [14].

As regards latitude observations, Dalrymple writes as late as 1788,

To say that Latitudes, taken at Sea near Land, in the present state of Nautical Astronomy, cannot be depended on, at all times, to less than 5' or 6', will raise a snare, ... but my own Experience long since convinced me of this: the same thing is now found by careful Observers, to whatever cause it may be owing; ... yet the Latitude is supposed to be the Thing which may be conveniently relied on.12
Orme made a large collection of astronomical observations, including 27 latitudes which Rennell had considered sufficiently exact to "correct the general map" which Clive took home in 1767 [24]. Fifteen of these were observed by Rennell himself, two by Adams, one by Plaisted, and three by someone named Daw\(^1\). Others were:

- Latitude and longitude of Calcutta by Captain Thomas Howe [176]. March 1754. Zenith distance by Quadrant; Longitude by Jupiter's satellites\(^2\).
- Latitude; of Cattack and Sambulpur\(^3\), by Mr. Mallock and Captain Alleyne [30]; ... of Lucknow by Showers, taken in 1768 or 1769 with a Quadrant of 11 inches diameter\(^4\).

For his first Map of Hindostan Rennell took the latitude of Calcutta as 22° 38' N, and longitude as 88° 28' E\(^5\), by a medium of four different gentlemen: ... Hon. Thomas Howe 88° 33'; Rev. Mr. Smith 28°; Mr. Magee [inf.] 24°; Capt. Ritchie 26° [180–1].

### Transits of Venus, 1761, 69

From time to time there have been opportunities in India of observing the transit of Venus across the Sun's disc; a phenomenon which may be used for the determination of differences of longitude. In 1760, at the suggestion of the Royal Society, the Directors called for volunteers to contribute observations, and the Bengal Council reported:

In consequence of your directions...We delivered copies of the Instructions relative to the Transit of Venus to such gentlemen here as were inclined to make the observation. ... The only reports we have received are One from Mr. Plaisted taken at Chittagong, and one from Mr. Magee\(^6\) taken here, ...but for want of proper Instruments they are not of a sufficient exactitude to be of any material use\(^7\).

From Plaisted's observation the Astronomer Royal deduced the longitude of Islamábád 91° 45' already quoted.

The chaplain, William Hirst, describes his observations of this transit, made on June 6th 1761 at Madras in company with the Governor, Lord Pigot [143 n.8], and the Chief Engineer, John Call, and tells how he begged Mr. Call to take notice of the Penumbra, 'tis a 'coming'. All three observers pronounced contact with one voice\(^8\) [169].

In 1768 the Directors sent out a similar request, saying that observations of the expected transit will afford the only means of ascertaining some of the principal and hitherto unknown elements in Astronomy, and of improving both Geography and Navigation. ... Recommend to such of the Company's servants at Madras, Bombay, Bengoolen\(^9\)...as have been accustomed to Astronomical observation to prepare for, and exert themselves in this. ... Instruments required.

1. Reflecting Telescope. 2 ft. focus, with apparatus of smoked glasses.
2. A Pendulum Clock.
3. An Astronomical Quadrant, of 1 ft. radius at least, or in lieu of it, an Equal Altitude Instrument\(^10\).

De Glass [27], now employed at his gunfoundry at Dinapore, observed this transit with the aid of his assistants, using three quadrants, taking also the Sun's altitude, with the hour "exactly corrected and all the allowances made\(^11\)". Observers at Madras were not so successful, the Council reporting:

The Instruments which your Honors sent for observing the Transit of Venus having arrived in time, Mr. Call with the assistance of the other Engineers undertook to adjust every preparative for an accurate observation; but after taking great pains to regulate the time-keeper, and adjust the Instruments, the expected Observation was entirely frustrated by a change of weather coming on the 3rd June, which occasioned so cloudy a morning on the 4th,

---

\(^{1}\) Orme MSS. XI. \(^{2}\) ib. 67 (129). \(^{3}\) ib. 87 (130). \(^{4}\) ib. 8 (3). \(^{5}\) Memoir. 1768 (30); True values, 22° 34' N, 88° 22' E. \(^{6}\) William Magee, Notary Public, Calcutta. \(^{7}\) R to CD, 1-11-61 (313). \(^{8}\) Dalrymple, Memoir of a Chart of the Bay of Bengal (5). \(^{9}\) Phil. Trans. (III) 1761 (386). \(^{10}\) Company's station on SW. coast of Sumatra; exchanged later for Dutch settlements in India. \(^{11}\) CD to B.16-5-68.
that the Sun was not visible till 10 o'clock; the same ill success attended Monsr. Gentil [180 n. 3] sent purposely the year before from France to Pondicherry, and Mr. Stevens [92] who had fitted an apparatus at Masulipatam was equally disappointed.

The Instruments for Bombay could not possibly be sent thither in time1.

SMITH, PEARSE, AND OTHERS

There were always several of the Company's servants who were interested enough to take astronomical observations for their private amusement, and thus help the great cause of geography.

We have already noticed Thomas Howe, Captain of an East Indiaman; William Magee, Notary public; and the Reverend William Hirst who came out as a Naval Chaplain; but the most notable of all the astronomers on the Bengal side were the Reverend William Smith, and Thomas Deane Pearse of the Artillery.

Smith came to Calcutta as a private tutor, not in the Company's employ; he was an enthusiastic astronomer, who laid claim to the British Government reward [151] with his "Short and correct method of determining the Longitude at sea, by a single altitude of the Moon", and it was on account of his many skills as astronomer that he was selected to accompany Upton's mission to Poona in 1775 [30-1], to survey the country...in the most accurate manner he can, and by astronomical observations to ascertain the exact situations of the places2.

In his journal Smith devotes a full section to his astronomical observations;

The...Astronomical part is indeed the basis...with respect to the situation of places, for this determines the Latitude and Longitude of each.... Eclipses of Jupiter's satellites...occultations of stars by the moon, observed with 3½ ft. telescope by Dolland.... Latitudes from meridian altitudes of stars, some North, some South of the Zenith [200], also of Sun and Pole Star; which frequently gave the true Latitude within less than ½ of a mile, and ascertained the error of the Quadrant within a few seconds.

Before the mission started he recorded

meridian altitudes taken at Benares, September 20th to 23rd. I requested Captain Thomas Carter to take a set of altitudes with his quadrant, not much unlike mine [200],...which he took at a spot 200 yards from me. Longitude of Benares, found 3° 32" 56", or 83° 14' East from Greenwich, by Jupiter's Satellites3.

Smith's line, run across the centre of India, was of particular value from the regularity and care with which the astronomical observations were taken [31] and Bennell points out that between Kalpi and Sironji4, an interval of about 2 degrees, the difference of longitude as measured by Goddard's surveyor exceeds that observed by Smith by only four minutes5.

Before his return to England two years later Smith was able to observe latitudes at Bombay, Cochin and Calcutta [153].

Pearse commanded the Artillery in Bengal from 1768; he was an enthusiastic astronomer, and established an observatory at his private quarters at the Treasury Gate, Fort William, where he made regular astronomical and meteorological observations. A continuous series of his observations for latitude and longitude, from 1774 to 1779, was published in Asiatic Researches with a detailed description of all his instruments and apparatus. From his observations of Jupiter's satellites and lunar eclipses, he deduced a mean longitude for Fort William of 88° 22' 07", and from the altitude of 18 different stars observed with an 18-inch quadrant in 1776, he made the latitude 22° 33' 10"-556 [153 n. 5].

The Mysore War of 1781-4 gave him further opportunity of prosecuting his hobby during his famous marches to and from Madras [40-2]. During these journeys Pearse not only had the route traversed, but made a series of astronomical observations fixing the position of practically every important place along the coast,

---

1M to CD. 27-6-69 (63). 2BS & F. 24-7-75. 3True value 83° 01'; BM. Addl. MSS. 26213. 454 N/16. 54 H/12. 5Memoir. 1783 (24-5). 6As R. I 1784. (57-59).
with many intermediate ones\(^1\), whilst an almost greater contribution to geography was the training of his young assistant, Robert Colebrooke, to become an accurate observer and enthusiastic surveyor.

In various reports he writes,

In these hot climates the stars can be employed, for the Sun's heat at noon, after a long march, is really not to be borne by any constitution? \(^2\), ...

The latitudes were daily observed, and the result is entered on the tables. From the difference of latitude of the places where the satellites were observed, and the easting and westing of that place with respect to Madras taken from the tables, I calculated the angular difference of longitude which, added to the longitude of Madras, gives the longitude of the place by survey. The differences are such as must happen, because the satellites, observed with every degree of attention, will give different longitudes for the same place; and these differences will sometimes amount to 10 or 12 minutes of a degree, but the differences on this survey are all less\(^3\), ...

The difference of longitude between Madras and Fort William, derived from the reduced measure by the wheel and that calculated by observations of Jupiter's Satellites, differed... not quite five geographical minutes\(^4\).

Regarding the longitudes he further notes that Ichappor, Madras, Nellore, Pedlapur\(^5\) and Calcutta were observed by myself. Vizagapatam once by me, and once by Mr. Maxtone; ... and all the rest by Lieutenant Colebrooke\(^6\).

Of the longitudes at Vizagapatam:

October 3rd 1792\(^7\). ... The time was shewn by Mr. Russell's time-keeper, which was made by Arnold, and was regulated by the meridian line in his hall. ...

October 23rd. Emersion of Jupiter's 1st Satellite by Mr. Maxtone; ... Watch corrected by Mr. Russell's meridian line\(^8\).

Most officers surveying marches of troops made observations of latitude to the best of their ability, but this is not always definitely stated in their records. There is, for instance, no record of such observations along the survey of Goddard's route, though it is hardly likely that skilled surveyors such as Caldwell and Stewart would have failed to make them. On the other hand, for the return of the detachment in 1784, although the journals give no dates nor particulars of any survey, nor any surveyor's name, yet there are records of occasional observations of latitude by sextant; in fact the latitude of Handia\(^9\), on the Narbada was observed as 22° 25' by one sextant, and 22° 22' by another\(^10\).

A surveyor of high class was Ewart, formerly an officer of the Bombay Marine [42]. In his survey to Nagpur in 1781-82, he recorded his perambulator distances without bearings, but observed latitude to the nearest half minute every two or three days\(^11\).

The British Museum has a series of his astronomical observations taken between 1778 and 1781 and worked out on printed forms. For the first two years these were taken on board ship, but were afterwards continued at various stations in Bengal [167]. He observed longitudes by lunar distances when at sea, but on land turned to the satellites of Jupiter; latitudes were taken with a sextant of six inch radius by Ramsden, generally the mean of five sights. There is a note that,

Altitudes of observations taken on shore were all by reflection in oil, and the correction of the watch mostly by equal altitudes of the sun and stars\(^12\).

---

Reuben Burrow, 1785-9

In 1788 there arrived in Calcutta a most remarkable and talented man, Reuben Burrow, mathematician and astronomer, already aged 35 years. He had at one time been assistant to Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal\(^13\), and then for six years

\(^1\) Full details, As R. 1. (81.-121) & Colebrooke's Journals, D.N. 2 & 4. \(^2\) As R. 1 (86). \(^3\) Ben. P 167, VI. 231, 27-1-86. \(^4\) ib. VII. 120. \(^5\) Ichapporaram, 74 A/12; Nellore, 37 N/15; Pittaharam, 85 K/4. \(^6\) B.P. 167-1-86. \(^7\) During return from leave in Bengal, in charge of treasure [105]. \(^8\) As R. 1 (91). \(^9\) BM. Addl. MSS. 26910 (352 et seq.). \(^10\) Neville Maskelyne, b. 16-10-35; ed. Westminster; Ordained 1755; A.R. 1765 till d. 1811; D.N.B. Eng. Brit.
mathematical master to the Artillery cadets at the Tower of London; in which capacity he had been employed by the Board of Ordnance to make a survey of the coast of Essex and Suffolk, and also of the Woolwich Warren. His salary at the Tower was only £100 a year and, getting no extra allowance whilst on these surveys, he fell out with his principals. At the suggestion of Henry Watson, Chief Engineer at Fort William, he came out to Calcutta to pick up what work he could, and to follow up a scheme for studying the mathematical systems of the Hindus.

He at once interested himself in Hindu astronomy and was most anxious to be sent up to Benares to get into touch with the pundits there. The following extracts from an address he submitted to Warren Hastings gives the substance of his proposals:

The Information which has now obtained with regard to the ancient Literature of the Hindoos renders the preservation of its remains an object perhaps the most interesting of any to the Learned world.

M. Gentil [180 n. 3] in 1772 brought with him from the Coast of Coromandel Astronomical Tables of the Bramins of Trivour. It is certain that in Bengal there is a mean profession of people, who annually compile almanacks from ancient Tables and calculate eclipses with considerable exactness, but are altogether ignorant of the principles on which their calculations depend.

It is humbly suggested, therefore, that it is an object worthy of our monarch, the Sovereign of the Banks of the Ganges, to give such directions as may be necessary for discovering & translating whatever is extant of the ancient works of the Hindoos. The Astronomical Tables used in Bengal must be easily procured and, it is hoped, some treatises in the Sanscrit relative to them.

He then goes on to recommend a regular astronomical survey to serve as foundation for the geography of India, shewing but scant appreciation of the labours of earlier surveyors:

The Surveys of India are known to be remarkably defective, & there is great reason to believe that not a single place in India has had its Longitude properly determined except Pondicherry. The Latitudes are nearly in the same predicament, and indeed most of the English maps are made up of ideal chains of mountains & imaginary woods, taken piecemeal by pretended surveyors, & put together at random without either Longitude or Latitude, by people who were only solicitous to have a fine drawing, without any regard to exactness or to use; by these means the countries are horribly distorted in their positions, and Geography is so little benefited by such maps that they are a nuisance rather than an advantage, and there is no other proper method of correcting such surveys but by determining the positions of some of the most material points by Astronomical Observations; this would assist in putting the different surveys together; and as the Longitude of Benares, and others that might be deduced from it, would contribute in part to that purpose, a journey thither of course would be so far useful.

The opportunity of making Observations of the dip and variation of the compass might have their utility, not only in correcting the surveys, but in discovering the theory of magnetism. The nature of the Refraction and its variation with respect to the heat, moisture, and density of the air, would also be a very proper object of enquiry at Benares.

If the observer were furnished with a proper instrument it would also be advisable to find the moon's horizontal parallax; this would, in some respects answer the purpose of measuring a degree of the meridian, especially as the errors might be reduced to very small limits by a repetition of the observations; and this method has an advantage over that of measuring a degree, for it is not liable to be affected by the uncertain attraction of mountains.

If it was thought proper to send a person who was well acquainted with the theory and practice of Astronomy etc. with a small collection of good Instruments, to take the Latitudes and Longitudes of most of the particular towns and places in the Company's Territories and dependencies, he might not only collect materials for making a proper survey of those parts, and acquire information respecting the ancient and modern state of the country etc., but would also have an opportunity of making the best Collection of Astronomical and Physical Observations that has yet been offered to the Public; and if it was thought that umbrage might be taken at such a procedure by the natives, it might easily pass under the notion of measuring degrees of the meridian, or of Longitudes etc., to avoid suspicion.

In another letter he presses the advantages of making astronomical observations at Benares.

Fortunately for Astronomy there is a large Quadrant existing at Benares [159], which from the intent of its construction must necessarily have been placed in the plane of the meridian when the Observatory was erected. ... and as this Quadrant is an immovable structure of solid masonry...the transits and Altitudes of a number of stars may be taken with it, by a proper contrivance.¹

No immediate action was taken on these proposals; Warren Hastings who appears to have been interested left India early in 1785, and his successor was at one occupied in schemes of retrenchment and economy. It was not until 1787 that Burrow's scheme could be put into action. In the mean time early in 1784, he was, on Watson's recommendation, appointed mathematical master to the Engineer officers at Fort William [270]. In pressing the need for the instruction of these officers in astronomy, Watson had obviously strong grounds for writing.

The very great want of Astronomical knowledge in the Surveyors who have been employed by this Government has occasioned many repetitions of the same Survey, and great additional expense has in consequence been incurred. I will therefore venture to pronounce that expensive repetition must be continued, till a sufficient Number of Gentlemen of the Corps of Engineers are able to ascertain the Limits of their Surveys by Astronomical Observations.²

This dissatisfaction was shared by Call, on whose recommendation Burrow was appointed to carry out an astronomical survey such as he had first suggested. Burrow writes;

Some time about the commencement of the year 1787, Colonel Call (who had been Surveyor General & was then Chief Engineer) informed me that in constructing the New Map of India he had found so many contradictions and absurdities in the various Surveys, and so much difficulty in adjusting the places and principal positions of the different districts, that he was convinced of the incorrectness of the most considerable Latitudes and Longitudes; and therefore requested that I would consider the subject, and draw up a plan for determining their situations astronomically; with an estimate of the time it would take to be executed.

The intention was to fix the positions of the principal places in the Ganges and Burrampoostha Rivers; from the Hardwar, where the first leaves the mountains of Sirinagar, to the mouth of the Hoogly; and the second from Goalpara on the boundary of Assam, to the conflucx of the Megna with the Bay of Bengal; also the Coasts of Coromandel & Malabar, from Point Palmyras to Bombay; but as the most considerable difficulty was the adaptation of the business to the proper seasons of the year, so as to suffer the least impediment from the rains and changes of the Monscons, etc., I not only took considerable pains in forming a plan for the purpose myself, but also submitted it to the opinions of Colonel Pearse and others; and on this plan...it was supposed that the business might be finished in two years.

The business was recommended to Government by Col. Pearse and Col. Call, & approved of; but the Surveyor General (Major Wood) having considered it (though an astronomical business) as in some respects under his department, applied for, and procured, the superintendence of it; and in consequence I received a plan from him which differed most essentially from my own; with particular orders from the Government to obey Major Wood's instructions.³

These instructions were dated June 23rd 1787, two years being allowed to you for the finishing of this work. ... For the present you are not to proceed higher up the River than Patna. ... You are afterwards to return to the Coastward, and having fixed the latitude and longitude of Dacca, Goalpara and Chittagong, you will be pleased...to return to Calcutta...by the beginning of December, for the purpose of ascertaining the exact situation of the Southmost extreme of the Island of Sagor and Point Palimiras. ... Your being able to execute this service so early in the Season will greatly facilitate your progress along the Coast of Coromandel and Malabar, to which latter it will be necessary you should...have finished your observations by the middle of April, as on that period it is not only dangerous but difficult for vessels to Navigate that Coast. ...

From Cape Comorin you will proceed to Goa, Bombay, Surat and Diu.⁴

On your return to Calcutta you will receive further instructions respecting...places to the Northward of Patna. ... Ensign Blunt, of the Corps of Engineers, will accompany you on this service, for the success of which you have my best wishes.⁵

Government passed a bill for the following instruments which Burrow managed
to collect in Calcutta1 [204],

1 Arnold's Chronometer Sicca Rupees 1000  2 Marine Barometer &
Thermometer Sicca Rupees 140

1 Large Time piece 700  1 Astronomical Quadrant 200

1 15-inch Brass Sextant 250  1 Dolland's Achromatic
Telescope 350

and they wrote home,

That we might more effectually comply with your instructions for ascertaining the
position of the Principal Places in India, we determined to employ Mr. Reuben Burrow, a very
able Mathematician & Astronomer, to ascertain the Latitudes and Longitudes of several
places, as well on the Coasts as in the interior parts of India, by accurate Astronomical Observa-
tions. He is to have an addition of Rs. 500 to his Salary during the time of his being so
employed, which we imagine will not exceed 3 years.

He is to be accompanied by Ensign Blunt, of the Corps of Engineers, to whom we have
granted an allowance of Rs. 200 a month. Copy of Instructions to Mr. Burrow is enclosed4.

Burrow started up the river in July 1787;

I arrived at Nuddea1, a famous university of Brahmines, the 23rd July, and from observa-
tions made on an artificial mound at the North East part of the town, where the Cossimibazar
river joins with the Jellingy. I found the Latitude, from 8 stars (4 north & 4 south) to be

23° 25' 49" and the Longitude to be 5° 13' 18".

His programme both up and down the river was interfered with by bad weather;

This shows how necessary a proper consideration of the seasons is in every plan for con-
ducting a business of this nature in such a climate as India; and how little it had been consi-
cdered in that I was ordered to follow.

On this account he had to abandon observations at many important stations, and
leave them to the following year; on the other hand,

I took many places that were not in my orders, but as I made a particular point of losing
no time by it, & did the business at night when the boatmen were asleep, it could not have
the least effect in retarding any of the observations of the Surveyor General's Plan.

Leaving Patna for his return journey about September 25th, he made his way
down the Ganges to Dacca where he arrived on October 29th,

and found the place full of sickness and infection; the people were dying by heaps, and
we were immediately almost all taken sick; ... my assistant [Blunt] too was so very ill that
he was totally unable to proceed, and, to add to our misfortunes, we had forgot to wind the
watches up, so that I was under a necessity of staying longer at Dacca than I otherwise should
have done.

Having had many observations to make; the rates of the watches to find anew; stormy
weather; a horrid fever and nothing to take for it but some James' powder, which on examina-
tion I found to be counterfeit, I could not get away from Dacca before the 3rd November; I
had doubled the number of my boatmen, and provided as well as I could to encounter the
rapid current of the Burampooter; and on the 6th I got into the Luckia Nullah [209 p.6] with
the gout in both feet, stomach, and head at the same time. I lost some observations by my
illness but no time, for I had taken an enterprising sailor to oversee the people; and to get out
of the infectious air of Dacca was an additional motive for expedition. I was not, however,
able to observe till the 14th of November, & even then I was obliged to be carried by my
servants, and supported in such positions as the Observations required4. All this might
totally have been avoided had the plan I proposed been a little attended to in forming my
instructions.

The expedition up the Brahmaputra was one long toil and trouble;

Being ill all night with the Gout, I slept a little in the morning, and did not for some time
keep the account. ... The river is so full of islands, and we are driven so irregularly by the
stream, and what angles I take I am obliged to do in bed on account of the Gout, so that few
things of any consequence can be got ...

Sent a man to buy milk & above 20 people ran out with bamboos to kill him. All the way
from Dacca to here, nobody will sell anything ... .

Killed a Herreal Snake as green as grass; it was a yard long, and 1 of an inch in diameter
at the thickest part; it took 18 blows to kill it, and was tougher than leather; its mouth was
an inch long; they are very deadly and it is difficult to distinguish them from a blade of long
grass [19]. ...
The country has almost been destroyed by floods; a most wretched object, who evidently was not a kiker, came to beg, and said that he had 5 children starving to death, & one of them at that instant dying; there was such horror in his look & behaviour, and such astonishment when I gave him a rupee, that I had no doubt of the truth of what he said; indeed we were almost starved ourselves, as we could buy nothing whatever & had only a little wheat left. ....

I saw for the first time two of the enormous tops of the Botan hills peeping over the clouds; they were nearly in the form above but rather indistinct [sketch with bearings]. ....

In going round this sand I had nearly lost my boat; it was filling with water and would have sunk in a second or two, if I had not cut the rope & let the boat drive down the river; it took me till 23 40th before I got to the same sand again (28 8th), and then it was with great difficulty that the place was passed. ....

Near this place was a town called Cursakatty, and as we were starving we endeavoured to get something; but the people were starved out, except 2 or 3 families, & there was nothing to be got except a tame sheep which they would not sell, tho' we offered more than thrice its value; we got it however, partly by force and partly by offering them some salt, which they prized at a much higher rate than money. ....

With respect to Geographical Observations all that could be done was to substitute the time for a measure of the space, and to estimate the rate per hour in the manner of traverse sailing, and to take such bearings and make such remarks as occurred. As my assistant left me in a very short time on account of sickness, & I was totally alone ever after, not only so but sick a considerable time myself, .... it will appear, I hope, that as much was done as could be expected from a person who was mostly up a considerable part of the night making astronomical observations, and of course the less able to apply in the day.

[Many coloured sketches of the little wooded hills along the river].

When I got to Goalpara I immediately sent a letter to the person that had charge of the factory informing him of my business &., but he returned the letter unopened & threatened to shoot the man that brought it: I next morning went to the factory myself, but he refused to see me, & stopped the Bazar all the time I stayed; so that both myself & the people with me were almost starved to death, and one of the men actually died about two hours after I left the place: ... At a point where I wished to observe some angles he had planted a guard of Sepoys, with orders, as they said, to fire upon me if I attempted it. The name of the person is Daniel Rausch [80].

Rausch later explained his conduct by alleging that he thought Burrow was a sherriff's officer come from Caleutta to arrest him 1. To proceed with the journal,

I stayed 6 days at Goalpara, and besides a number of distances & other observations, I got four Eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites; I arrived there the 1st December, and it was on account of two eclipses happening the 5th that I stayed so long.

Latitude of Factory at Goalpara 26° 17' 27"; Longitude, 90° 29' 52". ....

After returning as far as Lackipore in the Mynag, I found that proceeding from thence to Chittagong would not only be dangerous in such a vessel as mine, but would also make it too late for me to go round the Coast, & proceeded with the utmost expedition through the Sunderbuns to Caleutta. ....

Stopped as the tide ran strong against us and the people were tired: this is a beautiful river, very like the Stour near Ipswich. Set off again very ill. I had purchased some Turtle at Cowally 1 and everyone that ate of them were poisoned. I had been growing worse and worse and now was unable to keep any account. ....

At this time my illness increased so much that it was only at intervals that I could keep the account, and therefore I shall insert no more of it: I got the latitude of a place in the Sunderbuns where there is a Bazar which the natives called Bossantpore (but which Mr. Henkel 2 who cleared a little of the jungle in the Sunderbuns called Henkelungan 3) and found it to be 22° 57' 21", but as its Longitude is doubtful I shall not now insert it. ....

I arrived at Caleutta the 3rd January 1788, and immediately sent notice of my arrival to the Surveyor General, Mr. Mark Wood, but found no vessel provided to go round the Coast 4.

Burrow's letter to the Surveyor General runs,

To make several of my Astronomical observations of use, it will now be necessary to get the rates of the time-pieces, which will take a week or ten days. I therefore take the liberty to propose that in the meantime a small Pilot Vessel may be got ready that I may set off with all expedition to take Sagar Island, and either go to Chittagong first and then round the

---

1 BPC 45-86 (14), DDM 19 (1), 5-1-86. 2 True position. 3 Lakshmi. 4 Collector, Jessore, 1788. 5 Journal, 10. Map. MS 5.
coast to Bombay, or else go round the coast first and afterwards take Chittagong. ... In the meantime I can employ what leisure hours I may have on board the ship, in calculating the observations that I have already made.  

These plans were, however, broken off, as Burrow received orders direct from the Governor General to board a ship bound for the island of Cheduba off the coast of Arracan;  

Some people had given information...that some Europeans had been seen on the Island of Cheduba, who were supposed to have been shipwrecked. ... On the 12th January I received orders from Lord Cornwallis, ... to report on the inhabitants and produce etc. of the island. The instruments in your possession will furnish the means of ascertaining the longitude of the island, the exact latitude of the northern and southern extremities, the passage between it and the main coast of Arracan etc. ... Return by the end of March, and furnish me with a narrative of your proceedings containing every observation & remark that has occurred to you.  

On his return from this interesting survey it was too late to take up the project of a voyage round the coast to Bombay, and Burrow remained in Calcutta until, at the end of the rains, he was able to start on his second expedition up the Ganges. On this occasion and during his many years residence in Calcutta, he took regular observations for latitude and longitude at his house at Rassapugla [180].  

Before describing this second expedition it will be interesting to note the response of the Directors on hearing of Burrow's appointment. In the first place they cannot believe that Rennell's survey in Bengal requires improvement or correction [164];  

We approve of your employing Mr. Reuben Burrow, but we are sorry to see that he was mean to be employed in the Bengal Province, as we are perfectly satisfied that the positions assigned to Major Rennell's survey, which is already published, are determined with sufficient precision for any purpose.  

They point out that it will not be necessary for him to survey down the east coast where Topping is working [102], whilst the Bombay Government has put in hand a survey of the Malabar coast [124];  

It would indeed be of the utmost consequence to have the actual and relative positions of Calcutta, Fort St. George, and Bombay, precisely determined; we therefore recommend, if the timekeepers with which Mr. Burrow is supplied go uniformly, that his first operation be to determine the relative positions before-mentioned... losing no time between settlement and settlement unnecessarily, as the more speedily he passes from one to the other, the more precisely will the relative positions be determined.  

But as we have seen, Burrow's sea-trip to Bombay was abandoned.  

His journal is by no means continuous, and gives no account of his journey up the Ganges in the autumn of 1788; he observed at Baukipore, Oct. 8th, Benares Oct. 29th, Allahabad Nov. 12th, Cawnpore Nov. 27th to 30th, and at certain stations which he had omitted the previous year.  

He takes up his narrative in December and describes his land journey across Rohilkhand, from Fategharh to Hardwar and back, moving with camel transport. Passing through "Khyrpoore, ... Fereadpoore, ... Bareily, ... Nabobgunge, he reached Phillibant" [127] on January 6th 1789.  

Visited the Rajah at Rampur. ... Before I left the place he gave again & brought two mathematicians with him. ... They seemed to know the Ptolemaic system better than I had expected, and had read some part of the Almagest [148]; they wanted to know my business, and I told them that I wanted to compare the present latitudes and longitudes of the different places in India with the former ones, to determine if possible how much the pole of the earth has changed its place upon the surface. They said that on the Ptolemaic System the pole could not alter at all; but Fuzurilah Cawn said he had a book containing many Latitudes and Longitudes, which he would make a present of, if I would accept it; and accordingly he sent me a very good copy of the Ayen Akbary [133 n.3].  

As my money was here nearly spent I was under a necessity of going to Anopshere 7 to get a fresh supply, & therefore after having determined this position I left a Pandit here to search for Books of Science &c. in the Sanskrit, & proceeded towards Anopshere.
Moradabad, January 14th. ... I found the camp almost totally without money, but with some difficulty got a sufficiency for the Sepoys, and then returned to Moradabad, ... then set off with an intention to cross the Country to Cossipore, as Rennell’s map of all that part is almost totally empty.

Cossipore. ... I also met with some Bramins that came from the Hills, & particularly an Astronomer who seemed to be a much abler man than they usually are in the lower parts of India: he showed me several books and instruments, & promised to let me have copies; but when I afterwards sent for them, I found them almost all spoiled by the knavery of the transcribers, who had left pieces out and copied badly &c.: ... he told me there were many Astronomers among the hills.

I also procured a Map of the World made by the Bramins, & saw immediately from it what all the European world have for hundreds of years been puzzling themselves about; namely, the seat of paradise and the four sacred rivers.

After visiting Hardwâr [77]; Burrow then returned via Assophghur reaching Mandâwar² on February 19th.

From here I sent my Pandits to the hills to get routes &c., and to bring such books and papers as I had been promised by an astronomer that I met with near Cossipore. ... Got to the old station at Anopeshore, February 17th. I was taken ill of the gout almost directly on my arrival and was totally incapable of doing anything for four days.

As I knew that Colonel Wood had no intention that I should go round the Coast, and that I should certainly die if I stayed at Calcutta, I got leave to go up the country on account of my health, but at the same time I had taken every precaution for returning by day on the first notice, as I wished very much to have gone round the Coast on account of its utility; as I found however, from the best information my friends could give me, that I might give up all hopes of it, I thought it would be best to get leave from Scindia to go at least through the Doaab [55 n.2] and if possible through the Maharatta Country; also to Surat & Bombay, and so round the Coast; the times happened then to be uncommonly favourable, for Timur Shah had then a large army on the march, & Scindia wished to oblige the English.

... I did not stay further for leave but immediately set off for Delhi, but was stopped in the very beginning of my journey by an order from Calcutta to return to the Presidency immediately; it was not without the utmost regret that I gave up an opportunity that seldom may happen again, and returned to Anopeshore; I might have gone down by water, but thought it would be of more advantage to the Geography of India to go by land as far as Futtyghur, though it was much more expensive to myself. Whilst I was at Anopeshore my Pandits arrived from the hills and brought several routes to the Comow Hills, Badrinâut, &c., with several books that I had bespoken. ...

February 25th. Got to the town of Bumnah, a small village inhabited by thieves and surrounded with Banjos & jungle; I sent for their Chief and he said they never robbed near home but always at a distance; there was also an army of Fakeers and some, either of them or the thieves, made some attempts to steal in the night, but we discovered them. The night was rainy so that I got nothing but the meridian altitudes of 4 stars for the latitude. ...

Arrived at Futtyghur March 1st 1789. ... I have already mentioned that I was not permitted to follow my own plan, & I now repeat that I am perfectly convinced that had I been permitted to follow it, everything I proposed to do would have been done in the time I mentioned. The journey through Rohilcund to the Hardwâr in the two months of January and February 1789 was no part of Colonel Wood’s plan, but merely intended for a change of air on account of sickness, in consequence of leave from Lord Cornwallis, & I took advantage of the opportunity.

Burrow then travelled down the river by water;

In my way from the Hardwâr in 1789, I made some observations at Patna. ... The Latitude I found to be 23° 36’ 09” [149, 150], and the Longitude by 25 sets of distances of the Moon from the Sun and Stars, was 4° 41’ 02” [163]. ... These determinations differ very considerably from those found by Lieut. Ewart [155], but there can be no question of their exactness.

Burrow had already observed on the gola at Bankipore in 1787, and Garstín writes that he determined the Longitude of the Granary at Bankipoor, from the mean of upwards of 200 observations, whilst residing with me at Patna, and took nearly as much pains with the others ².

He stopped again at Calcutta, and observed a second time at Cleveland’s
bungalow, and also “determined” the positions of the famous passes of Saerigully
and Tellagurry.  He had an uncomfortable night further down the river;
the weather made it impracticable, and therefore in my return from the Hardwar in 1789 I wished particularly
to determine it, in order to fix the position of Maxabad, a few altitudes of the Sun, when an enormous black cloud of dust was observed at a distance,
that had a most tremendous appearance, & seemed to ascend perpendicularly to the sky:
soon after it came driving from the west with inconceivable violence, and the steep banks of the river began a falling on all sides, and several large vessels were sunk and overwhelmed
in an instant. The storm continued near an hour and a half in the same direction, and then turned slowly towards the north and it rained a little, but without the least abatement
of its violence: about 9 at night the wind came to the Southward and its force abated gradually;
but the whole night was so bad that I only got a single meridian altitude, so that the latitude may be perhaps 1 or 3rd of a minute doubtful: the longitudes by the watches must
however be pretty exact as the altitudes were good for time, and the run between Rajmahal &
Bogwanga short.

He reached Calcutta on May 12th, and reported direct to the Government
Secretary;
I last night arrived at Russahugly, and shall do myself the Honor to wait on the
Governor General the first levee day.

Barrow’s recall was probably due to the receipt of a letter from the Directors
that is dealt with later [164]; anyhow he spent the rest of the year 1789 in working
up his observations and results, which were published in *Astronomical Researches*.
The following extracts from his journal and published notes tell of his methods;
With respect to the method of making observations, I at first found much greater difficulty
than Observers in Europe would suspect; Water ascends in Mist and Clouds, every
glass covering with dew in an instant, and quicksilver is worse disturbed by insects than by
wind: I tried several glass roofs and artificial horizons, particularly those of the circular kind
in the nature of a spirit level, but found them all erroneous; after several trials...I at last
accidently thought of covering the quicksilver with a muscato curtain, by means of a frame
made of two parallel semicircles with their convexities upwards, & fastened to the sides of a
parallelogrammic board, in which was a part cut out to receive the shallow trough that contained
the quicksilver, which stood independent of the cover, and usually upon another piece of
muscato curtain, to prevent the sandflies and other minute insects from getting to the quicksilver;
this method I found to answer beyond my expectation for the Latitudes and
Altitudes. ...

The errors of the Sextants are so numerous that it would require a volume to print them out.
I think it may confidently be asserted that the errors usually attributed to the Lunar
Tables are much oftener owing to the imperfection of the Instruments, & that the rewards held
forth by the Board of Longitude for the improvement of the first, might be much more
usefully employed in encouraging ingenious artist to perfect the latter [154].

After making the observations as carefully as I could, and allowing for the errors already
handed over, I deduced the latitudes and time &c, and generally got the rates of the watches
as often as possible in order to get the differences of longitudes between each place as correct
as possible I could; ... having thus found the Longitude of any particular place nearly by the
watches, I then deduced it from calculations of the [Lunar] distances, as well as from eclipses
of the Sun, and taking a proper medium, I applied to successive differences at each
place found by the watches, and so proceeded...till I came to some particular place pitched
upon as an extreme. ...

On my return to Calcutta I found the watches had all altered their rates very considerably,
& I observe that these changes are generally very sudden, & usually when the weather
changes much and is damp ...

There is no Observatory nor Astronomers in India to make corresponding observations.
This deficiency would have been remedied had Mr. Hastings stayed a little longer in India, for
on representing the advantages of such an institution to him, he approved of it immediately,

172 O/3. 2 Journal. 10. Maps. MS. 5. 3 Bhawargha. 78 D/7. 4 Marshidibid, the capital of
Bengal till 1772.  A suburb of South Calcutta.  5 Ad. R. II. 1790 (473 et seq); ib. IV, 1798 (326 et seq).
He continued regular obser. at “Russahugly” till end of March 1790 [189].  7 Mosquito.
and desired that Colonel Watson would give an estimate of the expence of an observatory; this however was delayed until Mr. Hastings left the country, and all my attempts to revive it afterwards were ineffectual [171].

The latitudes were generally determined from both North and South meridian altitudes of Stars, sometimes to the number 20 or 30, and seldom fewer than 5 or 6. ... I think few latitudes can be out so much as 10 seconds, and a very considerable part of them not half the quantity \(^1\). ... I believe very few of the...latitudes can be more than 3 seconds wrong, perhaps not many of them so much, as the single observations with the sextant seldom differ from one another more than 15 or 20 seconds and very often not half the number. As to the longitudes it is possible there may in some cases be an error of two or three miles, but I can scarce believe there is any great probability of it, as the Observations were made, as well as calculated, in a different and more exact manner than is generally used at present \(^2\).

The Directors showed no sympathy for Burrow's wish for an observatory \(^3\); we cannot pass over the remark at the conclusion of his list of latitudes and Longitudes; wherein he regrets that corresponding observations of Eclipses of the Satellites are not sent out by the Company, because it shows he does not understand our intentions; we mean that the operations in India, whether astronomical or Geographical, should be confined to actual observations only, leaving the comparisons and results to be made in England, where it can be done more effectually, at much less expense. ... Mr. Reuben Burrow's representing that there is no instrument sufficient to determine the place of a star, whereby many occultations of undetermined stars, are useless, is a strong argument why he should have sent those observations home \(^4\) [252].

Though Burrow's observations were of a far higher standard than any hitherto taken in India, and for the next thirty years were accepted as the best available \(^5\), yet mistake were found, and they were gradually superseded. Writing in 1825 of the observations for the longitude of Calcutta made by Pearse and Burrow, Blacker \(^6\) remarks, the scientific qualifications of both these gentlemen were highly respectable, but their means were limited, and the calculations of the Ephemerides in their time were greatly inferior in point of accuracy to what they were in the present day. It is true that Colonel Pearse refers to some corresponding observations in Europe, but most of the observatories have corrected their longitude since that time \(^7\).

Hodgson \(^8\) writes in 1814, it does not appear that Burrow took these Longitudes wholly by the satellites; when he did, probably having found the error of their then tables, he applied them to his observations \(^9\); I should rather suppose from their strict agreement, that he took some places as standards, by occultation of stars or other approved methods, and then took the rest from them, by means of chronometers, for his longitudes are of a precision amongst themselves more than Jupiter's satellites can give \(^10\) [5, 180].

And again,

It was known to the late Surveyor General, Colonel Colebrooke, several years ago, as well as to myself, that the longitude assigned to Hardwar and several places in Rohilkhand by Mr. Reuben Burrow, were too far to the west by about 7 miles. The name of Burrow deservedly stands high as a learned mathematician, as well as an expert astronomer, ... but at that time tables were less perfect than at present, and Mr. Burrow used a telescope of small power, and, I believe, took a very small number of observations of the satellites in comparison with ours. I do not presume to disparage the operations of so distinguished an astronomer, so far as his means of accuracy admitted, but it is well known that the due observations of the eclipses of the satellites, and thence determining the differences of longitude, is by no means difficult to any person moderately skilled in practical astronomy, so that those who have the best modern instruments and tables, and can take the greatest number of good sights, can give the most accurate results \(^11\).

Again, pointing out an error in the difference of longitude between Allahabad and Cawnpore,

It was the opinion of the late Colonel Colebrooke, Surveyor General, that an error had been committed by Burrow in the difference of longitude, and that he had made it too much by 5 or 6 miles, owing to his chronometer having run down between the two places \(^12\).

---

\(^1\) Journal, IO, Maps, MS. 5. \(^2\) Note by Burrow, DDn. 40, XII. \(^3\) Contrast Topping's experience in Madras [171]. \(^4\) CD to R. 15-19.00 (66.97). \(^5\) Surveyor General, 1825-6. \(^6\) DDn. 804 (151), 19-4-25. \(^7\) Surveyor General, 1822-3 & 1823-9. \(^8\) Satellites obsd. at 43 places on Ganges, Brahmanputra & in Rohilkhand. \(^9\) As R. II. (485-5); longitudes being given for 91 places in As. R. IV (352-8). \(^10\) GBO. Lib. A hM. 88 (450). \(^11\) As R. XIV, 1832 (238). \(^12\) DDn. 220 (356), 7-7-1827.
An earlier note by Colebrooke himself states,

The accurate Astronomical observations of the late Mr. Reuben Burrow have furnished us many points on which the Indian Geographer may now with confidence rely, and which he may assume as the most correct data on which he is to ground and regulate his work. It is however much to be lamented that this eminent mathematician and astronomer did not extend his observations to a wider range, and that during his residence in India his excursions for the purpose of determining the Latitudes and Longitudes of places should barely have reached the 30th degree of North Latitude, ... and there is reason to apprehend likewise that a vast number of observations which he took within that space remained uncalculated at his death. [167].

Burrow's Measures of the Degree, 1790–1

In 1787, before starting the triangulation that was to connect the royal observatories of Paris and Greenwich, General Roy wrote a short paper describing the principles on which he proposed to work, and pointing out how desirable it was that further measurements should be made to determine the length of the degree in lower latitudes, and suggesting that the Peninsula of India afforded a suitable field for such measurements.

The British Dominions in the East Indies offer a scene particularly favourable for the measurement of five degrees of latitude on the Coast of Choromandel, as has been noticed by Mr. Dalrymple F.R.S. in his paper on the Marine Survey of that coast. Two degrees of Longitude at each extremity should likewise be measured.

The plains of Bengal, directly under the northern tropic, afford another situation where it would be of great consequence to determine the lengths of a degree or two of latitude, and as many of longitude.

Dalrymple's suggestion, dated December 13th 1784 [190], had been to employ Astronomers to determine the lengths of a degree in that latitude, for at least 5 are easily commensurable on the Coast of Choromandel, which perhaps cannot be done in any other part of the world.

Roy sent a copy of his paper to the Directors, and the Court being highly sensible of the importance of the objects likely to be attained by the experiments proposed by General Roy to be made in the East Indies, ...Resolved that Major James Rennell and Alexander Dalrymple Esq. be desired to lay before this Court an estimate of the expense necessary for carrying his plans into execution.

Rennell and Dalrymple made joint reply,

Whatever Advantages to Science may be derived from the exact determination of the figure of the Earth, we conceive no other benefit can possibly attend the Admeasurement in Bengal: but that proposed on the Coast of Choromandel will contribute towards the construction of an exact Chart of that Coast. ... It would be unpardonable in us, ... not to suggest their expediency.

It is only natural that Rennell should not conceive the need for any more "exact chart" of Bengal [160]. Their note concludes,

As the expense attending the operations would be very much encreased by sending Astronomers from England: it would be desirable to have it performed by persons already abroad; and in case no Person immediately in the Company's Service should be found sufficiently accustomed to Astronomical Observations for this purpose, Mr. Dalrymple conceives that Mr. Topping at Madras and Mr. Burrow at Calcutta are well qualified for this undertaking; ... whereupon the Directors wrote out.

We have in contemplation to send by the Ships of next Season the proper Instruments [166] for measuring one or more Degrees on the Coast of Choromandel: Mr. Topping at Madras, and Mr. Burrow in Bengal were mentioned to us, as persons competent to execute this trust.

It was probably the receipt of this letter that led to Burrow's recall from Upper India in February 1789 [161, 152], but it was not until March 1790 that he wrote,

I have received Lord Cornwallis's order to measure the degree of Longitude, and shall immediately proceed to execute it.

1 Map of Delhi, M.R. 16 (10). 2 Roy (37). 3 Memoir concerning a Survey of the Coast of Choromandel (5). 4 CM. 6-6-87. 5 Misc. LR. 80 (318); from Dalrymple & Rennell, 15-6-87. 6 CD to B. 20-8-88 (27). 7 BPC. 24-3-90.
Isaac Dalby has written an account of Burrow's measurements; it appears, that in consequence of the late General Roy's representations in 1787 respecting the utility of the Trigonometrical Survey at that time begun in England, the East India Company very laudably had resolved to commence a similar operation on the coast of Coromandel, or somewhere in Bengal; at the same time they intended that the length of a degree on the meridian should be determined, because a measurement of the kind had never taken place near the Tropic.

And it was generally supposed that the execution of this business would have been committed to Mr. Burrow, not on account of his situation as mathematician master to the Company's Corps of Engineers, but because his qualifications for such an undertaking were undoubtedly superior to those of any other person in that quarter. ...

Mr. Burrow expected those instruments in 1789, and so anxious was he to begin about that time, that he wrote more than once desiring a zenith might be purchased for him at any price: but an instrument of the kind could not be procured: besides there were reasons to suppose that one would be sent out the following year on the Company's account.

The want of a Zenith Sector, however, seems not to have discouraged him, for... in 1790 and 1791 he measured a degree of Longitude and also another Latitude under the tropic, with such instruments and other apparatus as he could procure. ...

From a rough journal... and some private letters, I have made out the following list of instruments...

- A theodolite; A Sextant.
- An Astronomical Quadrant of 1 ft. radius, by Ramsden.
- A Brass scale, length unknown, by Ramsden.
- A 30 ft. Steel Chain, of Ramsden's new construction.
- Several Glass Rods, ground to a particular length: Long Bamboo Rods, and some 10 ft. and 20 ft. Rods; Stands for the Rods.
- Timepieces and watches by Arnold.

The measurement of this degree of longitude was begun in April 1790 near Cawksally, not far from Krishnagar, in Nadia District. Dalby quotes the following account from a letter of Burrow's to Sir William Jones:

My intention at first was to have actually measured a whole degree with rods... as others measure a base; and afterwards to determine the difference of Longitude by going several times backwards and forwards with Arnold's watches. In this manner, by carrying a line directly East & West, all the error of spherical & spheroidal triangles are avoided. ...

As I could not get the Assistant I wanted, I saw the time was too short to measure with the rods, and therefore concluded that the best method... would be to trace out the line, and secure with bamboo pins, and measure it as exactly as possible with Ramsden's new invented chain; then make the observations, and afterwards in the cold weather, either to measure the whole with rods, or else such part as would show what allowance would be necessary... for the little irregularities of ploughed land, curvatures, etc.

I have already measured about 36 miles in this manner; the first 15 miles I measured twice over, but found in effect no difference. I have nearly done the Astronomical observations of this part, and shall perhaps get another quarter done before the rains come.

In a letter to the Surveyor General, he writes that he has divided the degree into four parts, and intends to measure the whole over again with rods in the cold weather. The line was laid out by theodolite from the pole star, and offsets were taken to avoid obstacles. Measurement was made by chain, and continued till the middle of May, the whole casting then amounting to about 33½ miles, covering the two Easterly quarters.

In June Burrow returned to Cawksally, and began measuring to the west, and by the middle of July when the rains set in, he had completed his third quarter, somewhat over 15 miles. Work was resumed in December by remeasuring the third quarter, making it 12 feet shorter than the first measurement. Measurement was then carried westward to a place called Dhoralpara, thus completing the fourth quarter on January 22nd, 1791.

---

1 Dalby's account was published in 1790, but no publ. copy has been found. These extracts have been taken from a MS. preserved in the RS. Lib. (X 140). Dalby was asst. to Roy, & on Ordnance Survey of Great Britain; Math. Professor, RMC. 1799-1830. 2 Jesse Ramsden. b. 6-10-35, near Halifax, Yorkshire; d. Brighton, 5-11-1800; portrait hangs in hall of the Royal Society, Burlington Gardens. 379 A/11. 4 Owing to Mysore War.
During October and November 1790 and again in April and May 1791 Burrow had obtained the rates of his 9 watches. With four of them, he went 12 or 13 times backwards and forwards between Cawasaki and Dhorapara. He constantly checked the length of the chain against the rods, whose length he transferred from Ramsden's brass scale; measurements were reduced to the length of the chain at temperature 55°. During the spring of 1791, he measured the length of a degree of latitude, nearly on the meridian of Cawasaki. Measurement was made by bamboo rods, nearly 200 feet long, supported on stands. He observed a great number of meridian altitudes of stars on both sides of the zenith.

After Burrow's death his papers went to Dalby, who worked out a length of degree of longitude at 23° 25' N. to be 55886 fathoms, and a degree of latitude at 23° 15' N. to be 60456 fathoms. He found that there seemed to be an uncertainty of about 10 fathoms in the length of each of the degrees due to doubt as to the length of the chain, but considered that the degree of longitude was probably as accurate as could be got by the method of timekeepers, and the degree of latitude probably not more than 3 or 4 seconds wide of the truth.

The results have never been used for any deduction of the figure of the earth, and Burrow never considered his operations to be completed;

I have measured both the degree of longitude and the degree of latitude, and there only wants some Astronomical observations making to complete the whole; but as the Company are shortly to send out some instruments of a very superior kind, which probably will arrive by the next ships, as I hear they were nearly finished 3 months ago, I think it would be better to postpone that part of the work till their arrival; and the Council reported, that to render the work complete, certain astronomical observations are still wanting, which cannot be so well effected without the Assistance of the Instruments of superior construction, which Mr. Burrow expected to receive by the ships of the present season.

The Directors had written in May 1790,
The Instruments intended for the Observations recommended by Major-General Roy to be made on the Coromandel Coast are in great forwardness, and Mr. Ramsden gives the most positive assurances that they shall be completed in time to go by some of the ships of this Season [1792].

Yet, writes Dalby,
the Instruments necessary for the operation, in consequence of some disagreement among the persons principally concerned in providing them, were never sent from England; ... and Everest tells us that,
A Large Theodolite was constructed by Ramsden to the order of the E.I.C. for the Trigonometrical Survey of India, and, on account of some enhancement of price for improvements introduced without their previous consent by the maker, was thrown on his hands, and purchased by...the Board of Ordnance [1791].

It is quite possible that Ramsden's zenith sector which Lord Macartney [90 n.9] took to China in 1798, and which eventually reached Lambton, had been originally intended for Burrow or Topping. However it may be, Burrow's measurement was left unfinished, whilst that proposed for the Coromandel coast was never started [181].

**Burrow's Last Season, 1791-2**

In September 1791 Burrow addressed Government,
I beg to offer my services to execute the following very material, and in my opinion most necessary, business. I have already by my former observations shown how very erroneous many of the principal places near the Rivers were, and the Company now seem convinced of the absolute necessity of Astronomical observations in forming a proper map of India, by recommending them in one of their last letters.

In measuring the two degrees aforesaid, I found the interior parts of the country even worse laid down and fuller of mistakes than those bordering on the river; and yet the errors

were not so much owing to the badness of the materials as to the distortions and false positions occasioned by putting them together without having the principal places fixed astronomically at first; I do not speak of little trifling errors, but gross enormous ones, from five to six miles in latitude to 13 or 14 (in longitude), and these in places so near Calcutta as the districts of Burdwan and Behrampore.

I therefore propose to traverse the different districts on both sides of the Ganges, and to determine all the principal places, and as many of the intermediate ones...as can be done without losing much time about them, connecting the whole at the same time by the watches, bearings, distances &c. This would render the former maps and measurements useful, and at the same time furnish a vast quantity of new materials;...and as the Company seem inclined to spare no cost in having their maps elegantly engraved and printed; it is not without concern that one sees so much of it employed in perpetuating errors.

This proposal was approved and the Directors informed that the expense will be trifling, and the object is of consequence. Circular letters have been addressed to the several Collectors, requesting them to afford every assistance in their power to the accommodation of Mr. Barrow.

Our only clues as to his travels during this season are his "Survey of the Road from Calcutta to Benares between October 19th 1791 and January 1st 1792;" the cutting of his name, with year 1792, on two Asoka pillars in Bûhar, one the "Lion column" about 23 miles north of Bankipore, the other about 14 miles north-west of Bettiah; and his death "in his budgawor" at Buxar in June. His journals have not been found, although his executors sent them to Government in September 17927.

COLEBROOKE & HIS SURVEYORS, 1794–1800

The importance of astronomical control was recognized by no one more than Robert Colebrooke, and when he became Surveyor General in 1794 he appears to have started regular observations at Calcutta [202]. In January 1795 he addressed Government:

The Honorable the Court of Directors, having some time since ordered the erection...of an observatory at Madras, it became an object, also, to ascertain the exact difference of Longitude between Madras and several of the principal places in India, to obtain which, they send out at the request of Mr. Topping...six telescopes...for observing the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites... One of these Telescopes having been committed to my care, I have taken, and communicated to Mr. Topping, a few observations, but have not been so fully confident of their accuracy as I could have wished, for want of some of the Instruments that are usually employed in observatories to ascertain the time.

He writes later to Topping:

As there is probability of Ensign Blunt...being at Point Palmyras during the ensuing month of December to observe the Longitude by the Eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, for which he is furnished with one of the Telescopes you were so good as to commit to my charge, you will I hope...be particularly assiduous in observing correspondent sights at your observatory, and I purpose doing the same here.

Blunt had lately returned from his journey from Chunâr to Rajahmundry [59–63] during which he had fixed 31 latitudes and 5 longitudes under the following instructions from Colebrooke:

As no single observation of the sun or star is much to be relied on, you will, I hope, avail yourself of your halting days to observe, more particularly by repeating observations, the latitudes of a few places in your route, and, so soon as the planet Jupiter may be visible, you will observe with the Company's Telescope the Eclipses of his satellites. As correspondent observations will be made here and in Madras, the longitudes of some of the points in your survey will thereby be deduced with the greatest accuracy.

In his instructions to Mount for surveys in Rohilkhand [55–56], Colebrooke writes,

1Barrow does not appear to know that Bennell had to bear the cost of printing all his maps himself (227–8). 2BPC. 21–9–91. 3B to CD. 25–11–91 (126, 127). 4DDu. 370 (50). 5Ben. P & F. XLVII. 1864 (49–50). 6O'Malley (102). 7BPC. 10–9–92. 8DDu. 16 (6a), 15–1–95. 9ib. (98), 13–11–95. 10DDu. 16 (90), 4–12–96.
As a few of the places through which you will pass have been observed in Latitude and Longitude by the late Mr. Reuben Burrow, these observations will afterwards enable you to correct your work, but as no astronomical observations have ever been made beyond the Hills, I would advise you to observe, if you can, the latitudes of a few places in that part of you track, and afterwards, in returning, the latitudes of Mandy and Khaibad, and also any other places you please.

If, however, you have not acquired the use of the sextant and the knowledge of practical astronomy in any degree, let not that deter you from making the survey; ...if correction is necessary it may be applied here.

Similar instructions were given to Hoare for his survey of the Jumma River [57; 188], which would require a good sextant for observing by the sun and stars the latitudes of the principal places; without which a survey of such an extent would be liable to considerable errors. If you can also observe by Astronomical observations the longitudes of two or three places, your work will be complete.

Hoare took a great deal of pains over his observations at the Taj Mahal, Agra, observing for latitude, longitude, and variation of the compass. The mean of 11 observations of the Sun's meridian altitude, lower limb, taken between February 22nd and March 6th 1796, gave a latitude 27° 12' 46", whilst he notes the observations of five other observers,

Captain Reynolds, Surveyor General, Bombay... 27° 16' 00"
William Hunter, Esq. Surgeon to the Resident... 10 23
Lt. Bushby of the Bengal Army... 10 23
Père Boudier, the one adopted by Major Rennell... 15 00
Capt. Udny Yates, October 13th, 1796... 10 14

But as I have every reason to believe Père Boudier's observation was made at the Church, I have rejected it from the others, and the medium of the four is 27° 10' 14".

Between March 12th and 18th, the medium of six careful observations, Meridian Altitude of the Sun's centre, with artificial horizon, inverting telescope, instrument by Troughton, using observatory stand and tripod, gave 27° 17' 27"

The medium of 4 observations for the Longitude of the Taj Mahal came to 72° 08' 07".

Hunter took many observations during his journeys in Upper India between 1792 and 1796, of which the results were published in Asia: Researches [56-7].

In his journey up the Ganges during 1796-97, Colebrooke himself took series of observations between Calcutta and Hooghly for latitude, longitude, and the variation of the magnetic needle. He continued his regular observations whilst at Calcutta, and in volume II (1828) of the Memoire of the Astronomical Society of London were published,

Observations of an eclipse of the moon, in the year 1798, and of eclipses of Jupiter's satellites between 1797 and 1809, taken at Choonghny near Calcutta, by the late Colonel R. H. Colebrooke. The place of observation was Mr. Bristow's house at Choonghny, about 3 seconds of longitude in time east of Fort William.
CHAPTER XI

ASTRONOMICAL CONTROL, MADRAS & BOMBAY


Our earliest authorities for geographical positions along the Madras coast are two Frenchmen, the navigator Après de Manneville [151], and the Jesuit missionary Father Bouchet, and their values were thoroughly discussed by D'Anville and his English contemporary Thomas Jefferys [178, 211 n. 7], who both pointed out certain blatant errors in the English nautical tables [238].

For the latitude of Cape Comorin D'Anville discusses independent observations by Bouchet, 7° 58', and Father Thomas, 8° 5', the true value being 8° 0'.

For Madras, D'Anville found that the English had observed the latitude of the Fort to be 13° 15', and as April had often found it 13° 18', he took it as "18 Degrees and about 14 minutes". For Pondicherry, he preferred the observations of Father Boudier "which make its Latitude 11° 55' 30", and its Longitude, deduced from several exact Observations, 77° 25'" from Paris.

Very thorough astronomical observations were made at Pondicherry between 1761 and 1771 by Mons. le Gentil [180 n. 3] who had been sent out by the King of France to observe the transits of Venus [153-4]. He surveyed the environs of Pondicherry and observed for latitude and longitude, taking an eclipse of the moon, and several observations of the satellites of Jupiter and the lunar hour-angle. He worked out a table of refraction, and determined the length of the seconds pendulum. He made several voyages to the far east and to the south Indian Ocean taking magnetic observations.

In July 1755 Thomas Howe [15] observed the longitude of Fort St. George, by observations of the 1st satellite of Jupiter, to be 80° 28' 25" E., whilst in 1761 Hirst [153], "from many observations of the Transit of Venus" made it 80° 2' 15" E.; Hirst also made the latitude 13° 8' N.

William Stevens, when acting Chief Engineer in 1778, observed the latitude of Madras to be 13° 4' 54", using an "astronomical brass quadrant, on the top of the house usually inhabited by the Chief Engineer".

In his map of 1788 [99, 243] Schlegel gives the position of Madras as "Latitude 13° 8' 19", as taken by Major Pringle; Latitude 80° 29' from the Hon'tle Mr. Howe", preferring Pringle's latitude to that accepted by Rennell, 13° 5' N.

For the survey of the Northern Circars started in 1773 the Chief Engineer ordered Stevens that,

In order to ascertain the accuracy of the Survey, you will be pleased to intersect some of Captain Pittman's Stations, which, on closing the whole, should correspond with yours. I should likewise recommend to you the fixing the Latitude and Longitude of the principal Places by Astronomical observation.

As has been already told [91-3], this survey was never completed on the large lines that had been proposed, and there is no record of any observations taken.

Pringle, though he made no regular observations, records the following in his "Book of Roads".

Latitude of Trichinopoly, in 1776, 10° 40' 2".
Latitude of Tanjore, February 27th 1777; observed the Sun's meridian Zenith distance by Astronomical quadrant, adjusted by spirit level only, 10° 46'. Longitude 79° 16', by Jupiter's satellites, in company with Major Stevens. From this longitude that of Trichinopoly was deduced by survey.

Latitude of Palamcottah by a number of observations of meridian altitudes of the Sun and different stars is 8° 44'.

June 1785. Observed the meridian altitude of Fonsalhat by double reflection in a soup plate almost filled with quicksilver, with a good Hadley's sextant.

He also records a number of bearings taken by theodolite from the highest hills, most of them corrected by observed azimuths, taken by himself or Stevens.

In 1785, he proposed that he should make a military survey of the Carnatic, to which may be added an embellishment, and for the benefit of Geography in general, the exact longitude and latitude of the most remarkable cities and places, mouths of rivers, and for the ascertaining of which, as well as those for surveying, I am already in possession of every instrument.

Kelly does not tell of any astronomical observations along his earlier routes, but in 1778 proposed to use them for the control of his Atlas; constant observations were taken during his survey of Fullarton's marches in 1783, some of them by Byres.

It is evident that the general geography of the southern peninsula was at this period far less correct than that of Upper India, which was tied together not only by Rennell's survey, but also by the widely scattered observations of Bouvier and other missionaries. Writing of Mysore Rennell is grateful for even one isolated latitude.

Although most or all of the roads that appear in the map...have been marched over...at different times; yet seldom having a surveyor with them, or by the want of instruments, or leisure, or both, little has been done for geography, so that the whole country can be but vaguely described; no one point...having been mathematically determined. Was it not for the observation of latitude at Chenna-Balabaram?, the position of Bangalore and all the places dependent on it would be involved in uncertainty.

Again, in discussing the geography of the Nizam's country, chiefly derived from Bussy's marches, he writes.

Col. Peach's march from Ellore to Warrangole in 1767 furnished materials for fixing the situation of that place. A memorandum accompanying the survey says that its latitude is 17° 37'. Notwithstanding this assertion, the bearings and distance from Ellore place it in 18° 2'. And I much question, whether Col. Peach's engineer [Gardiner] had any good quadrant with him.

**Topping & the Observatory, 1786 to 1800**

Michael Topping was the only sailor of all the Madras surveyors, and the fixing of accurate control stations by astronomical observations was his first care.

The first that we know of him is that in 1785 he observed longitudes in the Maldives Islands and in Ceylon; probably on his voyage out to India. Then in November 1786 he made an overland journey from Masulipatam along the coast to Calcutta, and at the request of Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor of Madras, observed latitudes and longitudes at about 40 of the principal places on his way.

---

1 MHIO. M 52 A. — Correct.
2 True value 10° 47' N., 70° 8' E., 68° N.1. - Correct. 58 H 14/14.
3 MMC 54-4.5. - Not one of the Madras surveyors was a sailor till Topping came.
I have the honor to transmit for your inspection a course of observations, made... during my late journey. ... I would gladly have sent them sooner, but was desirous of obtaining others at this place to compare them with, and in part to regulate them by.

The latitudes are, I believe, as correct as observations made out of an observatory can ever be expected; I do not think it too much to say in their favor, that they can scarcely ever err in more than half a mile, and in general they must be much nearer the truth. ...

I spared no pains to attain the utmost possible precision in fixing the Longitudes of my four principal stations, ... the satellites of Jupiter were my only dependence in this effort; I generally stayed at each station till I got several sights, and trusted to those of the first satellite only; the tables of the motions of those satellites, it is true, are of late years greatly improved, they are still far from being as perfect as we could wish them, for these purposes.

Had the Eclipses I made use of, been observed with accuracy at Madras, it would have been a very great advantage. ...

The Latitudes were all taken with an excellent instrument, on the Hadleyan principle, made and graduated by Stancliffe, and an artificial Horizon, on the new construction by Dolland, as were the Altitudes for the correction of the chronometer.

A telescope of Mr. Dolland's, magnifying power about 47 times, was made use of for the Eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter. Several Eclipses were observed that are not registered in this account, which contains only such as were found most correspondent and proper for determining the rate of the Chronometer. ...

The four primary stations were Masulipatam, Vishagapatam, Ganjam, and Calcutta.

After describing in detail the record of his observations, he goes on, I have chosen this mode of registering these results, and the data on which they depend, from a desire...of putting it in the power of any person conversant in these matters, at any future time to re-examine them, and to point out mistakes, if any, in the calculations 3.

The Board were so satisfied with this survey that they ordered Topping to continue his observations to the south of Madras 1[02°], and also to ascertain the Longitudes of the most remarkable stations in the Carnatic, an undertaking for which he is peculiarly well qualified, not only from his experience in astronomical observations, but also from the excellence of his instruments, which he brought from England with him 5.

and further, you will of course take the necessary means for having correspondent observations taken at this place, of occultations and eclipses as you may have an opportunity of observing, for the Longitudes of your several stations which will tend greatly to confirm the accuracy of the work 4.

It will be remembered that about this time in Bengal, Burrow was regretting that he had no opportunity of getting correspondent, simultaneous, observations taken for him at Calcutta, and was snubbed by the Directors 1[63], but here in Madras Topping was more fortunate, for one of the members of the Madras Council, William Petrie, 6 was a keen amateur astronomer and gave Topping his strong support and assistance, and was no doubt responsible for drafting the instructions.

Topping writes that he was fortunate in the choice of a person to make the correspondent astronomical observations at Madras during my operations abroad, a point of the greatest consequence to the accuracy of the deductions, ... having recommended John Goldingham, who had been assisting at Petrie's private observatory, and Mr. Petrie has permitted me to make an offer of that advantageous situation for our future operations at the Presidency ⁶.

Government approval was obtained in January 1788, and when Goldingham took leave to England the following year, Lennon was appointed to carry on the observations. When Petrie went on leave early in 1789, he offered his observatory as a gift to Government, and Topping eagerly pressed the opportunity.

The Astronomical observatory built by William Petrie Esq. for his own private use, but which by his permission...has, since the commencement of my operations, been occupied in the public service, becomes liable...to be transferred into other hands, and...is in danger.

1 Ganjam, 74 E°3. 2 MPC, 11-9-87 & Oriental Repository, I (419-69). 3 MPC, 33-11-87. 4 Mad. Civ. Writer, 1705; Acting Governor of Madras 1807; Governor of PWI till death 27-10-1818. 5 MPC, 18-1-88.
of being no longer accessible. ... Should these consequences ensue, the Geographical work
I am conducting will hazard a total deprivation of the correspondent observations...essential
to their confirmation and perfection. ...

Mr. Petrie...very liberally assured me that the building...was at my entire disposal
for the public service, and that I was at liberty to remove it. ... The principal materials of
which it is constructed are of a nature to be removed without the least injury to them; ...
the whole may be rebuilt at an inconsiderable expense.

The Hon’ble Company possess at this Presidency, several very valuable Astronomical
Instruments. They have a very capital Astronomical Clock, an Astronomical Quadrant,
and a large and excellent Telescope, besides other Instruments of inferior consequence. ...

Astronomical Instruments of the very first quality are actually constructing in England,
by the best artists, and at a very great expense by order of the Hon’ble Court of Directors; ...
their destination is for this Presidency and Bengal [164, 166]. I hope I need not add how
necessary a convenient place for their safe and profitable reception will be.

Astronomy has ever been acknowledged as the Parent and Nurse of Navigation; and it
is doubtless from considerations of this nature, that the Hon’ble Court have come to the resolu-
tion of thus affording their support to a science, to which they are indebted for the sover-
eignity of a rich and extensive empire 1.

The Board asked Topping to suggest a position for the new observatory, and
forwarded his proposals to the Directors, whilst Lennon carried on at Petrie’s observa-
tory under the following instructions:

You will be pleased to observe with particular attention all visible Eclipses of the satel-
lites of Jupiter; all occultations of fixed stars by the Moon, with such other phenomena as
may serve to render these observations of the greatest possible accuracy and utility. ...

The Clock in the Observatory should be particularly examined for each observation...
by a set of at least six correspondent altitudes of the Sun or some fixed star. ...

In making observations on the satellites of Jupiter, I recommend the use of the Company’s
large Telescope. ... All circumstances relative to the state of the Atmosphere; the position
of the Planet, whether it be moonlight, or twilight, or the night dark when the observation is
made. ... Everything of this nature should indeed be made so unequivocally plain and obvious,
that any person, versed in these studies, who may find occasion on a future day, to examine,
or profit by our Astronomical labours, may meet with no doubt or difficulty whatever in
understanding and digesting every article recorded in our books 2.

After completing 800 miles of survey along the southern coast during 17883
[162]. Topping was employed the following year on a survey of Coringa Bay [193];
I have taken great pains to ascertain with exactness the latitude of the Company’s House at
Coringa, by 55 Meridional Observations of fixed stars. ... The sights on both sides of the
Meridian, gave the same result within 7 seconds, whereas they differed as much on the other
side. ... a proof of how very accurately such observations can be taken with the Hadley, when
made by a superior artist, and well divided.

For the Longitude of Coringa, I not only observed as many of the Eclipses of the Satel-
lites of Jupiter as could be seen, but took 48 lunar distances from fixed stars, equal numbers
the same evening, on each side of the Moon. In doing this I used a stand for the Hadley,
which, though simple, allows the instrument to be readily placed in any possible plane, and
for the sake of exactness availed myself of the Telescope [200].

Lastly, the positions of my signals respecting the Meridian were determined, not as is
usual by the imperfect method of the needle of the Theodolite, but by Astronomical Observa-
ations 4.

In 1790 the Directors agreed that “the Establishment of an Observatory at
Madras would be of very great advantage to Science1”, and Topping, after looking
for a suitable site, suggested that,

As therefore I have long had the Institution greatly at heart, it has occurred to me that,
if a convenient House already built, and well situated, could be purchased cheap, the neces-
sary additions might be made at small expense. ... One...motive for my recommending
an immediate purchase of this kind, in preference to my being employed in erecting an
entirely new building, is the desire I feel to prevent any unfavourable suspicions from lighting
upon me, or any idea arising that I have private emolument in view. ...

1 [PPG. 27-1-89. 2 [PPG. 16-6-89. 3 From this triangulation Topping deduced the length of a
degree along the meridian, quoted by Allan in 1789. (MRD. M. 77). 4 Med. Sci. XIX. 1855 (28). 5 CD
to M. 19-5-90 (52).
Our operations have already suffered great injury from the Observer residing at a distance from the place of observation; and at present little can be done of any consequence, the Instruments having been necessarily removed from the Observatory during the late hostile aspect of affairs at Madras.

The purchase of Mr. Turing's house at Vepery was suggested at 5,000 Pagodas, but the owner promptly raised the price when he saw that it was wanted by Government, and Topping writes:

Since the disappointment we experienced relative to Mr. Turing's House, I have enquired particulars of every Garden-House near Madras that has been offered for sale. ... Of these ... I have proposed terms for two only, Mr. Edward Garrow's House on the Plain, and Mr. Davidson's at the Luz. Mr. Garrow's is no longer for sale, and the proprietors of Mr. Davidson's House require more than I can venture to recommend.

He therefore submitted plans and estimate for a complete new building, "which may be executed with the very best materials" for 6,600 Pagodas.

An amusing controversy now sprang up between the Chief Engineer and Topping, Major Maule disputing Topping's good faith and ability, and declaring that both design and estimate were untrustworthy, and suggesting that Topping was trying to usurp duties that rightly belonged to the engineers. Topping fortunately closed the dispute by finding that Garrow's house could now be secured for the very moderate sum of five thousand Pagodas, ... and would completely answer the purposes. ... The apparatus for fixing and securing the astronomical Instruments will cost from fifteen to eighteen hundred Pagodas, and not more. ... Our operations will than be resumed, and every interruption removed, our valuable Instruments will not lye entirely useless and unemployed, as they have unavoidably done for several months past.

Government thereupon issued orders for the purchase to be made and advanced the money for making the necessary additions; the purchase was completed by the end of 1791, and in November of the following year Topping was able to report:

The new observatory is... in readiness to receive the astronomical instruments, which will be placed therein in a few days; and I had it in contemplation... to traverse the Bay, whilst the north-east winds prevail, with the time-keepers lately sent me by the Hon'ble Court of Directors [203] ... The celestial phenomena at that time will be particularly favourable to such an undertaking; not to omit the fineness of the season during the first three months of the year for sea operations. I am therefore of opinion that so rare an opportunity should not, if possible, be neglected.

We have no record of this trip being carried out, and a few months later Topping left for the Kistna and Godavari [106], leaving Goldingham in charge of the observatory, which he connected to sea-level in March 1794.

Whilst making arrangements for the building of the observatory, Topping had not overlooked the provision of adequate instruments, though much valuable work had already been accomplished with the few instruments left by Petrie. Topping writes:

Every correct observation made at Madras that has a corresponding one with which to compare it, taken under any other meridian, determines at once the relative longitude of the two Places: this proves the necessity of completing our Astronomical Establishment as soon as possible, and shows the very extensive advantage to be derived from this kind of observations, which are capable of settling with all desirable accuracy, the positions of places, however situated or remote on the Globe. Since I first recommended these observations to be constantly made, I have obtained a great many taken in distant parts, whereby the relative Longitudes of Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, Canton and Port Cornwallis have been already determined. ... [81]

The Honorable Company having...thought proper to establish an Observatory at this Place, and to honor me with the conduct of it, ... I first recommend the correspondent astronomical observations, as the only sure and practicable method of finding the relative position of distant transmarine situations; and I indulge myself in a hope that, by the help of these observations, and the use of Chronometers, I shall in a very few years see the Charts of these Eastern Seas in a more correct state than those even of Europe are; or at least a regular system established for the perfection of Indian Geography.

1 MFC. 17-9-91; the Third Mysore War was in progress. 2 MFC. 26-7-91. 3 Acting for Ross who was on service in Mysore. 4 Love, III (415): Mack MSS. LIX IX. 27-7-91, et seq. 5 MFC. 30-9-91. 6 MFC. 30-11-91. 7 cf. Mack, MSS. LVIII (3). Goldingham's MS. observations of 1792, with account of building of the observatory, preserved at Kodikanal Observatory. 1840. 8 MFC. 27-12-91.
In 1792 Topping submitted two professional papers, one on the most advantageous method of taking corresponding observations of the satellites of Jupiter, and the other on some new Improvements in the Hadley sextant. ... My general plan of operations for improving the geographical knowledge of India, is also exhibited in these papers, ... I have spared no pains to render our astronomical institution as beneficial as possible to the important sciences of geography and navigation.

Regarding the second paper the Directors replied, in a somewhat obstructive mood,

We are informed the simplicity of the Hadley in its use for surveys is such that any person of the commonest capacity may in half an hour be completely instructed in the use of it, and what is most desired by us is a speedy knowledge of the geography of India, in attaining which scarce any mathematical knowledge or anything except common instruments are necessary, and we are persuaded the less difficulty that is made to attend science, the more speedy and effectual will be its progress, nor do we think Mr. Topping's active duties will allow time for executing his proposed Treatise.

Sanction was obtained for the appointment of a Brahman assistant, to be trained to make astronomical observations, and relieve the Astronomer in case his services were required on some distant survey, for the Directors still considered that,

Although correspondent observations at the observatory are very desirable, yet that consideration cannot be admitted as a complete excuse for postponing the actual surveys ... Mr. Goldingham is not to be prevented carrying on the survey by attendance at the observatory, the observations at which, as before observed, must be considered as a secondary consideration.

Goldingham was however relieved from distant surveys, and given charge of the surveying school. Another of his duties was the preparation of an almanac, suggested by Topping:

Mr. John Goldingham, Assistant Astronomer at the Company's observatory, having at my desire, computed an almanac for the Meridian of Madras, a work free from the errors that have usually disgraced publications of this kind in India, and in which are included several matters beneficial to the Navigation of these Eastern Seas, I request to know whether the Hon'ble Board will give permission for its being published by authority of Government.

The observations made at the observatory, including a meteorological journal, were now regularly sent home, and the Court resolved "to publish them for the benefit of the world." On Topping's death in 1796, Goldingham succeeded as "the Company's Astronomer and Marine Surveyor on the Coast."

Madras Observatory was a worthy monument to Michael Topping, and continued to be the home of important scientific work directed by a succession of distinguished astronomers, until in the year 1899 its operations were transferred to Kodaikanal, a change which amongst other advantages affords a clearer atmosphere.

The observatory grounds are in College Road, Nangambaukam, but the buildings are no longer those which Topping knew; the observatory was rebuilt in 1850 and is now, 1938, occupied by the meteorological observatory; the Astronomer's residence was rebuilt in 1869.

**Military Surveys, 1788–1800**

The only record found of astronomical observations taken by Beatson or Allan is the entry "latitude of Church Steeple in Tranquebar, 11° 1' 20" 7'," in a field-book of Allan's.

Mackenzie definitely states that on his Guntur survey of 1788 "no observations of the variation were taken for want of time and proper instruments." He intended to take observations for latitude after joining the Nizam's detachment in

---

1792, for he then took a sextant with him, and the Chief Engineer was trying to get him an artificial horizon in Madras [205]. In 1795 he writes of his map of the Deccan.

Several observations in the fieldbooks for Latitude and variations [remain] to be examined and calculated, and others to be taken to correct the Geographical situation of places 1.

The difference of his outlook from that of Topping is at once evident. Mackenzie took latitudes to correct his perambulator and compass traverses, whereas Topping made his astronomical observations first, regarding the situation of places as of the first importance, and the filling in of detail as a secondary matter.

The Bengal surveyors, Kyl and Colebrooke, who came down for the Mysore War of 1791-2 [112-3], had the utmost respect for astronomical control; particulars of Colebrooke’s observations are published in Asiatic Researches 3; and he has left the following notes:

Tables showing results of observations of different stars; also comparison of the survey with the astronomical observations. ... Instruments used were:

A fine Sextant by Troughton of 9 inches radius.

An Artificial Horizon of pure quicksilver over which, when the wind rendered it absolutely necessary, a glass roof was placed [162, 200].

An achromatic telescope by Dolland with three tubes of different magnifying powers, the greatest of which might have been 200 times, but the middlemost was used in the observations until after the end of June, when the instrument was stolen by some thieves from the Mahatta camp, a smaller telescope was procured.

An Arnold’s chronometer was used in observing time. ...

Frequently Amplitudes and a few azimuths were taken, to ascertain the variation of the needle, which never exceeded one degree, except when attracted by the iron ore in the Rocks, upon which, for the convenience of having a more distant view, it was necessary sometimes to put up the instrument. These local variations were ascertained nearly in the protraction of the map, and the bearings were corrected, or their differences were applied as Angles 6.

Benjamin Sydenham describes the observations he took when marching up to Hyderabad in 1798 [117]. He had trouble with his chronometer [203], and had to take a departure from Musilipatam instead of the Madras Observatory. ... The longitude of Musilipatam Flagstaff had been derived from Jupiter’s satellites during the years 1793-95, and the medium rate of 2 chronometers for a still longer period observed at Musilipatam, by Mr. Topping, and at Madras by Mr. Goldingham, and finally deduced by the latter as Madras 81° 6’ 00”; Musilipatam 81° 15’ 30” 75” [181].

The altitudes were taken with a most excellent sextant of 8 inch radius, lately constructed and sent out by Mr. Stancliffe of London. The Eclipses of satellites were observed by a refracting telescope by Dolland.

Observations were taken continuously on the march up, and after arrival at Hyderabad. Repeated observations for longitude were taken from May 28th to June 23rd, “near Captain Mackenzie’s Bungalow at the camp of Hussein Sangur” giving longitude 71° 46’ 08”; they were then closed down owing to rainy weather.

In October, when the weather cleared, operations against the French Troops prevented observations being taken before the French surrender on October 22nd [117]. The march of the English Detachment to the Carnatic which took place on December 13th, left a very short interval to be devoted to a subject which requires much time and attention: and prevented our ascertaining the correct Longitude of Hyderabad.

Observations were however made between November 17th and December 12th, and the position of Hyderabad reduced to 17° 21’ 48” 3 N.; 70° 45’ 56” E. 5.

Sydenham continued his observations on the march southwards, and then, having occasion to return to Madras on business, advantage was taken of this circumstance to send the timekeeper down to the Observatory to ascertain a new rate, and take a departure from Madras. ... Arriving at Amboor on 21st [February 1799], sights taken to deduce Longitude 70° 42’ 45”; Latitude 12° 54’ 35” 6.

D’Anville found great uncertainty about the geography of the west coast, and little he could trust beyond a few observations by Portuguese sailors and Jesuit missionaries:

Latitude of Cochin observed by father Thomas is 9° 48’.

The longitude of Goa by the unanimous application of geographers is 71° 25’ East from the Royal Observatory at Paris, which makes it 91° 23’ from the Island of Ferro 1 [242 n. 2].

The latitude of Surat is 21° 10’ [149 n. 10]; and its longitude, in the Connaissance des Temps is 70° from Paris. But Surat is not placed so far to the Eastward in the Carte de l’Inde, by at least half a degree; and M. Delisle makes it the same in his map entitled Côtes de Malabar et de Coromandel 2.

The traveller Mandelslo, a map of whose travels is mentioned by Rennell [127 n. 7], accompanied a Dutch embassy to Persia, and went on to India, reaching Surat in 1638; he visited many places in Gujarât, and then went up country to Agra and Lahore. Returning to Surat he sailed to Vengurla 4 in January 1639 and visited Bijâpur 5, at that time the capital of the Deccan. It is said that he was instructed in the use of the Astrolabe, which he used in making observations of the Latitudes and Longitudes of the places found in his Journal 6.

Duperron tells us that the accepted longitude of Goa, 73° 45’ E. of Greenwich, was calculated by Cassini from an observation of the eclipse of the moon made on December 21st 1684 by the Jesuit Father Noël, and Bernoulll notes.

Il m’est tombé sous la main un petit ouvrage...intitulé Observationes mathematicae & physicae in India & China, facta a Patre Francesco Noël...ab anno 1684 usque annum 1708. Prague, 1710 7.

Thirty years later Rennell found a good deal more data at his disposal. He was confident of the latitude of Bombay, 18° 38’ N., and accepted its longitude by Mr. Howe’s observations 72° 38’ 8. The positions of Cape Rama, Angedive and Carwar points 3 are corrected by a set of observations and bearings of the late Capt. Howe, whose attention to marine science was equal to his gallantry and knowledge of the practical part of his profession. I have had occasion repeatedly to acknowledge the aids I have been furnished with, by means of his collection of Observations and Remarks, in the possession of Mr. Dalrymple 9.

Some time between 1778 and 1787 Captain Huddart, commanding the Royal Admiral, carried a set of chronometers down the coast from Bombay to Anjengo, and then back to Bombay; by which the error of his timekeeper was ascertained, and was only as much as amounted to 21 minutes of longitude; we have every reason to be satisfied with this series, and indeed geography is greatly indebted to this gentleman, who has presented us with the longitudes of 16 places on this coast, and by that means given the true general figure of it 10 [179].

Though fully recognizing the importance of Huddart’s series, Rennell at first rejected his value for Bombay, and adjusted his work to Howe’s longitude; but he eventually found that Huddart’s value, 72° 54’ 11, sixteen minutes greater than Howe’s, fitted his other data much better 12 [179].

He took his longitude of Surat by applying Stewart’s survey of Goddard’s route to Smith’s observation at Burhânpur [31, 121-2], but Reynolds moved it “18 miles more to the Westward” to agree with the position of Broach, remarking.

This change of situation lengthens the distance between Surat and Boorhanpore. I have divided it between the different stages, not choosing to alter the position of Boorhanpore as it is fixed by Mr. Smith 14.

The position of Broach had been observed by Charles Turner during his survey between 1775 and 1780 11 [122].

Reynolds apparently made no observations during his survey of Bednur in 1783, for Rennell was only 1 or 33° 45’ E. of Greenwich; true value 33° 57’.

furnished with the means of joining this portion of geography to the rest, by having the
longitude of Pigeon Island determined by Capt. Huddart.

In his later surveys through the Maratha countries Reynolds appears to have
taken regular observations, at any rate for latitude, and expresses complete con-

fidence in them [126], though he writes;

My surveys are corrected by observations, and I take this opportunity to mention the
difficulty I labour under for want of good Instruments. The Hon'ble the Court of Director's
have sent out Instruments for the purpose of the marine survey, ... and I trust they
will consider me entitled to the same assistance ... besides the Instruments which have
come out for the marine survey a Perambulator as well as astronomical Telescopes are necessary:
the latter for convenience sake should be short and as light as possible; Ephemeris
should also be sent out.

To start the marine survey [124] the Directors had sent out
one Box, and two Pocket, Chronometers or Timekeepers, and enclose the Astronomer Royal's
account of their Rate, together with instructions for the use of them; likewise an Azimuth
Compass, a Sextant, and an Artificial Horizon, for finding the time by altitudes on
shore; a Telescope is also sent.

The first really trustworthy observations at Bombay were made in June 1790
by Goldingham, on his return from leave, and were submitted to Government by
Topping with the following letter;

I take an early opportunity of laying before you a series of observations made at
Bombay by Mr. John Goldingham, which determine the Geographical situation of that place,
I have no doubt, very accurately: it consists of a great number of Lunar observations;
Meridional altitudes of the Sun and Stars; Eclipses of the Satellites of Jupiter, and Azimuths
of the Sun; with a few remarks on the rise and fall of the Tides.

The Longitude of Bombay in the latest and best Charts hitherto published has an error of
full 20 minutes; a circumstance of pernicious consequence, as the positions of other
places on the Malabar Coast are, no doubt, equally falsified by this mistake: It is by a
great number of accurate observations only that the true position of the several parts of the
Globe can be determined and Geography brought by degrees nearer perfection.

Emanuel gives a very complicated account of the construction of the map which
he compiled from his surveys with Little's detachment [128-30]. He had
made only nine observations for latitude, and two for variation of the needle, and
for the former never took more than five double altitudes at any one place. He
made no observations for longitude, but hung his survey on a value for Seringa-
patam supplied by Kyd, and on the accepted longitude of Goa. After laying down
a rough plot of his traverses, he worked out a scale of latitude and longitude to fit
these observations and values and form the projection for his fair map; the follow-
ing extracts from his description show the devices that surveyors had to use for lack
of an orderly system.

For my correction of Longitude I used the following method (not having been able to
provide myself with a proper Telescope and time-piece ...). At Col. Fredrick's encamp-
ment, ... the 2nd December 1790, I observed the double altitude of the Sun's Lower Limb.
The 9th I observed [again] ... I took the mean Latitude of these two ... for the true Latit-
ude of our encampment; from thence I proceeded to Dharwar surveying ... I observed the
Latitude of the flag-staff in Dharwar Fort by a mean of five good observations ...

The difference of Longitude by a careful measured line from thence to Goa, 1° 09' 40",
supposing the Longitude of Goa to be 73° 45' [176] fixes Dharwar in 74° 54' 40", which agree-
ing with Capt. Kyd's survey from Madras to Sreeangattum, and nearly with my own from
Jayagur, I have therefore placed it in the above situation, viz., 1° 27' 50" North and
74° 54' 40" East. Considering this as a point well fixed, I have corrected all my surveys
from it in the following manner.

On beginning to make a fair copy of my surveys, I noted down the difference of latitude
between Jayagur, Darwar, and Sreeangattum (the latter by Capt. Kyd's observations ...).
By the number of Geographical miles of Latitude contained in this difference, I divided my
rough copy, and by the distance ... formed by these miles, I set off the miles of Longitude,
decreasing them in their proper proportion, thereby connecting the Longitude of every part
of my surveys to as great a certainty as the Latitude ...

Astronomical Control, Madras & Bombay

All the places where I ascertained the Latitude from observations, I have mentioned at the bottom of this letter, and also the variation of the compass, ...[185]. The sextant I made use of is a patent one made by Gregory and Wright.

I have been more particular in describing the method, ...that those who may be acquainted with a better method of correcting them for Longitude, may have it in their power, and to judge how far any error may have been introduced into my works.

On his map of northern Malabar, submitted in 1794, Emmitt has the following note,

As the value of a survey increases in proportion to the accuracy of placing its latitude and longitude lines, I deem it proper...to explain the method I took...in the map.

First respecting the latitude, I insert as a specimen the observations which I made for the latitude of the mouth of Ballispatam River, and as I made use of the same means...for attaining the latitude of all the particular places in the Coorg, Soulea, and Anara countries, as also the coast of Malabar, and, having fixed such points correctly in the survey renders it unnecessary for me to insert a list of their geographical situations, such being attainable from a reference to the Map.

His specimen shows meridional altitudes observed to Capella and Canopus.

The Longitude lines I have laid down from Capt. Huddart's observations, who makes Mount Della 27° 16' E. of Greenwich.

The variation of the needle at the head of the Heggut Ghaut, I found by equal altitudes of the sun, the 2nd January 1793, 54' East. ... At Cannanore, 8th Sept. 1794, 38° E. 4' 4.

Breadth of the Peninsula

One of the first things that strike the eye when looking at the early maps of India is the extraordinary shape given to the peninsula as compared with that of modern maps, a result of the great uncertainty of the earlier observations for longitude.

Though the general line of the east coast was fixed by repeated observations at Calcutta, Madras, and Pondicherry, and by Ritchie in 1770-1 [15–7], it was not laid down with reasonable accuracy until the return march of Pearse's detachment in 1784, though this line only touched the coast occasionally. The actual line of coast from Bengal to the Palk Straits was surveyed by Topping and Goldingham between 1786 and 1794 [102–5].

The true line of the west coast remained largely a matter of conjecture till the surveys of Huddart and McChuer between 1780 and 1789, and even then there was much doubt as to the longitudes.

The breadth of the Peninsula was discussed by D'Anville in 1752, when he adopted a value for the longitude of Pondicherry more conformable to the breadth of the bither peninsula, deduced from itinerary measures. He makes the breadth between Pondicherry and Maha, on the Malabar coast and almost in the same parallel, 86 leagues, or 26 to a degree, whereas other Geographers give 100 leagues, a difference of longitude, 4° 18', which is in remarkable agreement with the true value, 4° 16'.

In discussing the 1783 edition of his Map of Hindostan, Rennell compares it against former maps, the most accurate of which makes the breadth of the bither India (or that included between the mouths of the Ganges and Indus) near 2 degrees and a 1/4 of Longitude narrower that it appears in my map; at the same time that it makes the lower part of the Peninsula 3/4 of a degree wider than mine does. I have been enabled by means of observations of Longitude taken at Bombay, Cochín, Madras, Calcutta, Agra, etc., together with measured lines and surveys extended from the above places, to frame a very good groundwork for my map.

By the time the map reached India, Kelly had carried a surveyed line from Negapatam on the east coast to Palghat, only 50 miles from the west coast [98–9], and he made the peninsula 26° geographical miles, or minutes of arc, wider than Rennell.

The latitude and longitude of Policandur being thus ascertained; being in possession of Col. Humbertson's route from the Malabar Coast to this place; also the routes of several of our officers who marched with detachments from hence to Cocheem; I cannot place Panianamasa in a higher latitude than 10° 34', nor in a greater longitude from London than 73° 59'; whereas Major Rennell places it in 10° 30' and in longitude 76° 25' 30'. I find that Cocheem5 lies in...longitude...76° 3' 30" instead of 76° 48' which he was led to place it in.

Upon the whole I find that Major Rennell's maps...loses 26½ Geographical miles in longitude between Panian and Nagapatnam. And the more to confirm the Major in this error, he has the authority of Mr. Smith's observations in 1776, which place Cochin in longitude 76° 36' 30".

I have thought it necessary to be thus particular, that the Honorable Board might be satisfied as to the grounds on which I have presumed to differ from so able a geographer as Major Rennell6 [98].

In his Memoir of 1788, Rennell discusses the question again, making use of the surveyed lines of Fullarton's and Humston's marches, and the longitude observations of Howe and Huddart, which he finds agree to within a minute in giving the longitude of Tânuv on the Malabar coast a mean value of 75° 50' 10", and he concludes,

With respect to my former idea of the breadth of the peninsula, although the extent in longitude between Bombay and Madras, remains nearly as before; yet by the swelling out of the coast on the south of Bombay, I reckoned it too narrow by about 30 G. miles in the parallel of Madras; and 27 in that of Pondicherry;

thus exactly agreeing with Kelly.

The Mysore war of 1790-2 brought new measurements further north, but no direct line; and Rennell writes of the second edition of his map of the South Peninsula [243-4].

As it is not known whether the distant between Seringapatam and Cannanore,..., in the sketch drawn by Capt. Reynolds, ... was actually measured: we are still left in a state of suspense concerning the true breadth of the Peninsula in that important parallel. I am, however, strongly inclined to believe that it was measured; because it seems likely that Capt. Reynolds... had an opportunity of doing it; and because his representation of the distance differs in some degree, from all the former accounts of it; to which may be added that his result agrees nearly with the computation of the land marches and with Capt. Huddart's longitudes7 [130-1].

In 1800 Colebrooke having compiled a new map of the Peninsula [244] re-opened this question, and though the maximum changes that he found were less than 20 miles, it will be seen in the table below, that across the Mysore belt his latest width was from 20 to 60 miles too great. Kelly's surveys had brought the width further south very near the truth, but the impossibility of carrying survey directly across the territories of Mysore and the Deccan had prevented the survey of any direct lines from coast to coast north of the 11th parallel. Colebrooke writes8:

As it appears from the accompanying map, constructed chiefly from Actual surveys, that the Breadth of the Peninsula is throughout narrower than it had formerly been represented, a comparison of it with the latest construction...by Major Rennell may not be uninteresting.

The following table exhibits the comparative breadths under the several Parallels, from 10 to 16 Degrees, and will also serve to verify the longitude of several places upon the Malabar Coast.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parallels</th>
<th>Breadth of old construction</th>
<th>Breadth of the Peninsula</th>
<th>Modern Maps</th>
<th>Excess</th>
<th>Further Excess</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10°</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11°</td>
<td>421.4</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12°</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13°</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14°</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15°</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[In this table the number of miles in columns 3, 4, and 5 are those given by Colebrooke; columns 4 and 5 show the errors that yet remained in Colebrooke's map.]

1 F What, 58/B/9. 2 Pennani, 10° 6' 46" N.; 75° 56' E. 3 Cochin, 9° 58' N.; 76° 14' E. 4 RPC. 28-6-84. 5 Peninsula (1). 6 B Pol C. 10-7-1800.
There was so much difficulty in the determination of longitude, that many of the earlier maps made no attempt to indicate longitude from Europe, but merely showed a meridian line through either Calcutta or Madras, sometimes with other meridians measured from it [225, 229, 230]. We have already noticed the efforts of Pearson and others to determine the longitudes of these primary points with some precision, but it was not until the founding of the Madras Observatory, and the publication of Maskelyne’s [155 n.13] new astronomical tables, that the problem could be tackled with any confidence.

Colebrooke took up the subject with enthusiasm, and extracts from his correspondence with Goldingham between 1800 and 1803 will give an idea of how the matter then stood.

It was remarkable that in many of the old Charts, and indeed in some which have lately been published, the longitudes were mostly found to lie too far east. ... The late Mr. Reuben Burrow...has pointed out...an error both in the common practice of making the Lunar observation and method of computation, and Doctor Diumwiddle 1 has more recently made it appear that an error in the Lunar Tables, tending to increase the apparent longitude of places East of Greenwich, ... does so actually exist. ...

The Eclipses of the Satellites of Jupiter have afforded a more easy and correct way of ascertaining the Longitudes of places at land, ever since tables of these Eclipses have been calculated and published in the Astronomical Ephemerides, but yet these Tables have been found to be not altogether free from error. ... Correspondent observations of the same phenomena, should always be preferred when they can be procured.

An Eclipse of the Moon affords an easy method of finding the longitude...; the observation is of course liable to error, yet the mean of several will give a pretty accurate result. ...

I shall now give my reasons for having fixed the longitudes of Madras and Pondicherry in the accompanying map differently from Major Rennell...by 8 minutes of a degree.

Major Rennell...has stated the longitude of Madras, at 50° 24' 40", which he derives from the observations of three different gentlemen, Messrs Howe [169], Dalrymple [q.v.], and Topping, but does not mention in what manner the observations were made; it is probable however that they were all lunar 2, and if so, that those of the two former were taken at a time when the Hadley’s Quadrant, or Sextant was very far from that state of improvement to which those instruments have lately been brought; in that case an error of a minute in taking the Lunar distance might easily have happened. ...

M. le Gentil 3 was deputed by the king of France to observe at Pondicherry the Transits of Venus over the Sun’s disc, what took place in the years 1761 and 1769; unfortunately he did not arrive there in time to observe the first, and was prevented by cloudy weather from observing the second; during the time of his sojourn at that place, he...determined its longitude by a series of observations of the Eclipses of Jupiter’s first Satellite, which he deduced from correspondent observations...taken at Greenwich and in France. ... The result was Longitude of Pondicherry East of Greenwich, 5° 19’ 26” [169].

If the Longitude of Madras be deduced from the above by adding the difference of Meridians by survey, viz 25 minutes of a degree, we shall have...80° 16’ 30”. ... I have likewise inferred the Longitude of Madras from Calcutta.

Taking Pearson’s longitude of Fort William as 88° 22’ 07”.5, and applying bearing and distance from his own surveyed line along the east coast [41-2], Colebrooke derives a value for Madras very close to that from Le Gentil’s observations. He then considers Burrow’s longitude of Rassapugly [150, 162]:

As Mr. Burrow resided at a considerable time at Rassapugly, it is also possible that his observations at that place would have been more numerous and various than anywhere else, of which although he has not left us the detail, yet we may venture to take the result on the word of a man of such distinguished abilities.

Now by taking the longitude of Fort William, as deduced from Mr. Burrow’s longitude of Rassapugly, and applying the difference of Meridian, ... the longitude of Madras will be 5° 21’ 06”, agreeing exactly with that which was deduced from le Gentil’s observations, and differing only half a second from the longitude inferred from Colonel Pearson, which very close

1 James Diumwiddle, LL.D. spent several years in Calcutta from 1795. 2 Nearly all to satellites of Jupiter. 3 Guillaume Le Gentil de la Galaisière, of the Académie Royal des Sciences; Pub. account of magnetic & other scientific work at Pondicherry & over the Indian Ocean [150].
coincidence, though possibly in some degree fortuitous, at least proves that there cannot be any material error in any of these results. I have accordingly placed Madras in 80° 16' 30".1

Goldingham replied in 1803 2:

About 53 sets of Lunar observations were taken at Madras with different Instruments; and the results, reduced to the Hon’ble Company’s Observatory, gave its Longitude 80° 19' 35" East of Greenwich.

Also 38 sets of Lunar observations were taken at Coringa; ... by observations with Chronometers three successive years 3, Masulipatam was found East of the Madras Observatory 54' 55”; Coringa had been previously found East of Masulipatam 1° 10’; and therefore East of the Observatory 2° 5’ 26”; hence the Longitude of the Observatory by these observations will be 80° 20’ 38’.

Also 48 sets of Lunar observations were taken at Bombay, which gave the Longitude ... 72° 57' 23". By a capillary chronometer, the difference of Longitude from Bombay to the Madras Observatory was 7° 24' 35". The Longitude of the Observatory of these observations is therefore 80° 21' 58". I have reason to think, from other observations in my possession, this difference of Longitude is very near the truth.

The Eclipses of the satellites are very numerous. The first result was obtained in the year 1787, by correspondent Eclipses taken at Greenwich, Canton, Calcutta, and Madras; which gave the Longitude of Canton 113° 19' 07", and the difference of Meridians between Canton and Fort William 24° 34’; hence the Longitude of the latter, by these sights, is 86° 25' 07’.

By a lunar eclipse observed with great care, the Longitude of Fort William was 88° 25’. And by correspondent Eclipses at Greenwich it was 88° 24’ 53”: ... All the Madras observations were taken at Mr. Petrie’s observatory. The Longitude of Canton was determined... by Captain Huddart; and the Calcutta observations were taken by Mr. Lindley, formerly Assistant to the Royal Observatory. ... By correspondent sights at Madras and Canton, the Longitude of the former was 80° 19’ 53’.

By a series of Eclipses of the satellite of Jupiter, observed between the years 1787 and 1790, and the Tables corrected by observations at Greenwich taken at or about the same time, the Longitude of the Company’s Observatory is 80° 17’ 14’.

Taking a mean through all these values Goldingham deduced the longitude of the Observatory to be 80° 19’ 21”.2. He then discusses the calculations made by Colebrooke, and after making various small changes, and combining his results with those already detailed, he deduces the following,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fort St. George Church</td>
<td>80° 21' 13&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras Observatory</td>
<td>80° 18’ 54”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort William</td>
<td>88° 25’ 12”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay Church</td>
<td>72° 55’ 18”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Colebrooke replied,

Although...I cannot suppose that Mr. Goldingham has been far from the truth, yet I do not think that his deductions are so correct that the Longitude of either as given by him can...be depended upon as an Unerring Standard, from which the Longitudes of all other places in India should be calculated. ... Some new lights may be thrown on the subject by a comparison of the Greenwich Observations with those which have been taken at the Madras Observatory since the year 1790. I take the liberty of transmitting for this purpose a duplicate set of Dr. Maskelyne’s Observations, ... consisting of the 3rd volume and two numbers for 1799 and 1800, which Mr. Goldingham not being yet in possession of, I request you will forward to him.

I have every reason to believe that the true Longitude of Fort St. George will be found between 80° 16’ 30” and 80° 21’ 43” as stated by Mr. Goldingham, the difference being only 5’ 13’ 5’.

1B Pol C. 10; 7-1800. 2 Dn. 47 (1-15). 3by Topping 1769-6 [105-6]. 4by Goldingham [177].
CHAPTER XII

PROFESSIONAL METHODS OF SURVEY


WHEN Rennell reached Bengal at the age of 22, he had been some 8 years at sea, and had gained considerable practice at the surveying of coasts and harbours, with a certain amount of instruction from brother officers.

Most of his assistants appear to have had some knowledge of surveying before they came to India; for he seems to have had no opportunity of a personal meeting with the majority of them, and in such instructions as have been found, he assumes their knowledge of how to run and protract a compass traverse.

From his Journal of 1764-67 [17 n. 11], and a study of the large-scale river surveys of his first year's work, we learn a good deal about Rennell's own methods. His instruments included a Hadley's quadrant [199] and at least two chains; he had a compass, and took astronomical observations to find its variation; he procured later a sextant and a theodolite. For his river surveys he surveyed the banks by chain traverses, and the intersection of prominent bends and points with his quadrant, and took occasional observations for latitude. He occasionally checked the length of his chain, recording errors up to 8 inches exceed [198]. He left marks at the end of each length of survey, which he picked up on re-starting.

Throughout his first river survey he distinguished between cursory survey by way of reconnaissance, and the exact survey which he made of any channel which might give him the route to the south for which he was searching.

He appears to have kept up large-scale protractions day by day, at first on the scale of 4 inches to a nautical mile, but later on that of 2 inches to a mile [247]. He changed over to British miles later.

Hirst gives the following note on the first sheet of the Ganges survey of 1764 [18];

The map shows some, but not all, of the triangulation and other stations used; here and there are double lines which were bases measured with more care than other lines on the map. The methods by which the map was constructed can, however, be gleaned from the map; first of all a base was measured near Jellinghi, and a traverse was run from it to the Damodar end of the map; wherever the traverse crossed deep water triangulation was resorted to, and here and there fresh base lines were measured. From points on the traverse, bends in the river banks and village sites etc. were intersected.

The traverse is sometimes on one bank and sometimes on the other. In many places notes are made where the work is not exact 3.

When Rennell first started his surveys on land he appears to have had no system of running traverses in circuits or checking them by cross lines, nor does he appear to have any regular system of astronomical control. His earlier surveys were aimed to complete some definite length of river, or the route to some important place, or a major boundary. His surveyors were given certain vague areas to survey.

As he gradually gained a better knowledge of the geography of the country he was able to give more precise instructions to his surveyors, and these appear to have been in the form of orders for running carefully measured circuits through places

1 Jhalsagi, 76 D/18. 2 Hirst & Ascoli (4).
of importance, with other lines of cursory survey [35-6]. The following extracts are taken from instructions issued at the end of 1776:

You are hereby directed to complete the general Survey of the Jungleterry [34 n.9] etc., observing the same rules for your conduct as you followed during your former survey, viz., to lay down the direction and length of the principal roads, the course of the principal Rivers or Nullahs, and to describe the face of the country in general, by distinguishing the Hills, woods, jungles, morasses, arable sands, and to remark the situations of Forts, passes and gaurts, as well as every particular as may appear worthy of remark.

[Then after a list of routes to be followed], you will please to observe that only about one seventh part of the whole distance is to be measured, the remainder is to be estimated, according to the method you sometimes practised heretofore. Your surveys are to be drawn on the same scale as formerly, viz., 2 miles to an inch1.

You are hereby directed to proceed on a survey of the unexplored part of Ellahabad, Cude &c. You will herewith receive a list of the Roads, etc., that you are to survey, to which you must conform as nearly as Circumstances will permit.

According to the list of Routes, the point of commencement of your survey is at Secunder-pour. You are to trace the Road from thence to Buxar & Benares. I know not on which side of the Ganges the principal Road lies: but it will be your business to enquire, and act accordingly...

If escort is provided you will proceed from Benares first to Biorigir Fort, and then in a direction nearly south till you come to the extreme limit of the Benares District; and having found the Boundary, chase such a route westward as will enable you to describe the course of it, till you close the said Boundary at, or near, the village of Gorah3, which is represented in Mr. Bruce's survey as lying on the frontiers of Chandail4 (the territory of the Rajah Gobind Singh).

Then follow detailed instructions as to tracing boundaries, marking villages, passes, depths of rivers, and making junction with other surveyors.

It is not meant that you should follow the boundary through all its minute windings, but with such a degree of exactness only as may be expressed in a map of 5 miles to an inch.

Some roads were to be "measured in a cursory manner"; others by actual mensuration, in order that I may be able to connect your former Survey with Capt. Marsack's. Your surveys must be laid down on scale of two British miles to an inch; they must be regularly numbered, & put to paper as soon as possible after they are taken, lest, in case of accident to your Baggage, we should lose the fruits of your labours.

In your plans, the general face of the country is to be described, whether Hills, Woods, Jungles, swamps or arable sands; the classes of towns, villages, Forts, &c. must be distinguished by proper marks; and the passes, gaurts, Fords, and Ferries must be noted.

For the measurement of distances perambulators were generally preferred to chains.

To show that long distances may be accurately measured by a perambulator, I need only mention that during the Bengal survey I measured a meridian line of three degrees with a perambulator, and found it to agree minutely with the observations of latitude [132]. However, due allowance was made for the irregularities of the ground, wherever they occurred.

Though triangulation was quite out of the question for his survey of Bengal, Rennell fully appreciated its value for the hilly country of the peninsulas [89]. He complains bitterly about the lack of information given by early surveyors about the construction of their maps; indeed, few surveyors ever thought to put their names or even a date on their surveys or fieldbooks, quite apart from the professional information Rennell wanted.

It should be a rule observed in all plans, to note how the scale was obtained; whether by actual measurement; difference of latitude; or estimation of distances; to which may be added, that the meridian line or parallel should be drawn across the whole space in the plan, to prevent errors in measuring the angles of bearing6.

It may be fitting here to refer to Dalrymple's Essay on the most Commodious methods of Marine Surveying, written by him before 1765 and revised and published in 17711. Dalrymple had his first lessons in navigation and marine surveying from Thomas Howe, in whose ship he sailed for Borneo in 1759, and Rennell had spent

---

1 To Pringle, BPC. 5-12-76 (A).
2 Kosa, 63 B/8.
3 Chandée, petty Rajas of Bundellhank, Imp. Gen. 27/184, 1821.
4 To Hawes, BPC. 5-12-76(C).
5 Memoire, 1788 (98).
6 Memoire, 1793 (25 n).
7 cf. methods recommended in 1784 [190].
nearly a year as Dalrymple’s surveyor during his second voyage of 1762–3. The following are extracts from Dalrymple’s essay:

The Basis of all Surveying is in determining a Distance, for unless some Base is found, or assumed, no Chart can be made. ...

Experience has fully convinced me, that Bearings taken by Compass cannot be safely trusted to in making a correct Draught. I have found not only a Difference of 3° or more in different Compasses, but in the same Compass at different times; I do not say the Effect had no Cause, but there was no sensible one which I could discover; And I have heard other people say their Observations gave room to believe there is a casual Deviation consequent to the State of the Atmosphere, or some other occult influence. ...

Hadley’s Quadrant is as much preferable to the Compass for taking Angles in Facility, as Exactness. In the common Observation for finding the Latitude, the Hadley being held upright. ... For taking Angles, the Hadley is held horizontal. ...

Capt. Plaisted’s Practice of using, for determining the Course and Distance in Soundings, a Lead instead of a Log to his Line (the stray Line corresponding to the Depth of Water) seems to be a good Method of correcting the Log.

In another place he writes:

It is not pretended that any of these Charts are Surveys, according to my idea of the word Survey; by which I understand “a Chart where everything is minutely and accurately laid down, so that there is no room for additions or corrections”. But such works very seldom appear, and I have seen some Charts very defective and erroneous, which the Editors have thought proper to call Surveys. ... But an implicit confidence is what no man is excusable for placing in any Chart, and I exculpate myself from all consequences which may proceed from such misconduct.

Of map reproduction he writes,

It is almost impossible to get a chart entirely exact from the impression of a copper-plate; besides those errors in the original to which all human performances are liable, there are many peculiar to engravings; the unequal shrinking of the paper; and the great difficulty of having a drawing traced exactly on the plate is another.

Route Traverses

As might be expected, it was only practicable to undertake deliberate surveys, such as Rennell carried out over Bengal, over territory which had been formally ceded to the Company. The only means of acquiring knowledge beyond these bounds was through the marches of troops or political missions; and before about 1790, except for Charles Reynolds, special journeys for the particular purpose of survey were hardly thought of.

A large part of Rennell’s Map of Hindostan was filled in from travellers’ journals which gave nothing more than a rough estimate of the distances travelled; these were more useful when a record was kept of each day’s march and its general compass bearing [10].

Most of Pringle’s road surveys in the Carnatic record each day’s march to the nearest quarter of mile and gave no bearing whatever. The trundling of a perambulator was a simple matter, but the continuous recording of the windings of a road, especially when the greater part of the march was made by night, would have been most difficult. In his later work Pringle supplemented his road measurements by bearings taken from hill tops, and occasional observations for latitude, but in the main the military road surveyor gave little thought to the general geography of the country, and concentrated on the measurement of distance.

Where perambulator measurements were impossible, as through thick jungle, time was noted by the watch and converted to distance by the estimated rate of march[75–6]. Such computation was always employed when travelling by boat. The more experienced surveyors made a regular deduction from their measured distances to allow for the unevenness and winding of the roads, and also, in hilly country, to reduce the measured distance to the horizontal [188].

Rennell notes that when using any route distance for map compilation he deduced one eighth part for distances of 100 miles, and one seventh for distances of from 200 to 300 miles, and conversely.

Those who wish for a general rule for changing horizontal distance into road distance in their common references to maps may break the line of distance into portions of not more than 100 or 150 miles, and then add to the whole sum of distances so obtained, one eighth part.

Those surveyors who had the necessary knowledge and instruments took observations for latitude, and for variation of the compass, at frequent intervals [155]. There was however no regular school of surveying [267], nor any one co-ordinating authority, and each surveyor was his own master until Colebrooke, after he became Surveyor General, tried to introduce some regularity of method [187-8]. Extracts are now given from the journals and reports of various surveyors.

In describing his survey of 1775 [30-1], Smith discusses the danger of carrying out a long line of survey by perambulator measurements without regular observations for latitude and longitude.

The best way is to join both these methods together by making astronomical observations at the end of every day’s measurement, and thereby correct the measures by the chain of perambulator, and also the Bearings by the compass; all this may be done and the survey of the whole country taken in the most private manner, without the knowledge of even so much as a person’s own bearers or servants, and at the usual rate of travelling in a palanquin, which is about ten times as expeditious as any method yet practised, by means of the following contrivance adapted to a palanquin.

He then describes, with a sketch and full mechanical details, the fitting of a wheel trailing along the ground beneath the palanquin, connected by a rod and endless screw to a cycloometer which could be read by the surveyor whilst seated comfortably inside. There is no record of this ingenious device being adopted by anyone else, and it is by no means certain, either, that Smith really put it into practice, for he writes,

Not only the places upon the road are inserted, but all those in view from the road, with their bearings by the compass, and their distances by estimation. Indeed all the distances were obtained by the same way, from the rate of travelling per hour, which in general, correspond so well with the Latitudes and Longitudes taken each day, that they cannot be much wrong. The point of the compass following the name of a nullah or river, shows the direction of its course, and sometimes that of its current.

Colebrooke’s survey along the east coast in 1784 fully deserved Pearson’s praise [41-2]. His field book gives perambulator measurements for each day’s march, and for many branch lines to the coast and important places off the line of march; where opportunity occurred bearings were taken to conspicuous hills, or short baselines laid out and points fixed “by trigonometry”. Astronomical observations for latitude were taken at almost every halting place.

The later Madras surveyors, including Schlegel, took full advantage of hills along their routes, and by intersecting hilltops were able to check their measured distances. In describing his surveys with Fullarton’s army during 1783 [98], Kelly refers thus to the work of the average route surveyor:

A pocket compass and watch are the sum of his apparatus, and if he guesses within half a point of the bearing, and half a mile of the distance, of one village or encampment from another, he is allowed to be very accurate in his observations [28].

His own methods were different; he fixed the latitude and longitude of Madura by repeated observations, … which observations correspond exactly with its bearing and distance from Trichinopoly by several routes, measured carefully with a Gunter’s chain, and the angles taken with a complete theodolite. …

The road… has been carefully measured with a chain, … and the bearing taken from village to village with a well-graduated theodolite, the whole corrected by the intersections of large triangles formed by the peaks of every remarkable hill, Pagoda, or other object discoverable in route; … all these surveys further corrected by astronomical observations.

After describing his traverse from Ongole in 1783 [100], Lennon continues,

This road is laid down particular exact, for I traversed it four different times, and always found the bearings and distances to correspond.

1 Memoir, 1793 (7 n). 2 Journal, BM. Addl. MSS. 28213. 3 Fdbs. DDn. 3 & 4. 4 BFC. 28-5-54.
The rivers I took particular care in tracing, and ascertaining their exact courses. The Mussy I crossed in about ten different places, and of the few parts that I did not actually trace, I had a view of its windings through the whole extent. ...

The roads...were laid down at the time, according to the Proportion of 8 and 8½ English miles traversed by the perambulator, to 7 horizontal miles of the same kind; varying the proportion, within the above bounds, by the diversity of the roads \(^1\) [188].

Of his survey of Guntur in 1788 \([111-2]\), Mackenzie writes,

The great number of remarkable hills and Pagodas facilitated very much a survey of this kind, but...on the Ongole road this help was much wanting, as the road goes there through thick groves of Palmyras, in a level country near the sea, where the sight is much circumscribed, and a view of the mountains can be rarely obtained. ...

The situation of some remarkable objects near Nellore were ascertained by an actual survey of the environs of that place; the principal are certain named Pagodas and rocks; the road to Seropilly Fort was accurately measured by the chain, and the distance of upwards of 11 miles, from Nellore to Seropilly, formed the base for the angles taken of various points, and several remarkable hills in the Western Chain, which may be clearly seen from Nellore and served to correct the distance run by the perambulator.

This foundation being laid in August 1788, I measured the road from Nellore...following the windings of the road, minutely the distance at every change in the direction and country, correcting the small errors, which unavoidably arose from the pocket compass used, by bearings taken at every convenient station with the theodolite, of those remarkable objects mentioned already, and of others which occurred in the course of this survey. ...

In protracting the measurements on the plan, I laid down each small distance according to the bearing of compass, and afterwards corrected them by the stationery bearings, so that the distance on the plan may be reckoned horizontal, the road of winding distance being in the abstract of the routes annexed.

I also took sketches of the outlines of the remarkable hills, which served to make them known to me when viewed afterwards from other quarters; some of these may be distinguished at upwards of 60 miles.

Surveyors working in the Ganges valley had, however, to depend entirely on measured distances and astronomical observations. Here are notes from Colebrooke's journal of a survey near Cawnpore in 1788:

November 2nd, marched about 11 miles in a palkquin. ... Traverse table gives the bearing of the road by compass points, thus, NNW.; NW. by N.; ... Time is given to the nearest minute all along the road, with difference of time between villages; ... distances are computed from these intervals of time. ... Remarks on each village and stream that is passed.

This estimate of distance is deduced from the time of travelling in a Palaqueen, and I have found by several trials that the average rate in 4 miles per hour when the road is tolerable \([39]\). ...

Total difference of time 4th 21st. This at the rate of 4 miles per hour would produce 17½ miles nearly; but as the bearers were latterly much on the road, I allowed only the rate of 3 miles per hour. Result 36 miles. ...

The distance (six furlongs) is guessed from Begum Sarai. The road was so difficult that it could not be computed from the time.

Astronomical latitudes were taken almost every evening. The fieldbook contains occasional neat little plans, with no indication of scale, obviously to assist in the protraction later on. It also contains records of routes measured by perambulator; some of these measurements are made without the direct personal supervision of the surveyor, who discusses various discrepancies noticed \(^2\).

It was usual to protract each day's work on fairly large scale; Emmitt notes, I protracted the rough copy of my surveys with a circular protractor 4 inches radius, having nonius and double prickers.

Burrow describes his protraction thus;

The routes may be so easily laid down in the manner of traverse sailing, by using the differences of time for the distance and the course as usual, but though I had calculated most of them, I found it was just as easy to lay them down from the original observations as from the results, and therefore I left the results out; that is, first lay them down on a separate piece of paper, then reduce them to the proper scale from the given difference of Latitude

\(^1\) Oriental Repository, I (50). \(^2\) ib (57). \(^3\) Journal, D.Dn. 7. \(^4\) Bo. S & Pol. 23-11-92.
and similar figures, and then protract the result into the map: or it might be done by taking the mean rate that the camels travelled for the measure of the real distance in the given time.

Here is a note by Colebrooke regarding his survey in Mysore during the war of 1791–92:

In marching, the direction and turnings of the road were observed with a pocket compass, and, whenever a village, tank, or any conspicuous object occurred, or the road altered its direction, the distance given by the wheel was carefully noted down. The same was done whenever the theodolite was used. Separate Protractions of each day’s march, upon a scale of one mile to an inch, in which, besides what was allowed for crooked roads, a reduction of 1/30 was made for the inequalities of the ground and the unsteadiness of the man who drove the wheel, enabled me to ascertain nearly the direction or horizontal distances, which, being then corrected, were applied as Bases in the protraction of the map.

A striking feature of Colebrooke’s fieldbooks in Mysore was his illustration by artistic panoramas, drawn in pencil and colour wash, with bearings to prominent points which would be of the greatest assistance in recognition and for protracting the map. Similar panoramas and sketches are found in a fieldbook of Mackenzie’s, who was not, however, such an artist as Colebrooke.

Here is an extract from Davidson’s journal of 1790 [42]:

The distance of our journey is computed according to the measurement of the country, and reduced to the English standard by our own practical knowledge and the time occupied by each day’s journey. The course is occasionally regulated by a pocket compass, but I had a greater dependence on observing the position of the sun, moon, and certain planets. ... Total distance 565 miles.

This is unlikely to mean that he took astronomical observations, but rather that he judged the general bearing of the road by watching the sky, most of the marching being done at night to avoid the heat of the June sun [41].

The Surveyor General entered the following note in the journal:
The distances have probably been overrated, and probably did not exceed 500 miles. The rate of 3 miles per hour allowed... was too much in hilly country, where considerable Jungles intervened.

Emmitt’s description of his survey with Little shows that the Bombay surveyors were in no way behind those of Bengal and Madras in the care taken over their measurements; he observed the latitude of the mouth of the Javher River; ... the windings of the river Major Sartorius gave me, the bearings of which he took with a good compass measuring the distance with a “log” ...

At Cordona I began the survey, carefully ascertaining a connection of stations in the direction of the road, the bearing of which I took with a good sight compass, regularly entering them in a Field Book, together with offsets to villages, Hills, Tanks, and wells, or any other object worthy of notice, measuring the distance between each station and offset with a good perambulator; in crossing of Rivers or Nullas I noted down their distance, measuring straight from station to station, by which method the line of Survey served me for a base, whereby I ascertainment the distance of more remote objects, such as remarkable parts of ranges of Hills, Forts &c. by taking two or three bearings of them from different stations in my line of survey.

I protracted the survey daily on a scale of five statute miles and a half and three hundred and twenty yards to an inch, taking the distance from a diagonal inch scale answering to ten thousand yards, which enabled me to lay off a distance correct to fifty yards or even less.

The scale of my surveys is four and a half inches the equatorial degree, which was approved by Captain Kyd [117]. As the Paper on which I had to make my copies was very indifferent, I have... given a correct List of all the Towns in their regular order of survey, lest a difficulty might arise in making out some of the names.

From the time that Colebrooke became Surveyor General he gave every surveyor detailed instructions as to his method of survey, extracts from which are now given. To Blunt for his survey of 1795 [59–63]:

---

1. [MIO, MS. S. 8]
2. [MIO, 138 (41)].
3. Fdpt. M. 120, GBO, Lib. Ab. 80; v. instructions to Blunt & Mount [88].
5. Leckie (90).
6. BM, Addl. MSS. 15568.
The particular mode of carrying on your survey you are. I trust, sufficiently acquainted with; I have therefore little to add on that head. I would however recommend to you to lay down your work upon a large scale, protracting each day's work upon a scale of one British mile to an inch, and deducting 1/50 for the unevenness of the ground and the unsteadiness of the man who drives your wheel; a reduction of 2/30 may be made when the road is very rugged and full of short turns and...windings that you cannot ascertain by the compass. 

Your distances thus corrected become so many bases which you may apply to the construction of your General Plan, which should not, I think, be laid down on a scale less than two British miles to an Inch.

It is advisable also to make rough sketches of the hills in your Field Book, which will greatly aid and assist you in the protraction and finishing of your plan.

As your route will lie directly through the country, it will not, of course, admit of your furnishing a complete map by survey. It will be useful, therefore, to take down from the Reports of your guides and Harcarahs, the directions and distances of such places of note as are out of sight, and those you can afterwards shew in a reduced copy of your work. 

Similar instructions were sent to Mount in Rohilkhand [56, 168], adding. It is needless to add that frequent angles and bearings must be taken with a Theodolite for remote objects, and with Pocket compass for the direction of the Road, in doing which it will be advisable to note every object that can tend to render the plan interesting and useful, making also a rough sketch of the country as you travel, and estimating by the eye the distances of such villages, Topes, &c. as are near the road, or not very remote.

In taking angles with your Theodolite it is proper to draw the appearance and shapes of the Hills &c. in your Field Book, instead of denoting them by a, b, c, or any other marks, by which means you will be enabled to observe them again, without which...their distances cannot be ascertained [187].

To Hoare who was to survey the Jumna from Allahabad to Delhi [57, 168], I would advise you, so far as the river may be navigable, to travel by water, with a perambulator driving along the bank and keeping pace with your boats. When you arrive at any town, fort, or Gaur, it will be easy for you to step out of your boat and look at the wheel, and the intermediate distances may be known by a time-keeper or a good watch, which if your boatmen are made to keep an even pace, may be calculated by the rule of proportion. I would, however, advise you to observe the wheel as often as possible, and for the greater accuracy of your survey to proceed slowly, and not to be over-anxious to make long journeys.

The direction and bearings of the River may be ascertained with sufficient exactness by a compass; but a Theodolite will be necessary for nicer observations on shore. If you can also observe by Astronomical observations the Longitudes of two or three principal places, your work will be complete.

On receipt of Hoare's first field book, Colebrooke makes the following criticisms;

The specimen transmitted by you appears in some respects sufficiently satisfactory, the distances being marked with minute preciseness; but I beg leave to observe that all the Angles being only given to points of the compass, it will be difficult for you to project your work without running into considerable error.

I beg leave to remind you that in my instructions I mentioned that a compass might be sufficient to ascertain the directions and windings of the river, but that a theodolite would be necessary for nicer observations on shore. It does not, however, appear that you had used one, but even with an Instrument of the former kind you might have marked the bearings of distant objects with greater precision, and by observing from time to time the Sun's Amplitude or Azimuth, the variation of the needle might have been found, so as to render your sights sufficiently correct for the common purposes of Geography.

Colebrooke himself spent much time surveying the Ganges and other rivers, so there was eventually very little that he did not know about survey as carried out from a boat. Several of his field books are still preserved. His traverse form is ruled with four columns; the two side columns contain notes of places and conspicuous features on the left and right banks. The first centre column gives bearings, which are sometimes simple points of the compass, and sometimes have

1 Ddn. 16 (89), 4-12-94. 4 Ddn. 16 (83), Dec. 1794. 3 Ddn. 16 (83), 10-4-95. *The Surveyor General of 1796 was indeed a polite letter writer. Ddn. 16 (135), 12-9-96.
Route Traverses

the bearing to the nearest degree or half degree, recorded with compass quadrant, thus N 48° W. [201]. The second centre column shows hours and minutes, for calculation of distances [156].

There are occasional tables of "angles with theodolite", taken to the nearest minute to prominent objects, often with no indication of the position of the theodolite. There is often a round of bearings taken from the top of the budgetow, with distances run to the objects by perambulator, and with notes such as there was a creek in the way, which prevented the wheel being driven in a very direct course. ... The class ¹ says he drove the wheel pretty straight, and only lifted it up in one place, about one furlong, to cross an inlet where the water was deep ².

Wood writes to the Surveyor General in 1799 [58-0].

I have made considerable progress in my protraction, beginning at Nawabganj up to Baraich, as, being a good deal in a northerly direction, and having observations for latitude of these and several intermediate places, the necessary correction I find by these means, and what you mentioned to me in one of your letters when I was in Assam, answers very well: viz., 1/30, and when the road is broken, 1/15. I have adopted the mode you recommended, and am protracting on a scale of a mile to 3/4 of an inch; you mentioned an inch to a mile. ... Afterwards I propose reducing it to a scale of 4 miles to an inch, and on this to lay down Don's tract, which I will protract myself ³.

Madras Jagir. 1767-74

The instructions given to Thomas Barnard for the survey of the Madras jagir in 1767 [88, 141-2] provided for a full and detailed survey, scale two inches to a mile, of an area about 100 miles by 50. He had only reached Madras the year before, aged 18, but had received a good mathematical education at the Royal Military Academy, and from his account of the manner in which he tackled this formidable task had fully mastered the principles of geometry and surveying.

The Country is laid down from angles and measurements performed with the Theodolite and Chain. From Madras to Tripasoor ⁴ Westward, and from that line to the extremity of the Company's Territories Northward, the Country is quite level, ... having in all this part no elevated Situations to afford the means of correcting such errors as are unavoidably ... contracted in Surveys of any extent.

I judged it to be the best way to divide the whole into Circuits of 12 or 14 miles. These circuits were contrived so as to afford the most convenience for getting the situation of the remarkable objects within them, and to give the greatest possible length to the lines which formed them; the fewer stations there were in each circuit, the more correct the work became, by diminishing the number of angles to be taken, in which the danger of error is greatest.

The finishing of each circuit corrected the mistakes of the preceding one, as there must always among the adjoining Circuits be some common points belonging to both, and of course if the work should be perfect they must coincide.

From the lines which formed these Circuits the Angles were taken to the villages as I measured along. In those villages where no conspicuous object presented itself, the want was supplied by a flag on the top of some high tree. ...

The plan of the villages, the situation and shape of the Yarics [Tanks], were determined by their bearings to the above point. ...

The situation of the paddy fields being almost always contiguous to [the tanks ?], the same work which gave me the place of one, afforded likewise the place of the other. ...

When the whole of the afore-mentioned tract North of Madras came to be closed, and the circuits brought together, I found a considerable error had accumulated; the extremities of the work which ought to have joined, did not meet within a mile; this I have been forced to accommodate by diffusing it in small portions over the whole, so that each part shall be as nearly in its proper place as possible and none be put much out.

I have only to offer in excuse for this error, that no pains were omitted to avoid it; it must have happened by errors in the angles or lengths, the' with respect to the latter, I was not above the task of holding the Chain myself; and in the course of all the above work my health enabled me, and a desire to do my duty throughly prompted me to it.

¹Khatas [289]. ²Führ. M. 452 (a), DDn. 13. ³DDn. 15 (77), 6-6-99. ⁴Tripasoor, 57 O/16.
With regard to that part of the Survey containing the Imamom Lands south of the above Western line from Madras, I give that up to the strictest Inspection; the many hills in it afforded me the means, and I made use of them, to correct all the incidental errors. I have accompanied with the Charts, the angles taken from the several Stations on those hills, as affording an easy opportunity of reference, upon any occasion that may occur.

This was indeed a remarkable piece of work to be undertaken without the advantage of professional textbooks, or departmental rules, and with the simple instruments of the period; a work that would do credit to any young officer of the twentieth century. The lay out of his traverses in closed circuits; the distribution of his closing errors; and the connection of his traverses to the basis of triangulated hills where these were available, are principles which stand to this very day.

Triangulation appears to have been used as the basis of the large scale survey carried out by Dugood in 1776 [142-3], when he observed from "13 Principal Stations", and submitted the "computations of a considerable quantity of Capital angles" taken from them.

Michael Topping, 1788-94

In December 1784 Dalrymple submitted to the Directors a Memoir concerning a Survey of the Coast of Choromandel [164], recommending that "it will be very proper to take the present opportunity to make a compleat Survey of It", and describing the methods which he suggested.

Flags should be set out on shore, arranged either in triangles or in lines of three, and their positions fixed by an observer on shore working with a Hadley. The surveying ship, would lay down lines of soundings from the flags on shore, and the Persons on board the Vessel [should] take frequent Views of the Land; ... those Views should have the angles of the serious Objects taken with a Hadley, as well as their Altitudes marked, which will be of use in making a Map of the Country inland, as well as for the information of Navigators: But although it may be useful in making a Map, Angles taken from Sea, with any Instrument now made, cannot be considered as equivalent to Geometrical Survey.

Perhaps it would be eligible to leave a short trunk of Bamboe, sunk in every Place where a Flag-staff had stood, as it would facilitate the repetition of any angles which might hereafter be wanted. ...

In case any part of the Coast is woody down to the Sea-Side, The Flag-Staffs must be fixed on Trees, and the angles, taken, with the Hadley, from the elevated branches of the Tree; which I have practised where the Objects could not be seen from below.

It is possible that Topping may have discussed these matters with Dalrymple before he came out to India; anyhow it is interesting to compare the methods which he actually used to carry out this survey;

In 1787, Sir Archibald Campbell, entirely satisfied with the observations I had made for determining the Latitudes and Longitudes of places between Masulipatam and Calcutta, proposed. . . that I should continue those operations Southward [102] . . . .

1MRC. Map 92; note 1-12-74. 2MMC. 6.1-77. 3Ritchie (1-8). 4MPC. 2-12-91.
He thus describes the details of his triangulation:

The angles are all taken with my Hadley's sextant made by Stancliffe, by means of 3 tall signals I have constructed of Bamboos 80 feet high, 50 of which I mount upon steps, so as to see (over all trees etc.) very distinctly my two other signals, at the distance of from 8 to 13 miles [1 102, 192].

It is, I believe, the first time the Hadley was ever made use of for a purpose of such magnitude; but it is fully equal to it—nay it does more—: The sun's bearing...from my signals is also taken by it, by which, and his azimuth (computed), I obtain the angles made by them with the meridian, and by combining the whole, the difference of Latitude and meridional distance of every one of them in English fathoms. This is found so nicely that a mean of my astronomical observations for the latitudes never differs more than a few seconds from those given by the Geometrical mensuration. 1

He measured a base-line upon the sea-beach near Porto Novo 2 in May 1788; This Base Line, could I have chosen its situation, should have been determined as near the middle of the line of Coast I am surveying as possible; but circumstances have not permitted me to make unreserved choice of its place.

On my arrival at Cuddalore, I was told that, as I proceeded southward, I should meet with frequent rivers and other water courses. That would certainly obstruct me in the design I had formed of measuring it on the sea-beach further south; and soon after my removal from that place, I found, with much satisfaction, that the Coast between Cuddalore River and Porto Novo would serve my purpose extremely well. The Beach here-abouts is flat, broad, and remarkably smooth, ... but forming a curved line, concave towards the Sea. ...

An accident that about the same time befell one of my signals, and delayed my Trigonometrical progress. ...determined me to measure my base at this opportunity, and I accordingly began that work by placing two of my Large signals...about 7 miles southerly, for the...extremities of it. ...

[1] divided the whole distance into 6 distinct portions, each portion forming a small angle with the next. ... Measurement; ... spared neither pains nor care. The 2 rods of 25 feet each which I had provided for this use, had been strictly examined while I was at Cuddalore, and their lengths ascertained; ... they had been left purposely a little too long, as I found it easier to determine and allow for such excess, than to reduce them to sufficient exactness.

Used a capital 2 feet Brass Sector by Adams as a Standard. ...

The stands which I had prepared for levelling the rods were also brought out; and it was with much regret that I found I could not profit by them, as I hoped to do, assisted as I was by none but Black people, in whom I perceived it would have been impossible, without incurring great loss of time, to have impressed a necessary idea of their nature and management [29].

He laid the rods end to end along the ground, which he thought was just as satisfactory as the French base which was measured on "the rugged pavement of a highway near Paris".

He gives details of the measurement, the determination of azimuth, the connection with his triangulation, and the meridional observation of stars for determining the latitudes of the terminals, whose position with relation to neighbouring marks he describes minutely.

The following year Topping was engaged on his survey of Coringa Bay [103]; The capital letters of reference show the positions of my signals for ascertaining the leading points. These signals...were of the kind used by myself last year. ...They were constructed of the largest bamboos that could be got, so put together with iron cramps, and supported with rigging as to admit of my ascending to the height of 50 feet upon them, and thence seeing over every obstruction round me on this flat, woody country.

My Instruments were screwed upon an apparatus fixed to the top of each signal (I mean in particular my Hadley, with which almost all my angles were observed), and the whole could be readily elevated, taken down, and transported from place to place.

By means of these signals, a sufficient number of connected triangles were obtained; the sides of which were computed, and thence (not by the usual method of projecting) the principal points were established on the Chart. ... The Base-line, or foundation of the whole, was measured as accurately as possible on a spot very convenient for the purpose, with two rods, constructed on a similar occasion last year. ...

1cf. treaties & maps described & illustrated in Records of Survey of India, 1915-7 (42-7).
Pages — give particulars of the method used for determining the configuration of the shores of the Bay. A great part of them, being low and overgrown with jungles, was inaccessible, and gave me much trouble. Such parts, however as would admit of it were measured with the Pemambulator and Theodolite.

He then describes his method of taking soundings, following a practical application of Mr. Dalrymple's problem (founded upon the 21st proposition of Euclid 3rd) for determining the place of an observer in possession of the angles made by any three known points.

Goldingham gives the following description of the triangulation which he carried up the coast to the north of Madras, in 1792–3, under Topping's directions [104–5].

Two signals 60 feet high each were raised at two stations by the sea-side; on the Southernmost of which the observer could elevate himself between fifty and sixty feet from the ground, while the northern signal was distinguished by two large flags (a blue and a white one); the distances between these signals were so regulated that the flags upon the foremost could be plainly seen by the hinder one, tho' placed from 8 to 16 miles asunder.

The observer, elevated upon the hindermost signal any time between sun rising and nine o'clock in the morning, or between 3 o'clock and sun setting in the afternoon, with a Hadley's sextant, took the distance of one of the limbs of the sun from the foremost signal, noting the precise time of the observation; from which the true bearing of one signal from the other was computed; to make the work more correct, instead of one distance, six were generally observed, and the bearing reduced from the mean of these.

The latitude of the Southernmost signal was then found by the mean of 10 or 20 meridional observations; and, in order to remove any error that might arise through the imperfections of the instrument, half the sights were taken with objects on one side of the zenith, and half on the other side. From this data, the difference and distance of Longitude between the two signals were obtained.

The hinder signal was then moved forwards and raised precisely in the station where the foremost stood; the foremost signal was carried on, raised, and the operation repeated; in this manner were the situations of the principal signals found.

The accuracy of this method in a survey of a coast situated, as this mostly is, in the direction of the meridian, when the precautions before mentioned are taken, can hardly be questioned.

The line of the coast between the two large signals was laid down by a circumferentor [201] and perambulator, with the assistance of smaller signals. The declination of the needle was found from time to time to correct the bearings by the circumferentor, and the error of the perambulator was ascertained.

And finally we give Topping's description of his survey for the Kistna-Godavari Irrigation project [106].

The levels were all taken with an excellent Instrument of Mr. Ramsden's construction, at short sights for the most part of 150 yards each; the Instrument had indeed powers adequate to observing at much longer intervals; but besides that short distances, in these kinds of operations, give a more accurate result than can be derived from more distant observations, I found it altogether impracticable to take very long sights. attended as I was by Natives only, whom I had no small degree of trouble in training to a co-operation with me even at these very convenient intervals [191].

To render a series of observations, obtained with so much toil, as permanently secure and useful as possible, I fixed large Blocks of stone...at convenient intervals on the Bank of the River; and to these the station staves were in order applied, that their difference in level might be ascertained. These Staves Terms, which are six in number, are denominated Permanent Terms; and their several positions are marked explicitly on the Chart ["Many of them being under ground "]...

The Angles and distances...were all accurately measured with a very good instrument; ...the islands between its banks, and the numerous Villages situate upon them, are laid down with every attention to exactness. To render the whole useful in a Geographical as well as Political sense, many observations of the Sun and Stars were taken, both for establishing a scale of Latitudes probably correct to the nearest second, and for ascertaining the declination of the needle in these parts; and to prevent these observations from being committed to a separate Paper, I have thought it advisable to enter their results, together with the compleat series of levels, on the Chart itself. No observations for the Longitude of

1 Med. Sel. XIX. 1845. (25)  2 Note on Maps. MEO. (295) & MEIO. 137 (13).  3 MEO 9-3-98
any station have, as yet, been obtained; since neither the celestial phenomena, the weather, nor my more immediate avocations would admit of my taking any.

It is probably safe to say that Michael Topping was the most talented and highly qualified all-round surveyor that served the East India Company during the 18th century; and, from the ingenuity of his methods, the sound principles on which they were based, and the courage with which he urged them, he deserves a high place in the annals of the department [190]. It is a great disappointment that nothing has yet been found about his education or early life.

Bāramahāl & other Madras Surveys, 1792–9

As we draw to the close of the century we find that the surveyors of the southern presidency were no longer confined to the traversing of roads but were given whole districts to survey, and, being now free to take full advantage of open hilly country and distant views, they were gradually feeling their way towards the system of a triangulation net.

The rapid sketch which Alexander Read made of the Salem and Bāramahāl districts, after their cession in 1792 [113], was a planetable sketch based on graphic triangulation, the first reported use of the planetable in our Indian surveys [263]².

For the want of other means, the bearings were taken with a plain table of 2 feet square, having a pin in the centre, a ruler as an index of 2 feet long, mounted with a vane at each end, to turn round the pin in observing; and a pocket compass, for setting it by the meridian; after which the paper for the draft was fixed to it, and the compass...removed.

The distances were all computed in surries, of about 1/2 mile. Every object and distance were carefully ascertained by careful enquiries of seldom less than 100 of the inhabitants.

Every station being the highest, or most convenient. . . The drafts at each were severally made of different sheets of Royal Paper. . . The sheet to constitute any sketch being divided by a line to express the meridian. . . Adjusted by means of the compass and fixed to the table, and the pin being placed to express the actual station or common centre, bearings were first taken to every remarkable object and village, and the lines laid down to them at scale of 2 surries to 1 inch. . .

Roads also inserted and rivers. . . View from each station covered 20 or 30 miles square, and 25 in all were required, and the positions are described.

After an apology for the probable inaccuracy of his survey, Read justifies it on account of speed and cheapness;

That it is erroneous is acknowledged, but it has cost the Hon. Company nothing, and contains the principle points of a map composed of the most accurate materials, which would cost thousands³.

Beaton's rapid sketch of Pālṇād in 1787 [110], was the work of a few days.⁴ The scale on which it is drawn is half an inch to a Geographical mile; this I deem sufficient for any general survey. If upon this scale the positions of principal places, villages, and remarkable peaks, hills, be accurately determined to serve as primary stations, the rivers, principal watercourses and large tanks are easily traced in by hand, as are arable, hilly or woody lands, and thus a picture of the country is formed on the basis of a map sufficiently minute for general purposes of revenue or military matters⁵.

Allan's "Military Survey of the Baramahal and Ceded Countries", made in 1793 and 1794 [111], contained 2130 miles of principal Roads, with remarks on the adjacent country sufficiently minute for every military purpose, and views from nearly 100 different stations, from which about 4000 bearings have been taken with a Ramsden's Theodolite, most of them corrected by Azimuth's of the Sun ⁶.

¹Report of 14-2-94, MDC. Feb. 1794. ²though Sandle, I (46 n.) records that one was brought to Calcutta in 1742 by a young engineer. ³Note on map, BM. Addl. MSS. 26102 (A). ⁴elsewhere he says three months [110]. ⁵MRC. 27-7-96. ⁶MCC. 7-12-97.
Mather, employed by Read to make a more “particular survey of Baramahal district,” made a careful survey based on a number of points intersected by theodolite. His own description is somewhat confused; he seems to have intersected a number of prominent primary stations, from which he made further observations to fix topographical detail. The survey which appears to have covered the whole of the present Salem District took over four years. [113-4].

Montgomerie, in 1829, found it impossible to fit Mather’s primary points to Lambton's triangulation, and reports,

This survey does not appear to be based on Trigonometrical Triangulation, and although it is stated that the survey rests on a series of Bases taken on the plain south of Trichinopoly, (in what way any of them were measured is not specified) yet there is nothing to lead to the supposition that, in prosecuting the survey from these bases, that any other method was adopted than the mere taking of bearings (with what instrument not stated), and that the situation of places were determined by the mere projection of the same [114].

In 1799 Thomas Sydenham, who had succeeded to the command of the Guides [111], was sent up to survey the new southern boundary of Mysore, and started by measuring a base-line near “Ardenelle” [pl. 9];

I found that a direct line of 3 miles could be conveniently measured. ...from which the surrounding hills could be accurately determined.

Some days were taken up in clearing the ground, in preparing the instruments for the measurement, and in tracing out the exact direction. ... The steel chain was carefully measured with a large brass sector, the thermometer being at 79°, and its length found to be 50 feet 4 inches and 22/100; the next day the same process was repeated. ... The medium length...was adopted. ...

For the sake of convenience and to guard against the accumulation of trifling mistakes, the whole line was divided into three sections; ...each section was twice measured with equal care. ... I intended to have reduced these hypothenus distances to direct ones by the usual methods of leveling. ...

As astronomical observations must however be considered the foundation of all geographical survey, I had provided myself with the instruments necessary to determine the latitudes and longitudes of the principal stations along the boundary; although the weather was in general so boisterous as to preclude the practicability of regular observations, yet, profiting by every fair interval, I had regulated my Chronometers sufficiently for the purpose of commencing.

The measured base-line afforded a sufficient data to have resolved a series of great triangles, by which a number of primary stations might have been correctly fixed. The latitude and longitudes, which I intended to have determined, would have corrected the relative position of the primary stations, from which the adjacent country, and the exact situation of the boundary, might have been accurately laid down.

Unfortunately Sydenham went sick and was never able to complete his observations; it is possible that he might have found serious difficulty in adjusting the positions resolved from his base-line with those determined by astronomical observation.

Madras Surveying School, 1796-1800

The following are the professional instructions drawn up by Goldingham in 1796 for Assistant Surveyors sent out to the districts from the Surveying School [114-5];

You will survey with as much accuracy as possible the — District; to facilitate the execution of this work, you will divide it into two parts. 1.—A General. 2.—A Particular,— Survey of the District.

To accomplish the first object, should the Country afford accessible Hills or other eminences conveniently situated, and commanding an extensive view, you will make these your principal stations; if the country be not of this nature, you must mark out principal stations by erecting tall signal poles of Bamboo with suitable flags on each.

From the top of one of these eminences, a signal being placed on another, you are to take the angles made by the first station (a flag being now placed on it) and the same objects, with any others not before in sight; if a third accessible eminence be near, you may repeat

1Memoir. Dn. 12. 2Dn. 218 (74), 11-3-96. 3Harsanhalli, 58 A/13. 4Dn. 68 (21), 1796.

The instructions for the Particular survey are quoted elsewhere [146].
the operation from it; among the objects observed you will include such as may be likely to afford other principal stations, also remarkable points of distant Hills, whether accessible or not, and in this manner you will ascertain the relative positions of all the principal points of the Country.

As early as possible in the survey, you will choose a level and clear tract whereon to measure a Base line, so situated that you may have in view the greatest number of the principal stations, and at the most convenient angles; this line you will measure with a chain, the length of which must be accurately found by a standard brass Ruler at the commencement and finish of the measurement of each day; the length of the Base must be proportioned to the distance of the stations; and it would be measured with great care at least twice over, placing a stone at each end, whereby it may be found again if necessary; it should be levelled, and the measured line reduced to its equivalent horizontal distance. A second base of verification may be measured towards to conclusion of the survey if the country be extensive; the bearing of one end of the Base from the other you will determine by Astronomical observations...

The positions of all the stations in sight with respect to the base, you will ascertain by the requisite angles, take at each end of it.

Having thus established the principal points, you will readily ascertain the positions of all the villages...and objects not in view before, by short bases connected with points before determined, or by finding the point where two or more of the principal stations are in view, by the usual method, taking care to use the needle as little as possible. ...

You will determine the latitudes of some of the principal stations by meridional observations of stars on each side of the Zenith; observe eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter, for comparison with like observations taken at the Madras Observatory, and ascertain the difference of Longitude by a Timekeeper between the observatory and one of the principal stations or places in the District. ...

You will protract your work as you go on, and thereby discover if any mistake has occurred in the operation of the day, that it may be rectified on the spot.

It is obvious that each of these district surveys would be completely independent of every other, and that its scale and the surveyed area in square miles would depend entirely upon the value taken for the measured base. Its geographical position would depend upon such astronomical observations as these young surveyers were able to make, or upon accidental connection with the work of other surveyors.

As a matter of fact, not foreseen by either Topping or Goldingham, nearly all these district surveys were eventually connected up by Lambton’s triangulation, and became incorporated into the general maps of the Presidency.

We conclude with an extract from a pathetic little note from Thomas Turnbull, aged 15 years, from Devicuttall[110],

The letter you have mentioned dated April 1st concerned of measuring a base, and to find our station by means of three objects, but here, Sir, is not a place—plain—extending to 1/4 a mile in length; the District extends 7 by 5 English miles in length and breadth, and has only 32 villages. The 32 villages and principal Pagodas we have laid down in the accompanying protraction of our survey, but I can’t think it to be of much accuracy without a base be measured. I have the Devicuttall Pagoda and another Pagoda at Atcharraram; to the top of these Pagodas we must mount up, according to Instructions of Captain Caldwell, but I have made a lascar go up, and he told us that we would not be able to go up ourselves, and...get the Instruments over—and neither we could not get the necessary things, which greatly hinders us from our survey.

JOURNALS AND FIELD BOOKS

The submission of regular journals has always been demanded from surveyors, partly as a voucher that they have employed their time to good purpose, and also to supply information about little-known country. The first orders given to Rennell were no exception;

You will keep a very particular Journal of your Proceedings, noting the Appearance and Produce of the Countries thro’ which you pass; the name of every Village, & whatever else.
may seem remarkable, of which Journal you will give me a copy along with the Drafts you are to make of the Rivers and Creeks.

Bennell passed similar orders to his surveyors:

You are to keep a journal of your proceedings, & a book of remarks on the nature and situation of the several countries through which you pass.

Similar direction were given to Stevens & Pittman at Madras [92];

As a perfect knowledge of the Country may be of the greatest Consequence to the Hon'ble Company, You will endeavour to acquire all Such Information as may be of use to their officers or that can tend to forward the Service you are to be immediately employed on. For which Purpose you will keep an accurate Journal or Field Book, in which you will enter the Bearings and Distances of your Stations and of principal objects. Also the Properties of the Water and the Means of Procuring it; the Natures of the Soils, their Produce, with their effect on the Health of Animals, and the salubrity or unwholesomeness of the Air, accompanied by such Reports and Explanations as may render them perspicuous to the Hon'ble Board, and enable them to judge of their Fitness and Propriety...

You will be pleased to inform me of Your Progress once a month, or oftener should you judge it necessary.

In his orders to Burrow in 1787 [157], the Surveyor General directed that,

So long as your situation will admit I shall expect to receive from you monthly an account of your observations, and when this cannot be done, as often as you can find a favorable opportunity... I have also to request of you to keep a regular journal of your journey and observations, and your remarks respecting the Geography, History, of the different countrys of India through which you may have occasion to pass, will be a valuable addition.

Many of these journals are still preserved and make most interesting reading, more especially when the particular circumstances under which the surveyor was working are borne in mind.

In 1788, at the representation of the Surveyor General, Government issued orders for the regular survey of all routes marched by troops, with detailed instructions regarding the form of field book to be kept up [43].

The form was to be kept in four columns, the two outer ones for “Bearings and estimated distance of objects to the right and to the left”; the two central ones for “Bearings of the Road”, and for “Distance by perambulator or Time” [188-9].

The names of all towns, forts, rivers and villages, when obtainable, are to be inserted in the two broad columns on each side, also all tanks, jheels, and ravines on the route of march, ground of encampment for one or more Corps, and occasional remarks as to the nature of the road and country.

Bearings of places and objects, with their estimated distances. The road distance, whether measured by a perambulator, or estimated by time... An extraordinary allowance... for an Assistant Surveyor in the Field... to be drawn... upon producing from the Surveyor General a certificate of the Journal or Field Book having been kept with attention and accuracy.

The Field Books are in the first instance to be transmitted to the Quarter Master General, who will immediately... send them to the Surveyor General, who after taking a copy of them, is to return them to the Q.M.G., in whose office they are to be lodged.

Finding in 1794 that these instructions had produced but little information of value, the Surveyor General asked that the rules should be tightened, and that an order be issued requiring all surveyors to transmit with their plans... fair and correct copies of their Journals or Field Books, containing all the original measurements by the wheel or chain, and every particular respecting their surveys in writing, and that no surveyor be considered... as having fulfilled the object of his mission... without transmitting... such Journal or Field Book.

He pointed out to Blunt, as one of the reasons for the submission of these copies, that...

As many surveys, however carefully performed, are liable to be suspected of considerable errors when applied to the purposes of Geography, if not accompanied by the original measurements of the wheel, bearings, astronomical observations etc., so I would advise you by all means to prepare a fair and correct copy of your journal and Field Book, to be given in with your plan after your return.

---

1From the Governor, 6-5-64, La Tounche (9).
2RPC. 5-12-76.
3From CE. MMC. 22-3-73.
4BMC. 22-8-87.
5BGO. 29-9-88.
6RPC. 5-12-94 (8).
7DDM. 16 (80), 4-12-94.
To strengthen these orders still further, the Surveyor General proposed that
surveyors' allowance should not be paid until copies of their field books were
received;

All surveyors, acting in or out of the provinces, should transmit to the Surveyor General's
Office Monthly Reports specifying the progress they have made in their surveys, and includ-
ing regular transcripts of their journals or field books. The Surveyor General will notify to
the Military Auditor General the arrival of all such reports at his office, until which informa-
tion is received, the M.A.G. should not be authorized to pass their bills 1.

He explains as the reason for this order that
it has hitherto, in general, happened that gentlemen employed in this line have withheld their
reports until their allowances have ceased, at which time it has been found that the ultimate
result of their labours had been very inadequate to the time they had been kept on these
duties.

These orders were duly published, and for many years to come they bore very
heavily on surveyors working strenuously and single-handed in the field; as is often
the case, rules introduced to ensure regular procedure, and to protect Government
against the idle or careless worker, proved vexations to the honest hard worker.
This was pointed out with much force by Thomas Wood, whose allowances had been
held up because he had failed to send in regular monthly copies of his papers whilst
out on survey, and disallowed for the period taken in making copies after return
from the field. After describing the strenuous and successful nature of his field
work for a period of over five months [58-9], he continues,

Having mentioned these particulars to you, I am very confident you will not only be
perfectly satisfied of the impossibility of my copying my Field Books, but likewise that
without the most constant labour and perseverance, I could not have accomplished what I
have... to detail...

Had I protracted and finished my work as I advanced, worked the various observations
for Latitude &c., and sent you copies of the whole, I am inclined to think that for what I
have got materials in five months, it would have at least occupied me two seasons. My not
having spent my time doing so will, I therefore trust, not only meet with your full concur-
rence, but that... His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief... will be pleased to authorize a
continuation of my allowances for such a time as he may think my exertions merit 2.

1Dd. 16 (153), 8-9-96. & MMC. 15-8-96 (12.13). 2 EMC. 14-12-1807.
CHAPTER XIII

SURVEY INSTRUMENTS


SINCE for a proper understanding of the work of any surveyor it is essential to know what instruments he used, an attempt is here made to describe not only the names of the instruments used during the 18th Century, but their pattern, and the manner in which they differed from modern instruments.

There were, first, the instruments for measuring distance, Chains and Perambulators. Next, the instruments for measuring angles, Quadrants and Sextants; Compasses, Circumferentors and Theodolites. And thirdly, there were telescopes of special make for astronomical work, and chronometers and watches for transfer of time and longitude.

Many of these have already been referred to when describing the surveys, and there is no need to deal in detail with such essential articles as drawing instruments, protractors, brass scales, or levels.

Chains

Both Rennell and Barnard, and presumably therefore most contemporary surveyors, used chains, probably of much the same pattern as today.

Rennell twice records in 1764 that he measured his chain and found it from 6 to 8½ inches too long; he does not say how this measurement was made, nor whether he corrected the length.

Chains were probably used for all large scale surveys, but seldom for military route surveys. There are many reference to the Gunter’s chain, but only one specific reference to a 100 ft. chain. In an indent of 1787 the Surveyor General asked for brass chains.

In 1790 Burrow used “a 50 ft. steel chain”, being “Ramsden’s newly invented chain”, for the measurement of his degree of longitude, probably similar to those used by General Roy for his base on Romney Marsh, and by Lambton for all his base measurements; with links of 2½ feet each.

Perambulators

These were used in preference to chains for most route surveys. The essential parts of the perambulator were the wheel which was driven along the ground, and a cyclometer geared to the wheel and graduated in miles and various lesser units. Perambulators were used by Rennell and were still being used 100 years later. In 1851 they are thus described;

The staple commodity for route Survey is the perambulator. All English perambulators are smooth, bad in principle, and incapable of working except on a smooth road or bowling green; across country they go to pieces in a mile or two. There is nothing like the Madras pattern

1 La Touche (125). 2 Dalby. 3 Now preserved in GEO. museum, Dehra Dun.

198
principle of the endless screw and differential plates. The large Madras perambulator [invented by John Pringle] has two faults, the wheel is not sufficiently strong, and it is graduated to furlongs and yards.

The Madras Pattern 8 mile Perambulator...consists of a wheel 20 feet in circumference, driven by two handles passing through the axis of the wheel: this axis is geared to dial plates which give readings of miles, furlongs, yards, feet, and inches. To a surveyor it is of little use [but cf. Pearse saf.] its great height (nearly seven feet) rendering it difficult to manage in a high wind, and requiring two men to work it. The only advantage it has over other instruments of the kind is that it bears its own weight and, the handles being about the height of a man's chest, it is only necessary to keep the wheel steady, when the least pressure sets it in motion.

There were various patterns of Pringle's perambulator. Allan used one of 5 ft. 1½ inches diameter, "41 times of the wheel in a furlong," whilst Colebrooke used "a wheel of 7 feet diameter, with Rackwork, divided into furlongs and 30th parts".

Surveys were constantly interrupted through the breakdown of the perambulator; Rennell says that he could not get the exact situation of Cuttack because Campbell's "perambulator was spoiled between Cuttack and Balasore," and Pearse tells of trouble he had with perambulators on his marches to and from Madras;

In the march to the Carnatic it was found that the perambulator was rendered useless before the detachment had performed a fourth of the march; the Surveyor was actually obliged to buy a new one at Masulipatam and that also became useless before we reached Madras [41]. The perambulators with small wheels and clockwork are therefore, by experiment, proved to be unfit for service of any duration.

In the Madras Army Captain Pringle measured with a wheel of 7 feet diameter [97]; and I caused a wheel to be made of the same dimensions, and adapted to it brass counting machinery, very different from what he had used, and I think better. One of these was used in my journey (with the cash) from Ganjam to Madras [155 n. 7], and afterwards in all our subsequent marches quite down to Cuddalore, and from thence to Calcutta. Before we set out upon our return, two more of the same kind were constructed, and connected together by an iron axle-tree; and with these three the distances were measured for that fine survey which was made by Lieutenant Colebrooke. ...I therefore recommend the single wheels of this construction for all future surveys, and will lend mine to the arsenal as a pattern for more to be made by. As perambulators are included in the proportion of stores, I beg leave to recommend sending them to the different stations, and also one to the office of the Chief Engineer, and another to that of the Surveyor General.

As regards price, the Surveyor General purchased one from an officer in 1787 for Rs. 130; and in 1795 Mackenzie paid about 12 Pagodas for one of large pattern.

In 1797 Goldingham obtained sanction "to make up some Surveying Wheels" upon a design of his own, for use at the Surveying School.

Sextants & Quadrants

Reflecting instruments on the familiar principle of the Sextant had been used by navigators from the latter end of the 17th century. In 1731 John Hadley published an account of his new reflecting Octant, which was a great improvement on any existing instrument of the sort. It was provided with a tangent screw, telescope, and vernier scale, enabling the navigator to determine his latitude with accuracy, and was equally well adapted for coast surveying by triangulation. In 1738 he added a spirit level.

As time went on it was found desirable to use a more extended arc, and the Sextant was introduced in 1757, and Quadrants about the same time; the arc was later enlarged to 120 degrees, and some patterns took the form of Reflecting Circles. With these reflecting circles observations could be repeated and the mean taken, centring and other errors being thus eliminated.

1Thullier & Synth (300–1). 2b (107–8). 3Note in fdbk. MEIO. M. 77. 4Note on chart, MEIO. 138 (41). 5Memoir, 1783 (68). 6To GG.; Ben P. & P. VII (120). 7South Kensington (5).
When Rennell was preparing for his voyage to the East Indies as a midshipman, in 1760, he wrote to his guardian:

I believe I shall want a Quadrant and a book call’d the East India Pilot [169 n.2]. ... They’ll cost about £3-10-0, it must be one of Hadley’s Quadrants. ... I have furnished myself with drawing compasses, Navigation Books, &c. 1; and this was the quadrant he used on his first survey in Bengal.

On his journey to Poonah Smith used an astronomical Quadrant...made of brass, of 20 inch radius; turns horizontally upon a pointed steel axis about 2 ft. long, ... with spirit and plumb line; but as we seldom staid more than one night in a place, the observations were necessarily made in the open air, and generally in a brisk wind which rendered the plumb line useless, and the observations themselves sometimes rather uncertain to half a minute or more [162, 175].

Pearse gives the following account of his instruments:

I had only a tolerably good quadrant and quicksilver till December 1776, when I was lucky enough to get an 18 inch land quadrant, made by Ramsden, with a micrometer to subdivide the nonius. This inverts, and is capable of the nicest adjustments. ... In August 1777, I obtained Mr. Smith’s refractor, made by Dollond, with a triple object glass, and a double object glass micrometer....

Going to Madras in 1782 [155 n.7] I used an Hadley’s octant and quicksilver [to which he made elaborate modifications so that] by this contrivance, with an octant, I could take angles of 150°: and consequently meridian altitudes as far as 75°. ... In the way back, we had a land quadrant of 15 inches radius, ... sent out by the India Company. It was used by Mr. Hurst, in the transit of Venus [153]. This could not be inverted, but, to destroy the effects of collimation and error of level, the latitudes are all determined by stars taken north and south of each place, as the observations will shew [154].

For his more important work Topping mounted his “Hadley” on a stand [172], but though the Surveyor General in Bengal indented for quadrants thus mounted, the Directors replied:

All the instruments desired for the use of the Surveyor General’s office...will be sent this season, except the two land Quadrants with stands, which must be deferred for further explanation; the Astronomical Quadrant is sent as desired, which it is supposed must answer every purpose for which the others can possibly be required [203].

In 1789 the Directors ordered to be sent on one of the Ships of this season an Astronomical Quadrant made by Bird, 6 which we purchased for the use of Mr. Topping in his survey of the Coast of Coromandel.

**COMPASSES**

The compasses of the 18th century appear to belong to three main types.

The Pocket Compass, reading to 8 or 16 points, was probably carried by most officers and surveyors, and must very often have been the route surveyor’s only instrument besides his perambulator.

The Azimuth Compass was a superior instrument altogether. It consisted of a floating needle, and a ring graduated to degrees which revolved with a pair of open sights, the line of sight coinciding with the zero of the ring. This compass varied from three to five inches in diameter, and was used from a stand 6.

Thirdly, the Compass that was incorporated into the Theodolite, also graduated to degrees.

All readings had to be taken by the naked eye.

We have found very few direct references to the compasses actually used; Rennell makes no mention of his, except that he observed the variation of his needle, but it was probably a pocket compass that Ferguson reported for misbehaviour under musketry fire [28].

Lennon, when surveying in 1788, had no other instruments with him than an azimuth compass and a perambulator; Colebrooke in 1786 took his bearings “with

1 HMS. 765, 2-3-60.  2 BM. Addl. MSS. 29213.  3 As R. I (58-61).  4 CD to R. 8.4-49 (118).  5 Probably successor to John Bird (1708-58).  6 South Kensington.
an Azimuth Compass and another of smaller dimensions"; but in 1788 Burrow regrets that though he had "a theodolite and a small pocket compass" of his own, he had no azimuth compass [204].

All experienced surveyors, from Rennell onwards, took regular astronomical observations to determine "the variation of the needle", that is, the declination of its scale zero from true north. This would of course be of no value with a pocket compass, but would be important for bearings taken by theodolite, which could give readings by vernier from the magnetic meridian, sometimes to one minute.

Some compass rings were graduated counter-clockwise from 0° to 360°; others were graduated from 0° to 90° for each quadrant independently; in recording from the latter a note had to be made as to the quadrant [189].

CIRCUMFERENTORS

Goldingham mentions the use of a circumferentor on his survey of the coast in 1793 [192] when the traverse between major signals was run by circumferentor and perambulator. A circumferentor was also included amongst the instruments issued to each assistant revenue surveyor sent out on district surveys [206].

The circumferentor was a compass on a stand, with a small spirit-level for setting it horizontal. It had a 9-inch circle, graduated in degrees and reading by vernier to 3 minutes. Fixed to the circle was an alidade with sights at either end.

Theodolites

Rion describes the English theodolite of the early 18th century as consisting of a brass horizontal circle, reading sometimes to 2 minutes, but without a vernier. The rotating telescope could be elevated and depressed, but had no vertical circle. During the 18th century improvements were added which included a vernier reading to a minute; a compass whereby all angles and bearings were referred to the magnetic meridian; and a vertical arc. In an article published in 1822, Edward Troughton, the great instrument maker, writes that the early theodolite had a single very poor azimuth circle, and angles were observed from the magnetic needle. It was really a telescopic compass.

An early Altazimuth Theodolite is thus described in the catalogue of the Science Museum:

The Alidade carries a vertical arc, and also a telescope with vernier arm; ... 8-inch horizontal circle graduated in degrees, and read to 5 minutes by a vernier scale on the alidade. The vertical arc has radius of three inches, and is graduated to degrees up to 50 degrees on each side of the zero, and read to 5 minutes by vernier. A 4-inch compass fixed to the alidade is graduated to degrees. Telescope of 10-inch focal length, and 4-inch aperture. Spirit levels for levelling. Two parallel plates for fixing the instrument to its tripod are connected by four levelling screws and spherical joint.

Rennell did not receive a theodolite until 1767; Barnard used a theodolite from that year for his survey of the Jagir.

On Kelly's survey of Fullarton's marches angles were taken "with a complete theodolite [185]", and during the Third Mysore War Colebrooke used a fine theodolite by Ramsden with telescopes and spirit levels, and a smaller one by Cole with sights and Nonius. The latter was used most frequently on account of the case and readiness with which it might be put up.

In 1795 Mackenzie intended for a good Theodolite, ... if possible, ... with the latest improvements, the horizontal plates and vertical arc moved by screws, and with a good telescope fixed, and spirit levels.

---

1. Blem.: & South Kensington [59-8].
3. South Kensington (70).
5. Note on chart, MRO. 108 (41).
6. MGC. 10-1-65.
Reference must be made to two instruments of a different class;  
"An Equal Altitude Instrument, made by Troughton, which cost 50 guineas in London", used by Emmett for determining the variation of his compass\(^1\) [178]. An instrument purchased by the Surveyor General in 1795 for astronomical observations at Calcutta [167]; it is a large circular instrument upon a new construction, called the New Improved Equatorial, ... made upon the same plan as the instrument used by General Roy to ascertain the difference of meridians between Greenwich and Paris. ... Mr. Timbrel the proprietor bought it in London for 167 Guineas; and carried it first to China, where not having met with a purchaser, he wishes for a moderate profit to dispose of it here. The price fixed is two thousand sicsa Rupees\(^5\).

The purchase was sanctioned, and he writes to Topping,

I have procured a new improved Equatorial Instrument of two feet diameter, but the stand having been left in England or China by mistake, I have not yet been able to make any use of this instrument, which I hope however to do in time, having written to Chunarghar for a block of stone, which, if properly cut, will answer as well, if not better, than the stand originally intended for it\(^6\).

**Chronometers**

The possibility of determining Longitude at Sea by the use of a Time-keeper was first pointed out by the Flemish astronomer Gemma Frisins in a work on navigation published at Antwerp in 1530. ... During 1728-60 John Harrison, a Yorkshire carpenter, invented and constructed four practical marine timekeepers, with the fourth of which he won the reward of £10,000 offered by the British Government [151]. ... Harrison's mechanism...was complicated, delicate, and costly, ... accordingly it had little direct effect on the evolution of the modern chronometer. But in 1765 Pierre le Roy of Paris invented and constructed a marine timekeeper, whose mechanism embodied...practically all the essential features of the modern chronometer. Le Roy's work was followed up by Berthoud in France and by Arnold and Earnshaw in England.

The first named produced, as early as 1735, several chronometers, which, both in appearance and mechanism, are scarcely distinguishable from the machine of today\(^4\).

The earliest reference we find to a chronometer being used in India is a note by Dalrymple of one owned by Forrest [46], which fell into very good hands, for it was purchased by Lieut. J.S. Ewart, who made very good use of it during two years in Bengal and the interior part of India [155]; and then, as he informs me, spared it to one of the vessels gone to the North West coast of America, from which therefore Geography has much to expect\(^4\).

Both Burrow and Topping made regular use of chronometers and watches. For his longitude observations in 1787 Burrow bought an Arnold's chronometer and a large timepiece for Rs. 1,700 [158], and writes.

The chronometers of Mr. Arnold are certainly one of the greatest additions that were ever made to Geography, but the dampness of the weather in India in the rainy season is so excessive as to occasion irregularities in their rates that may lessen their utility considerably, if not guarded against. ... After taking them both out of their cases, and wrapping them carefully in cotton, and covering them well from the damp air, in a close box, they then went very well & were of uncommon service\(^6\).

We have already noticed that, between his principal longitude stations, Burrow interpolated others by means of several watches whose rates he constantly checked [162]; that he forgot to wind the watches and had to stay an extra week at Daeea to re-observe their rates [158], and that on his return to Calcutta he found all the watches had altered their rates very considerably [159, 162]. In measuring his degree of longitude he made use of nine watches [166].

On his journey by land from Masulpataam to Calcutta in 1786 [171], Topping had a small chronometer by Arnold, that had before been under trial on a voyage from England to the Coast, and afterwards at Madras during an interval of twelve months. The account which follows of the

---

\(^1\) BoS & Pol., 23-11-92.  
\(^2\) Ddn. 16 (89), 15-1-95.  
\(^3\) Ddn. 16 (98), 13-11-95.  
\(^5\) Forrest. (Preface).  
\(^6\) IO. Maps MS. 5.
method observed to ascertain its rate on the road, will show how satisfactorily it performed on this occasion: ... the chronometer appears to have been very little affected, by the motion of the Palanquin, between the last two stations.

At the end of 1792 he asked leave to make a voyage in order to test some chronometers just received from England [173].

These watches are now in good order, and should be used before they have been too long out of the maker’s hands, after which they are found to be much less valuable than at first for settling the Longitudes of places.

Huddart fixed the longitude of many places down the west coast by carrying chronometers from Bombay, and comparing their times against that from astronomical observations [175].

Chronometers were sometimes contrary and Sydenham reports that though he had carefully recorded the rate of his watch, by Arnold, from “a series of comparisons at the Madras Observatory,” yet on 30th March...the watch stopped without any visible cause, having been carefully wound up the preceding day, and every precaution used to secure it against accident. This unpleasant circumstance rendered it necessary to ascertain a new rate.

In 1786 the Directors sent out for the Bombay Marine survey [124] “one Box and two Pocket chronometers”; ...and directed that in case of any accident unfortunately happening to the Box Chronometer, it must not be put into the hands of any Artist in India, but returned to us. We are informed that the Pocket Chronometer can be repaired at Calcutta.

It is sad to find, however, that two years later McIver reports,

The Chronometers sent out by the Company are all useless; the large one was sent to Governor Bodiam, that it might be taken to Europe. The small ones are both rendered useless, one is with me, and the other is lodged in the Secretary’s office. The Longd. has been accurately measured by a very good one, sent me by Mr. Dalrymple.

Supply of Instruments

In the early days it was not the Company’s policy to supply its officers with surveying instruments; they were expected to provide their own, even though no provision was made for this in calculating their allowances [205, 277]. A small stock however, of the more common instruments gradually came to be kept amongst the engineer and military stores, and could sometimes be obtained from the arsenals on payment. As the Company’s servants were the only traders allowed in the country, there were no merchants or shopkeepers to import such articles; officers who wanted instruments had therefore to purchase them from England, though after a time they were sometimes brought out amongst the goods which every captain of an Indianman had the right to bring out as his private speculation [90]. When an officer died or left the country, any surveying instruments among his property were sure to find purchasers, and sanction was often obtained to purchase them for Government stores.

In 1775, Ross, Chief Engineer, Madras, wrote to Stevens, who must have possessed some instruments already, but apparently had asked for others:

I will send you the Astronomical Quadrant with a great deal of pleasure: I am sorry that I have not a Theodolite that will answer your purpose, but you may depend on having the best of the season. I have wrote for several, but am afraid they won’t be out this year. The Company have never sent me any Instruments, tho’ it was one of the first things I did to intend for them. What I have hitherto got were such as the officers of the ships brought out for sale, which will account for their being of inferior quality.

Again, to Government, on the close of Johnston’s survey in Vizagapatam [93],

Mr. Johnston should be directed to bring with him all the Surveying Instruments that are not immediately wanted by Mr. Maxtome. Among which are those belonging to the Estate of the late Captain Pittman; they have been in use for the Company ever since his death, and, as they are still wanted, should be purchased.

1 Oriental Repository, I (419 et seq.). 2 pocket chronometers advised; CD to M. 16-5-92 (15). 3 Journal MRIO, M. 83. 4 CD to Bo. 8-3-86 (29). 5 Bo FC. 18-9-88. 6 Mack. MSS. LXVIII, 18-6-75. 7 MCV. 6-1-77.
Again, in 1782, the great want of mathematical and surveying instruments for the service of the Engineer's Department induces me to request that your Lordship will allow me to purchase several useful articles brought from Europe in the ships of this season, amounting to about 400 Pagodas.

Mathematical instruments were a favourite form of official present. When Bogle went on his mission to Tibet, he took with him as presents to be distributed in Bhutan,

- A Case of Mathematical Instruments valued at Rs. 40
- Barometer, Thermometer, Hydrometer...
- Three Thermometers...
- Four Compasses...
- A Quadrant...
- A Microscope...
- A small Telescope...
- Two Spring Glasses...
- Three Prisms...
- An Electrifying Machine...

In 1771, the Directors send out as a present for the Nawab of the Carnatic an Instrument of curious design and workmanship, called an Orrery, which exhibits the revolutions of the Planets and twenty years later presents for the young Peshwa included "an Orrery, Globes, Maps, and Philosophical Instruments"; the Orrery was damaged on the journey, but Emmott was able to repair it.

When Burrow was ordered on his astronomical survey in 1787, he had the greatest difficulty in collecting suitable instruments, but, not being a convenanted servant, was able to get Government to pay for those which he managed to obtain (158);

With respect to the Instruments, Calcutta is not a place where it is easy to be furnished, even with bad ones, from the shops; I had brought some good ones from England, but had the misfortune to have them stolen, & there was none belonging to the Company in the Settlement, so that I was obliged to borrow where I could; & am particularly obliged to Lt. Wm. Golding of the Bengal Engineers, for use of a 4 foot refracting telescope; & to Captain Justinian Nutt for the lens of one of Mr. Arnold's telescope pieces for several months during his stay at Calcutta; Mr. E.E. Pote also favoured me with the use of an excellent Telescope made by Ramsden, & Captain Garstin, with one of Ramsden's theodolites.

I had likewise a sextant made by Troughton of 6 inches radius, & two of Mr. Arnold's Chronometers; one of them was very old and without any of his last improvements, but the other went very well; and I had also a Barometer and Thermometer; and an Astronomical Quadrant made by Captain Ritchie, but this last was so liable to error of all kinds (being for the most part made of wood & excessively ill contrived) as to be in a manner almost totally useless, and rather burdensome than serviceable.

For his trip to Cheduba the following spring, the instruments I took with me were two watches made by Arnold belonging to the Company, & a Sextant & Telescopes; a theodolite & a small pocket compass of my own. I had neither Azimuth compass, nor log-line, nor time to procure such things, when I received orders to go on board, nor could I with propriety expect such things from the ship as they were continually wanting them for their own observations.

In 1787 the Surveyor General asked Government to sanction the purchase of a number of instruments, the property of an officer of Engineers who was going home, as there is not a single instrument in the Office belonging to the Company, and were they to be commissioned from England there would not only be a delay of several years, but very little difference in the expense.

These instruments consisted of

- A large and complete Magazine case of Mathematical Instruments, containing Rs.
- 6 Parallel Rulers... etc., etc. ...
- A very complete pentograph by Ramsden ...
- Spirit Level by Ramsden, with long telescope, compass, etc. ...
- Persambulator ...
- A Sextant with telescope ...
- A large Theodolite, with long telescope and spirit level...

He replied to the Government's query as to how the Surveyor General's Office had hitherto been supplied with instruments.

1Mack, MSS. LXVIII. 8-4-82. 2HMS 219 (347), 3-5-74. 3CD to "Nabob of Carnatic", 16-4-71.
Some years ago...our plans were contracted for to be completed for a specified sum of money, and there is no doubt the Expenditure for Instruments as well as every other must have been considered [235]. At present I have a salary of 500 Rupees a month for myself, and 600 for Draftsmen, but no allowance for instruments [203, 277], which of course ought to be furnished by the Hon'ble Company.

I further beg leave to recommend...that the Court of Directors be requested to send out every two years for the use of my office the...Instruments which are included in the accompanying list, which I have now the honour to send you, and if possible to be made by Ramiend.

This indent included drawing instruments of all sorts and

- A Spirit Level.
- Two Land Quadrants with stands.
- An Astronomical Quadrant.
- Two small Theodolites, strongly made, with double Telescope and a spare long telescope for each.
- A Pentograph.
- An Improved Pentameter.
- Two hanging and two pocket, compasses.
- Two hundred-feet Brass Chains with arrows.
- Two Gunter's Brass Chains with arrows.
- Two hundred-feet Brass Chains with arrows.

Government sanctioned the purchase of the instruments on sale and forwarded the indent to England, which in due course was supplied with the exception of the land quadrants [203].

About this time Reynolds in Bombay succeeded in replenishing his stock of instruments at Government expense:

Among the Investment of the Imperial ship, lately arrived, are a variety of mathematical and Astronomical Instruments suited to the service on which I am at present employed, and as such an opportunity is not to be missed of providing myself with these Instruments...I beg leave to solicit your permission to Purchase them on the Honorable Company's account.

Accompanying is a list with their prices sent me by the Captain of the Ship. I must do him the justice to say that the prices are very moderate, and much below what such articles generally sell for in India.

The Military Storekeeper was directed to purchase what Reynolds asked for.

In 1788 the issue of a perambulator and compass from Government stores was authorised for any survey of a military route, on the indent of the commanding officer [196].

In 1792 the situation as regards instruments at Madras was so difficult that the Chief Engineer wrote to Mackenzie, on his being posted as surveyor with the Nizam's Subsidiary force,

An Artificial Horizon is not to be got. Topping endeavoured to render that which Lennon had serviceable for you, but it did not succeed, you must therefore make the most of some quicksilver in a saucer, and chase still weather for your observations. The Major [Maule] and Sergeant Balfour have been trying at a wheel for you; their progress I cannot exactly ascertain, but believe it rather slow.

The following year Topping submitted a second indent for mathematical instruments,

which I hope will be complied with, as there are no Instruments fit for the surveying service of any value belonging to the Company in the Country[6].

In 1795, Mackenzie sent in from Hyderabad an account of the instruments that had been provided to him in 1792, and an indent for replacement and addition;

- provided by himself,

  - Brass Sextant by Ramsden, with
    - Astronomical Ephemerides Tables.
    - Theodolite, with stand, complete.
    - Brass Chain of 20 feet.

- provided from the Chief Engineer's Office,

  - Brass Circular Protractor
  - Large Parallel Ruler
  - and now required,
    - A Good Theodolite,
    - Artificial Horizon, with ground glass plates;
    - very much wanted.
    - Small jar of Quick Silver.
    - Azimuth Compasses.
    - Achromatic Telescope.
    - Tracing Glass.

- MMC, 27-0-87.
- MPC, 19-4-96.
- BGO, 29-9-88.
- Mack. MSS. LXIX. 1-8-92.
The above list, if supplied will render any application for instruments unnecessary for some time. If any of the kind wanted are among the stores at Masulipatam, they might be ordered to be supplied on indent from thence.

The following instruments were supplied to each pair of Assistant Surveyors sent out from the Surveying School on district surveys:

- Theodolite.
- Levelling Instrument.
- Telescope for celestial observations.
- Small Telescope.
- Hadley's Sextant.
- Artificial Horizon.
- Thermometer.
- Circumferentor.
- Chain.
- Two Teak measuring rods.
- Brass standard measuring rod.
- Porambulator.
- Protractor.
- Case of Drawing Instruments.

Astrolabe

Some description must be given of the Astrolabe, the oldest scientific instrument in the world, which we have already noticed as having been used by the early astronomers and travellers [148, 151], and, as late as the 18th century, by the missionary Tieffenthaler [150].

In its simplest form it consisted of a circle or disc of metal or wood, suspended by the edge from a ring, and fitted with an alidade which rotated to give readings from a scale of degrees. With this instrument, the elevation of sun or stars could be observed for the deduction of time and latitude [176].

Instrument Makers

It is not surprising to find surveyors of the 18th century complaining of the quality of the instruments they had to work with, and the following extract is taken from a letter written by Pearse to an uncle in England.

Adams' Thermometers are too short for India. I have seen the mercury rise. ...

I never had any opinion of Adams; when I was in Europe I had seen some of his instruments very defective, ... his being King's Mathematical Instrument Maker makes him careless; but I have seen many instruments of Ramsden's in India exquisitely good.

I have an astronomical Quadrant of his make which is extremely fine [200]; and I have seen refractors of his, little, if anything, inferior to Dolland's; so that I have a very high opinion of him.

1 MMC. 10-1-96. 2 M. Rev. Bd. 22-12-96. 3 Ency. Brit. 4 Letter of 9-4-76. 5 Med. Repository.
L'EMPIRE du GRAND MOGOL

by Sonson d'Abbeville, 1682.

Reduced by one-third from map in the British Museum. K. 115 (25) by permission of the Trustees.

A great advance on Mercator's map, Plate 3, but interior detail pushed too far north, compare Plate 1.

Note, in contrast, the comparative accuracy in latitude of the coastal detail, both here and in Plate 12.
Reduced by one-tenth from map in the British Museum, K.115 (60) by permission of the Trustees.

Note how the Western Ghāts, which are visible from the coast, have been pushed far into the interior, Malabar and Canara being allowed far too much room. Compare Plates 1 and 3.

Note that scale is about half as much again as that of Plate 11.
CHAPTER XIV

MAPS OF INDIA


The first ideas to reach Europe about the geography of India came through Alexander's invasion of B.C. 330;

The actual campaigns...were confined to the valley of the Indus and its tributaries; but the information collected...included the whole valley of the Ganges on the north, the eastern and western coasts of the peninsula, and some scattered notices of the interior of the country.

This information was worked into shape by the Greek geographers Megasthenes and Eratosthenes, the latter attempting the first map of India. He held that the earth was spherical in shape and the centre of the universe, and, making astronomical observations and calculations for the length of the earth's circumference, laid the foundations of scientific geography; his ideas of the dimensions and form of India are said to have been a better approximation than those of most of his successors up till about the 17th century, but he strangely distorted its outlines, so much so that India extended from West to East, with Cape Comorin as its most easterly point, whilst the ocean beyond formed the limit of his world.

He was followed by Ptolemy, mathematician, astronomer, and geographer of the 2nd century A.D., who established the geometrical principles of geography, and insisted that astronomical observation was the only scientific basis for a map.

He constructed a map of the world divided into separate maps of other countries, collecting information from historians and travellers. Unfortunately he took the value of the equatorial degree as 50 instead of 60 geographical miles, and having few observations for latitude, and none for longitude, his positions were mostly estimated by mutual bearings and distances, and thus vitiated by his error. His Indian peninsula is typical of the distortion produced, being compressed in latitude between parallels 11° and 20°, but stretched in longitude from meridians 110° to 150°.

Ceylon on the other hand is swollen to 15° north to south, and 12° from east to west.

Ptolemy shows the Himalayas in range [67], with the Ganges flowing south-east from the mountains to the sea. He is the first to apply the term India extra Gangem to the region west of the Ganges, and that of India extra Gangem to that to the east, whilst beyond that again he shows the Chersonesus Aetnea and Sina.

Both D'Anville and Rennell refer repeatedly to his map, Rennell remarking:

Although this geographer's map of India is so exceedingly faulty in the general form of the whole tract; yet several parts of it are descriptive. Ptolemy's ideas were collected from people who sailed along the coast. A work which has travelled down to us from the second century...must have possessed something worthy to recommend it.

Wilford writes, probably before 1800:

It is my opinion that, in the times of Pliny and Ptolemy, they had a more full and copious geographical account of India than we have forty years ago. Unluckily through the want of regular itineraries and astronomical observations, their longitudes and latitudes were only inferred, and this alone was sufficient to throw the whole of their geographical information into a shapeless and inextricable mass of confusion.

One substantial contribution made by Ptolemy was a table of places with latitudes and longitudes, the former from the parallel of Rhodes, and the latter calculated from Ferro [242 n. 2]. A Latin translation of his Geographia appeared in 1462, and his maps were redrawn and printed in 1472.

The next great contributors to Indian geography to be noticed are the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hian and Huen Tsiang, who visited the sacred places of India A.D. 400–13 and 629–45, leaving valuable accounts of their journeys.

From the 9th to the 13th centuries a succession of Arab travellers and geographers left careful records of the places they visited and described, fixing positions by means of estimated distances. They illustrated their writings by diagrams rather than maps, and one of these, by Ibn Haukal, is shown on plate 4 [220].

The following is an extract from an Arab work completed in 1310, which is more precise when dealing with internal detail:

Hind is surrounded on the east by Chin and Machim, on the west by Sihad and Kabul, and on the south by the sea. On the North lie Kashmir, the country of the Turks, and the mountain of Mena, which is extremely high, and stands opposite to the southern pole.

Though containing little in the way of maps, old Hindu Sanskrit writings contain much accurate geographical information, of which it has been said that:

Although there is plenty of the fabulous in Indian geography of outlandish regions, the allusions to purely Indian topography are generally sober. The main features of the country were adequately known in very early times.

Wilford, who was the first serious student of such Hindu literature, writes:

Besides geographical tracts, the Hindus have also maps of the world, both according to the system of the Pauranics, and of the astronomers; the latter are very common. They have also maps of India, and of particular districts, in which latitudes and longitudes are entirely out of question, and they never make use of a scale of equal parts. The sea-shores, rivers, and ranges of mountains, are represented in general by straight lines [cf. pl. 4].

The best map of this sort I ever saw, was one of the kingdom of Nepal, presented to Mr Hastings. It was about four feet long, and two and a half broad, of paste board, and the mountains raised about an inch above the surface, with trees painted all round. The roads were represented by a red line, and the rivers with a blue one. The various ranges were very distinct, with the narrow passes through them; in short, it wanted nothing but a scale. The valley of Nepal was accurately delineated; but towards the borders of the map, everything was crowded, and in confusion. ...

These works, whether historical or geographical, are most extravagant compositions, in which little regard is paid to truth. ... Geographical truth is sacrificed to a symmetrical arrangement of countries, mountains, lakes, and rivers, with which they are highly delighted.

Though in later life Rennell showed an interest in ancient, or comparative, geography, he remarks of his Memoir, “I have generally avoided all disquisitions of this kind, from a conviction of the general obscurity of the subject.”

Early Maps to 1750

The invention of printing was a great stimulus to the study of geography, and between 1472 and 1480 seven editions of Ptolemy's maps were issued. During the following century a number of Italian and Dutch maps appeared which discarded Ptolemy's information, and gave to India new and sometimes strange forms from the tales of later travellers.

Plates 2 and 16 show Italian maps of the 16th Century by Bertoli and Gastaldi; but later maps by Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola, published at Rome in 1683, show a considerable advance in knowledge.

There are a number of Dutch maps, the earlier ones being wildly imaginative, with picturesque ornamentation in the way of ships and sea monsters; even the names of their geographers have an air of romance; Hadriano Rielando; Gerard

1 Mythical mountain of Hindu geography. 2 Ellot, I (42); 3 ch. I entitled Early Arab Geography. 4 Sastri (xxix). 5 As N. VIII, 1806 (270–1). An example of such a map appeared as frontispiece to Gladwin's Ayen Abbey [33 n. 3]. 6 Memoir, 1788 (10). 7 Gaetano di Gaetani, “the greatest of the Venetian mapmakers of 16th century.” 8 Imp. Lib., uncatalogued.
Mercator; Johann Huydekoper; de Witt; Pieter Goos; Hendrick Doncker; Hugo Allart; and Nicolaus Visscher. Plate 3 gives a fine map from Mercator's atlas of the early 17th century.

Plate 10 shows a map of the late 16th century, a tiny map drawn by Father Monserrate after his visit to Akbar's court, 1570-82 [11], which commands our respect as the first map even partly based upon measured routes and astronomical observation, the surveyed line running from Surat through Delhi to Kâbul.

The chief merit of the map is the delineation of the western Himalaya and the upper courses of the rivers from the Jumna to the Indus, which are better shown than in any other map for the next two hundred years [68], though it is seriously out in longitude. It was never printed until 1914.

The first English map of any value was drawn by William Baffin in 1619, largely from information supplied by Sir Thomas Roe [71 n. 8], whom Baffin accompanied on the voyage home from India. Though greatly superior to other published maps of the period, and for a long while the main authority for other geographers, Orme's remark that "This map is curious for knowledge misplaced" was certainly justified, with, for example, Lahore on the banks of the Indus, and Attock 80 leagues to the south. It is interesting to compare Baffin's map with that of Monserrate; they have practically nothing in common; whilst Monserrate has a very fair idea of the Jumna, he reduces the Ganges to a mere tributary, strangely misplaced; Baffin's Ganges on the other hand, is very well shown, but his Jumna rises about twenty miles west of Delhi.

With a neat humour, Baffin inscribed the following text below his map heading, "Vera quae visa; quas non, veriora?" [2], which no doubt referred originally to the superiority of divine faith over material vision.

Nearly 100 years later, Herman Moll published in "London, in the Savoy; MDCCXXI," a work entitled A Compleat System of Geography, Ancient & Modern. The volume for Asia contains 31 maps, and lengthy descriptions of the geography of India as then surmised. There are two maps of India, both on the scale of 200 miles to an inch.

The West Part of India, or the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL extends from Kâbul to Pegu, and from the Maldives Islands to Kashmir.

Its most striking features are; first, that it brings the Ganges directly south from a lake, presumably intended for Manasarowar [72], which is fed by two great rivers, a very different version to that introduced by the Lamas' map a few years later [70-1]. Second, the Brahmaputra is brought from the East through Assam, and the Tsang-po is not shown at all. Third, a river "Guenga", in other early maps the Ganga, rises in the Deccan near Poona, and flows north-east into the Hooghly [45,pls. 3 n.; 13 n.]

The East Part of INDIA, or India beyond the R. Ganges, extends eastwards to cover the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Sumatra [4].

It shows Assam as "Asem or Acham"; and also shows a "Laquia R." flowing west from "Chaammay Lake" in Upper Burma to join the Brahmaputra [78, 84].

Plates 11 and 12 show two maps by le Sieur Sanson d'Abbeville, Geographer to the King of France, whom Markham describes as "the pioneer of geography in France"; they seem to have borrowed from Baffin's map.

Markham refers to Guillaume Delisle, "Premier Géographe du Roi", as "the principal creator of the modern system of geography", and "the first to publish a map of Tibet [67]". His Carte des Indes et de la Chine is dated 1705, and his map of Central Asia, 1706. A later French geographer was le Sieur Robert, Géographe ordinaire du roye, one of whose maps Les Indes Orientales was published in 1751.

1 Orme MSS. 124 (169). 2 Map, BM. K. 115 (22); reproduced, Terry & William Foster. The things that we have seen are true; those that we have not seen are truer still. Possibly from St. Augustine; cf. II Cor. 1V 18. 3 Jo. Maps. MS. 87 (451-712). 4 Ib. (652). 5 Kennell gives the name "Lauiya" to the W. channel of the Brahmaputra thro' Dacca Dist.; la Touche (66) & Ben. Atlas (vi & ix). The name still survives, 781/12, 79/15. 6 Nicolas Sanson, b. Abbeville 1600, d. 1667; his sons Guillaume d. 1738 and Adrian d. 1718. 7 BM. K. 115 (11).
D’Anville’s Map of 1752

An important stage was reached, and the geography of India largely rescued from the vagaries of fancy, when the French geographer, Jean-Baptiste Bourignon d’Anville, published his map of India in 1752. He had already published, 1751–53, maps of Africa and Asia, and it has been written of him: The critical study of Asia and Africa by D’Anville had recently purged the maps of those continents of all their traditional detail as regards rivers, lakes, and mountains, and left only the coast-lines and such features of the interior as had been seen by European travellers of repute. Little was left in Central Asia, and practically nothing in Africa [cf. pl. 15 n.].

He had compiled in 1738, a Carte général du Tibet, ou Bout-ton, based on the maps of the Jesuits at Pekin, and this had been published in Du Halde’s great work on China [70, pl. 7]. He had also published, in 1737, a map of the South Peninsula from surveys sent home by Father Bouchet [86, 238–9].

His new map of India was the first to be accompanied by a careful analysis of all authorities used in its construction; it is entitled, Carte de l’Inde, dressée pour la compagnie des Indes. 1752. 1 pouce = 4 lignes au degré. 3 feuilles.

His descriptive memoir opens,

Je n’ai dressé la Carte, dont l’analyse est l’objet de cet ouvrage, que parce que Messieurs les Commissaires du Roi à la Compagnie des Indes, m’ont fait l’honneur de me la demander. J’avouerai même, que j’ai d’abord témoigné quelque répugnance à travailler sur l’Inde plus en grand que dans ma carte d’Asie. L’ignorance de nos connoissances sur les différentes parties de l’Inde, leur défaut presque total à l’égard de quelques unes de ces parties, étaient le motif de ma répugnance.

Il n’est peut mieux contribuer à perfectionner cette carte, que la discussion par écrit dont je l’accompagne. Elle met à portée de discerner ce qu’il y a de plus ou de moins solide dans ce que la carte représente: & d’ailleurs les parties qui ne sont point connues se distinguent d’une manière plus franche dans cette carte, qu’en toute autre du même continent, en vertu d’une plus grande retenu sur ce qui mérite d’y figurer. Par là on doit être excité à rechercher de nouvelles connaissances, qui soient propres à reformer la carte en ce qu’elle a de fautif, & à remplir ses voides. ...

Au reste, l’avancement de la Géographie n’étant plus cher que la carte de l’Inde, je souhaite qu’elle ne soit que la préparation à une autre plus exacte et plus complète, qui la détraite en quelque manière, & ne lui laisse d’autre mérite que d’avoir donné lieu à une meilleure. Je serai plus ardent que personne, à rechercher tout ce qui pourra procurer cet avantage.

He adjusted his map to all the astronomical positions he could collect, and then built up the detail of coast-line and interior from any records he could find, discussing positions and distances given by writers even as early as Ptolemy and the Arab geographers [207–8], and hardly overlooking any possible source of information [213].

He left the unknown heart of India almost blank, and from the section which covers Bengal [pl. 13] it will be seen how conscientious he was to avoid filling up blanks with imaginary detail, though he did “follow the crowd” in accepting the fabulous River Ganges [200].

Behind these mountains [Western Ghats], as we are told by Barros, spring two rivers, Crusuar and Benhorz; the first to the Northward of the other; these rivers uniting in the environs of Andanagar...form the great river Ganga. ... The want of intelligence concerning a great space of country, leaves us without any account of the course of this river, till we take it up again towards the place where it divides into several channels, to get into the Ganges and the sea.

It is surprising that he records “an almost total defect of intelligence concerning the course of the Ganges, from its entrance into India, to its reception of the Jomana” and even in Bengal shows nothing to the north of the Ganges except

1 Carte d’Asie, Imp. Lib. M & F. 800. 2 BM, K. 115 (12, 2 Tab.). 3 Scale about 50 m. to 1 inch. 4 Éclaircissemens Géographiques sur la Carte de l’Inde. 5 D’Anville (71). 6 Jean de Barros, Portuguese historian [221], author of Da Asia, 24 vols. Lisbon, 1600–1613; 2nd ed. 1778–88. 7 Abalusquar; for 1/12. 8 Herbert (80); cf. Hobson Johnson on Godavery, Kedgeree. 9 Jumna conflua.
the points of junction of the larger tributaries, giving no indication whatever of any mountains. On the other hand,

Having material to represent this part of the Ganges, from Ughi¹ to the Sea, with more nicety and exactness, I have filled up a vacant space in the map with a particular draught of that part, upon a scale large enough to admit all the circumstances in which we are well informed².

D'Anville's memoir was translated and published with a reprint of his map in London in 1764 and 1769, with annotations by William Herbert³, Hydrographer [304]. He continued his interest in India, and helped Orme with material for his History, and in 1775 published his Antiquité Géographique de l'Inde, in the preface of which he thus comments on the great advance of knowledge since his map of 1752⁴;

Ce que j'avais prévu s'est effectué; et l'Inde est devenue l'objet d'un travail Géographique sur les lieux mêmes. ... Enfin, la carte de l'Inde dressée dans le cabinet à Paris, s'est vue suivie de plusieurs autres.

Celle qui parut la première à Londres en l'année 68, quinze ans plus tard que la miennne, ayant été enrichie en différentes parties, en conserve d'autres qui sont purement conformés à la carte qui l'a devancée. On lui en a fait succéder une seconde de la partie du Bengale, et en remontant le Gange dans un espace d'environ cent cinquante lieues au-dessus de la division de ce fleuve, et cette nouvelle production avec plus de détail, et quelques changemens en divers endroits. La Géographie de l'Inde a été ainsi tirée d'un état presque nul, ou du moins d'une extrême sécheresse, pour arriver à un degré de perfection qu'on n'aurait pas osé espérer de lui donner⁵.

Jefferys & Orme

The map of 1768 referred to by D'Anville above is obviously one entitled The East Indies with the Roads⁶, by Thomas Jefferys⁷, in four sheets, on scale about 40 miles to an inch, which included surveys by Remell and others brought home from Bengal by Vansittart and Clive [250]. Jefferys had obtained formal permission from the Directors to publish this map, and their minutes record the receipt of a letter from Mr. Thomas Jefferys, dated this day, representing that he has attempted in a Map to delineate the extent of the British Dominions in the East Indies, and expressing his hopes that this Court will give him leave to publish it under their patronage⁸, and no objection seems to have been raised to his use of surveys which were rightly the Company's property [251].

Jefferys follows Moll in showing the Brahmaputra by the name Lukia, rising with the Surma from "Chennay" Lake [209]. He shows the Chilka Lake as over 100 miles from the sea, to which he connects it by two creeks, one flowing out by Palmiras Point and the other by Rajahmundry⁹.

Robert Orme, the historian, was most industrious in collecting geographical material to illustrate his history [22, 28–9]; and his papers, now preserved at the India Office, contain long lists of sketches and surveys sent to him by John Call, Vansittart, Richard Smith, and other friends in India, with notes on geographical positions of important places, lists of geographical names, lists of maps in published books, and various notes on the construction of "our map". His draughtsman was Thomas Kitchen¹⁰, and two sheets of their map, scale 1 1/4 inches to a degree, were published without title in the first volume of his Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, 1782, with the following comment:

Mr. Orme had projected an Atlas of the Peninsula, to consist of about 10 or 12 sheets, of which the two maps inserted in this volume were to have formed a part: but the improvements then resulting from Major Rennell's survey of Bengal, and the marches of the British armies in India, prevented his proceeding in so arduous an undertaking 1.

A small scale map of India, also drawn by Kitchen, appeared with his History, 1778 2.

Orme's map contains various interesting items, such as, across Rajputana, "Hendous, a savage people", and at the debouchment of the Ganges from the mountains "Tagliupor, Streights of Kupela" 3.

Amongst his papers is the proof of a "General Map of Indostan" with a note in his handwriting.

The province of Oude in this Map is placed all wrong. Such was our general want of knowledge in the years 1760 to 1764. I write this May 11th 1778. The Gunga, running thro' Berar and falling at Balsore is from Mr. D'Anville's notion, which we have now every reason believe wrong [209, 210] 4.

After Rennell had retired and started the compilation of his Map of Hindostan in London, he expressed, in a letter to Warren Hastings (who was still in India), his disgust at the manner in which Orme still held much material that he would be glad to get; the general map of Hindostan is still at a stand for want of materials. It is a provoking circumstance that the Historian O-e keeps up all the Geographical materials in order to extract such particulars only as serve the purpose of illustrating his History; and probably I may either lose my eyesight, or drop into the grave, before he has done with them 5.

He probably got most of what he wanted very soon after, for Orme writes,

Mr. Orme is in possession of several geographical tracts relating to India, which contain curious knowledge, and may on occasions be useful abroad. He suggests their publication with an index. ... To explain this portion of history...a General Map of India is necessary, according to one or other of two forms he now presents. What is done in that, with names, already stands at £40, and when so completed will, with engraving, come to a great deal of money, perhaps £150, too much for Mr. Orme to ask, but much more than any sale can bear.

Mr. Orme is therefore very willing to deliver what is already done to the Company, recommending that Major Rennell, if he can be induced, may complete the map, and in such case will assist Major Rennell with all his materials, which he imagines to be a greater collection than any in Europe; and will give a tract of such observations and explanations on the Construction of the map as may tend to the future improvement of this knowledge 6.

**Rennell's Map of Hindostan, 1782-93**

Before he left India Rennell had already conceived the idea of working up a map of India:

It is well known that there are deposited in the India House a variety of Maps...of various kinds; all (or most) of which...appear to be laid aside to perish; amongst this various collection of materials much useful matter might undoubtedly be extracted, was there a proper person appointed to examine it. ... I beg leave most humbly to offer my services towards the selecting, arranging, and (if necessary) publishing as many of these...as the Hon'ble Court may judge necessary.

From the best of the materials I propose to form...A General map of All Hindostan 7.

He had started this great work whilst his Bengal Atlas [228-9] was yet in the engraver's hands, and in March 1782 he writes,

I have another Geographical work in hand, and which is to be published shortly. A Map of All Hindostan, or the Mogul's Empire. ... It is a work much wanted at this time. ... The Map has been just a 12 month in the Engraver's hands; and my illness has not hastened it 8.

In December the Directory record that Rennell presents the Court with a Map of Hindostan, accompanied by a Book explaining its construction, and proposes that copies should be sent to India, to be delivered at a reasonable price.

1 Robert Orme (iii). 2 Orme, III (i). 3 Orme, III: Carte de l'Inde. 4 Orme MSS 33 (9). 5 BM Addl. MSS 39147 (191), 29-1-81. 6 Orme MSS 150 (101, 104), 10-4-81. 7 BDC 5-12-79 (5). 8 HMS 763, 30-5-82.
Resolved that 30 Books of the best binding, explaining the Construction of Major Rennell's Map, ... with a Map placed in each Book, be purchased for the use of the Directors and the Officers at Home; and that 20 Books, bound in the other manner proposed by Major Rennell be purchased for the use of the Company's Presidencies in India.\footnote{Cf. 4-12-83. The map is dated 1782, and Memoir 1783.}

Of the copies sent out to India, the seven which went to Madras were carefully sent in seven different ships, each copy "in a box apart."

Rennell thus describes his map and his purpose in preparing it \footnote{Resolves of 21 Aug. 1784.}

Whilst the theatre of the Barrack War in Hindostan was limited to a particular province of it, little curiosity was excited towards the general Geography of the Country; but now that we are engaged either in wars, alliances, or negotiations, with all the principal powers of the Empire, and have displayed the British standard from one extreme of it to the other; a Map of Hindostan, such as will explain the local circumstances of our political connections, and the marches of our Armies, cannot but be highly interesting to every person whose imagination has been struck by the splendor of our victories, or whose attention is roused by the present critical state of our affairs, in that quarter of the globe.

That, which I now offer to the public, is intended to answer the above purposes; all such minutiae as tend rather to introduce confusion than to illustrate the general system being omitted; and the particular Geography of each province left to be hereafter explained in separate maps, on more distinct scales; in the same manner as Bengal, Oude, etc. are already done.

I am aware that I shall incur some censure for using so small a scale on the present occasion; as many people who peruse maps without reflecting on the nature and intent of their construction are too apt to expect a large extent of country, and all the minute particulars of it, in the same map \footnote{Map, 1785, No. 1: 226, 227.}

The Map is contained in two large sheets, which may either be joined together for the purpose of bringing the whole into one view, or bound up separately in an Atlas. \footnote{Maps, 1785, No. 2: 215}

The scale is one inch to an equatorial degree; and as the whole map is a square of more than 30 such degrees, its surface will be found to contain a space larger than all Europe. \footnote{Maps, 1785, No. 3: 215}

The whole construction is entirely new.

I have been enabled by means of observations of Longitudes taken at Bombay, Cochin, Madras, Calcutta, Agra, etc. together with measured lines and surveys extended from the above places, to frame a very good groundwork for my map.

We must not go much farther back than 10 years for the matter that forms the basis of this map; and it must not be forgotten that the East India Company have caused a mathematical survey to be made at their own expense, of a tract equal to extent to France and England taken together \footnote{Maps, 1785, No. 4: 215}.

In spite of the great advance of geographical knowledge, Rennell still found that for many areas he was little better off than D'Anville, of whom he writes,

When it is considered that this excellent Geographer had scarcely any materials to work on for the inland parts of India, but some vague Itineraries and books of travels, one is really astonished to find them so well described as they are.

Wide areas were still completely blank, or dependent on the journals of casual travellers; and even where routes had been measured, very few were accompanied by astronomical observations \footnote{Maps, 1785, No. 5: 215}. The Memoir shows how he had to juggle with the material at his disposal to get positions for his principal points that would best fit his more trustworthy data, and, as Everest wrote in 1838 nearly sixty years later,

By what unwearied exertions did not the patient and judicious Rennell strive to reconcile the jarring and discordant data on which the map that was accompanied by his Memoir is founded? Plate 14 shows the area of Bengal and Assam taken from this map of 1782.

In 1785 Rennell issued a second edition of the Memoir, which now included his Account of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers \footnote{Maps, 1785, No. 6: 215} and several new maps, one of them covering the marches of Fullarton and Humberstone \footnote{Maps, 1785, No. 7: 215}. This edition was translated into German and French, and published with a reproduction
of the 1782 map, by Jean Bernoulli, as the third volume of his *Description Historique et Géographique de l'Inde* [72].

In 1788 Rennell published an entirely new and enlarged map and *Memoir*, of which he writes:

The flattering reception that was given to my former work...has, in a manner, made that an object of duty, which was originally an object of choice...

I have been enabled to produce a work of a more perfect kind than the former... The scale of this map is one inch and a half to an equatorial degree [248]. ... It is contained in four large sheets, which may either be joined together for the purpose of bringing the whole into one point of view, or bound up separately in an Atlas.

This map was a great advance on the earlier one, for a mass of new material was now available; there were the marches of the armies during the Mysore war, more especially Fullarton's route across the south peninsula; Pearse's marches along the east coast, and Haldar's observations along the west; Ewart's survey to Nêgpur, and Tieffenthaler's surveys of the Ganges and Gogra [pl. 6].

In short, additions and corrections are disseminated over the whole map; and in general, if we except the fourth part of Berar, the Western part of the peninsula, and the countries bordering on the river Indus, and the Punjab, the map is filled up in such a degree, as to have no considerable blanks in it. Could the whole mass of geographical matter that respects India (much of which is probably in hands of people who are ignorant of its value) be collected, I make no doubt, but that very complete maps of the several provinces of it might be constructed, on scales large enough for any ordinary purpose.

In a letter to Warren Hastings he tells of changes he has made to the geography of the Punjab:

The next grand correction is that old position of Lahore, Jammoo, and the mountains towards Tibet. All of these are more to the West and South-west, and thereby allow greater space between the upper part of the course of the Ganges and the Punjab, a fault I discovered long ago... but could not tell how to correct it. It now appears, indisputably, that we have not allowed space enough, by 1½ or 2 degrees of Longitude for the north-west part of Hindostan, and the space between Candahar and the Caspian must be proportionately reduced [48-9].

The *Memoir* now contained an introduction of 123 pages giving an *Historical and geographical account of the political divisions of India*: a new map entitled *The Countries situated between the Source of the Ganges and the Caspian Sea*, which showed Forrest's route [233] on the scale of 3/4 of an inch to a degree; and a small scale *Map of the Inland Navigation of Bengal* [230]. It also contained a *Table of Distances in Hindostan*, covering the whole of India, with a map of the principal roads and political divisions on the scale of 200 miles to an inch [pls. 1 & 21]; and a postscript entitled *Correction to the Geography of the Indies, and its Delta etc.* Each edition of the *Memoir* contained an index of place names, referred to map squares.

In 1792 Rennell issued a second edition of the larger map and *memoir* which now embodied Reynolds's journeys through Mâlwa and the Deccan [127], but as the new information for north-west India would have involved entirely redrawing and extending that area of his map, he added a new map on the same scale, with the title *The Countries situated between Delhi & Candahar...* [pl. 8 n]. The second edition of the *Map of Hindostan* was given coloured boundary ribands.

In 1798 a third edition of the *Memoir* and *Map* was issued which did not differ in substance from the last; but in order to cover the changes and fresh surveys made during the Mysore war of 1790-92, a new map and *memoir* of the Peninsula south of the Kistna were issued separately [243-4].

1 Map, RIO. 96 (29, 30); BM. K. 115 (15, 2 Tab.). Portion covering Central Provinces reproduced, Willis (front pocket). 2 About 480 British miles to an inch. 3 Memoir, 1788 (1, iii, ix). Preface dated 1-3 48. 4 Always the same old trouble over longitudes. BM. Addl. MSS. 2919 (516). 5 Preface signed 22-11-91. The editions of Map were, 2-sheet map: 1782; 4-sheet map: 1785, 1789, 1793; of *Memoir*, 1782, 1785, 1786, 1795, 1796. 6 Preface signed 21-1-90. 7 This memoir was bound into some copies of the main 1790 *Memoir*. 
These two last editions of the Memoir ran to 614 pages\(^1\), making a monumental work which gave a complete account of the sources of all the geographical material used in the map; the map itself was out of date almost as soon as it was published; British rule was extending rapidly, and with it came fresh opportunities for the surveyors, who took Rennell's map as the standard by which to shew the value of their new work. No one realised this more than Rennell himself, and the finest appreciation of his Map of Hindoostan is given in his own words written 15 years later:

Believe me, Sir, when I say that I pride myself on nothing so much as on having originally laid a foundation for the Indian Geography, and which is all that I pretend to, for at that day we were compelled to receive information from others respecting the interior of the country, but in your time you explored for yourselves. I have only the merit of furnishing a dim light by which others grooped their way\(^2\).

The value of the Memoir long outlived that of the Map\(^3\), and as late as 1824 Blacker asked sanction to purchase a copy for the Surveyor General's office;

Major Rennell's Memoir is the only Memoir of Construction of any Map of India with which I am acquainted, and such is the backwardness of Indian Geography in some directions, that I regret to say it is still occasionally the best authority procurable\(^4\).

**THOMAS CALL'S ATLAS, 1782-9**

Whilst Rennell, in London, was engaged in preparing his Map of Hindoostan, his successor in Bengal had, under Government orders of 1779, already started to compile a complete "general plan" [235, 261]. In 1783, in reply to an order, probably inspired by Rennell, to send all available surveys home to England [251-2], Call wrote to Government,

I have in hand an Atlas of India formed from a variety of materials, such as original Maps, actual Surveys, Routes, Marches of detachments, Journals, Reports, informations furnished by travellers, Histories and Voyages.

This Atlas, though not finished, is in a state to convey much new and useful Geographical knowledge of this country; it will be divided into 20 sheets, afterwards the whole reduced into one portable sheet sufficiently large to exhibit all rivers, capital towns, Roads, and the grand sub-divisions of the Empire. ... It is constructed from a variety of Authorities, more or less to be depended on, according to circumstances; it would require a Volume in folio to explain them and shew why I preferred this and rejected that ...

I am sensible to the Merit and abilities of Major Rennell, who has lately published a Map of India [213], ... yet it will be no disparagement to him or his work, to say that, being on the spot, I have, since his departure, had an opportunity of rendering my Map of India much more complete that his, and further that, was he furnished with all the materials I have procured, it would take him nearly as much time to compose the Work as it has taken me, which would be so much time lost.

If I send home the Maps...in the state they are, having no copies of them, I shall be unable to proceed with the continuation of them\(^5\).

Call was permitted to continue work on his map, and in the following year laid it before the Board that they might see the progress made;

It is in a rough state, but I have kept it as long as possible in one sheet for the convenience of correcting it as fresh materials were sent in. It will soon be divided into 16 or 20 sheets, and copied fair.

After describing various new surveys and routes which he had introduced "much of which was obtained from Friends and Natives at a very great expense", he asked for twelve months to make the copy in separate sheets, whilst to insert the fresh materials will take three months; to fill up such parts of the Atlas from Original Plans as now appear only in Lines will require about 3 months, so that altogether it will take near eighteen months\(^6\).

---

\(^1\) Memoir of 1783 had 90 pages only. 
\(^3\) Though the map is of immense interest now for a study of old locality and place names. 
\(^4\) D.D. 204 (72), 3-7-1824. 
\(^5\) B.P.C. 1-10-83 (21). 
\(^6\) B.P.C. 14-2-85.
Government thereupon ordered him to drop the collection of fresh material, and asked how long it would take, and how much it would cost, to finish off the compilation and prepare the reduced copy; to which he replied that the map was now in one sheet on the scale of 15 geographical miles to an inch, and

To complete my rough General Map from the materials in my possession,

and prepare it for copying fair... Rs. 4000

To make a reduced copy... on a scale a little larger than that already made and published by Major Rennell [113 n. 3], first in rough, afterwards a fair copy to be made and sent to Europe... Rs. 8000

which he engaged to finish in 12 months.

In 1786, on his appointment as Chief Engineer, Call left Wilford to continue work on the map, and reported.

The Map is at present in one sheet and in a very rough state owing to the frequent corrections it has undergone; to preserve a work that has been of so much expense to the Hon'ble Company, it will be necessary to divide it; this can easily be done under the inspection of my successor in office and again.

I recommend... that a fair copy be made of it in 12 or 14 sheets on the scale it is now laid down at, viz: about four inches to a degree.

The fair copy should be kept in the Council Chamber to assist the Governor General in Council in ascertaining the position and distance of places, as also to preserve a work that has been attended with much labour and expense.

A reduced copy of the Map should be made on one sheet on a scale large enough to shew all Capital Towns, Rivers, and Boundaries of provinces, leaving out all the minor parts.

Each member of the Supreme Council should be furnished with a reduced copy; the first will be attended with some labor, but afterwards copies can easily be made by draughtsmen.

The West and North-west parts of India will soon be much improved by the Surveys of Captain Reynolds, Surveyor on the Bombay Establishment, who has promised to send me all the surveys he has taken.

On taking over office as Surveyor General, Wood asked Government to write to Madras and Bombay for all the surveys they could send in, that these might be added to the map before it was fair copied, and in April 1788 reported, it was first imagined that this work would have been completed in 12 months, and, had merely a copy of the former Plan been required, it would have been finished within that time. Independent of the unwieldy size of the map, which rendered it impracticable to be placed on any glass, on cutting it into 12 sheets, it was discovered that the paper had shrunk in many places near a twelfth part of a degree.

In the forming of the New Plan, it was by this means rendered necessary, not only to make all the projections again (which was a work of great labour and difficulty), but likewise to compare the several situations and distances.

After describing the introduction of further fresh material, Wood continues:

A comparison of the present Atlas with the original copy will be surest test of the labour and difficulties which have retarded its progress, and which have been little short to Mr. Wilford to what he would have had in compiling a New Map.

I have... a 12th sheet, showing the division and extent of country contained in every sheet, and which shall also contain a concise account of the Principal authorities from which the map has been compiled.

The Atlas in 13 sheets for the Council Chamber has at last been completed, and I only wait for the insertion of the authorities, and a book for arranging the several sheets to present them.

The amount of labour in making copies of these thirteen sheets was colossal; one copy was required for the Governor of Madras; another for the Directors. As for the reduced copy on one sheet, with a copy for each member of Council, the projection of the degrees, which is a tedious and most difficult part in the construction, is finished, but no further progress is, nor can be, made till such time as the General Atlas is finished.

In 1788, Call was allowed to return to England on account of ill-health, and given permission to take with him twelve sheets of "the Grand Atlas of India" to

---

1 BPC. 15-9-86. 2 BPC. 23-2-86. 3 BPC. 13-2-86. 4 DIn 16 (9), 6-4-88.
present personally to the Directors; one sheet, that of Bengal, could not be got ready in time. He died on the voyage, but all his papers and the atlas reached England safely 4.

Further complete copies of the atlas were sent home, and in September 1791, Rennell was asked by the Directors to report whether it was worth engraving 5. He was at this time awaiting issue of the final edition of his own map, and in a position to realize the endless business of trying to keep a map up to date. He found that many of the latest surveys, particularly from Madras and Bombay, had not been incorporated in Call's map, though they had already reached England 6. There was no memoir explaining the construction, and the map would be obsolete before it could be engraved. The atlas, on which so much time and labour had been spent, was therefore abandoned, though the copies which had been kept in India were of great value, especially in the Surveyor General's office for the preparations of other maps [219].

The sheets of Call's atlas are still preserved at Calcutta in excellent condition, and are most interesting to study 4; being on so much larger a scale than Rennell's maps they show far more detail, but, except in certain areas, the lack of scientific control, of which Call was fully aware [157], is most evident.

REYNOLD'S MAP, 1793-1807

Yet another map was to be created with vast labour and expense, borrowing nothing from maps that had gone before, but being laboriously worked up from such material as one man could collect, and fated never to be printed or published.

Charles Reynolds, Surveyor on the Bombay establishment, was for many years the only surveyor with any knowledge of the Maratha countries of the Deccan and western India, and compiled his first map of those regions in 1787 [127]; his journey through Hyderabad to Madras in the following year inspired him with the desire to "form a General Survey of India" [128], but he was not able to press the matter till 1793, when he visited Calcutta and obtained the Governor General's approval to his scheme. We have, unfortunately, no copy of his proposals, but he says that in the memorandum I laid before Sir John Shore, my proposal to Government was act of a partial nature, but was to complete the whole Geography of India 4 [42a], ... and further that, the map is about is of very extraordinary size. The sheet on which it is constructing has a superficies of 200 square feet, and will develop the whole of India in a very distinct manner from the Mountains of Cashmere to Cape Comorin, and from the Western frontier of the Bengal Provinces to the Western side of the River Indus, an attempt I believe that very few would make, and fewer I believe succeed in 4.

The Directors approved that he should produce a complete general map, with separate maps of each district on a large and expressive scale, with a topographical description of the country 5, ... and in December 1796 the Bombay Government wrote home.

Major Reynolds remarked that your Hon'ble Court expected from him, and he had pledged himself to furnish, a map of India, which was to contain 13 provinces, all equally out of the Company's Government, and consequently much more difficult of access, and of much less personal security, and he did not imagine that either the Governments in this country, or your Hon'ble Court, would be inclined to accept a work from him which should prove much inferior to Major Rennell's, nor indeed could he hold himself accquinted as to his engagements was he to attempt to impose such a work upon them; Major Rennell had established his character as a Geographer by his performances, and he (Major Reynolds) hoped that his would give him an equal claim to the favour of the public should they ever be published by the permission of your Hon'ble Court. ...

1 From John Call to CD. 22-5-92; Misc. LR. 89 (207). 2 The Directors always regarded Rennell as the right man to make a General Map of India. 232. 3 Century Series (87). 4 General Map of India, in several sections, by Call & Wilford, 16 m. to 1 inch. MRIO. 96 (32-33). 5 DlM. 149 (37). 4-24-99. 6 Bo MC. 24-4-98. 7 CD to B. 8-7-95 (96).
We have recently received a letter from Major Reynolds giving cover to the rough sheets of his intended map of Hindostan. Major Reynolds regretted that he had not been able to lay the whole of his information before us on the different sheets; ... he assured us that his information of the other provinces is generally in the same state of forwardness; ... the scale of it is four times larger than Major Rennell's maps of the Bengal Province, and notwithstanding this considerable difference, his map, in the present unfinished state, is in general as much filled up as that Gentleman's are; ... there are in general but few blank spaces, and, even where they occur, surveys are now carrying on for the completion of the sheet before us. ... 

In conveying this communication from Major Reynolds, we accompany it with our testimony in favour of the minuteness and apparent accuracy of that Gentleman's geographical delineations, as far as we can judge by the Specimen of that part of his general map which he has submitted to our inspection of the North-western part of India, comprehending the Gulphs of Cutch and Cambay, and including part of Malwa.  

In 1798, Reynolds laid before the Governor "the rough sheets of a considerable part of my intended map of Hindostan," and explained that he was still collecting material for the remaining sheets through the agency of native surveyors, and in order to avoid having to re-survey country already known he asked that he might be furnished with copies of other surveys. The Directors however ruled that the map in which Lieut. Colonel Reynolds is engaged must be considered as referring to his own observations, or Collections of the country surveyors employed by him, and not to include any combination of the surveys made by other persons at our expense.  

For twelve years from 1795 to 1807 Reynolds continued at his map compiling the work of his native surveyors as they came in; though he frequently pressed for an officer to join him as assistant none could be spared till 1801. He spent a fortune from his own money on this collection of material, and said that the sum which Government eventually paid to him, after repeated submission of his claims, did not in any way meet his expenditure. When the Directors complained of the inordinate time that had elapsed without the work appearing to draw any nearer to completion, Reynolds pointed out the wide area that his surveys covered, and that he was working single-handed.  

It must therefore be very easily understood that the accumulation of information could only add to my embarrassment; the second reason for the increase of expence was the menacing posture of Zemun Shaw for some years, and the anxiety of our Government in consequence of it. This led me to make a more particular investigation of the frontier of the country towards Hindostan, [and] of his tributaries within the Indus, some of whom extend almost to the Western boundary of the Scobah of Dehly, of Sind, and of the Baluch country adjoining the Indus on the West and North-west from Buchin. ... 

Were I to specify the different places through which the Surveys have been carried, it must prove unsatisfactory, as they (the Directors) would not be able to trace them on any map now extant, and of course would be as much in the dark as ever. ... 

The different routes executed by myself and people, amount at present to 150 or 160 thousand miles, and the enquiries made from different points of these routes will occupy as much, and in all probability a great deal more.  

From the above recital, the following observations present themselves:  

That the Hon'ble Court of Directors have authorised my pursuit, and in consequence expect from me a completed map, besides separate maps of each province on a large and expressive scale.  

That it became a duty on me to adopt the best means to effect this. ... That I never expected to realize the necessary information for it until the present year. ... That an attempt to hurry its conclusion must defeat the intention. ... 

That the people employed out are beyond the power of recall. That in my proposal...I particularly stipulated for my assistant being constantly under my orders. That since the above sanction, I have had no assistant with me. ... 

That such a map cannot be arranged by one person; that to enable me to meet the wishes of the...Court of Directors, it is essentially necessary that Captain Moncrieff should join me as soon as possible, and that it will add very much to the dispatch of the work if I am allowed a second assistant.
At length in 1801 Monieriff joined him at Surat, and other assistants were posted shortly after, but even so the map was not sufficiently advanced to allow him to leave the country before 1807. He took one copy home to present to the Directors in person, and after a few additions had been made to the copy left in Bombay.

Copies of a portion of Colonel Reynold's General Map of India, drawn on a scale of 9 inches to a degree, and contained in 20 sheets, were forwarded to the Right Hon'ble the Governor General on the 4th February 1809. 1

The remaining 16 sheets were not copied for the Supreme Government, but the whole map was redrawn with the addition of other material, and submitted by the Bombay Government in 1821. Although never published, this magnificent compilation formed the basis of all maps of Western India for many years, but no complete copy has been preserved, and its exact extent is not known. 2

James Welsh gives the following account of Reynolds at work on his map:

In his hall I had the gratification of viewing a map fourteen feet long and ten feet broad; to do which, without injury to a production intended to be presented to the Court of Directors, he furnished me with silk stockings for hands and feet; and cased in these I moved about at pleasure, stopping at particular spots for information, which was immediately obtained from a library of immense folio manuscripts in his own handwriting. So laborious a work I never could, without ocular demonstration, have believed to be the production of one European, in such a climate as the East Indies; and with only two assistants he was now making another map on a larger scale, which, when completed, was to measure 30 feet by 20. 3

The following extracts from a letter written shortly after Reynolds' departure indicate some of the corrections made to the maps of India by his surveyors:

All the maps that have hitherto been given to the World contain so erroneous and imperfect an exhibition of the countries which lay to the N.W. of a line drawn from Ahmedabad 4 in Gujarat to Hardwar under the Mountains through which the Ganges enters India, that it would certainly be extremely unsafe to draw conclusions from their information. Fortunately however Colonel Reynolds' works are nearly as perfect in particular throughout this region as they are with respect to any other part of India.

Major Rennell's latest edition is unquestionably the best map of India that has ever yet been published. ... In Major Rennell's and every other map at this time published, an unbroken range of high mountains, as strongly characterized as the Ghauts of Mallabar, is exhibited as running upwards of 500 miles parallel with the Indus, and about 50 miles eastward of that river: no such mountains exist, and the improvement with respect to them is of not greater importance than the corrections made by Colonel Reynolds in several other instances. ...

Colonel Reynolds has discovered that the area shown by Rennell as uninterrupted Desert between Jodhpur and Indus contains many hamlets, villages, and wells. ...

There is a formidable range of mountains, equal in magnitude perhaps, to the ghauts of Mallabar running parallel, on the West side, with the Sind River 5 from the bank of which it seldom recedes more than 50 miles, & often approaches within 15 miles. ...

The river Ghaggar 6 does not run over the Desert to the Sea as supposed by former geographers, but loses itself in the sand near a place called Seersa 7 on the Eastern borders of the desert 8.

COATEBROOK & OTHERS

In spite of the frequently declared policy of the Directors that all surveys should be sent to England for compilation there, it was almost impossible for an officer in the position of Surveyor General to resist the temptation of putting together the surveys that he had in his office, the more so since he was being continually called upon to supply maps of different areas, and it was far easier to trace these off a general map that had been carefully compiled at leisure, than to compile afresh from original surveys at each call [217].

1 From Williams to Gort., 3-2-1815, Bo MC. 3-5-1815. 2 A fragment, "Original protraction Agra to Delhi, and westwards to Ajmer", MEIO, 96 (218); A list of maps by Reynolds that were in SGIO, Bombay in 1838 is given in MEIO, M. 564. 3 Welsh, I (245). 4 GH. A. 1. 5 Indus R. 6 Ghaggar R. 7 Strait. 44 O.2. 8 From SGIO Bombay to John Malcolm, 12-4-1808; HMS, 727 (645).
Maps of India

It was not long before Colebrooke started his own map, and in 1795, he tells Government that he has commenced such a map on the scale of 16 inches to a mile. Four years later he reports that,

Having made considerable progress in the construction of a new General Map of India, and particularly in that part which comprises the Carnatic, Mysore, and Northern Circars, in which I have nearly inserted all the Surveys and Materials that had been obtained so late as the year 1793. I now beg leave to inform you, that as this map is intended for the use of the Supreme Government, it would be a desirable object to have it completed from the surveys of a more recent date...in consequence of the late partition of the Mysore Country and Malabar Coast.

This map again was destined never to be completed or published.

One more map of India may be mentioned, published in London in 1788 by William Faden, Geographer to the King [243]; it was entitled Hind, Hindoostan, or India, and was compiled by L.S. de la Rochette, and published on a scale of apparently $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch to a degree, about 180 miles to an inch. It bears the following advertisement. For the new and interesting particulars with which this map is enriched, especially in the northern parts, we are chiefly indebted to the Geographical description of Father Joseph Tisson, Apostolic Missionary in India, and to the curious draft of the Ganges and Cogra by M. Arnaud de Peron [239–2].

The new Chronographical map of the Southern Countries of India by Colonel Kelly has enabled us to Reform, in several districts, the geography hitherto adopted for the Southern part of the Peninsula.

The title is supported by a fine picture of palm trees, Indian jungle, and a very fat elephant with tusks that appear to be at least 10 ft. long.

Postscript. Of other Greek geographers and historians who described India [207] we may mention Strabo, whose Geography was written between 17 and 23 A. D., Book XV treating of India and Persia; —Pliny the Elder, whose famous work on Natural History contained Books III to VI on Geography and Ethnography; —and Arrian, whose principal work was a history of Alexander's expedition, from which the following extracts are given;

The Indus is the largest of all the rivers of Europe or Asia, excepting the Ganges, which is also in India. It receives its rise from the skirts of Mount Parapamisus or Caucasus, and discharges its water southwards into the Indian Ocean. It has two mouths in a low marshy soil, like those five of the Ister [Danube]; and it forms the figure of the Greek letter λ.

The country eastward from the river Indus is what I call properly India. ... India is bounded on the north by mount Taurus; which mountain retains the same name, even in that country; it rises on the sea coast near Pamphylia, Lydia, and Cilicia, and extends itself in one continued ridge, as far as the oriental ocean running quite through all Asia. In some parts, nevertheless, it is called by other names; for in one country it is named Parapamisus, in another Emmodus; in a third Eumus; ... The Macedonian soldiers, who accompanied Alexander in his expedition, called it Caucasus (67).

Eratosthenes...tells us that India, from mount Taurus, whence the river Indus has its rise, to the mouths of that river and the ocean, is thirteen thousand stadia. Another side, namely, from the same mountain to the eastern ocean, he reckons scarce equal to the former, but as a huge tract of land runs out four thousand stadia into the sea, it may be reckoned six thousand stadia that way; and this he calls the breadth of India. The length thereof, from the westernmost part to the city Palimbothra, he tells us he has measured, along the road called the King's road, and that it contains ten thousand stadia (10).

An account of the Arab and Persian geographers of the 8th to the 14th centuries A.D. is given by Dr. James Bird in a paper which appears in the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, vol. II (58-72), 1844. The paper is illustrated by a coloured map of Afghanistan and neighbouring countries, from the Oxus to Sistan, taken from a work by Abu Ali Ishak, commonly known as Istakhari, who flourished about A.D. 355, and preceded Ibn Haukal [208, pl. 4]. Like other Arab maps this is entirely diagramatic.
BENGAL
from D'Anville's Carte de l'Inde 1752.
Plate 13

Reproduced from map in the British Museum. K.115 (12) 2 Tab. by permission of the Trustees.
For the river Ganga see note on Plate 3.
The Carte de l'Inde carries an inset showing the Hooghly River on a large scale.
Bourguignon d'Anville was the first geographer who preferred to leave his map blank rather than insert detail for which he had no good authority. Compare the great acquisition of knowledge displayed by Rennell thirty years later, Plate 14.
CHAPTER XV

MAPS OF BENGAL


The earliest known map of Bengal was compiled by, or for, the great Portuguese historian Jean de Barros about the year 1550. It extends from Orissa on the west to Tipora on the east, on scale just over an inch to a degree; amongst places that can be recognised are Chittagong (Chittagong), Satygam (Satgaon), and Sivole (Sylhet). 1

There is another old Portuguese map 2 which places the city Bengala so close to Xatigam (Chittagong) that they appear to be identical, whilst an Italian map of 1609 by Vignola [208] shows it on the southern bank of the Karnaphuli, or Chittagong River, as also does the first Dutch map, which appears in van Blaev’s Theatrum Orbis Terrarum of 1650.

In 1660 appeared van den Broeck's 3 map of Bengal and Arracan, said to have been “the fullest and most accurate map available for those days”; it faces p. 146 of Book IV of François Valentyne’s Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien published in 1724, and extracts have been re-published more recently 4.

The Imperial Library at Calcutta has two old maps 5 entitled Sinus Gangeticus vulgo Golfo de Bengala et Royaume de Bengale et les Pays voisins de Gange, situé entre le Mogolistan et le Pegu, whilst the British Museum holds a map of the Province of Bengal, 1680, by William Hacke 6, on the scale of 12 English leagues to an inch 7.

Nothing is known of a map which D’Anville refers to when describing the Cossimbazar River in 1752;

The places on the above-mentioned branch of the Ganges are drawn from an English map, which has furnished me with some particular circumstances, notwithstanding there are several mistakes in that map 8.

The Imperial Library holds an old English MS. map, scale about 50 miles to an inch, stretching from Benares to Masulipatam, and showing the main province names and a few important towns; Calcutta does not appear 9.

Coming now to the period of English ascendancy after the battle of Plassey, our first two maps are by Frenémen; one of these is a MS. map signed by Charles de Terranneau, and listed by Orme as “From Delhi to Calcutta, a very strange kind of map” 10. It shows the route between Calcutta and Delhi, with the general lies of the country from Bundelkhand to the Himalaya mountains, and main rivers and roads. Towns are shown by red castellated symbols or flags. The Goomty [29 n. 6] rises from a lake called Poulaule Tallore, and the Gandak and Baghmati from hills north of Patna; the lower part of the Sone and the rivers of Bundelkhand are in fair detail. Hills are shown by lines of artistic pyramids.


221
Terraineau was a French Artillery officer who deserted to the English at the siege of Chandernagore in 1757. He served with the English till his death in 1765, and probably made this map during the campaigns round Patna in 1760–1 or 1763–4; he may have borrowed material from Tieffenbarker and Law.

The second map was compiled by D'Anville from surveys made by Jean Law during his wanderings between 1757 and 1761, and engraved with the title, "Partie de l'Inde entre Delhi et Patna, d'après la grande Carte de l'Inde dressée par M. d'Anville en 1752, avec les Additions qui ont été fournies par M. Law de Lauriston." 1763. 1 pouce 5 lignes au degré.

In 1767 Orme acknowledged from Colonel Richard Smith, then commanding the 1st Brigade at Patna, two maps covering the country from Patna to Delhi and on to Agra. It is disappointing that we are told nothing of their authorship, though the first may have come from Law.

Orme also mentions "a map of the Subahs of Ellihabad, Awul, and Behar, constructed from the best Authorities in the year 1768, by Major Anthony Polier; a manuscript exquisitely finished," 2 and Rennell copied the greater part of it for his general map of 1774.

A Map of the Center of Indostan by John Jones is preserved in the British Museum, scale about 8 miles to an inch, covering an area from Bundelkhand on the south to the foothills on the north, and from Delhi on the west to Allahabad on the east. 3 Another of Orme's maps is described:

Map of Indostan in the parallels between Delhi & the Sea & Chittigan, composed in Mr. Orme's House by Mr. Kitchen in 1766, from materials furnished by Mr. Orme. 4

It is surprising to note that in 1768 the Directors were able to send maps of India out from England:

We send in the packets by these ships, agreeable to your request, some of the best Maps we can procure of the Peninsula of India; likewise some others lately printed of the Bengal Provinces and Countries adjacent.

What maps these were it is difficult to say, though they probably included the following, which contained some of Rennell's first season's work:

Bengal, Bahar, & Oria, laid down by Samuel Dunn, from original surveys and journals collected by Henry Vansittart Esq., late Governor of Bengal, and adjusted by Astronomical observations communicated by the Revd. William Hirst, Chaplain to the above Presidency. Scale 10 geographical miles to an inch.

The MS. copy of this map in the British Museum is undated, but as Vansittart and Hirst left Bengal at the end of 1764, Dunn could have completed it before 1768.

More might be learnt of the history of these maps if they could be brought together and studied at leisure.

Rennell's Early Maps, 1764–72

From the first months of his work, Rennell was constantly occupied on the reduction and compilation of his survey into general maps for the Governor. Of one that he submitted in August 1765 he writes that he took the western rivers from a Map of Capt. Polier's. The great Ganges from Jelengheeb to its confluence with the Megna, and likewise the Megna & Baramputrey... is laid down by exact Surveys. ... The C— & C— Creeks are laid down from Surveys, but the B— & P— rivers are chiefly from the reports of Pilots. ... The Latitudes of the Southern Places are reckoned from an Observation of Latitude taken at Luckypour in 1764.

In compiling these general maps Rennell incorporated material obtained from other maps and surveys sent to him by the Governor, which was an obvious way of 1BM. Addl MSS. 20914. 2Orme MSS. 67. Here again, it is possible that Polier got some of his material from Tieffenbarker. 3IO. Maps, L. A.C. 13. 4Orme MSS. (67) & BM. Addl. MSS. 15739 (17). 5Orme MSS. 67. 6CD to H. 16–3–68. 7BM. K. 115 (30, 31): Orme MSS. 134. 8La Touche. 49.
Rennell's Early Maps

Making them all as useful as possible, but, considering the conditions in which they were prepared, it is not surprising to learn that his reduced maps are not always closely faithful to his own larger scale surveys. Amongst his earlier maps of the rivers is one, shewing the extent of the Lao surveys, and its situation with respect to Calcutta, likewise a general Sketch of the Creeks, ... also a comparison of part of M. D'Anville's...map with the truth. ... Scale 4 miles to an inch.

In August 1786 he wrote home:

I have within this month past formed a Map of part of Bengal for Lord Clive. It reaches from 21° 30' North Latitude, and from 88° to 94° East Longitude, on a scale of three inches to a degree. By reason of the largeness of it I cannot pretend to send you a copy, but I imagine Lord Clive will publish it. I have sent you a very small map just to show you the situation of Bengal with respect to the adjacent Countries; for the old Maps are shocking. Bengal, Bahar, and Oriastra [24 n. 8] are all under our Government at present; Assam is supposed to join the Empire of China on the West, and the Burrapooter River to have its source in that Empire [78-9]. Cashar and Aracan are distinct Kingdoms. Tibet, or Bottan, is reckoned to great Tartary [24 n. 5].

We have already seen that Clive had undertaken to provide Orme with maps of Bengal [22], and noted the tremendous time spent by Rennell and Richards in getting their maps ready for Clive's departure; Rennell records that in January 1767 his Lordship carried home a Map of Benga1 & part of Bahar on a Scale of 10 m. to an inch, 5 foot by 3; & another Map containing the Ganges &c from Patna to Kanog on the same Scale [24].

Two months later he writes:

On my leaving Dacca I began to reduce another Map of the Ganges for the present Governor, Mr. Vansittart and some other Gentlemen having carried off all the Plans that I had made of the Ganges in 1764. The Map I now began was intended to be on a scale of 3 British miles to an inch. ... The whole was to be on 3 Sheets of Imperial Paper.

He spent the rains of 1767 at Calcutta, preparing another map of the province that was sent home to the Directors.

The following year the Directors expressed their indignation that Clive and Vansittart should have treated Rennell's maps as private property [211], but some at any rate were handed over to Orme, who refers to "a small map of Bengal and the provinces northward, which I got engraved for the Company?", and also to "the large map of Bengal brought home by Colonel Clive and now engraving."

Orme received a list of the authorities from which Rennell had compiled this map, which, besides giving the names of the different surveyors and distinguishing areas covered by surveys and exact surveys, mentions Calcutta as determined "by true latitude, and considered as the first meridian in the general map"; certain parts were taken from old Dutch and French maps [221], and several of the outer ranges of the "Butan Mountains" had been "geometrically determined."

Another map based largely on Rennell's surveys was A Map of Bengal and its Dependencies, Collected chiefly from actual surveys, and now first published, ... the 1st January 1772, by W. Bolts.

This was engraved by Thomas Jefferys on the scale of 32 miles to an inch. The detail round Rohidasgarh agrees closely with that of Shower's survey of 1766 [29], whilst the Son River and the hills running eastwards to Monghyr might well come from De Glos's survey of the following year [25-5]. The route from Balasore through Cuttack to Simbapur stands completely isolated and obviously comes from Motte's survey of 1766 [30].

This map first appeared as frontispiece to a political pamphlet by Bolts [30], and was then re-published separately in 1773, on the scale of 20 miles to an inch, "engraved by Faden and Jefferys."

---

1 Hirst & Ascoli (10).
3 HMS. 705, 30-8-6.
4 La Touche (96).
5Verelst [211. 4].
6 Ib. (88).
7 Orme MS. 65 (105) cf. Frontispiece, Monckton Jones, from Orme MS. 104 B.
8 Probably Map of the Kingdom of Bengal, ... James Rennell, 1768. 10 miles to 1 inch, 40° to 40°. IO. Col., cf. Dunn's map [12].
9 Orme MS. XI (1900).
11 William Faden succeeded Jefferys as geographer to the King.
Maps of Bengal

In 1770 Rennell wrote home describing the extent covered by his surveys; this has been all formed into maps and sent home to be engraved for the use of the Company's servants, both civil and military, but I doubt if the Directors will suffer them to be made so public. [256].

It was in fact many years before his surveys became available for soldiers and district officers, who were seriously handicapped by the lack of maps, as shown by the following minutes of an enquiry into the conduct of the Rohilla campaign of 1773-4. Clavering, Monson and Francis, of the newly-formed Supreme Council, protested against the expedition;

We found that our army about the beginning of this month was stationed upon the skirts of the Mountains of Tibet, at a place so distant from our frontier and so considerably to the North of Delhi, that it is not comprehended in any of the ordinary maps of Indostan. [257].

In his reply defending the campaign Warren Hastings wrote,

I think it incumbent upon me to remark a small geographical error, which I have committed in my report of the situation in Ramghaut, which I found laid down in my own handwriting upon an old map in my possession at the distance which I have described (60 miles from the border of Oudh), but having since received a more correct map of that quarter from Capt. Rennell, the Surveyor General, which accompanies these papers, I find that it is near 40 miles more remote.

The Quarter Master-General was cross-examined:

Q. What is the distance from Shawbad, the frontier of the Province of Oude, to Lalldang, the extremity of the Rohilla Country?
A. I believe it to be about 200 miles.
Q. Do you know the latitude of Lalldang?
A. The latitude I think is 30° 48' N.
Q. How far do you reckon it to be from Lalldang to Delhi?
A. Delhi I believe is in 28° 8'...
Q. Had you any map of the Rohilla Country furnished by the Governor when you went to the Army?
A. No. I believe there were very few extant. I applied to the Governor for such as he had of the Upper Country, i.e. of the upper parts of Bahar and the Province of Oudh, and he informed me the only one he had, he had promised to Capt. Toone.
Q. Do you know if Colonel Champion was furnished with maps of the country?
A. I believe he had some maps of the Country, I have seen scraps of them, but he did not communicate them to me.

Rennell's Provincial & General Maps, 1772-4

Early in 1774 Rennell submitted a full set of all the maps he had completed, which was sent home, and is now preserved at the India Office in excellent condition.

The maps were classified in three series: first, a series of 19 provincial maps, mostly on the scale of 5 miles to an inch, with 2 special maps on larger scale. Secondly, 10 charts drawn from the marine surveys of John Ritchie [17], and thirdly, four particular maps of Bengal and Bahar, reduced from the larger maps to a scale of 6 inches to a degree, with one general map covering the whole, on the scale of 3 inches to a degree.

The provincial maps were accompanied by an index showing the lay-out of the different sheets, the area surveyed by each surveyor, a table of symbols, and notes on construction and compilation, in which Rennell writes;

The original surveys from which these maps are compiled were the work of ten different surveyors [33]. A Map was first constructed on a scale of 5 British Miles to an inch, but being too cumbersome whilst in one piece (it being ten feet by seven), is now copying into 15 parts, each part being on a sheet of large Dutch Paper (40 inches by 26), and containing one, two, or more Provinces, or Sircars, according to their extent.

1 IMS. 755. 2-11-70. 2 B Pr C. 23-10-74. 3 Ramghat, on the Ganges, 53 L/6. 4 B Pr C. 9-12-74. 5 Identity obscure; Shahabad, 54 M/14, was within Company's provinces to East, whereas this question refers to West borders of Oudh. 6 Lal Dhang, 26° 68' N.; 20 m. SE. of Hardwar. 7 Delhi, 28° 40' N. 8 An officer of the GG's personal staff. 9 Commanding the army.
The following is a list of the provincial maps, which are all on the scale of 5 miles to an inch, except where stated. Each one is signed J. R. Lecq, with the year, generally 1772 or 1773. Each covers a number of complete administrative areas, marked with coloured boundary ribands. On most of them the meridian borders are divided into one-minute divisions of latitude, with no indication of longitude whatever [151].

I. North part of Bahar, containing the Sircars of Tirrut, Hajaepour, Bettiyah, and Seran, with part of Sircar on the north of the Ganges, as is the whole map [72 D. & P.]. Surveyed between the years 1767 and 1772 by Richards. [Includes Mocumapour and Morung on the north, which area is marked "Woods", and shows but little detail].

II. SW. part of Bahar, containing the Sircars of Retas, Shabad, and part of Bahar to about 3 miles east of Patna. [70 O & P, 72 C & D] [Map beautifully clear, and neatly drawn]. Surveyed by DuGlos, Richards, and Russell, 1767 to 1771. The Ganges, from Patna to Benares, by Huygns.

III. SW. part of Bahar, making overlap with sheet II, containing part of Sircar Bahar, Curruckpour, Bodgypour, Curruckidea, and with the Passes of Rajemal, and part of Bangur. [72 G. II]. Surveyed between 1766 and 1773 by Richards, DuGlos and Carter.

IV. Purna & Bojnord, with the Pagannak of Sureor and Maddah. [72 O, P.]. Surveyed 1767 to 1773 by Richards west of Mahananda River, Bennell to east; Mahananda River by Adams; eastern slopes of Rajemal Hills by Huygns; western from reports.

V. Dinagepoul & Gaogat. ... [78 B. C.]. Surveyed by Bennell, except read from Malda to Dinagepoul surveyed by Richards 1767 to 1773.

VI. Rangamartty, Rangamartty & Coss-Beyhur, with the adjacent Parganas of Baharband & Rittibund, & part of Bootan. [78 P. O.]. Surveyed by Bennell, except for Coss-Beyhur surveyed by Martin [J 5 n. 6]. 1765 to 1773.

VII. Siyhet, & the North part of Dacca. ... [78 L. P.]. Surveyed between 1768 and 1771 by Bennell.

VIII. Southern part of Dacca, & low lands of Tiperah, with the islands in the mouth of the Ganges [79 I, J, M, N]. Surveyed 1764 to 1770 by Bennell, Ritchie & Richards. Country to west by Martin.

IX. Chittigong, divided into Chacklahs. [78 N. C., 84 B. C.]. Surveyed between 1761 and 1772. Surveyed by Ritchie, Isalamabad River by Plaister, inland parts by Richards. This map required a larger scale to have the particular expressions with clearness & accuracy.

X. The Sunderbund Rivers. The Balispat and the Sunderbund sailing passages are distinguished by red and green dotted lines. [79 F. J. G. K.]. Surveyed between 1769 and 1773. The coasts and Sunderbunds by Ritchie; other rivers & creeks by Richards; inland area to west by Martin.

XI. Kishenagur, Jassore, Noosniah & Mahmudshy, with part of Dacca & Baujeshy, comprehending the habitable part of country between the arms of the Ganges. [78 A, E, B. F.]. Surveyed between 1769 & 1771, rivers by Bennell & Richards, remainder by Martin.

XII. Bhetorah, or North Baujeshy. [78 D. II.]. Surveyed by Bennell 1768 to 1771.

XIII. Birbhum & Baujeshy. [72 P. 78 D. 73 M. 70 A.]. Surveyed between 1769 & 1771, eastern area by Bennell, Ganges by Richards, Cossimbazar River by DuGlos, roads through Rajemal Hills by Huygns, country west of Aji River by Carter. [This map shows the meridian line of Calcutta.] [180].

XIV. Midnapour, Burdwan, Hoogly, Rissamapour, & Pacheto. [78 J. N. O.]. Surveyed between 1767 & 1774; north part of Burdwan by Bennell, south part by DuGlos, Carter, Portsmouth, & Call; Midnapour by Carter; sea-coast by Ritchie. [Shows the meridian line of Calcutta, and a second meridian about 2 miles east of Midnapour].

XV. West part of Midnapour, with parts of Mayurbunge & Bangur. [78 I. J.]. Surveyed by Carter, Portsmouth & Call.

The next three maps contain material as late as 1775 and 1777, and must have been submitted later [35].

XVI. Bogipour, Palamon, Chota Nagpur, Toree & Koonch. Scale 12 m. to an inch. [72 D. E., 73 A. E.]. Under survey by Fennell in 1774, not completed till 1777. Filled in largely from observations and reports of Captains Canac & Liet. Fennell, who reduced these provinces to subjection [35]. [Shows meridian lines, east from Calcutta, one degree apart].

XVII. Bogipour, Mongpir, and the Jungleterry Districts with the Passes of Birbhum & Rajemal. [Covers the whole of the modern Boreal Pargana District]. [72 P. P.]. Includes the surveys of Pringle of 1775.

XVIII. Correction to maps of Dacca & Bhetorah, 1775: [78 H. L.]. [probably by Bennell].

XIX. Map of Cossimbazar Island. [78 D.]. [This may have been surveyed in response to a proposal by the Chief of Cossimbazar, dated 30-12-68, that "A Surveyor be appointed to survey the Island of Cossimbazar...as the most effectual means of shewing how far the Silk Investment may be improved."]

XX. Country between Sangral & Oolebaria, along the right bank of the Hooghly. [79 P.]. Scale 1 mile to a mile. Surveyed by Bennell 1770.

XXI. Country 20 miles round the city of Dacca. [79 L.]. Scale 2 miles to an inch. Surveyed by Bennell 1774.

Very few copies of these valuable maps remained in India, and in 1828 the Surveyor General reported that he held only 7 copies, which he describes as indifferent sketches on a scale of 5 miles to one inch, without an original signature. ... Even if... on a recently large scale for the frequent demands of the public service, they are unworthy of credit from their being totally destitute of any Memoir of construction [239].

1Ditm. 264 (9). 26-11-1823.
Blacker knew nothing of the memoir lying in London [33-4] and his severe indictment of Rennell's work is in a way a measure of the progress of the country during the fifty years that had elapsed; the time had come for complete and accurate maps, on which roads could be traced and boundaries laid down with precision; in Rennell's day the urgent need was for a picture of the country, showing the general course of the main rivers and the situation of the principal towns; a complete map was required with as little delay as possible and precision was of little or no importance.

Rennell had served his masters well; he had complied with their wishes for economy and speed, and had produced in less than twelve years serviceable maps of an area of over 150,000 square miles, previously unsurveyed [2, 228]. Nearly sixty years later, in discussing their value, Everest pointed out that the cross routes were not sufficiently numerous to delineate the features of the country, nor are the principal towns and villages always inserted, on the contrary several blanks intervene 1 to which the Directors replied.

The Surveyor General appears to have adverted to the reduced map of Bengal and Bahar on the scale of 12 miles to an inch. ... The Surveyor General is not perhaps aware that we are in possession of the original manuscript surveys of those provinces by that eminent Geographer, on a scale of 6 miles to an inch, and which we intend to insert in the Atlas [229] so soon as we shall be in possession of a sufficient number of points determined by triangulation 2.

In 1811 Mr. F. D. Ascoli, then Director of Land Records in Bengal, examined the collection of Rennell's maps at the India Office, and, with the assistance of Major Hirst 3, had a number of them reproduced and published in 1814 in the form of a Companion Atlas 4. At the same time Hirst published a memoir on the maps, to which Ascoli added a chapter on their legal value. It had been suggested that title to property might be established or upset by appeals to Rennell's maps, but Ascoli pointed out that they were in no sense revenue maps; that they were completed many years before the permanent settlement of 1793, and even before the Company assumed full control of the land revenue in 1775. In some cases, they might provide the only available evidence as to the existence of villages and their relative positions, and the general course of the rivers at the time of survey. Hirst emphasised the fact that the maps had no claim to detailed accuracy 5.

Hirst further published a paper entitled Notes on the Physical Geography of Bengal, 1764-76, in which he makes a critical examination of Rennell's maps, journal, and tables of road and river distances.

Of his particular maps of Bengal and Bahar Rennell writes,

The accompanying 4 maps are a reduction of the large map to the scale of 6 inches to a degree, the scale precisely fixed by the Court of Directors [247].

As many parts of the Provinces are not yet Surveyed with accuracy, recourse was had to the best intelligence that could be procured for forming maps of those parts. To point out the defective parts from the perfect ones, I have inserted the following list of the tracts of country thus vaguely described & also the authorities on which I proceeded 6: ...

I have also put off the correcting of the General Map till all the provincial ones are formed, for, as the materials are continually increasing, the Map would still be incomplet. Was it to undergo a change every time when fresh materials appeared, it would furnish full employment for one person. The drawing of the General Maps, including those of the Upper Provinces 7, ought therefore to be the last work.

The series was concluded by one general map, scale 3 inches to a degree, reduced from the four particular maps. These five maps have all four borders sub-divided to minutes of latitude and longitude, the latter being measured from Calcutta.

The following extracts are taken from Rennell's letters home; to Sir Robert Palk, November 1771,

1 Dn. 263 (45). 8-1832. 2CD. to India, 16-1-1832 (10). 3 Major F. C. Hirst, then Director of Surveys, Bengal. 4 ""Companion Atlas to those published by Major James Rennell in 1779 & 1780, containing reprints of existing maps...1914."" Contains 2 Index Maps & 55 plates in 32 sheets. 5 Hirst & Ascoli (2, b). 6 Here he acknowledges work from Poller, Boudier, Law, Showers, and many others. 7JO. Maps, L. A. C. 18.
The general and particular surveys are to be drawn in about 45 or 50 large folio maps, and will be a very compleat work when finished. Each province is to be drawn in a separate map, and most of these provinces are as big as the County of Norfolk, and some as big as Yorkshire.

To his guardian, March 1772,

From this sketch you'll partly guess what a job I have to construct particular maps of each Province on scales of 5 miles to one inch, together with general Maps of the whole Country. I have made a considerable Progress in this Work and shall completely finish it in a twelvemonth now. Should I leave the Country next January, I shall yet leave behind me a complete Set of Original Maps, but leave the fair copying to another. If I stay another year, the whole work will be compleated. The distances are all determined by actual Mensuration, corrected by observations of Latitudes and Longitudes.

With his next letter he encloses a little plan done in hurry, and by a young draughtsman, for I only put the finishing hand to it, by writing a few words in it. I'll request of you not to lend the Map to anyone, nor suffer any to copy it.

Rennell eventually stayed out till the beginning of 1777, spending the last three years making improved copies of his maps; in January 1776, he submitted another set for the Directors;

- Bengal & Behar,
- Allahabad, Oude, & the known parts of Agra & Delhi,
- The whole in one general map.

Some corrections & additions to the map of Bengal, from later surveys; accompanied by an account of the construction of each map.

The Directors allowed Rennell's general map to be engraved and published privately, and in February 1776 there was published by Sayre & Bennett of Fleet Street, an engraved Map of Bengal, Behar etc... from Bennet to Silhet, reproducing his surveys on the scale of 12 miles to an inch, "dedicated to the Court of Directors by Andrew Dury", but without bearing any acknowledgment to Rennell.

In the same year there was published a "Map of the Eastern Parts of Bengal... drawn chiefly from actual surveys, 1769, Engd. by Wm. Whitchurch, 1776. 24 G. miles to an inch."

Hirst has given a very full account of Rennell's maps and surveys in his memoir entitled The Surveys of Bengal, published in 1917, with full particulars of the Bengal Atlas and its Companion Atlas.

**Bengal Atlas, 1779-81**

Soon after Rennell reached England he wrote out to Warren Hastings,

I brought home the Provincial Maps safe; but the Directors demur about engraving them, and yet they are now engraving the Map of the Madras Jaghire [88]. Time, and the conviction of it being a saving scheme, will, I hope, conquer their aversion to parting with a little money now to save a great deal in the end: for either the originals will be totally lost; or the copies will run away with a vast sum every year to renew them.

He had however to take the responsibility of engraving them himself [167 n. 2], and explained his design in the following note:

The maps of Bengal & Behar engraved in 1775 having been executed in a careless and inaccurate manner, and containing none of the surveys taken since 1772, I have been induced to undertake a new engraving of them; which shall contain all the new surveys. Accordingly in this edition there will appear two entire new maps; one of the Conquered Provinces on the South of Bahar; the other of Jungletery. There will also be very great additions made to Purnea, Cocos Boyhar, Midnapour, Burdwan, Caintiah, and the Sunderbunds.

---

1 Falk MSS. 12-11-71. 2 HMS. 785. 15-3-72. 3ib. 6-4-72. 4 These scales are in terms of geographical miles, so correspond to those of the earlier maps. 5 and 3 inches to a degree. BPC. 5-2-76. 2 MRO. Map 445. 3 J. Kerr IV (pocket). 4 Where these records do not agree with Hirst, careful consideration has been given to fresh evidence. 5 BM. Addl. MSS. 39140 (340), 1-5-78. 6 Probably by Whitchurch or Dury [sun]. 7 Jaintia. 89 C.
Maps of Bengal

As these maps are chiefly designed for the use of the gentlemen who travel in Bengall & Bahar, the Survey of these Provinces is divided into 8 parts, which will fold very convenient-ly into a quarto Book, and take but little room either in a Palankee or escritorio.

The divisions are as follows:—

1. to 8. Eight parts [inf.] Scale 10 miles to an inch.
9, 10. Two General maps. Scale 20 miles to an inch.
11. The Doab, on same scale as Bengal,... a new Map.
12. The Cossimbazar Island. Scale 5 miles to an inch.

In the re-distribution of the 8 parts of Bengal, more regard has been paid to the natural than to the political division of the country; yet as far as it could be done the Provinces or Sircars are preserved entire.

The above 12 maps (in Boards) will be afforded for about a guinea and a half. A good binding 76d more.

He sent a copy of this note to Warren Hastings with a letter dated November 20th 1778:—

I have also begun a new set of maps of Bengal & Bahar, the nature of which will be explained by the enclosed Paper; and no less by a first proof of one of the maps, I do not expect to get them finished till next April or May; so that the sets will hardly find their way to Bengal that year. I shall take care however to send you one of the first copies that is worked off.

The first edition of the Atlas duly appeared on November 1779, engraved by W. Harrison, of 42 Wyche Street, London, and entitled,
A Map of Bengal and Bahar in VIII parts, with an index map to the VIII divisions of Bengal & Bahar. Published according to Act of Parliament by J. Rennell, November 21st 1779.

The nine plates were as under, the scale of the first eight being 10 geographical miles to an inch.

I. Map of the Delta of the Ganges, with the adjacent countries on the East, and a plan of Sambukur.
II. The Jungley District and adjacent Provinces of Birmookum, Rajmonal, and Boilpore, comprehending the countries between Moorshedabad and Bahar.
III. Map of South Bahar.
IV. Map of North Bahar.
V. The Northern Provinces of Bengal, with the Bootan, Moring, and Assam Frontiers.
VI. The Low Lands beyond the Ganges, from the Manudah River to Silhet.
VII. The Provinces of Bengal lying on the West of the Hooghly River with the Mahratta Frontier.
VIII. The Conquered Provinces on the South of Bahar, viz., Ramnur, Palamow & Chinta-Nagpore, with their dependencies.
IX. Map of Bengal & Bahar, comprehending a Tract more extensive & Populous than the British Islands.

Respectfully inscribed to Warren Hastings, in Testimony of his distinguished Abilities, and in gratitude for favours received.

A Table of areas totalling 146,217 square miles, contrasts Bengal with Great Britain and Ireland, of area 121,800 square miles [226].

This plate is on the scale of 22 miles to an inch, and covers the area of the VIII maps above.

In 1778 the Directors had agreed to advance £150 towards the engraving of this Atlas, "the charges of executing which work will be defrayed by a subscription of the Company's servants in India". This advance was to be repaid in 18 months without interest, and in 1779 a further advance of £100 was made on the same terms.

Free transport was allowed for a consignment of the atlases to Bengal, which were to be issued to Company's servants at Rs. 16 for a folio atlas, and Rs. 14 for quarto; 80 copies of each and 120 quarto were sent out before July 1780.

A second edition followed in 1780, containing 13 plates, and was entitled A Bengal Atlas: containing maps of the Theatre of War and Commerce on that side of Hindooostan. Compiled from the Original Surveys; and published by Order of the Honourable Court of Directors.

Early in 1781 a quarto edition was published, with 23 folded maps, in the advertisement to which Rennell wrote,

The intent of publishing the maps of Bengal...under the present Form, was to render them portable to those who travel over that extensive country.
Two more editions were issued in 1781, of folio size, with the maps unfolded, and a final edition was issued in 1783. The later plates were,

X. General Map of Oudh & Allahabad, with part of Agra & Delhi. Scale about 25 miles to an inch. 

XI. Map of the Cooch Behar & Bhagalpur Districts. Scale 5 miles to an inch. With a sketch of the Battle of Plassey on scale 1,500 yards to an inch.

XII. Plan of the Environs of the City of Dacca, (or Johangurahur.) Scale about 2 miles to an inch.

XIII. The Doab, from Allahabad to Kalpy. Scale 6 miles to an inch.

Plates XIV to XVII, scale 5 miles to an inch, show the Ganges from Allahabad to its confluence with the Megna; and the Megna horse to the Laccadive Sea. [10, 21, 22.]

These plates are specially well drawn, with true symbols and excellent lettering.

XVII. The Burra, from the head of the Laccadive Sea to the Bay of Bengal. Scale 5 miles to an inch. Inset: A Southern View of Delli-mottah, Fort [pl. 5] in Hookey, inscribed to the memory of John Jones, ... and Plan of Delli-mottah, Fort, by Captain Claude Martin.


XXI. Views of Oudh, Allahabad and Benares, (1785) & Chunar Gaur (1794); by Claude Martin.

XXI. A Map of the Sunderbund & Buriganga Passages. Scale 5 miles to 1 inch. Includes Calcutta and Calcutta on the north, Satlujur on the N.E., and Bunderkunde.

XXII. Plans of the Indus illustrated the action of the Ganges waters in the estuaries of the Indus and the formation of the river.

Final Plate is a map of Inland Navigation [290].

The enlarged Atlas sold at Rs. 22 for a folio volume, and Rs. 20 for a quarto, and Rennell was allowed to send a box by each ship proceeding to Bengal; he wrote to Warren Hastings,

All the Bengal Atlases sent out by the last Fleet were carried to Spain. I have now added very considerably to the work. I have prepared 600 copies of it, to go by the ships of the present season. ... If the demand should increase I may possibly reap some advantage from the publication. From the locality of the subject and its consequent limited sale, I was obliged to fix a high price on it.

Two years later the Bengal Government reported,

In consequence of the orders contained in your letter of the 3rd of Feb. 1781, regarding the sale of a number of Major Rennell's Bengal Atlases which you sent us to be sold by the ships of that season, we beg leave to inform you that they have all been disposed of accordingly, and the proceeds amounting to Rs. 9500-14-0 deposited in your treasury.

In 1785 the Atlases were advertised to be sold at the Council House Calcutta for Ready Money, Those in folio @ 30 Sicca Rs. each. Those in Quarto @ 25 Sicca Rs. each.

The atlas now had a wide circulation amongst officials throughout the Provinces, and it is interesting to find the Board of Revenue sending this very practical advice to the Resident at Tipperah in 1789,

A topographical knowledge of the Districts in his charge is absolutely necessary for a Collector, but Rennell's maps will be of little service to him in that respect. He must make the Tour of his district himself.

In 1823 the Surveyor General reported that the great utility of the Bengal Atlas published by Major Rennell many years ago (but which excellent work is now I believe out of print) has been generally acknowledged.

A partial reprint made in 1826 was advertised thus,

In the Press, Calcutta; Rennell's Illustration of the Rivers Hooghly and Ganges, from the mouth of the Hooghly to Gawnpore, comprised in 9 doubles plates, 4to. coloured, to which are added Tables of Routes and Distances from Calcutta, throughout all the principal Inland Navigation, Price in Boards; Sa. Rs. 10.

Rennell's atlas remained the standard map of Bengal until 1850 or thereabouts, when the 4-inch sheets of the new Atlas of India began to appear. These contained much of Rennell's original survey from his 5-mile provincial maps, fitted to later surveys and the triangles of the Great Trigonometrical Survey.

In 1908 the Bengal Atlas received new lease of life. A new design was being worked out for Indian maps and, inspiration being found from a study of Rennell's 1

1 Underv Nala: 5-9-63. 2 CM. 11-1-81 & CD. to R 8-2-81 (24). 3 FM. Add. MSS. 29147, 28-1-81. 4 B to CD. 1798 (38). 5 CD. 24-1-85. 6 B. Rev. B. 4-6-89 (27). 7 BMC. 7-11-1822. 8 At J. March 1828.
old plates, it was decided to make a complete reprint of the 1781 edition. This was done in 1911 and the plates are now stocked for sale at Calcutta, and replenished as a matter of routine to meet a steady demand.

Distance Tables

In 1776 Rennell submitted, with his general maps, a Road Table entitled Great Roads of Bengal & Behar, with Dacca taken as centre; this was supplemented by tables showing roads and distances to places of note from other central cities. In 1778 he published a pamphlet entitled Description of the Roads in Bengal, of which he writes to Warren Hastings.

Since I have had any leisure from my own private concerns, I have chiefly employed myself in superintending the printing of a Book of Roads of Bengal. I trust it will prove extremely interesting.

In the preface he describes it as,

A complete travelling guide, as far as relates to distances and the nature of the rivers that intersect the roads. The utility of such a work in any country must strike every one: much more in a country where the people employed by Government are mere sojourners, and from the want of local knowledge must depend upon the information of Guides, who often mislead them either through ignorance or interested motives [89, 95, 241]. At best these guides know only the most frequented roads; so that in crossing the country no information whatever can be derived from them; and as for the peasantry, or ryots, they cannot be supposed to know the roads beyond the circle of the markets which they frequent. ...

By comparing the distances in the Tables with the horizontal distances in the Map, it will be found that one mile in seven is taken up by the windings of the Roads; which, considering the flatness and openness of the country, is a circumstance that one would not expect [134–5].

As most parts of Bengal & Bahar are level, or nearly so, the Sun's rising and setting may, in clear weather, be as easily discerned as at sea; I have therefore added a Table of the time of the Sun's rising and setting, as it furnishes the easiest method of regulating time for common purposes.

In 1781 he published a Table of Routes and distances from Calcutta through the Principal Inland Navigations, with similar tables from Dacca, Murshidabad, and Patna; it also included a statement of areas for the main subdivisions of Bengal, and a Map of Inland Navigation, which distinguished rivers perennially navigable from those open for part of the year only.

In 1779 Call prepared a Map of the Principal Roads of Bengal, Behar, Oude &c. [235], and in 1794 Colebrooke submitted distance tables for the Upper Provinces and Oude:

The accompanying Table of the Distances from Benares and Lucknow to most of the principal places in the Upper Provinces; but having been informed from maps, these distances will be found to fall short of the real travelling distances by a few miles, though seldom more, I hope, than in the proportion of five miles to a hundred.

I have only inserted the distances by water of places situated on the Ganges; the other rivers falling into the great river above Patna being seldom navigated... by any... civil or military servants. ...

I shall now proceed to lay down in the manner of Major Rennell a set of Tables of the Roads throughout the Upper Provinces, but this must necessarily be a work of time.

In sending these tables home Government remarked,

A copy of this table has been sent to the Civil Auditor for his guidance in auditing Bills for Travelling charges, as far as it can direct him for the purpose, in addition to the Table which was prepared by Major Rennell.

1 At the suggestion of Capt. W. M. Colstroom. 2 BM. Addl. MSS. 90149 (75), 20–11–78. 3 Roads in Bengal: Chittagong to Benares: a free issue to all military officers, CD to B. 22–12–75 (204).
4 Pamphlet. IO. Maps. II. A. (4. 5). Map also in Memoir & Ben. Atlas. See also Hirst. 5 BMC. 17–7–1819 (75–5). 6 DBn. (1837), 2–1–86. 7 B to CD. 3–2–85 (69).
District Maps

Rennell’s 6-mile Provincial Plans were not at first available for use in the districts, for apparently he had only left one copy of each in India. In 1776 the Governor General wrote,

I have had frequent representations from the provincial Councils of the difficulties to which they are liable for the want of provincial maps, and having been lately furnished with a very compleat general map of the province by the Surveyor General, drawn out upon a scale so large as to comprise all the principal Towns and Places of every district, which I judge will be more useful as a reference for this Board than the separate maps of each division, I recommend that this map which I now lay before the Board may be deposited in this office for their occasional inspection, and that the maps of the Provincial Divisions may be transmitted to several Councils & Collectors.

This was agreed to and acted upon, but ten years later, on the Surveyor General’s report that many of these plans were missing from his office, Government wrote to all districts calling in any that might still be found. This met with but little success, for most officers reported that they had no map of their district whatever, whilst the few who did possess one urged the impossibility of giving it up.

In 1792 the Chief Engineer, Wood, whilst in temporary charge of the Surveyor General’s office, raised the question again, reporting that there were two draughtsmen making copies of several of the Provincial Plans which had been found in a very tattered state. ... I have since had an opportunity of examining and of arranging those Plans, which are ten in number. ... These Plans are on the large scale of 6 miles to an inch, and I think it is most probable that there must have been formerly Plans of the whole country on the same scale for the use of the Collectors and Revenue Servants; but which in the course of so many years have been lost or mislaid.

There were yet 15 districts for which no plan had been found;

Should any of the Plans be irrecoverably lost, I will have others on the same scale immediately constructed. ... The inconveniences arising from the want of those Plans is frequently experienced, having lately had an application from Mr. Maguire of Tipperah for a plan of his district, which could not be compiled with.

The following year the Chief Engineer submitted 13 Plans on a large scale of the different Collectorships ... There is scarcely a Collector throughout the whole of the Company’s possessions who has any sort of Plans of their respective districts, and without them they must be kept greatly in the dark.

The Collector of Burdwan asked for a map of his district showing parganas;

A Map of this kind is the more wanted, in consequence of the proposed sale of a large portion of the Burdwan Zemindary in numerous lots; ... It might be found an assistance to the Magistrate, by enabling him to distinguish the relative positions and distances of his Police Tannahs, and certainly to the Collector in his business of regulating & realizing the tax proposed for the maintenance of those Tannahs.

In 1796 the Surveyor General reported, in reply to a request for a map of Dacca District, that we have not in the office any complete Map of the District of Dacca on a large scale, the only documents of that Part of the Country which remain being of a very old date, and much decayed, nor could I have them copied so as to form a connected Draught of the whole, as a part of one of the sheets is missing.

As the Honble. Court of Directors are in possession of all the original surveys which have been made of these Provinces, and as no new surveys of any consequence have been taken of late years, I would recommend that they be written to on this subject, to request that they would be pleased to authorise the Engraving and publishing a set of Provincial Maps on a scale not less than five British Miles to an inch.

This very reasonable suggestion was not approved, and a great opportunity of helping the work of district officers was thrown away.

\(^{1}\) BRC. 1-5.76. \(^{2}\) BPC. 22-3-92 (17). \(^{3}\) BMC. 15-2-93 (19). \(^{4}\) MRIO. M. 574, 17-6-93. \(^{5}\) BMC. 26-9-96 (85).
As the affairs of the Company became more concerned with the Upper Provinces, the more inadequate were Rennell's maps found to be, and in 1797 the Surveyor General wrote to Wilford at Benares:

As the recent invasion of the Punjab by Zamaun shaw was the cause of serious alarm to our Government, and his long-intended inroad into Hindostan may at some future period be carried into effect [57], I conceive it the duty of my office to collect in the time, for their use, every possible information relating to the countries through which the invader might be expected to approach. ... I have therefore to request that you will assist my endeavours...by sending down to the office every original route or document in your possession. ... What would be more particularly useful at present are the original sheets of the great general map, which was compiled by you and the late Col. Cal...I cannot much depend upon the copies which we have in the office, as in consulting them occasionally I have discovered numerous errors...

I have in hand of my own a map of the Deob, and Rohilkund, which is in tolerable forwardness, compiled from the surveys of Messrs Rind, Hunter, Mouat, & corrected by Reuben Burrow's astronomical observations [163-4]. In 1800 he was able to lay before the most Noble the Governor General in Council, the accompanying Map of the Dominions of Cuda &c. which has been compiled chiefly from the Materials in this Office.

The Latitudes and Longitudes of many of the Principal Places along the Ganges, and in Rohilkund, have been laid down from the observations of the late Mr. Reuben Burrow, but, since this Map began to be constructed, some other plans have been procured, which with the Survey that is now making by Captain Thomas Wood...will enable me...to lay before Government a copy still more accurate and complete.

PUNJAB & AFGHANISTAN

The Punjab was probably better known to early geographers than any other part of India owing to the campaigns of Alexander the Great and the interest roused by his historians [207]. The following extracts from D’Anville indicate the confused nature of his later information; he would indeed have rejoiced at a sight of Monserrate’s map and Commentarius [pl. 10].

For the situation of most places between Kandahar and the Indus, I am indebted partly to the Turkish Geographer, compiled by Kithib-shelbebi, under the title of Cahan-nama (The Mirror of the World) and partly to the historical account of the expedition of Timur.

The Tchenav, which joins the Indus near Attek, is the river which comes from the district of Kashmir: For this we must depend upon two modern travellers Bernier and Thvenot [118 n. 3]. ... Kashmir is celebrated by the Eastern nations; ... The mountains which surround and defend it on all sides represent a kind of shell, from which issue a multitude of streams, which unite in a river a little above Sri-nagar; the capital of the country, and in order to get out...the river opens a passage between the mountains, just wide enough for it to run through, and which are called the Baramula. ... The Eastern Tables make the latitude of Kashmir 35°, but I cannot think it so much: that of Lahaur is fixed at 37° 50' [148]. ...

Bernier...has given a map, of which our geographers seem to be unacquainted, in which this part of India, in general, has been carefully attended to. ... Tchenav is the first of the five rivers, which occasioned the Persian name of Pendj-ab, ... Shantov comes next, after which we find Ravee, which is the river of Lahaur; then Bish, and last of all Caufl ...

Alexander having crossed the Indus, came to Taxila, the largest town between the Indus and the Hydaspes; I am inclined to think that this is the same with Attek...which at the confluence of the Tchenav and the Indus, may be situate on the left hand, or farther bank of these rivers.

---

1 Dm. 16 (26), 23-3-97. 2 Map, scale 8 m. to an inch, 1798. MHQ, 28 (6); and another, in 7 sheets, scale 4 m. to 1 inch, 1800. MHQ, 15 (22-7). BMC (59), 3-7-1860. 3 Chemah joins Indus 39 K/12, 350 m. below Attek. 4 Dr. Bernier visited Kashmir with Aumangzeb, 1696. 5 Baramula, 43 J/8; an excellent picture of Kashmir Valley, except that its river is the Jhelum and not the Chenab. 6 Srinagar, 84° 6' N., Lahore, 31° 57' N. 7 The five rivers, from W. to E. are Jhelum, Chenab, Beas, Ravi, Sutlej. 8 43 C/14. 9 Identified by Rennell as Jhelam R. 10 Herbert (10-10).
Herbert includes a map entitled *Carte du Pays traversé par le Fleuve Indus*, taken from D’Anville’s map of Central Asia, which illustrates the above account.

Rennell’s geography in 1782 was not much further advanced, but by 1792 he had collected fresh information from which he prepared a new map covering the *Countries situated between Delhi and Candahar* [pl. 8];

By the favour of my friend Col. Polier, I am possessed of a map of the countries situated between the upper part of the course of the Ganges, and the rivers of Punjab: and between the northern hills and the road leading from Delhi to Batnir. This map was constructed by an European gentleman, whose name I am unacquainted with: but Col. Polier assures me that the routes between Delhi and Sirhind were drawn from the gentleman’s own observations on the spot.

For the country between Delhi and Ajmer he acknowledges a map by Father Wendel [12] and for the Punjab rivers.

I have derived considerable assistance from the Persian MS. map of the Punjab;...it was drawn by a native, and preserved in the archives of government in Hindostan. The names were obligingly translated from the Persian by the late Major Davy [249].... The tract includes the whole sobah of Lahore and a great part of Multan proper. It not only conveys a distinct general idea of the courses and names of the five rivers; but with the aid of Capt. Kirkpatrick’s MSS. [42] sets us right as to the identity of the rivers crossed by Alexander.

By the help of the Persian and other MS maps, particularly a map of the Punjab...drawn by Lieut. Rind,... I have been enabled to give the road from Wizierabad through the Retroha Daabah, with many other positions in and about the Punjab.

Rind’s *Map of the Country of the Seiks* [42], gives a crude representation of the five rivers, with a few place names, and a suggestion of the foothills; its most interesting feature is the naming of the four deabs, Sind Saywr, Retehna, Bary, and Baeit Jalinder. It was in great demand and several copies now exist in Calcutta.

Rennell continues,

The Behut, or Cashmere river, was supposed by M. D’Anville...to join the Sinde at Attok. Tavernier seems to have led M. D’Anville into this mistake; which has finally been the occasion of his misplacing, and of course misnaming, all the other four rivers. The fact is that the river which runs by Cabul, and in the lower part of its course, bears the name of Attok, joins the Sinde on the West side, and in front of the city of Attok. We are obliged to Mr. George Forster...for clearing up the mistake; and finally to the very particular and pointed observations of Capt. Kirkpatrick, for illustrating the courses of the rivers in general, in this quarter.

Forster had made a remarkable journey through the lower Himalaya, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Persia, and Russia. Starting from Beneras in August 1782.

It was necessary, from a regard to safety, to avoid the country of the Seiks; that is, Lahore: he accordingly crossed the Ganges and Jumna within the mountains, and proceeded to Kashmir by the road of Jammoo. From thence, crossing the Indus about 20 miles above Attok, he proceeded to Cabul.

As he travelled in the disguise of an Asiatic, and in the company of Asiatics, through a vast extent of Mohammedan country, where the religious prejudices...are nearly equalled by their political jealousy of all sorts of foreigners,...detection had been worse than death. From the time he left the last British station in Oude, to the Caspian,...he employed near a twelvemonth, and travelled 2700 English miles,...sleeping in the open air, even in rainy and snowy weather; and contenting himself with the ordinary food and cookery of the country he passed through.

He reached St. Petersburg in 1784, and in 1790 published an account of his journey with a chart of the road, calculated according to the reckoning of my journal,...constructed by Mr. Wilford,...a gentleman of extensive geographical knowledge.

Rennell concludes his remarks,

The geography of the Punjab country...I have detailed much beyond its seeming importance;...we are not likely, as for as I can judge, for a great length of time, to be possessed of

---

any better materials than those I have exhibited, indifferent as they may be in many in
stance; and therefore I consider it as the finishing stroke to the whole matter for some time
to come.

He was wrong in thinking that his map would long remain the "last word", for in 1804 Wilford completed A map of the Countries to the West of Delhi, as far as Cabul and Multan, scale 16 m. to an inch, which carries the following note;

The survey of these countries was undertaken about 20 years ago by Capt. Wilford, in order to ascertain the track of Alexander. It was completed between the years 1786 and 1796 by a native properly instructed.

This native surveyor, with safety to himself, could only use a pocket compass: the dis-
tances of course are computed. The survey is checked towards the S.E. by the known
latitudes and longitudes of Hardwar, Delhi, Jypore and Ajmere, but thro' this extensive
country we have to lament the total want of actual surveys & accurate observations of
Latitudes and Longitudes. There is however a measured track from Delhi to Cabul, and
another from Lahore to Moultan, by order of the Emperor Shahjehan.

In 2 instances this map differs materially from that lately published by Major Rennell;
Distance from Delhi to Lahore and again from Lahore to Moultan; Delhi to Lahore, Rennell,
230 geo. miles; Wilford 222. Capt. Wilford having leisurely and maturely investigated this
subject for several years past is convinced that his distances are correct.

Wilford's map was a very great advance over Rennell's geography, and on the
whole his detail was remarkably good. He showed the Indus down to Suckur, and
all the Punjab rivers; the distant regions of Dera Ismail Khan, Kohat, the Coorun
River; Jalanibad and Kabul; Bheer, Chatram, and Tervejmeer, to the north; the
"Tor Caffers called also Synapoosh or Black Vests, Black Infidels"; and the "Espolin
Caffers, White Infidels"; Gilgit and Hunshe.

He places Gilgit about 72° 52' E., 55° 58' N. as against the true position of 74°
20' E., 35° 54' N., and shows the general course of the Upper Indus correctly.
There are of course minor errors and a general wildness in longitudes values; but the
map is a wonderful example of what could be done by compilation from trust-
worthy information.

Wilford had long established himself as a learned geographer, and Burrow in
1788-9 preferred to send his geographical information to Wilford rather than to
the Surveyor General.

I forgot to mention the reasons why I have not sent copies of the routes among the
Comnor [164 n. 3] Hills; in the first place they are out of the limits of Major Rennell's Bengal
Atlas; secondly they require more time to translate and explain them than I can spare at
present; thirdly, as Mr. Wilford has been for a long time collecting materials at his own
expense for making a Map of the external parts bordering on India, they will be of more service
to him, and ultimately to the Company, than they can possibly be by sending them home.

Reynolds' native surveyors added much to the knowledge of the Punjab, Rajputana, and Sind (132), and most of their work is included in the maps shown on p. 246.

MAP DRAWING AND DRAUGHTSMEN

Both Rennell and De Goss took three or four European assistants with them
when they set out on survey (283), and it is reasonable to presume that these
assistants made themselves useful in map drawing. Rennell must have spent quite
as much time in plotting his surveys and in compiling and drawing his maps as he did
on actual survey; and he mentions that Richards assisted him.

In his establishment returns of 1768 he allowed for a draughtsman with pay at
Rs. 120 a month, whilst a surveyor of the rank of captain was allowed one "at
Rs. 60 a month and Rs. 1 a day when on actual service"; and a subaltern was
"allowed no Draughtsman, except by particular orders."

1 Memoir, 1792 (111). 2 MEO. 7 (11). 3 Wilford here acknowledges astr. obsn. of Monserrate
[140]. 4 True distance: direct, 240 G. miles; by road, 261 m. or 250 G. m. 5 IO. Maps. MS. 5. 6 BPC.
30-6-68 & 4-7-68.
Rennell made his headquarters at Dacea, and from about 1772 till his departure in 1777, must have been almost continuously employed in map drawing, with a fairly efficient staff of draughtsmen; he refers to "a young draughtsman" in a letter of 1772, and the name J. Fougeron is associated with his own on a map dated 1775.

In 1779, when the pay of the Surveyor General came under revision, Call pressed the importance of an adequate allowance for map drawing;

I am led to believe your Hon'ble Board have either overlooked the necessary allowance for Draughtsmen, or that it is your intention I should draw for them in a separate Bill monthly as a contingent expense not to be ascertained. To put my Office on a good footing, ... permit me to lay before you a particular account of the necessary Draughtsmen for my Office.

Two European Draughtsmen @ 350 ... Rs. 700
Four Native ... 60 ... Rs. 240
Three Portuguese ... 150 ... Rs. 450 1,390

Part of the business in my Office requires men of Genius and ability to execute; it requires precision, close attention, and much application; few such Draughtsmen are to be met with in this Country, and they will exact their own rewards. I have absolutely engaged two European Draughtsmen possessed of the necessary Qualifications, and I wish to give them proper encouragement, ...

For six months past I have been closely engaged in framing a new General Map of India, making fair copies of it; Copying Plans furnished me by the Governor General & Commander in Chief; Maps of Roads, &c. &c. [230]; Reducing Routes of the Army, and inserting them in my general Map. I have absolutely been unable for want of necessary assistance to reduce the Surveys of the Several Gentlemen employed in that Branch, and I have now several months work to bring up².

The Surveyor General was then allowed to make a fixed charge "upon honour" to cover all the expenses of his office, including draughtsmen [262], but under the retrenchments of 1785 this arrangement was withdrawn, and he made the following estimate for completing the copies required by the Directors [252];

To give you as exact an estimate as possible of the expense in making copies of such a variety of Maps, Charts, Plans, Journals, &c. as I have in my possession, I am of opinion that the following people will necessarily be employed about 12 months,

4 European Draughtsmen @ 350 a month Rs. 1,400
3 Portuguese ... 150 ... Rs. 450
4 Bengal or Portuguese Writers 60 ... Rs. 240 2,090

Good European or Native Draughtsmen are with difficulty procured, and they must be handsomely rewarded, or they will not work³.

The Board refused to accept this estimate, and Call replied,

As your Hon'ble Board have since been pleased to withdraw my allowance for Draughtsmen, Writers, Stationery, Office Rent, and every contingent allowance, it will be impossible for me to comply with the orders of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors⁴, ... whereon Government "allowed him Rs. 4,000 to complete the rough draught of his large map", and on his further representation that,

If the Original Plans...sent to my office are to be copied and sent home, it will require, draftsmen and writers at the rate of Rs. 700 a month for 12 months, and it will be necessary either that Rooms be allotted to the Draughtsmen to work in, or an allowance of Rs. 200 a month to be made for that purpose⁵;

this estimate was sanctioned for 12 months, besides the Rs. 250 for Wilford as Assistant in the Drawing-office [277]. For the future it was provided that,

All plans executed by the Surveyor General or under his instruction should be paid for, either by contract or estimate, previously approved of by the Board. ... Paper and other materials for drawing to be drawn for by bill, as actually purchased, and audited by the Board before payment [205],

and further that a statement of the work actually carried out should be submitted with every claim for pay of draughtsmen. It was not long before Wood, who had succeeded as Surveyor General, protested against these restrictions;

When the Board came to the resolution that the Surveyor General should send in the monthly bills, ... accompanied by the work finished during every month, ... I stated that Draughtsmen and such people as were employed by the Surveyor General were not like common writers, who could be discharged or increased occasionally as circumstances might require, but that they were artists difficult to be procured, more particularly in this country, where there is no regular establishment for the education of people in this science.

For this reason I requested that in place of sending in monthly bills with work, ... a small establishment should be allowed, similar to that of the former Surveyor General, and that when any extraordinary work might render any increase necessary, application for this purpose should be made to the Hon'ble Board. ...

For the common services of the Surveyor General's Office, an establishment of Draughtsmen and people a fourth less than what was drawn for by the former Surveyor General will be sufficient.

By the following year, Wood found the pressure of work in the drawing office so great that he proposed the introduction of two Engineer officers to assist;

The difficulty in procuring Capable Draughtsmen amongst our own Countrymen and the necessity of employing Foreigners on business requiring confidence and fidelity, has long been a matter of regret [245]. ... There are several Young Gentlemen whose abilities as Draughtsmen, altho' not such as would make them immediately useful in this line, yet after the practice and experience of a few years, I have no doubt but that they would be capable of executing any work entrusted to their care.

I beg leave to recommend that I be authorized to employ two Young Gentlemen...at a Monthly salary of 150 Rupees each; Specimens of their abilities being previously submitted for your Lordship's approbation.

Two officers, Anburey and Stewart, were appointed, and at the same time orders were issued restricting the monthly charge for other draughtsmen to Rs. 600. In 1788 the Surveyor General reported that the draughtsmen actually employed were,

Andrew Homannsen Employed by me for these 6 years past, originally at Rs. 600 per month, to work 5 hours in the day, every day but Sunday; but for these two years past paid according to his work and abilities.

Jean Boisseau Employed by Colonel Call and myself for these last 4 years, originally at Rs. 360 a month, for 5 hours a day. but for the last two years paid according to his work.

T. Wood Junr. Employed since July 1786; at present absent [243].

Rumney, a Bengali Draughtsman, employed occasionally in common work @ Rs. 60 per month.

When it was customary to pay the Draughtsmen per month for their 5 hours attendance, little or no work could be executed; as, what under the excuse of sickness and other pretences, bad attendance was given, & even when present, little work done; the tasking them, or allowing them so many days or months for a certain work, was therefore successfully adopted by my predecessor, and followed by me.

In 1789 Government reported that they had extended the period of employment of the two Engineer officers;

We understood likewise that he [Surveyor General] was compelled then, and had been for some time back, to have recourse to foreigners as being the most capable men he could select in the Settlement. As the ties which could be maintained upon the fidelity of these Men were very weak, We yielded to the propriety of the Surveyor General's recommendation, authorizing him to employ two young men for the space of 12 months, ... since continued or another year.

In 1788 the Directors once more insisted that copies of all surveys should be sent to England to be mapped there rather than in India [232]; they scoffed at the Surveyor General's plea of the great labour and expense;

We cannot agree with your Surveyor General that these copies would necessarily be attended with great expense, and require much time to copy; for copying maps and plans on transparent paper is a work easily and speedily performed by a careful person, without almost any knowledge of drawing. We do not mean to depreciate Genius in execution of Drawings; but actual Information must supercede every consideration of Decoration [245]. ...

Every new acquisition must be transmitted by the earliest opportunity: for the facility of making copies we now send you half a Ream of paper; we need not observe to you that 

1BMC. 24-11-88 (31, 32). 2BMC. 9-3-87. 3Stewart's resignation accepted. BMC. 34-3-89. 4Half-brother to Homannsen. 5Thomas Wood, younger brother to Mark; joined Mad. Engrs. 1788. 6HMS. 900 (128); B 8 & Sep. 12-9-88. 7B to CD (S & Sep) 8-1-88 (160).
as it becomes opaque in the warm climates, it ought not to be exposed to the air, and that the Chart...should be traced in black lead pencil, and afterwards done in ink, correcting any defect in the outline; we are informed that the ink proper for the purpose is China Ink, or any Ground Ink, not too fluid. They approved that the Surveyor General should be given a special assistant for charge of the maps and drawing office [258], Wilford having now gone to survey to Benares, and suggested Colebrooke who joined in July 1789 [258 n.7]. At the end of 1790 the Surveyor General, Alexander Kyd, and Colebrooke were ordered off to the war in Mysore, and Anburry followed the next year; all the draughtsmen except Hemmonneau and Boisseau accompanied the Surveyor General, and the office and maps were left under the charge of Wood, now Chief Engineer. The quantity of maps to be copied hardly ceased during this interval, and by the time that Colebrooke took charge of the office in 1793, the volume of fresh material had been vastly increased. There were still questions about the bills:

I beg the favour of you to represent that no fixed allowance is settled by the Regulations for Stationery and Drawing Materials; I...should consider for the future an Allowance of from forty to fifty Rupees per month as amply sufficient to defray every Charge for antiquarian and elephant paper; Reeve’s colours; Indian Ink, Pencils, and other articles. Government ordered that bills for actual expenditure should be submitted to the Auditor General and that annual returns should be made reporting the actual work carried out.

Drawing paper was often a difficulty; and to facilitate the copying of maps for England, the Directors sent out supplies of tracing paper [252] of which Wood writes contemptuously:

As for Oil Paper, in future it had better be kept at home, being totally unfit for the purpose of Copying Plans on, excepting in cases of great hurry, which seldom occur. It will not carry the Ink, and besides is quickly destroyed by Vermin; whilst later the Directors write out.

An inconvenience arises from the use of Europe Paper in large charts as the sheets cannot be well joined, and as there is an elasticity in the paper which makes it impossible to draw straight lines upon it of considerable length; We shall order our Supra-cargo in China to send to you and other settlements some transparent China Paper, which is more commodious for large charts, and facilitates the operation of copying them, and at the same time it is not injured by folding [45].

In 1798 Andrew Hemmonneau was granted a pension of Rs. 120 a month on the Surveyor General’s recommendation; In the year 1773 Mr. Hemmonneau entered as a draftsman in the Chief Engineer’s office at Fort St. George under Colonel Ross, where he served until 1781, when he came to Bengal. He was admitted as a draftsman in the Surveyor General’s office by the late Lt-Colonel Call, and continued to act in that capacity successively under Colonels Wood and Kyd, until the office devolving to my charge, I found Mr. Hemmonneau amply qualified to execute any works; and I continued to employ him as head draftsman, until a weakness in the eyes, incurred by long and unremitting application to maps obliged him to desist from that duty.

He did not enjoy his pension long, for he died at the end of the following year.

1 CD to B. 30-8-88 (13, 14, 29). 1EMC. 14-3-94 (14). 2BPC. 13-1-89 (9). 3CD to Bo. 25-5-88 (30). 4Boisseau was granted similar pension from 19-1804. 5Dm. 16 (80), 12-7-88.
CHAPTER XVI

MAPS OF MADRAS & BOMBAY


The earliest maps of the southern peninsula appear to be Dutch, of the 17th or 18th centuries, two of which are:

A map of the peninsula south of 10° 20’ entitled Nova Tabula: Terrarum Oceani, Osarea, Malabarica, Madura, & Coromandelia; by Hadriano Relando, scale about 2 1/2 inches to a degree. The coast line is deeply indented, very little internal detail is shown, and the map is decorated with animals, ships, and other ornamentation.

A coloured chart of the coast of the southern peninsula, with Ceylon and the Maldivo Islands, by Jan Harout; scale 1/4 Dutch miles to an inch.

Bremoulli gives a very curious map, Portion d’une Carte du Sud de la Presqu’Ile de l’Inde, “faite par des Brahms, que comprend le Tanjour”, which gives positions and names of towns, with stiff wide rivers.

Dalziel published in 1723 a Carte des Côtes de Malabar et de Coromandel, and other maps of the coasts.

The first map of the interior, of any merit, was that sent home by Father Boucher [86], entitled “Partie Meridionale de l’Inde, par les R.R. P.P. Jesuites, 1723.” scale one inch to a degree, extending slightly north of parallel 10°. It shows political divisions strangely different to later geography; there are several Royaumes; Carnata, lying entirely north of the Palar river, Gingi, Tanjaur, Madurey, Maisoons, besides the Torres de Chandil, between Gingi and Mysore, Murala, and on the west coast Canara, and Salarin, the latter name covering both Malabar and Travancore. Jefferys writes of this map:

Europeans had but confused ideas of the southern part of the hither Peninsula of the Indies, before the Missionaries, especially the Romanists, entered those countries to propagate their Religion; and, as for more than a century none but they had visited them, none but they were able to give the World exact Information concerning them.

In 1719, Boucher the Jesuit sent into France a Map of their Missions in Madurey, and the neighboring Kingdoms, together with the Latitudes and Longitudes of the principal Places, as they had been observed, or otherwise calculated, by the Missionaries.

This Map, which is prefixed to his letter at the Beginning of the Fifteenth Volume of the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses [11, n. 2]... includes... the space of above six Degrees, that is from Cape Comorin to beyond Palliakata on the East side; and from the same Cape to Onor on the Malabar Side.

But this Map being drawn by a small Scale of not quite an inch to one Degree of Latitude, and consequently not capable of giving the Country in any considerable Detail; the Jesuits sent over several manuscripts Charts, and other Materials, from whence Mr. D’Anville composed a new Map; which, being drawn by a Scale near twice as large as the former, is a great Deal more particular as well as accurate, and extends farther north [210].

From this map, with the Assistance of Travellers and other Materials, ...we were preparing to draw our Map of the Seat of the War, when Mr. D’Anville’s two-sheet Map of that Coast appeared, accomodated with the Roads in great Detail: the Space of above five Inches

1 Konkan [171 n. 8].
2 BM. K. 115 (61) & Imp. Lib. M. & P. 413.
3 Cat. of old Dutch maps of India, pub. The Hague, 1887.
4 Possibly the map copied by Angedal-Duperron (qr) in Bombay; Bremoulli, II (vi).
5 BM. K. 115 (92).
6 BM. Addl. MSS. 13381 (16).
7 Madura, 88 K/1.
8 Palica, 66 C/7.
9 Konavar, 48 J/7.
10 Pub. 1735; Nouvelle Carte d’une grande partie de la presqu’Ile des Indes... dressee sur deux cartes ms. des Jesuites. 10. Tracts. 284 (184).
and a Half which he assigns to a Degree, having allowed him to describe the Country very minutely, in Comparison of anything which hath been hitherto published. He was employed in this Work by the French East India Company, ... In this he has made several alterations from that of 1737: and even from his first sheet of Asia, published in 1752 [210-1].

His map is accompanied with a very copious Analysis, full of Geographical Erudition; and as we have taken our Map in a Manner wholly from his; we shall not scruple to make use of his Remarks, so far as may serve our Purpose.

Our Map extends from South to North the space of four Degrees, that is from the tenth to the fourteenth parallel of Latitude 1.

D’Anville’s two-sheet map appeared in 1753, and was entitled “Carte de la Côte de Coromandel; pour La Compagnie des Indes; 5 pouces 3 lignes au degree” and covers the country between parallels 10° 40’ and 17°; the only meridian shown is that of Pondicherry, 77° 23’ east of Paris 2. It was republished in London by Jefferys in 1754, accompanied by the memoir above quoted, in which some shrewd remarks are made as to the spelling of names [249] and the importance of both maps and histories being supported by proper authorities; “a history without vouchers ought to pass for a History of the compiler’s own Invention.”

Jefferys’ map appeared as frontispiece to Cambridge’s History that was published in 1761, together with a “Map of the Kingdom of Madura, with the South coast of Malabar, ... exhibiting the marches of the British troops into the Tinnivelly Country”, on the scale of 12 miles to an inch 3 [87].

Another map of this period is by J. Hook, 1760 4.

A new Draught of the Coast of Choromandel from Negapattam to Pullicat, with the true distances from the Principal Places from Tripudy as far as the mountains of Canavayas to Trichinopoly.

Orme published three maps of southern India, compiled and drawn by Kitrench [211 n. 2] to illustrate his History 5.

A Map of the Coast of Coromandel from the River Godavari to Cape Comorin.

The greatest part of this Map is copied from Mr. Danville, but there are some additions, the Materials of which were not known to that excellent Geographer. [These additions were various routes marched by English troops between 1755 and 1766] 6 [87]. The map is in two sheets, scale 3:9 inches to a degree, and includes Ceylon.

The Countries of the Coromandel from the Coleroon to Cape Comorin. Madura and Tinnivelly from maps compiled for the East India Company by John Call Esq. Chief Engineer.

The Carnatic from the Penmar to the Coleroon, with the Western Mountains and part of Mysore. Published...1778. [The scale of these two maps is 3:9 inches to a degree.]

For his Map of Hindoostan Rennell acknowledges,

A French MS. map, which contains the Southern Carnatic, and which has afforded me much assistance, ...and some few particulars are from the engraved French Map of 1771, whose principal merit is confined to the southern part of the Carnatic 6.

This latter is probably one entitled, “Théâtre de la Guerre dans l’Inde sur la Coste de Coromandel, par M. B. C. T., gravé par Goissey” 7. It is on a scale of about 16 miles to an inch and contains large-scale insets of important towns; the main map shows battle sites, with the names of the French officers commanding, and whether won or lost.

In 1770 Henry Montresor completed a map of the Southern Peninsula from material in the Chief Engineer’s office 8, which was acknowledged as an authority by Rennell and others for many years 9 [3, 98]. Four years later the Chief Engineer, in sending a map to General Clavering of the Supreme Council, writes;

You have rightly judged of my reasons for not drawing the Latitude and Longitude lines: as well as the separations between the Country’s and the Divisions of the Districts, as I thought it would be better not to run the risk of misinforming you by inserting them at random, when possibly I might hereafter be able to render them complete. Mr. Barnard’s survey will furnish me with that of the Jaghir, and I hope what is now doing to the northward will enable me to lay down these Circars with exactness 10 [3].

---

D'Anville's map and the reproduction of it by JEFFERYS still remained the only printed maps available to the Company's soldiers and civil servants, Bonjour [89] referring to the former as "the best we have of this part of the World", whilst Pearse had nothing larger than Jefferys' for his march from Bengal in 1781 [44], when he wrote to Fort St. George.

I humbly request if you have maps of the country I am to march through, that you will order your surveyor to send me one. Jefferys' is the best, but I fear it is on too small a scale for military uses, for it is necessary for me to know every village within ten miles of my route, with which, and Hirzarahs, I can come at a competent knowledge of the country, and be able to form any judgement of the motions of the Enemy, if any come towards us.

I shall be very thankful for some Hirzarahs that can be relied on, who know the country; what I pick up may be very good, but they are strangers to me and my People, and may be sent by the Enemy on purpose to mislead and misinform. A few well known at the Presidency would enable me to guard against such Practices, as they would enable me to point out those who might be relied on.

This reliance on information provided by hirzarah is frequently referred to as one of the greatest drawbacks caused by the lack of good maps [89, 95, 244], but so long as the Nawab of the Carnatic objected to a systematic survey of his country [2, 90-1] there was no other way of collecting information off the main surveyed routes.

Kelly's Atlas of 1782

In 1778 Robert Kelly, who had been one of the most persistent surveyors of military routes for several years [89-90], offered to compile an atlas to cover the whole south peninsula with a uniform series of maps.

First I propose a General Map of the Deccan and Carnatic, chiefly laid down from actual Surveys, Corrected by Astronomical Observations, and divided into Squares, or rather Parallelograms, each containing One Degree of Latitude and Longitude, amounting in all to Sixty four, each of which will be illustrated by a particular sketch on a large scale [242]. And to render this Work the more useful, an Alphabetical List of all the Towns and Forts contained in the General Map will be printed in a separate Book, with their Latitudes and Longitudes, the Number of the Square they are contained in, and the particular Book and page in which each may be found among the Enlarged Sketches.

To this will be added a Book of Surveys of all the great Roads on a Scale of two inches to a Mile, or Eight times the size of the Sketches. In this will be minutely delineated all the Topes, Tankes, Wells, Rivers, Watercourses, Morasses, Hills, Rocks, Passes, Woods, &c. &c., which it may anywise concern an officer to know.

The whole Work to be illustrated by a Geographical and Military View of each Province, its Natural and Artificial strength, with the best Account that can be Obtained of the Military Force, Connections and Resources of the several Chiefs or Potentates under whose Dominions they are at present.

For the Compilation of this Work I have many Materials already in my hands not yet reduced to form; Many more are to be Collected from the Engineer's Office [250-7]. And the rest I hope to obtain with your permission and Assistance in the course of a year.

After calling upon him for an estimate of the cost, the Madras Council forwarded Kelly's proposal to the Directors:

He lately proposed the scheme again to us, and gave us some idea of the expense, which appeared much too great for us to engage in without your sanction; the plan seemed likewise too extensive, taking in many objects which are not necessary to such a survey of the Country as you require for the Assistance of your Military operations.

Kelly's proposals included the establishment of a regular survey department involving considerable expense, which the Directors could not face [203]; and in 1782 he visited Calcutta, and laid his specimen atlas before the Supreme Council. This atlas is still preserved, contained in two substantial volumes described below.

---

1 MMC. 22-4-81. 2 MMC. 22-12-78. 3 M to CD. 14-19-79 (43). 4 SG. Lib. Sp. 7 & 8. 5 The small type does not here represent exact quotation.
Title Page [pl. 15]. Headed by an elaborate and brightly coloured picture in the form of an heraldic device. The arms of the E.I.C., with two globes, one of the world, the other of the heavens, supported by cupids, one using a pair of dividers, another a sextant; the two supporters are officers of the Madras Infantry; the tablet shows a collection of artillery ordnance, with a mortar and gun being fired.

Title, "Essay towards an improvement in Geography, Exemplified in a New Map of Part of the Hither Peninsula of India, Illustrated by LXIV sketches with Geographical Descriptions, General & Particular, to which is added A Complete Set of Geographical Tables on a New Plan."

Inscribed to the Governor General and Supreme Council, by Robert Kelly, 1782.

Address to the Governor General: "In the course of nine or ten years service on the Coast, I could not avoid observing many bad consequences which arose from the want of accurate Maps of the country. ... An officer's sole dependence... was necessarily placed on his Hircaraahs, a race of designing knaves, whose Ignorance of the Country, Treachery, or Cowardice in the time of danger, had often caused the miscarriage of the best plan'd expeditions [80, 95].

"From all these considerations, ... I was induced to set about some such work as... might be of general use, and at length, in the year 1770, selected this Plan. ..."

"But, after carrying it on for a few years, occasionally as my duties in the military line permitted, ... I made some attempts... to obtain the sanction & assistance of Government to carry it on with that vigor which I thought it merited. The former, I obtained in very flattering terms; but, ... the latter never coming to hand, I was obliged to go on as before, making such observations & surveys as my finances enabled, and my duty permitted me [89-90].

"In Sir Thomas Rumbold's! Government I made another attempt, & again succeeded in obtaining the sanction of Government, but with limitations; And the small allowance granted to assist me in carrying on the work was so very inadequate to my expenses, that I was exceedingly happy when it was discontinued, a few months after it had been granted [97-8]."

"At length I have brought it to such a state in which it is now presented. ..."

"I am convinced it may be of great public utility during the present war; there being no map of the Peninsula which can be equally relied on. ... By their assistance, the Gentlemen of the different Presidencies, but particularly of Madras, will be enabled to Plan their operations with more precision; and to trace out the routes of their armies and detachments (as well as those of the enemy). ... I promise that, should it be so fortunate as to claim the attention of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, so as to produce their orders for its completion, the next edition shall give perfect satisfaction."

General Description. The Atlas covers that part of the Peninsula that lies south of the 17th degree of North Latitude.—Description of the country, its geography, its climate, and its peoples.—List of the Passes leading through the Eastern & Western Ghauts.

The Grand divisions of the Peninsula [pl. 9].

"Although the Southern boundaries of the Mahrattas & Nizam's Countries are exhibited in the upper part of our General Map, as well as part of the English possessions in the Circars, yet it is not our intention to include them in our Grand Divisions of the Peninsula; ... they are to be the subject of another work. ..."

"Our modern conqueror of the Peninsula [Haidar Ali] has saved us a great deal of trouble since he assumed the Government of Mysore; Not having left an independant Prince or Chief of any denomination (out of the Carnatic) between the River Krishnâ & the Travancore Country, Bassaulat Jung excepted".

1st Grand Division. Bassaulat Jung's Dominions [86 n. 2], The Guntoo Circar and Adoni; excluding the Palnaud, which interposes.

and Grand Division. Hyder Ally's Dominions, before he entered the Carnatic in July [1780].

3rd Grand Division. The Nawab of the Carnatic's Dominions, before Hyder Ally entered his country in July 1780.—The Company's Jaghire about Madras.—The Tanjor Country, at present under the English protection.

4th Grand Division. The Travancore Dominions, Independant.

Then follows a map and description of each of these Divisions;

1st. Includes the districts of Savenour, Adoni, Kanoli, Soorapat and Guoor; forming a strip south of the Krishnâ River, separating the Nizam's Dominions from Mysore and the Carnatic.

Governor of Madras, 1778-80. *Savenour, 48 N/5; Adoni, 57 E/6; Kurnool, 57 1/1.
2nd. Bounded by the Mahrattas and Adoni on the North; by the Carnatic on the East; Colma-
toor and Salem belonging to Hydro Ally; by Travancore on the South.—The position of
all the passes is shown.
Coorg is not shown at all; "the Biddenoor1 Country" fills the basin of the upper
"Tangaboodra".
3rd. Map of the Carnatic, extending from the Kistna to Travancore, with description of the
changes in the extent of the Carnatic that had occurred during the 18th century. "The
Natives of India never think of surveying large territories, or of settling their boundaries in
anything like straight lines; ... in the center of a district fifty or sixty miles broad it is
common to meet with village belonging to the neighbouring districts.
4th. Geographical and historical description of Travancore, with map.

The Degree Sheets. Index map showing the division of the Peninsula, south of parallel
77°, into degree sheets. These are lettered A to I southwards from parallel 17° to 8°, and
numbered 1 to 9 eastwards from meridian 89° to 90° [pl. 9]. These meridians denote longi-
tude east from Ferro [1761. o.]1, and are also numbered from 77° 28' to 87° 28' East from
London.

The "grand divisions" [241] are distinguished by different colours.

Then follow the 94 degree sheets, on scale about 13 1/2 inches to an equatorial degree, or
about 5 1/2 miles to an inch [248]1. They contain very little detail, except in the coastal
areas near Madras and Pondicherry.

They show main rivers, surveyed routes, villages and towns; ranges of hills are shown
conventionally like little sand-hills; undulating ground is indicated by light shading; forests
by tree symbols. The boundaries of provinces and districts are shown by narrow ribbons.

Many of the sheets carry clever little headpieces, illustrating some prominent place; for
example, the Mulliparam sheet is headed by a high masonry fort, a sepoy with musket
standing alongside a cannon aiming down through the battlements; there are the masts of
shipping beyond the fort, bundles of merchandise, and a large anchor in the foreground.

Kelly closes his letter to the Supreme Council by saying that the Directors
will perceive that there are large tracts of country even in the Carnatic, and many more on
the Malabar Coast, yet unsurveyed and very imperfectly known. That I have therefore pur-
poosely left those spaces vacant on my maps, that they may in time be filled up by the
observations of some future surveyors, or occasional travellers through those countries ...
That my wish and ambition is to see this work filled up with accurate surveys as soon as
possible1.

The Council allotted him a gratuity of 30,000 arrebat rupees [279 n. 1] in acknow-
ledgement of his labour, and commended his maps to the Directors;

From the apparent accuracy with which they are drawn, and the utility of the plan on
which they are constructed, being calculated both for present use and the easiest reception of
future improvements, until the provinces in Decan and Carnatic shall have been completely
surveyed, they appear to us a most important and useful acquisition; ... they have already
proved a serviceable guide to General Sir Eyre Coote in regulating the motions of his army2.

Two years later Kelly submitted his survey of Fullarton's marches [98],
from the results of which I purpose making it the basis of a new edition on the same plan as
that which I had the honor of lodging in the Council Room at Calcutta; with the Longitude
calculated from London, and some other improvements in the Geographical Tables.

I have already begun this new map, and wish to know whether any answer hath yet been
received from England relative to the proposed survey, which may authorise me to proceed
in that useful work, ere my rank and station in the army prevent my paying that attention to
it which is absolutely necessary to bring it to any degree of perfection3.

Though no money was forthcoming for the development of Kelly's schemes, he
continued working on his atlas in his own time, and in 1786 sent home to the
Directors "a map of the Southern parts of the Carnatic, drawn on a large scale,
referring to some of the Military operations of the late War"4, which was passed
to Rennell, and embodied in the later edition of his map.

In the published account of Fullarton's campaign is a frontispiece map entitled
Sketch of the Southern Countries of India, traversed by the Armies commanded by Colonel
Humbertson and Colonel Fullarton. Scale about 25 miles to an inch5.

1Bedinur 125. 2One of the Canary Is. about 19° W. of Greenwich. 3Degree along parallel
16° measures 12 inches; along meridian 13°-7 inches. 4EPC. 28-6-83. 5Misc. LR. 762 (51), 7-6-86. 6Also reproduced in Viibart.
which he describes thus:

Mr. Faden, Geographer to His Majesty, has completed a Map of the Southern Provinces of India, from Madras to Cape Comorin, on a large scale, according to the plans of Colonel Kelly, Captain Worsebe, and other accurate surveyors. In this map, the movements of the Southern Army, during the Campaigns of 1783, 83, and 84, are faithfully traced, and the errors of Former Topographers are carefully corrected. [220].

**MADRAS MAPS, 1780-1800**

There is at Calcutta a map of the Peninsula of India, south of the parallel of Surat, of which nothing is known beyond an office note “Père Klumme’s Map of India; 1784-1809?”; it may be a very great deal older.

Rennell makes constant references, not only to Kelly’s map of Fullarton’s marches, but also to two others;

Worsebe’s map of Tanjore, contains more particulars than any other that I have seen; especially in the northern part. And for the southern parts, I had some assistance from the map of Mr. Sullivan. More particulars appear in the Marawar and Madura countries, than in any former map that has been published. After the great roads specified in the discussion of Kelly’s map &c., most of the new matter is from Mr. Dalrymple’s collection; and the rest from Worsebe and Sullivan.

[A map] communicated by Mr. John Sullivan, contains the whole peninsula south of the parallel of 15°; and is particularly valuable on account of its having routes and situations in Mysore, and Bednore; as well as in Tanjore and Madura.

Neither Worsebe’s [99] nor Sullivan’s map has been indentified, nor is there any clue as to the author of Sullivan’s map, of which Rennell believed “there is no other copy in Europe”.

Rennell makes no mention of Schlegel’s map [99], which was possibly unknown to contemporary geographers, as it was sent home to be presented to King George III as Elector of Hanover, and passed on his death with the King’s Library to the British Museum.

This is on the scale of 6 miles to an inch, and extends from Madura on the south to Pulcaut on the north, and from the east coast to the ghâte leading up to Mysore. It is beautifully drawn and handprinted, being drawn in colours with a most artistic title piece; the hills are brush-shaded, some in the conventional “caterpillar” form, others in elevation; the draughtsman was F. L. Rothmeyer, Sergeant of the 13th Electoral Regiment of Foot. There is a long note describing the lay-out of the principal points of control and the more striking differences of the map from those already published [169].

In 1788 Rennell supplemented his Map of Hindoostan with a larger map of the Peninsula;

As the peninsula...contains more interesting matter than could well be comprised within the space furnished by such a scale as could conveniently be applied to a general map of so large a tract as India; it was judged necessary to form another map of the peninsula, on a much larger scale; but an accident has retarded the publication. ... The scale of this map is just double that of the general one.

This map was entitled:


It is on the scale of 3 inches to a degree. A second edition, scale 2 inches to a degree, was issued in 1792 to show the “political division according to the Partition Treaty made at Seringapatam in 1792?”, and a special memoir, dated 1798, was published at the same time [214].

---

The following passage from this memoir illustrates the difficulty that confronted early geographers in the estimation of height; the direct height of a visible hill could be ascertained trigonometrically, but the height of an undulating plateau was in those days indeterminate.

The Balangat of Carnatic, or Table Land...is strongly marked in the map. ... The terms Balangat & Payyengat respectively mean the regions lying above, and below, the Gatis... We are not yet informed concerning its exact height, but are told vaguely that it is 3000 feet at the eastern side, opposite to Madras, unquestionably the highest part on the eastern side of the Peninsula, because from this parallel the waters decline to the north and south; and as they universally decline to the east, we have a proof that the western side is higher than the east; and it is by far the steepest. ...

All the waters that are collected on this vast extent of Table Land from Coimbatore to the neighbourhood of Sarat, run to the eastward; proving as we have said before, a general declivity of the ground towards that quarter.

In 1794 the Supreme Government wrote to Madras and asked for a General Map of the Carnatic (including, and distinguishing, the Ceded countries), to be taken from the best surveys on which the Roads, communications, and passes, are accurately laid down.

This was entrusted to the Chief Engineer, who submitted it three years later, reporting that,

From the time that this Map was first called for, until a few months since, I had been left without any assistance in the Office, every Officer of the Corps having been employed at different stations, and on the several expeditions to Ceylon and the Eastward; my own avocations as Chief Engineer taking up so much of my time as to prevent me engaging in the compilation of the Map in the manner I wished, and when I had completed the Carnatic, I detained it a few months to render it more complete by adding the Island of Ceylon to it. ...

List of Maps and Surveys from which the General Map of the Carnatic is compiled:

- The Sea Coast from Point Calmere to Point Gaudavery taken from the late Mr. Michel Topping's Surveys.
- The Jaffnâ District is taken from Mr. Barnard's and the late Captain Pringle's Survey.
- The Ceded Districts are taken from surveys made by Major Allan.
- The Masulipatam District from Surveys in the Chief Engineer's Office.
- The Vizagapatam District, do. do. do.
- The Kanjirakulam District from Mr. Cottsford's Survey.
- The Island of Ceylon from a Survey made in the year 1789, by order of Mr. Van de Graaff, Governor.

In 1800, Colebrooke, Surveyor General at Calcutta, submitted to Government a map of the South Peninsula compiled from all the latest maps and surveys, including Gent's map described above: [254.4]

The Map which I have now the honor to submit to your Lordship, though the result of considerable labour, is only a part of a more general and extensive work, which I propose to continue on the same or occasionally a larger scale.

The materials used have been chiefly those deposited in the Surveyor General's office, collected with such others as I have been enabled to procure. A list of these I take the liberty of enclosing, with a paper on the subject of the Longitude [180], and pointing out some of the chief circumstances in which this map differs from any former Construction of the Peninsula by Major Rennell [724].

It is possible that this is a map that was sold to the British Museum in 1843:

**Map of the South Peninsula.** Scale about 6 miles to an inch. [ Bears no date, but from the political divisions must have been drawn about 1800. Very well drawn and coloured. In two sheets. The Northern sheet between parallels 11° and 14°, the southern sheet from parallel 11° southwards.]

**draughtsmen**

Throughout this period the only Madras officer officially responsible for drawing and copying maps was the Chief Engineer [252]. In 1788 he told Government that,

1. *Peninsula (14-6).*
5. B. Pol. C. 19-7-1800.
6. *BM.* Addl. MSS. 16985 (a. b.).
7. Map bears note "Purchased of J. Graham, 19-7-1846." There had been a Head Draughtsman of this name at SGO, Calcutta, before this date.
There were formerly several Draughtsmen employed in the Drawing Room, at present there is but one, and he, though of considerable merit in his Line, at five Pagodas a month only, a sum certainly not sufficient in this time of scarcity to keep him above want. Colonel Kelly and Mr. Gomond give from their private purses to their Draughtsmen from 15 to 25 Pagodas per month each.

As a result of the Chief Engineer’s representations, a Baron Reichel, who had recently arrived in Madras, was appointed on October 28th 1783.

After a few months’ residence at Madras, Baron Reichel, being informed that orders had been received from the Court of Directors, directing that certain plans in the Engineer’s Office should be immediately reduced to a particular scale, and, thus prepared, be transmitted to England, took the opportunity to address the Governor, soliciting that he might be employed in that line. In consequence of which, the Hon’ble the Governor and Council did him the honor to appoint him Assistant Surveyor under the Chief Engineer, to be employed in preparing plans for the Hon’ble the Court of Directors, with a salary of 116 Pagodas for a month of 31 days. Which employ he fulfilled for the space of near eight years.

The Directors were all for economy;

We require exact, not finely finished, Copies, and the Officer, whose plan of the attack of Cuddalore you have transmitted, could have made Tracings of several, if not all, of those we particularly pointed out, in less time than this one finished plan required. We do not mean to discourage any person from finishing his work neatly, and only intend a necessary preference of what is needful.

In 1786 the Chief Engineer recommended the employment of Mr. Dorman, an English draughtsman, as Head Draughtsman “to relieve me from the Dependence I have hitherto been obliged to place in foreigners,” and on the death of Dorman in 1788, Mr. Wood was appointed on a salary of 40 pagodas a month. In 1791 the Chief Engineer reported that, Baron Reichel is the only one under my direction out of the Corps; he had been hitherto employed in preparing plans for the Court of Directors, whose approbation you will perceive he has merited.

Orders were however received from England that on account of his being a foreigner, Reichel should no longer be employed.

MAPS OF THE NIZAM’S DOMINIONS

For many years the only knowledge of the Nizam’s Dominions was derived from Bussy’s marches, and there was no attempt at regular survey until Mackenzie was attached to the subsidiary force in 1792, and submitted it to Government the following year with a full memoir describing its construction. He writes, in the year 1795, a general Map of the Nizam’s dominions was submitted to Government for the first time, compiled and digested from various materials of various authority described in a Memoir that accompanied it; and designed as a specimen for future corrections, and shewing that was wanted as much as what was done. It had however the use of bringing the subject into one point of view; further inquiry improved its supplements in 1798 and 1799.

MAPS OF BOMBAY

Reynolds submitted his first map of western India at the end of 1787, and gave with it an account of all the surveys which he had incorporated with his

---

1 Mr. James Gillispie to be employed as draughtsman, CD to M. 2-3-18-83.
2 MFC, 28-10-83.
3 Mack. MSS. LXXIII, 11-3-83.
4 Mack. MSS. LXXIX, 18-6-83.
5 Mack. MSS. LXVIII.
6 Mack. MSS. LXIX.
7 Mack. MSS. LXVIII, 1-4-91.
8 MIO. 65 (6) Scale 12 m. to an inch; H. H. Wilson (vii-viii).
own work, distinguishing certain areas as inserted "from information only". The map covered Gujarât, Malwa, the Konkan, the Marâtha Deccan, and Berâr; and he writes,

A great deal of information still remains to be acquired, and I trust that I shall be enabled...to complete hereafter a more perfect Plan.

As time went on, he found himself able to extend surveys over a wider area, and conceived the more ambitious plan of a general map of India, but was unable to settle down seriously to its preparation till 1795. In granting approval to this undertaking the Directors provided that besides the general map, he should give a particular map of each province. As has already been explained, the exact extent of Reynolds' completed map of the Deccan is not clear, though he had intended to cover the whole of India with the exception only of Bengal.

The general map, of which the final copy was sent to the Supreme Government in 1809, was on the scale of 9 inches to a degree.

The following are some of the particular maps, all on the scale of 18 inches to a degree, except where otherwise stated:

Map of Scind & Cutch, shewing the Mouths of the Indus. Map of the NW. part of Cutch, & the East branch of the Indus, as high as Kampaoré.

Part of Berar, Bedar & Hyderabad, to the East.

Part of Berar, Bedar & Anrangabalâ to the West.

Map of the Deccan & Kossaun. 15° to 16° N; 73° to 78° E. Part of Malwa 20° to 25° N; 73° to 78° E. Part of Malwa 22° to 24° N; 76° to 79° E.

Country between the Taptâs & Nerbudda.

Map of the Punjab & the Countries about Delhi and Panipat. 27° to 30° N; 76° to 79° E. Part of Hindostan. 9° to 27° N; 70° to 76° E. Country beyond Ajmere; 9 inches to a degree. 24° to 27° N; 78° to 79° E.

[It was noted in 1838 that the information on this map was not to be found elsewhere.]

Map of the Sind & the Indus, continuation of above to the south.

Map of the Punjab & the Countries about Delhi and Panipat. 27° to 30° N; 76° to 79° E.

Map of the Peninsula of Guzerat, with country to Gwallor & Calpee.

1 BoS. & Pol, S.1-88.  2 Khânpur, 39 L.10 or Khairpur, 40 A.14.  3 Bidar, 58 G/9.  47 Miscellaneous.

List of Maps in RGIO. Bombay, 1835. MRO, M. 564.
CHAPTER XVII

MAP CONSTRUCTION & PRESERVATION

Scales—Projections—Orthography—Maps for Court of Directors—Co-operation between Presidencies—Custody & Distribution.

The scale first used by Rennell for his survey of the Ganges was 4 inches to a nautical mile [182], or “500 yards to an inch, or 8 inches to a coss”1. This use of the coss as a scale unit was frequent with early surveyors and map-makers because distances were thus obtained from native information and travellers’ journals. Both D’Anville and Rennell discuss the length of the coss which varies in different parts of India from 1½ to 2 British miles2.

Rennell soon reduced his scale of projection to two inches to a mile; whilst of his compiled river maps he writes,

Having now completed the survey of the Ganges &c., I proceeded to construct a Set of Maps of it, on a Scale proper for common Use (2 miles to an inch), to be divided into 3 parts, each on a Sheet of Royal Paper, and a fourth Sheet to contain the whole on a Scale of 10 English Miles to an Inch3.

After receiving Clive’s orders “to set about forming a General Map of Bengal”, he adopted for that map the scale of 5 British miles to an inch, whilst for his reduced maps he used the scales of 10 and 20 geographical miles to an inch.

On one of Rennell’s early maps the scale heading reads “A scale of English Statute or measured miles (69¼ = 1 degree)”, and 2 of them to one Coss”, there being no statement that the actual scale of the map was 5 British miles to an inch. It was usual thus to define the length of the scale unit, leaving the scale ratio to be found by measurement along the drawn scale.

Though Rennell’s surveys were all compiled into 5-mile maps, yet his surveyors were required to make their original protractors on the scale of 2 miles to an inch [183], as also ordered by Colebrooke in 1794 [188].

In Madras, the Chief Engineer first proposed that the Northern Circars survey should be made on the scale “of an inch and a third to a mile, which…Capt. Stevens has begun on”, but his final instructions to the surveyors read:

The General Survey may be laid down to a scale of two inches to one mile, from which that of the particular districts may be reduced to a scale of six or twelve Inches to a Degree, and the whole afterwards formed on a Scale of three Inches to a Degree, agreeable to the Orders of the Hon’ble the Court of Directors7.

In 1771 the Directors had sent out orders to all their Presidencies laying down specific scales for surveys and maps:

The Extent and importance of the Company’s possessions have made us solicitous to obtain a General Chart of India, but we must be greatly obstructed in such a design while the maps and Chart we receive from our several Presidencies are drawn upon scales dissimilar to each other, and as the fixing one certain scale will greatly facilitate the formation of a General Chart, we shall direct our servants at our different Presidencies, that their general maps must in future be formed on a scale of three inches to a degree, and all particular surveys of Districts or Provinces on scales of six or Twelve inches to a degree, as may be thought most proper for the purpose; by these means the separate Charts will be reduced more easily to a General one8.

---

1 Journal. Orme MSS. 7: entry for 19-5-64. 2 37 to 43 coss to a degree. D’Anville (14); 35 to 46. Memoir 1792 (4-2). 3 Le Touché (86), 1-1-65; cf. Hirst & Ascoli. 4 63 geographical, or nautical, miles to a degree on a great circle. 5 Many catalogues wrongly quote this simple definition as being the scale of the map. 6 Map, MKIO, 51 (9). 7 MMC. 22-3-78. 8 CD to B. 19-4-71 (62).
In spite of this order, Rennell retained the scale of 5 British miles to an inch for his provincial maps; though his scale of 10 geographical miles to an inch conformed to the order, being equivalent to six inches to a degree; and on this scale he submitted his particular maps of Bengal & Bahar in 1774, together with a general map on scale three inches to a degree [226].

The first edition of his Map of Hindoostan was on the scale of one inch to an equatorial degree; that is, 60 geographical, or 69 1/2 British, miles to an inch, increased to 13 inches to a degree for the map of 1788, which was slightly larger than D'Anville's map [214; pls. 6, 13, 14].

Kelly's atlas contains two general maps on the scale of 4 1/2 inches to a degree, and an index map 1 1/2 inches to a degree. The degree sheets are on the scale of 13 1/2 inches to an equatorial degree, or about 5 1/2 inches to a mile [242].

Call's atlas of 13 sheets was on the scale of 4 inches to a degree, or 15 geographical miles to an inch [216]. Reynolds' province maps were 18 inches, and his general map 9 inches, to a degree.

Colebrooke was the first to adopt a scale of British miles for a general map, his New General Map of India, started in 1795, being on the scale of 16 British miles to an inch.

**Projections**

Original surveys were protracted from bearing and distance by means of circular protractor and scale; the larger scale maps, and in some cases the general maps also, were laid out either in squares or rectangles; for small scale maps some form of conical projection was adopted, as described by Rennell in his account of the maps sent home in 1774 [226].

The Projection answers to that of the Plain Chart; the Parallels of Latitude and Meridians making right angles with each other. This was found to answer best for Particular Maps, but in the General Map...the projection is such as shews the inclination of Meridians and difference of Longitude; preserving at the same time the respective positions of places; and of course showing the quantity of Superficies contained on that portion of the Globe which it represents.

It is probable that Rennell and other map-makers in India had tables shewing the lengths in inches of degrees of latitude and longitude at different parallels, whilst their scales were given in terms of the equatorial degree; amongst Orme's papers is "a Table shewing how many (British) miles answer to a Degree of Longitude at every degree of Latitude, from Latitude 1° to 90°27″.

On his map of the Coromandel Coast of 1793–94 [104] Goldingham describes his projection thus:

The meridian was divided by allowing a degree 60488 fathoms in Latitude 13°, and 60497 fathoms in Latitude 16°.

The Longitude was laid down by allowing a degree in Latitude

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Fathoms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13°</td>
<td>60493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15°</td>
<td>58668.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16°</td>
<td>58541.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both these scales are according to tables constructed by General Roy...and published in Philosophical Transactions.

In 1800 Colebrooke projected his map from a table published by Dr. Hutton, professor of mathematics at the R.M.A. Woolwich from 1773 to 1807.

**Orthography**

The spelling of place names on English maps of India has remained a vexed question even to the present day, and in the 18th century it was not a matter of complete indifference to all. Spelling was then, however, largely regarded as a
ORTHOGRAPHY

matter of personal taste, and the precise form even of personal names was not regarded as at all important; we find De Lisle, de Lisle, Delisle, de l’Isle, Del’Isle, for the great French geographer; we frequently come across “Rennell”, who nearly always refers to De Gloss as DaGloss; Mackenzie often appears as McKenzie, whilst Thomas Robertson was so inconsiderate as to change his name to Robinson and back again. It is, therefore, hardly surprising to find the greatest confusion about the simplest of Indian place names.

Jefferys [211] waxes indignant on the subject as early as 1754;

This is surely not a Credit, but a Reproof; which yet a Geographer cannot avoid, who is frequently obliged to follow the corrupt Way or writing Names, first coined in foreign Countries by Europans, and then imported by their Travellers. The only way, however, to shun this Reproof, and remedy the inconveniences attending so shameful a Practice, is to give Exotic words according to their proper Orthography; or, when that is wanting, according to Pronunciation of the natives expressed in English characters.

For his map of the Punjab Rennell had the advice of William Davy [233] of whom Markham writes,

The first advocate of any system at all was Major Davy, an officer who studied Persian in India just a century ago. He prided himself on his pronunciation, and was a strong supporter of the phonetic system.

The Bombay surveyor Emmitt was abnormally conscientious over his spelling, but not very happy in his results;

As in the names of some places I have ventured to differ from the common Orthography, it may not be unnecessary to account for what might otherwise pass for error.

For instance the well known word Seringapatam I have for the sake of perspicuity written Sree Rung Puttam, which, in the common speaking of the country, is abbreviated into Seringputtan, or simply Puttan. ...

There is surely a characteristic Idiom in the pronunciation, as well as in the construction, of every Language, & perhaps neither sound nor sense can be conveyed through a foreign channel without some deviation from the Idiomatical nicety of indigenous expression.

The fact is indeed obvious to our daily notice...and our present knowledge of the Oriental Languages teaches us to regret the wide estrangement of proper names throughout our ancient and profane Histories from their Asiatic Origin, whence have sprung obscurities that the industry and ingenuity of the present age is disgracefully, and I fear ineffectually, employed in removing.

With these Landmarks before us, It seems peculiarly incumbent on Geographers to be attentive to the right information of the present and future age in the names, as well as the position of places etc.; and though I believe (as perhaps a Frenchman also may) that our pronunciation is as just (and probably more so) to the languages of the East as any other of Europe, yet do our best maps afford ample room for amendment, if we wish to preserve the pure names of the country to erroneous ones, tho’ ModeIl’d perhaps more pleasingly to the tympanum of an English Ear, as for instance Nagapatanam and Masulipatnam, instead of Naagputtan, Muchliputnam, and a great many others with which, had I not been already led into greater prolixity than I intended, this subject of remarks might be lengthened.

De Havilland writes of his map of Coimbatore [114],

And in writing the names of places, altitude I have attempted throughout to adopt the orthography of the Tameel which appears to me the language, ab origine, of that country; I am sensible, as well from my very slender knowledge of that tongue, as from my being unable frequently to obtain the real names of places written in the language itself, that I have materially failed in this respect.

The two great authorities on the subject, whose rival systems were to hold sway for nearly eighty years, were Sir William Jones and Dr. Gilchrist, of whom Markham writes.

The names of Jones and Gilchrist became the watchwords of orthography and orthoepy, of the scientific and phonetic system; and their disciples continued to argue, whilst absolute confusion and anarchy prevailed in the spelling of the general public. For 30 years they had a fair field and no favour; but except among the learned, there was a decided leaning from the first in favour of Gilchrist’s system.

1 Markham (384), gives the classic example of “Sir Roger Dowler” for “Saraj-ud-Daulah”.
2 Jefferys (28).
3 Markham (383).
4 Bos & Pol. 29-41-106.
5 M. Rev. Ed. 12-2-1590.
6 Markham (386).
Jones came out to India in 1788 as a Judge of the High Court at Fort William; one of his first extra-ordinary acts in Calcutta was the founding of the Asiatick Society in 1784, and his first presidential address was *A Dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatick words in Roman Letters*.

In the *Manual of Surveying* of 1823 it is written:

Sir William Jones's method is at once elegant and phonical, and is, with slight modifications, in use in the Great Trigonometrical Survey, the rules thus used being:

1st. All vowels to have Italian sound.
2nd. Semi-vowels such as Y to be used as consonants only.
3rd. All consonants as in English, except that C is not used.
4th. The soft G to be always replaced by J.
5th. Dispense with re-duplication of consonants.
6th. Drop superfluous letters where they make but little difference to the pronunciation.
7th. Old established spelling not to be changed.
8th. Double consonants not to be used when the same sound can be represented by a single one.

Gilchrist went to India in 1782 and, devoting himself to philological work nearly the whole of his service, was appointed Professor of Hindustani at the College of Fort William on its foundation in 1800. According to the *Manual of Surveying*:

The Revenue Survey generally followed Gilchrist's system of orthography, which though simple and rigid, was not based on sound principles.¹

**Maps for Court of Directors**

The Directors of the East India Company had from the first been most anxious to have all the information they could collect about their possession in India, and not only ordered that surveys should be made as early as possible, but also that copies should be sent home to them without delay.²

In 1765 when ordering the survey of the Madras Jāgir they also asked the Council, to send us as soon as finished the said surveys with all the plans and explanations which may be necessary for our fully understanding them.³

And in the following year they wrote to Bengal:

A very slight respect has been shown to the frequently repeated Orders given for transmitting copies of all such [Plans] as have been and shall be made, ... which has only been done of the works at Calcutta,⁴ and the Survey of Chittagong;⁵ yet it has appeared to us that such have been in private Custody here, particularly the Survey of the Calcutta Lands;⁶ you will therefore be deemed highly culpable in forbearing to pay the attention due on this important point, by furnishing us with copies of all Draughts, Plans, and Surveys in your Custody, made of our Works, Lands, or of any other kind whatever;⁷ and again two years later,

We shall be pleased to receive the Chart preparing by Captain Rennell, but at the same time must observe we think the Charts should be first sent to us, and no copies given but by our permission, a Rule hitherto unattended to, as Lord Clive & Mr. Vansittart are both in possession of Captain Rennell's Survey of the different Provinces [223].⁸

In another letter they expressed themselves even more strongly on the subject:

When a survey is taken no one is to be permitted to take a copy of it, which leads us to repeat our Astonishment at the unfaithful Conduct of our Surveyors, in that they have sent us no one Production of their Labors, tho' they have already put the Company to a very great Ex pense, which is still going on at the rate of 5,000 and 10,000 Rupees per month, and this neglect is aggravated by our finding that Maps of all the Provinces are in the Hands of Lord Clive and Governor Vansittart. We should have carried our resentment at their conduct as far as discretion, had not the advices by the last Ship assured us the Surveys will be completed and sent out next year.⁹

This was surely somewhat unfair on the surveyors, for to whom else should they deliver their surveys if not to the Governors who had appointed them? Caraccioli, who turned every thing he possibly could to Clive’s discredit, had obviously ample grounds for writing.

The Directors were kept in the dark by the Company’s servants in regard to the acquisitions made in the last war; maps of all the provinces were in the hands of Lord Clive and Governor Vansittart, with a minute description of all the powers who border on them, and an exact estimate of the product and value of the lands, whilst the Directors who employed surveyors at very great expense, could not get the same information.

Though the primary reason for the Directors’ desire for information may have been purely commercial, there was also the wish to know something about the geography of the country, so as to be able to follow with understanding reports and plans about political and military commitments. In these early years, however, it does not appear that the Directors ever took the initiative towards the improvement of general geography, or the preparation of general maps. This was left to private individuals and professional map-makers, by whom Rennell’s earlier maps were published [223, 227].

By 1766 Vansittart had made his peace with the Directors, who ordered that Mr. Henry Vansittart & Mr. Alexander Dalrymple be permitted to inspect the several Maps and Charts of the East Indies in the Company’s possession, in order to correct and complete some works of that kind, which when done they intend presenting to the Court. Whilst on the Madras establishment Dalrymple had spent some years trading and exploring in the Eastern Islands, and after his return to England in 1765 he devoted himself to the collection and publication of marine charts. It was undoubtedly at his instigation that the Directors were insistent on calling for copies of surveyors’ journals and ships’ logs, writing in 1772.

As we are solicitous to acquire complete Charts & Maps of the Coasts & Internal Parts of India, by means of such Surveys as have been made thereof, you must not fail to transmit to us by the first opportunity the most accurate copies of the Journals of all such Persons as have been employed at your Presidency in taking Surveys, either by Sea or Land.

These orders were repeated on his appointment as Hydrographer in 1779 [45].

Whilst Dalrymple’s interest were mainly in nautical charts, Rennell had come home with a particular intention of preparing a general map of India from the records at the India House [212], and it was obviously at his suggestion that the Directors were continually writing, sometimes for copies of particular surveys, and sometimes insisting that all surveys should be sent home.

It has been said that Rennell was appointed Geographer to the East India Company, but no official record of such appointment has been found. Markham says that “He was the unpaid but most efficient head of the Geographical Department of the India House”. His position was openly recognised, for Ross, Chief Engineer at Fort St. George, writes:

The Best Plans of the Southern Countries compiled last war by a number of hands was carried home by Col. Fullarton, who has furnished, with the most liberal readiness, the Company’s Geographer General, Major Rennell, with all the Documents in his possession. ... Major Rennell has also had access to the plans and papers of the late Col. Umberson [99 n. 1], and to other important MSS. which the Company and Public at large have already benefited by, from Major Rennell’s second edition of the Memoir and Map of Indoosten, lately published [213].

All surveys that reached India House were placed at his disposal, and his advice was constantly sought. It was obviously at his request that in 1789 the Directors again wrote to both Bengal and Madras urging the collection of geographical material and its despatch to England, concluding,

We repeat our orders of May 27th 1779 [45] to send copies of...all the general surveys taken since the year 1775, on a scale of 5 British miles to an inch... and again the following year,

Caraccioli. II (999), 2CM. 10.-11. 48. 3CD to M, 25-3-79 (70). 4Markham (401). 5Mack. MSS. LXVIII. 1-11-80. 6CD to F. 12-1-85 (40, 41, 56).
The intention of the orders contained in our letters...respecting Charts, Plans, &c., was that the Company should have in England copies of everything relative to the Geography or Navigation of India that could be obtained, or had been laid down from surveys made at the Company's expense, that we might have all the information possible before us, and that those materials should be secured against any Accident which might deprive the Company of information obtained at so much expense. ... We purposely sent Oil paper [237], with which any person could have traced them. We want exact and not finely finished copies [236]. ... We therefore again repeat our Directions that Copies of all Maps, Charts, plans, surveys, Journals, Routes, or Nautical and Geographical information, not already published, be sent to us forthwith, that you order a Catalogue of all MSS of this Nature, in possession of Surveyors or other officers, to be sent to us in Triplicate, by the earliest conveyances\(^1\).

These orders were by no means welcome either at Calcutta or Madras, for not only did they involve tremendous labour but they also threatened to interrupt the progress of the Surveyor General's own general map \([215]\). Renell however was now working on his enlarged Map of Hindoostan, and the Directors were insistent, even calling for surveyors' journals and written papers, for copying which there can be no obstruction from want of Draughtsmen. ... we also direct that copies of all the Maps and Plans be sent to England so soon as the same can be done. ... Oil paper enables any person to trace the outline of the most circumstantial map, and any exact outline will satisfy us; and to prevent any obstruction to the ready execution of our wishes, we have sent by this opportunity some more Oil Papers\(^2\).

They particularly disliked the idea that the Surveyor General should be compiling a general map of his own in India.

We mean that all Documents be sent to England (reserving a copy in India to prevent accident), for the very few draughtsmen likely to be in India will be much better employed in making, or copying, surveys and other documents of original information, than in constructing any general maps from such documents, which we mean to have executed in England from all the Materials accumulated here; and, without disparagement to any man's abilities now in India, we cannot but think Major Renell the fittest person to form a general map\(^3\). They even objected to Burrow keeping his astronomical observations in India for computation \([163]\).

To reduce the enormous labour entailed by these repeated orders, Wood made the following suggestions in 1792:

I recollect five or six years ago Copies of the Plans in the Surveyor General's Office were alone asked for, the estimated amount of the expense of which...was nearly Twenty Thousand Rupees, ...Amongst the various Plans in the Secretary's, Chief Engineer's and Surveyor General's Offices, not one half of them can ever be of any real Utility, and were it not for the consideration of the little trouble in sending them Home, might as well be destroyed.

I have arranged the Plans in four Classes A, B, C, D.

Class A, may be sent to Europe as soon as possible.

Class B. I would recommend Copies being kept of them, and the originals sent to Europe.

Class C, not appearing to me to be in any respect useful in Europe, I would recommend being kept here.

Class D. are old, ragged, Engraved Plans of no value and may be destroyed.

[I estimate] the cost of copying Plans in list B. about Rs. 2,500. I hope the whole of them may be completed in time to be sent to Europe by the latter ship of the season.

These proposals were approved, and 8 draughtsmen engaged for the purpose\(^4\), enabling the Surveyor General for some years to take copies of new surveys for record and forward the originals to England within a year of their receipt.

The Directors were equally insistent on being sent plans or copies from Madras, where in 1783 the Chief Engineer had to engage a special draughtsman \([245]\).

In 1786 he was again pressed for material, and after pointing out that many of the surveys had already reached Major Renell \([251]\) he adds, "What still remains in this country I will endeavour to procure, very few having come to the Engineer's office these last 6 years\(^5\)." In acknowledging Reiche's copy of "part

---

\(^1\) CD to B. 9-12-84 (19).
\(^2\) CD to B. 21-7-86 (13, 14).
\(^3\) CD to B. 20-8-86 (12).
\(^4\) SPC. 12-1-92 (84-10).
\(^5\) Mack. MSS. LXVIII. 1-17-86.
of the Cicaco Circar" [53], the Directors say that "the original surveys...would have been more acceptable to us", and in 1791 they acknowledge a box of "30 plans, some of which were not before in our possession", but add that there are still many originals that had not been sent.

Topping was directed to "transmit by every Ship, the result of his observations and Surveys" [37], and in reply to his suggestion that other surveyors should submit their work to be examined by him [264], the Directors write:

We do not concur...that the persons employed in surveys should send the produce of their respective labours to the observatory, there to undergo an examination previous to their being transmitted to Europe, because we do not mean that any collation should be made abroad, but all originals sent us, by which we shall be the better enabled to judge of the abilities and diligence of the persons employed, and obtain that information without delay.

They had some difficulty in getting the Bombay Government to send home the surveys collected by Reynolds, who was loth to send any material before his map was ready. In reply to his request that copies should be sent out to him from the collection in London, the Directors ordered that his map should only include his own work [218, 255].

Nor do we mean that Lieutenant Colonel Reynolds should postpone transmitting to us till his map is completed the surveys he has already made or may hereafter make, but on the contrary that everything done by him as well as by others at our expense, should be send to England as soon as possible, to which the Bombay Government replied that,

The undertaking was then approaching very fast to its conclusion, in consideration to which we did not insist on that officer's immediately sending home any of his separate surveys,...since it was...the Colonel's anxious wish to lay the whole of them in one connected view before his employers,... It would have thrown him back in his final arrangement of his work at least two years, besides occasioning a farther very heavy expense in making the copies thus called for, to an aggregate...of about sixty thousand rupees.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN PRESIDENCIES

The lack of co-operation between surveyors of the three Presidencies during the earlier years of the Company's administration is particularly noticeable, but is hardly surprising when it is considered how remote each presidency was from the other, and how few were the opportunities for contact. Two striking instances may be given.

When Topping, in 1786, travelled from Masulipatam to Calcutta [101-2], he must have travelled the greater part of the way by the same route as had Pearse and Colebrooke during 1784 and 1785 [41-2], and must have made astronomical observations at several of their stations, but he makes no reference whatsoever to Pearse's journey or Colebrooke's survey, and was probably completely ignorant of both.

Colebrooke, in submitting the map he compiled from his surveys made during the campaigns in Mysore of 1791 and 1792 [112-3], makes no reference whatever to the work of Beaton and Allan during these same campaigns; and in the map and memoir which Rennell produced in 1792 to illustrate the Marches of the British Armies, acknowledgement is made to the surveys of Beaton and Allan, and none to Colebrooke [111]; indeed it is quite possible that Rennell at that time knew nothing of Colebrooke's work with the Grand Army, for he does not even mention him a year later in the memoir on his map of the South Peninsula [243]. When compiling his map of southern India a few years later, however, Colebrooke did make use of Rennell's compilation [244].

The first suggestion that there should be any interchange of geographical material between one presidency and another was made in 1755, when Call was engaged on his atlas of all India. In that year Reynolds had travelled right
across India from Surat to Calcutta, and had promised to send Call copies of his surveys [216]. This was followed up by a letter from the Supreme Government to Bombay,

Our Surveyor General being engaged at present in preparing a General map of Indostan, we request that you will give orders for copies to be taken of all surveys made by Captain Reynolds or now at Bombay, that may be useful to this work, and that the same may be transmitted by your Surveyor to our Surveyor General, who has received instructions to furnish him with copies of such public surveys as may be useful on your side of India 1.

The next year, at Wood's suggestion, letters were again sent to both Bombay and Madras asking for copies of all surveys, as these would be of the greatest utility in improving a work of so comprehensive a Nature, and, as the object which we have in view is a National one of considerable importance, We request that you will transmit to us, as soon as they can be prepared, and at the least possible expense, copies of all Surveys which may be in your possession of the Sea Coast from Ceylon to the Gulf of Persia, as well as any surveys of Routes, which may have been obtained since the beginning of the year 1778, & especially those which relate to the Mysore, and the Mahratta and Travancore Countries, and to the Deccan, of the first of which our knowledge is extremely limited 2.

The Chief Engineer at Madras responded with "a list of all the General plans in this office", and made special copies of "Captain Pringle's Book of Roads, ... together with the General plan of this Part of India 3", but it was only after more than one reminder that Bombay replied that the Surveys...are in considerable forwardness, and shall be transmitted as soon as possible, as well as an accurate one of the Sea Coast, which is now prosecuting by the Company's orders 4 [124-5].

This action on the part of the Bengal Government was far from meeting with the approval of the Directors, who wrote out,

We think the orders transmitted to the other Presidencies to send to Bengal copies of the Maps etc. ...may retard their being sent to England. We therefore direct all such copies received at Bengal from the other Settlements be transmitted to us, ...and that in future they be sent directly from those settlements to England. ... copies should only be made for Bengal after the home demand had been met 5.

It was of course only natural that the Governor General and his Council, who were responsible for directing the general political and military policy of the whole of India, should wish to have as complete and up-to-date a map as possible, and during the Mysore War of 1791 Wood obtained their permission to forward to the other presidencies, extracts from the General Maps, containing such portions of country as were most unknown, and for filling up of which from actual observation opportunities would occur to different Gentlemen, employed on active service with some of the various detachments of your armies, whose combined operations, at this period, comprise a very large extent of country.

These extracts, with their deficiencies supplied, are, at our request, to be returned to us, ...and we trust that the event will fully justify our Chief Engineer's expectations, by supplying a body of Geographical information which has hitherto been particularly defective as it relates to the Mahratta countries and that of Mysore 6.

As a result of this procedure, copies of all the military surveys carried out in Madras, Mysore, and on the west, reached the Surveyor General after the Mysore war, and facilitated the construction of his map of the South Peninsula [244].

In making these proposals Government had expressed some fear lest their requests should interfere with the rights of surveyors, who with personal risque and labor, and in some cases at their own expense, had explored countries, and accumulated materials from which they thus acquired the best founded right to future credit as well as pecuniary advantage 7.

Jealousy on this account was certainly felt by Reynolds. In 1797 Colebrooke asked for a copy of the survey made by Reynolds and Blunt in 1793-4 [55];

---

1 Bo S & Pol. 7-12-85. 2 BMC. 5-5-86 (7). 3 BMC. 24-11-86. 4 Bo S & Pol. 8-11-87. 5 CD to B: 20-8-88 (15). 6 B to CD 18-8-91 (166-170). 7 ib. (168).
CO-OPERATION BETWEEN PRESIDENCIES

The difficulty of acquiring any Geographical knowledge of countries remote from the Company's possessions has always been very great, but it was in this instance overcome by Captain Reynolds, ... whose activity and perseverance enabled him... to carry a measured line through the country in question. ...

It is much to be lamented that a copy of so valuable a Survey should not have been laid before Government. ... I beg leave therefore to recommend that an application be made to the Presidency of Bombay for copies of such a portion of Major Reynolds' survey as he took while acting under the particular authority of this Government1, and had escorts from this Army for his protection [301].

This request was met, and a few months later Reynolds responded by asking for copies of surveys from both Bengal and Madras, though he seems to have anticipated obstruction from Colebrooke's part; rightly or wrongly Reynolds suspected him of being jealous of Colebrooke's map, even though it was at Colebrooke's request that he had been given permission to copy plans in the Surveyor General's office during his visit in 1798 [217] 2.

The request in my letter...for the copy of papers from Bengal etc...would have been urged before, had I not had reason to expect difficulty in the compliance with it, for from very good authority...I learnt that suspicions had been propagated of a very unjustifiable nature towards me in Bengal, of my intention in prosecuting the enquiry, and of its ultimate appropriation... This calumny, from whence its source no matter, whether low or perhaps high, answered the purpose in some measure, and I have felt the effects of it... The authority under which I have been for some time past acting, gave me a right, in my opinion, to expect such communications...which added no credit to myself, took none from other, and they were public papers, copies of which in general had been no doubt already transmitted to Europe; I conceived there could be no just reason for detaining them from me.

The map I am about, ...I have reason to apprehend, has laid me open to the envy, jealousy, and secret influence of some of my contemporaries, and had occasioned much vexation to me already. Ignorant as I am, however, of the nature of the reference intended from Bengal, I beg leave to observe, should the idea still remain there of my being backward in my communications, that the nature of the business absolutely requires the final arrangement of my various materials to take place...and that any impartial imposition will be a great injustice to me, and can serve no purpose...except to transfer the credit that's my due to some one who may have possibly been most of the time enjoying himself in his arm'd chair3.

Reynolds's protests, however served no purpose, for the Directors ordered that he was not to incorporate the work of other surveyors into his map [218], orders that sadly disappointed him;

I read them with much regret, for...in the memorandum I laid before Sir John Shore [in 1793] my proposal to Government was not of a partial nature, but was to complete the whole Geography of India,...[which] led me to conceive that I might ask for copies of public surveys from the other Presidencies in order to assist my enquiries, and bring the work to a more speedy close, without a suspicion...that I meant to deprive others of the credit of their labours4.

It is quite probable that all this distrust originated solely on Reynolds's side; he was working alone at Surat, with no assistants, and with no other work than the compilation of his map; he was worried by the Directors pressing for its completion. Colebrooke on the other hand, was at this time engaged in friendly correspondence with Mackenzie, arranging for a free exchange of material between Bengal and Madras, and at the same time passing the remark to Mackenzie,

I should rather think that Colonel Reynolds on the Bombay Establishment would not agree to any mutual communication of surveys, notwithstanding his application for copies of yours5.

The Governments of Bengal and Madras agreed to this exchange between Colebrooke and Mackenzie, an arrangement which was in due course blessed by the formal approval of the Directors;

The reciprocal communication between your Surveyor General and Captain Mackenzie of the Madras Establishment may tend very much to the improvement of Geographical knowledge, and as this communication is to be made through the medium of our respective

---

1 BMC 15.5-97 (37). 2 DDn. 52 (36), 96-9-93. 3 BoMC 24-4-98. 4 DDn. 146 (27), 24-12-99. 5 DDn. 14 (66), 23-3-98.
CUSTODY AND DISTRIBUTION

From the very earliest days, the Directors were insistent that detailed surveys should not be allowed to fall into the hands of the many possible enemies who threatened the Company's possessions during the troublous days of the 18th century. In 1765 they specially asked that Plaisted's survey of the Chittagong River should be kept confidential.\[15\].

They were disgusted to find that surveys were passing into the hands of Governors and senior officers, and being treated as private property, even to the extent of being handed over to map-publishers long before official copies had reached the India House.\[223, 250-1\]. It is even recorded that Rennell's \textit{original surveys}...were brought home by some of the high authorities in India, and treated as \textit{private property}, till they were accidentally discovered in the collection of a lady of rank, ... and purchased for the sum of one hundred pounds by the Court of Directors.\[23\].

As a precaution, it was recommended in 1768 that, as the Hon'ble Company have been at a very heavy expense in procuring different surveys in Bengal, ...they be from time to time collected, and deposited under the Governor's care in a public Plan Chest, and a regular list of them to be registered in the Secretary's office.\[24\].

This system appears to have been maintained for some years, for in 1787 the Surveyor General pointed out the inconvenience of many of the Plans, Routes, and Journals of Surveyors, being kept in the Secretary's office, ...[and asked that] they may all be collected in the Surveyor General's office, or at any rate a list of those retained by the Secretary supplied to the Surveyor General.\[211\].

The Surveyor General appears to have held safe charge of all surveys which reached him and to have issued no copies except to the Governor, but other maps frequently slipped away, especially through commanding officers who thought they had first claim on the work of their own officers. Omele certainly seems to have experienced no difficulty in collecting surveys from his many friends in high places.\[262\]. Closer control was however established in course of time, and the regulations of 1779 threatened the Surveyor General with dismissal if he allowed copies of any map to leave his control without proper authority.\[240\].

In Madras the Chief Engineer was for many years the custodian of maps and surveys, but there were no orders that officers other than Engineers should submit their surveys to him.\[240\]. In his instructions for the survey of the Northern Circars in 1778, he issued strict orders to the surveyors:

You are to take particular Care that no one have access to your Plans, and you are not to take, or allow any copies of them to be on any account taken, without the express leave of the Governor and Council.\[92\].

His office was, however, no very secure repository, for he had to report later that the loss of plans, and many other inconveniences respecting plans, have arisen from the changes of system that have at different times been adopted, and from orders given by successive Governors for removing plans from the Engineer's office; especially during the Government of Lord Pigot,\[6\], when the plans at the Engineer's office were taken out by a public order of the Secretary, and, in consequence of the Revolution that took place during his Lordship's administration, were suffered occasionally to fall into the hands of a variety of People.

Such a want of arrangement has existed in this respect, that I can venture to assert that Government is now possessed of less materials towards furnishing a complete Chart of the Southern parts of India, than they were at the period of ten years back.\[2\].

\[3\] BPC. 30-4-68. \[4\] BPC. 12-3-57 (20). \[5\] MMC. 22-3-73. \[6\] Lord Pigot, with Dalrymple, reached Madras Dec. 1775; arrested by his Council 24-5-76; d. in confinement 20-5-77 [143 n. 8]. \[7\] BMC. 24-11-86.
An example of such loss of material is given in a letter from the Quartermaster-General of 1807, writing of the Nagari Hills west of Tripasur:

Several of the Pollans were attacked and explored in 1776 by a Detachment under the command of Colonel Kelly [97], but such geographical information respecting them as may have been acquired has been lost.

The Directors took note of Ross’s report and sent out strict orders that to prevent any Plan or Map being, in future, lost or mislaid, as by the Chief Engineer’s letter... appears to be the case, the person entrusted with charge of them shall deliver none without the Governor’s order in writing, and taking a receipt.

Ross still had to report that his lists of maps were incomplete and most confused, and suggested that

In order that every succeeding officer of Guides may have the means of informing himself of what has been formerly done towards obtaining a perfect knowledge of the country, certain prescribed Times and forms should be established for their reports... to be lodged in the Engineer’s office, ... to which officers wanting information can refer as occasion may require; and it would greatly facilitate our researches were the Hon’ble Court to direct the publications of Major Rennell and Mr. Dalrymple to be regularly sent to us.

There is not... in the Public offices copies of any of the Maps or Memoirs which were presented to the Governor General in Council of Bengal by Colonel Kelly [230], and only a few detached reports and one Plan of Captain Fringe’s in the Engineer’s office.

The Directors then ordered that

Mr. Topping be employed to arrange the Register of Maps, as Geographical knowledge is requisite to a proper arrangement; and Madras replied,

we shall pay the strictest attention to your instructions and keep in future the plans &c. in the consultation room, under the care of our Secretary.

The Directors were still not satisfied;

As our directions to have all our maps and plans arranged in presses in the Consultation Room, under the Governor’s key have not been attended to, we repeat our orders for that purpose.

Having seen the Madras maps properly settled at last, we return to Bengal. Shortly before Rennell left the country the Governor General had decided that the Council would be satisfied with one copy of his general map, and that the provincial maps would be more useful if they were distributed to district officers [231]. These 6-mile maps were then sent out to the districts with the following circular:

We herewith transmit you a map of the division superintended by you; and desire the greatest care may be taken of it, as it is to remain a record in your office. We direct that you on no account take any copy, or allow any to be taken of it, and we shall consider your disobedience or neglect of this as a fault highly censurable.

Ten years later Wood found that his office possessed no copy of several of these very valuable maps, and tried to call in copies from the district officers:

When I succeeded to the Office of Surveyor General, I received from my Predecessor a variety of different Plans, a list of which I have the honour to transmit you. I have since received some of the Provincial Plans, which although Lt. Colonel Cali did not obtain officially, yet he has been so good as to give them up, to remain in the Surveyor General’s office....

As many of the Provincial Plans are wanting, and I have some reason to believe this may have been occasioned by former Chiefs and Collectors having obtained the Temporary loan of, and not returned, them.... I beg leave to submit the following proposal.... That a circular letter be addressed to all Chiefs and Collectors, directing them to transmit to the Committee of Revenue a list of such plans of their Several Districts as may be in their possession [231].

The Collector of Dinajpur, replied to this circular:

At my request the Collector at Puranae some time since forwarded to me the Provincial map of Purana, Dinageore, and Rungpore Districts, in order that I might trace the situation of Madganno (insurgent leader of Paurirs) at the time he entered this district; this map...
formerly was in the possession of the Provincial Council, and taken by them to Purnea. ... The necessity for every Collector being furnished with an accurate map of the Division he superintends induces me to request that the map at present in my possession may remain for the use of the Collectors of Purnea, Rangpore and Dinagapore whilst the Collector of Sylhet wrote,

I have no plans of this district in my possession, either officially or otherwise obtained.

The Surveyor General then noted that,

Complete copies are wanted of all the Provincial Plans, not only for Government, but for the Surveyor General's Office. The only copies have been either mislaid or carried to Europe.

Five years later the Surveyor General reports that he has several draughtsmen engaged in copying ten of the Provincial Plans "which had been found in a very tattered state", but that there must be many others which have not yet been found.

Should it meet with the approbation of your Lordship, I again recommend that the Collectors of the Several Districts of which the Plans are wanting, to be directed immediately to transmit to the Board of Revenue all Public Plans in their possession, copies of which being taken, the same Plans or Copies of them will be returned them as soon as possible.

The following year the Chief Engineer was able to submit 13 of these provincial plans, and that they might not "be lost or mislaid" recommended "that they be placed in charge of the Secretary in the Revenue Department".

From about 1788 the Surveyor General submitted an annual list of the maps held in his office, and in reply to a proposal made by Wood the Directors authorised a special officer for the charge of the drawing office.

The Charge of all Charts, Maps or Plans and other like Documents belonging to the Company should be vested in him, under the directions of the Governor General, and an exact Register made and carefully kept of all particulars, noting how they are at any time disposed of. ... I hope you will be careful in the choice of the person to be selected for this charge.

The following year the Bengal Government had to report, relative to different plans and charts carried from this country by Lt. Colonels Watson and Call, and other persons, and beg leave to recommend...that they may be recovered to the Company's property, to which they belong.

In Bombay the charge of maps and surveys fell naturally to the Surveyor; and soon after Reynolds' appointment to this post, the Supreme Government ordered that it is our wish that your Surveyor should keep a Register of all surveys made by your directions, inserting opposite them by whom they were made, and at what time.

As Reynolds was constantly out on survey he was not in a position to look closely after maps at the Presidency, where the Chief Engineer was in a better position to do so; when however he settled down at Surat, Government ordered that, it having been customary during the absence of the Surveyor to Lodge all Surveys, routes, &c., in the Chief Engineer's office, the Hon'ble the Governor directs that in future all such papers shall be directed to Captain Reynolds, the Surveyor, & transmitted to his office, from whence he will furnish Government and the Hon'ble the Court of Directors with such papers as may be necessary.

Three years later, however, the Commander-in-Chief asked that maps should be kept at the Chief Engineer's office rather than at Surat:

The view of the Commander in Chief in making the present proposal is, first that the surveys may be lodged at the seat of Government, for whose use they were compiled, and secondly, by depositing them with the Chief Engineer, they may be serviceable in instructing the Practitioner. Bombay has no seminary for the improvement of the young Engineer; but he might be advantageously employed for the first year after his arrival in the country in copying these maps.

Government approved this proposal and authorised the Chief Engineer to employ properly qualified persons to make such further transcripts as may be required at the rate of four rupees per dem [281].

---

1 Dinajpur Dist. R. II (59), 12-10-86. 2 Sylhet Dist. R. II (63), 16-10-86. 3 D.Dn. 10 (16), 1788. 4 B.C., 23-2-62 (17). 5 B.C., 23-2-63 (19). 6 B. S. & M. 23-5-87. 7 Colebrooke was duly appointed (297); CD to B. 30-8-88 (29). 8 B. to CD, 6-11-89 (62). 9 B. S. & M., 1788. From Bengal, 7-12-86. 10 BoMC 8-12-85. 11 BoMC 28-3-89.
It must be remembered that this concern for the custody of maps was the more justified since nearly all were manuscript. None of the Company's money was spent on the engraving of maps, and those that were published by Dalrymple, Rennell, or professional map publishers, were engraved at private expense, the utmost contribution from the Directors being the grant of a fixed remuneration to Dalrymple, and the purchase of a limited number of copies from Rennell, with an advance payment [227-9]. No general issue of maps was made to Government servants other than Members of Council; other officers had to purchase them privately.
CHAPTER XVIII

THE SURVEYOR GENERALS

Surveyor Generals of Bengal—a Bengal Regulations—Surveyor General’s Office at Calcutta—Proposals for Surveyor General, Madras—Surveyor General, Bombay.

James Rennell was the first Surveyor General to be appointed in India, his appointment from January 1st 1767 being made under the following resolution of Council, a few weeks before Clive sailed for England:

Mr. James Rennell having, in the surveys which have lately been carried on under his direction, given sufficient proofs of his abilities and assiduity in that branch, which may prove of great consequence to the Company’s possessions under this Presidency, it is agreed that he be appointed Surveyor-General, with the rank of Captain, and a salary of Rs. 300 per month in consideration of his merit and the labour of that employ.1

It has been suggested that Rennell was Surveyor General of India,2 but this is not so. In 1767 the President in Council at Fort William had no authority over any other Presidency except Bengal; such extended authority was not conferred until Warren Hastings was appointed Governor General in 1773, and even then he had no authority for appointments beyond Bengal.

Rennell was Surveyor General in Bengal.3

Having completed the greater part of his surveys and maps by 1774, and being most anxious to return to England on account of ill-health, he applied for a pension. This was granted, after some delay, as a special favour, and he resigned and left the country early in April 1777.4

The appointment was then left vacant for several months, until in October the Council appointed Thomas Call, of the Engineers, who had worked as surveyor under Rennell for a short while.5

We have lately found it necessary to revive the Office of Surveyor General which had remained vacant since the departure of Major Rennell to England, and Lieutenant Call having been recommended to us by the Governor General, as qualified for discharging the duties of this office, he has accordingly been appointed to it.6

The appointment dated from October 7th 1777, but the Directors did not at once confirm it, and the following year appointed William Richards7 who had been assistant to Rennell for several years, and had left India on account of his health at the end of 1776. Richards, however, never returned to India to take up the appointment, which he eventually resigned in 1781.8

Call continued as Surveyor General till 1786, when he resigned on February 6th to become Chief Engineer;

Having completed my Map of India as far as the Materials in my possession will enable me to do, I humbly beg your permission to resign the appointment of Surveyor General.9

My motive for wishing to give up my appointment, is that I may be able to apply myself to the studies of my profession as an Engineer, and that I may be at liberty to pursue such other services as my Superiors may think proper to order me on.

Captain Mark Wood is well qualified to fill the appointment of Surveyor General, and being the next Officer to me in the Corps, I take the liberty to mention him as a proper person to be appointed in my stead.10

---

1 This form of plural was accepted by Sir. Sidney Burdard, 27–10–1914; SGO. 111–1923. The hyphen is not here used in India. 2 James Rennell, Jan. 1767 to April 1777; Thomas Call, Oct. 1777 to Feb. 1788; Mark Wood, Feb. 1788 to Nov. 1788; Alexander Ryd, Nov. 1788 to Feb. 1794; Robert Colebrooks, Feb. 1794 to Sept. 1808. 3 BPC. 8–1–97. 4 eg. La Touche (Titlepage); Hirst & Ascoli (4, 49); There was no SG. of India till 1815, when Mackenzie was so appd. 5 Memoir, 1788 (Titlepage). 6 Written "revise" in extant records, an obvious copying error. It to CD. 21–11–77 (82). 7 CD to B. 22–12–75 (148). 8 BPC. 7–2–86 (14). 9 CM. 29–1–81.
Wood was duly appointed from the following day, February 7th, and during the time he was Surveyor General continued "Commanding at Budge Budge", even submitting estimates for the construction of barracks there. On November 15th 1758 he, in his turn, was appointed Chief Engineer, and on the same date Captain Alexander Kyd is appointed Surveyor General and commandant of the Fort of Budge Budge in the room of Lt. Colonel Wood 1.

Both Wood and Kyd were Engineer officers, Wood having made surveys of Calcutta and the Hooghly River [50, 53-4], and Kyd a reconnaissance of the Arakan coast, and a survey of the island and harbour of Penang [46-7]; in both cases their selection to be Surveyor General seems to have followed from their standing in the corps.

During his term of office Kyd spent very little time at Calcutta; he spent season 1789-90 on a survey of the harbours of the Andaman & Nicobar Islands [48-9], and from November 1790 till July 1792, was A. D. C. to the Governor General. Lord Cornwallis, on the campaign in Mysore, retaining in the field his office of Surveyor General [43, 112-3].

In February 1798, he was sent to the Andaman Islands as Superintendent, leaving his assistant Colebrooke in charge of the Surveyor General's office [49-50]; he continued to hold the post and salary of Surveyor General till he resigned a year later;

It is my wish to have permission to resign the Office of Surveyor General.

I am induced to make this request from the little prospect that there is, owing to my present public occupation, of being at all able to attach myself to the duties of an office that particularly requires constant and unbroken attention, and from a conviction that they will be executed with much more advantage to the Public were it entirely under the management of a qualified person, whose mind may be wholly engaged in Geographical pursuits 2.

Colebrooke was appointed to succeed him from February 8th 1794 [8, 268]:

The Governor in Council thinks it proper to observe upon this occasion that although the seniority of appointment among the assistants in the Surveyor General's Office is with Lieutenant Wilford, who has been for a long time on a Surveying Duty in the Zamindary of Benares, yet as Lieutenant Colebrooke is Senior to Lieutenant Wilford in the list of the Army, and very competent, as indeed Lieutenant Wilford also is, to the Duties of Surveyor General, the choice has fallen where the Order plans it 3.

Colebrooke's was a fitting choice as he had spent the greater part of his service on survey. He had first learnt his profession as surveyor to the Bengal Detachment under Pears between 1783 and 1785; he had accompanied Kyd as assistant surveyor both to Penang in 1787, and again to the Andaman & Nicobar Islands in 1789-90. He had made surveys on the march with his regiment in the Upper Provinces, and in 1789 had been appointed assistant in charge of the maps in the Surveyor General's Office. He had been on survey during the 1791-92 campaigns in Mysore, and remained a keen and active surveyor throughout his term as Surveyor General, dying on tour, September 21st 1808.

Bengal Regulations

The earliest regulations for the Surveyor General's Department in Bengal were laid down in 1779, and amongst the more interesting are the following:

That he [the Surveyor General] furnish Surveyors employed in different parts of the country with orders and instructions. All surveyors sent with detachments are to receive their instructions from the Surveyor General. ...

He will compile such routes and observations as may be made, and reduce and insert them in his general plan [215].

He is to supply the Commander in Chief with such routes as he may deem necessary.

He is to furnish the Board and Commander in Chief with alphabetical lists and military descriptions of the Roads through India [230], specifying the distance from each town, and observations on the roads, forts, passages of the rivers, in the different seasons of the year,

1 BGO. 28-11-88. 2 BFC. 7-3-94. 3 BFC. 8-2-1794 & B to CD. 14-2-94 (33).
with the boats and materials for embarcation procurable in the neighbourhood; proper places of encampment for food and water; market places and grain and bullocks; natural strength of the ground.

That the Surveyor General shall not furnish, on pain of suspension or dismissal from his office [236], to any person whatever, copies of any maps or plans of the country and posts, march routes, or information relating to the surface of the country, without an order in writing from the Board or the Commander in Chief. That he require from the surveyors that have acted under him all original plans and surveys, ... with a declaration in writing on honour, ... that they have not retained any of the original matters of which they were compiled.

That he be responsible for the Assistants in his Office, so far that he employ none without large security for their fidelity [236].

That the Surveyor General make Quarterly Returns to the Board, specifying the different plans in his possession, as also the progress he has made in forming new ones; such returns shall also specify what surveyors are employed under him, on what duty, and the progress respectively made by them, their fitness for the service, and the good or bad execution of the plans furnished by them.

That the Surveyor General obey all orders from the Governor General and that he continue to receive his instructions for surveys from the Governor General as heretofore 1.

Up till 1785 the Surveyor General and his staff belonged to the Civil department, but on the formation of the Military Department of Government, they were transferred to that department.

**Surveyor General's Office at Calcutta**

Rennell made his headquarters at Dacca 2, and we do not find any claims from him for an office building, or office rent, nor for any office establishment, which appear to have been covered by the full field allowances which he drew throughout the year [274].

After he left, the Surveyor General maintained his office at Calcutta, where it has remained to this day.

By a resolution passed in August 1799, the Surveyor General was allowed Salary, Rs. 651; House Rent, Rs. 400; Draftsmen, Stationery & Charges of Office to be drawn by the Actual Charge, but limited to Rs. 600 p.m. [235]... But shortly after this, ... on 11th October 1779, that order was revoked, and the Surveyor General's Bill's for Draftsmen, Stationery, and charges of Office, were directed to be delivered upon Honor, not as a fixed charge, but varying monthly according to the occasions of his office, and in consequence of this resolution...a charge not variable, but fixed, ... was regularly drawn until 31st March 1785.

Harcarrans, Sickligurs [290 n. 6], Peons, Moonshies and Interpreters [289] Rs. 100

Stationery, Oil, and Candels, ... 120 3

In 1788, after the retrenchments of 1785, the establishment was fixed at: Office Rent per month ... Rs. 90

One native writer ... 50 4

Followers ... 44 5

Living in Calcutta was far from cheap, and in 1798 Government found it necessary to order that, After 1st of next month, no uncovenanted assistants, or writers, whether European, Portuguese or Native, on monthly pay, or paid by the section, shall do duty in any two or more offices 6.

In 1794 the Surveyor General addressed Government from Chowringhee [168]; The allowance of Rs. 90 for an office is not adequate to the Expcnce I have incurred. Not being allowed quarters in the Fort I humbly conceive I might, in the article of House or Office

1BMG. 5-8-79 & Carroll's Code, Ch. VIII. 2Both Century Series & Hunter (78) say that Rennell "kept a staff of draughtsmen in Calcutta". No corroboration has been found, though he spent several months in Calcutta during the rains of 1767-89. 3BMG. 9-8-79 & BMG. 24-11-88. 4BMG. 10-6-88. 5BMG. M. 574. 25-2-88.
rent, be put upon a footing with other Heads of Offices, and with the Secretaries to the Military and Hospital Boards, whose allowances are each Rs. 250.

This is the exact sum I have expended for many months past for the House I inhabit, and I am pretty certain I could not accommodate myself at a cheaper rate without retiring to such a distance from Calcutta as would render it impracticable for the Draftsmen to attend, or living in some remote and obscure corner of the Town 1.

The application was refused.

Proposals for Surveyor General, Madras

Although the surveyors of the Madras Presidency were as worthy of note as those of Bengal, and their labours equally appreciated, yet until 1810 the Company firmly refused to appoint a Surveyor General to that Presidency.

The first suggestion of the need for such a post was made in 1775 by Ross, the Chief Engineer, with reference to surveys in Masulipatam;

As the surveys now wanted are very extensive, I would propose that as many gentlemen as can be got be employed thereon, and that the whole be under one Surveyor General, who should appoint the most capable to the direction of the different districts and the others to act as their assistants, until properly qualified to take a charge upon themselves.

He should manage the correspondence and direct their proceedings, so as the whole may agree when completed.

The detailed scheme which Kelly put up in 1779 covered an establishment of two sub-directors, two assistant surveyors, four draughtsmen, thirty native non-commissioned officers and men, fifty lascars and coolies, "to be generally employed in separate parties thro' the country", together with an adequate supply of telescopes, quadrants, sextants, theodolites, plane-tables, and other surveying instruments. He asked for no administrative charge for himself other than the duty of compiling the maps;

The nature of the business points out an office for which, as I have no competitors, I will venture to apply, not without hope of success; I mean that of Geographer to the Honourable Company. It is a post for which I have long laboured to render myself qualified, and in which I think I can render myself useful 2.

and again to the Supreme Government in 1782 [240–1].

The part I should wish to act in the business myself...should be that of Geographer, not only because I wish not to interfere with the appointments of other Gentlemen, but that I could always employ myself in other ways, without neglecting my other duties as an officer 3.

Kelly's proposals were referred home both by the Madras and the Supreme Governments, but the Directors, dreading any increase of expenditure whilst so heavily involved by the Maratha and Mysore Wars, gave an emphatic refusal to both 4.

They were equally firm when Ross suggested in 1783 that, to meet their call for increased activity in surveying [101, 251–2]

a Corps of Surveyors should be selected and put under the Orders of a Surveyor General, to whom Government should give the entire charge 5.

We do not by any means approve of your intentions, grounded on the Engineer's report, for establishing a Surveyor General, which would draw the Company into a great and needless expense.

In 1792 they expressed their appreciation of Topping's abilities;

As Mr. Topping has been actually employed so long in surveying, and in Astronomical Observations for the Company, we think it proper to appoint him our Astronomer and Surveyor on your Coast. ... We direct that all Surveys be made under his directions; we do not mean to extend his Authority as Surveyor...over Engineers or Military Officers employed with the Army or Detachments, but over all Persons, Civil or Military, employed especially in actual Surveys or Astronomical Observations, and all the Instruments are to be under his Charge.

To get his responsibilities more clearly defined, Topping submitted that in order to render these intentions effectual, and my exertions as extensively useful as possible, it will be necessary for me to be made acquainted with the present state of surveying in this country, and to have entire access to the maps and charts that have been constructed from time to time by different persons: The Hon'ble Board will, I presume, see the propriety also of apprising such gentlemen as are, or may be, employed throughout their establishment in making surveys, or taking astronomical observations, that they are in future to make their reports to me.

...The Hon'ble Board will perceive it to be a part of the orders they may have sent me that all the Instruments are to be under my charge.

Government accepted these suggestions and desired the Chief Engineer to put Mr. Topping in possession of all the surveying instruments under your charge, and permit him to have free access to the maps and Charts in your Department.

Topping further proposed,

That all persons who may be employed in surveying, (with exception only to...the restrictions specified) be directed to take their instructions from me; to report their proceedings, and finally to send the produce of their respective labours to the observatory, there to undergo an examination previous to their being transmitted to Europe... (253).

Besides the personal labours of a practical surveyor; and the duties of an astronomer the Honble. Company evidently expect from me, ...the more extensive services of a Surveyor General.

But in doing this, they do not clearly appear to have given me the fixed appointments and titular character usually annexed to so responsible a station: I hope however that this state of incertitude will not impede my exertions in the Public service.

On this the Council resolved to recommend to the Court of Directors the adoption of the regulations proposed...and to point out to them the necessity of defining the authority they meant should attach to Mr. Topping's station... (2).

Later in the year, when recommending an establishment of surveyors for a Department of Tank Repairs, Topping repeated his suggestion that a Surveyor General should be appointed [108], and the Directors replied appointing him "the Company's Astronomer, Geographical and Marine Surveyor-in-chief under your Presidency... (3).

After Topping's death early in 1796 Mackenzie applied to be appointed Surveyor General.

To render the several surveys carried on under the Presidency of real use, by bringing the whole under one regular systematic arrangement (as is already the case in our neighbouring Presidency of Bengal). I beg leave to submit...the expediency of appointing an office of Surveyor General for the purpose of superintending and directing all surveys made by order, under this Presidency, for examining and reporting their progress, and for suggesting such further improvement as may be expedient. ...

The office of Surveyor General being for some years established in Bengal, it is supposed that adopting the same plan on the Coast would facilitate a ready communication on these subjects between the several branches of our Government in India, and promote the acquisition and improvement of General Geography so useful and honorable to the British interests.

On this Government resolved that Captain Mackenzie's application for the appointment of Surveyor General on the Coast, be recommended to the favourable consideration of the Honorable Court of Directors... but the only response was that your recommendation of Captain Mackenzie will be attended to when the expediency of appointing a Surveyor General comes under consideration... (4).

The following is taken from a letter written by the future Duke of Wellington to his brother Henry, Private Secretary to their eldest brother the Governor General, Lord Mornington... Arthur Wellesley was at this time commanding the troops in Mysore, and a member of the Mysore Commission for which Mackenzie had been preparing maps... (5).

I enclose you a letter I received from Mackenzie immediately after his departure from hence, and I shall be obliged to you if you will show it to Mornington. I refer you to Webbe... (6)

1MPC. 13-11-92. 2MPC. 30-2-98. 3CD to M. 23-4-94. 4MMC. 6-8-96. 5CD to M. 23-5-96. 6GG. 1798-1806, becoming Marquis Wellesley. 7Josiah Webbe, Writer, 1783; Sec. to Govt.
for all the particulars relating to his claim to be appointed Surveyor General. It appears to me very necessary that there should be such an officer upon the local establishment. Hitherto, whatever may have been the merits of the Surveyors employed, or the excellence of their works, the Government have derived no benefit from them for want of the office of the Surveyor General where they might be examined and arranged; and the fact is, that excepting of the jaghire and the survey lately made by Mr. Mather of the Barahmahal, the Company have no survey of any part of the coast notwithstanding that officers have been employed and paid at different times to survey every part of the Carnatic and of the Circars.

Surveyor General, Bombay

The presidency of Bombay differed from its sister presidencies of Madras and Bengal, in that it had no territories of any extent to administer until the acquisition of Malabar in 1792. A few routes had been surveyed during operations against the Marathas between 1772 and 1782, and Reynolds had been Surveyor General to the army that met disaster at Bednur in 1788 [125].

From 1785 Reynolds was "Surveyor on the Bombay Establishment [273, 282]", and three years later the Bombay Government wrote home.

As we are of the opinion that the appointment of a Surveyor General at this Presidency would be of great utility, we beg leave to recommend the institution of such an office to your consideration, and that, should it meet your concurrence, you will be pleased to appoint Captain Reynolds thereto, who has eminently distinguished himself in that branch of Science.

This letter crossed one in which the Directors wrote,

An application has lately been made to us in behalf of Captain Charles Reynolds...that he may be appointed Surveyor General under your Presidency. Although we entertain a very high opinion of the abilities of Captain Reynolds, ...yet we cannot yield to the present application in his favor by appointing him Surveyor General, the same being a new office.

Reynolds had to wait until January 1796 before he became Surveyor General on the Bombay Establishment, and then held office until his resignation in February 1807.

1 Supply. Desp. 1. 2-8-99. 2 Bo to CD, 5-1-86. 3 CD to Bo, 21-11-97 (8). 4 No order creating this appointment has been found. In a resolution dated 8-13-95, Reynolds is designated Surveyor; in all subsequent correspondence he is designated Surveyor General.
CHAPTER XIX

SURVEYORS


The great majority of surveyors in India were military officers drawn from the Company's troops. Before 1760 these military forces were few, and there was no difficulty in obtaining sufficient cadets by nomination in England or in India. Some, like Clive, actually started as civil servants and it was then possible for a writer in the Civil Service to hold a military commission, and receive promotion in both services. There was no provision that cadets should have had any special education or training before appointment.

After 1760 there was a rapid increase in the strength of the Company's army, especially in Bengal where the acquisition of great territories involved the Company in frequent struggles along and beyond its frontiers.

The greater part of the army was Infantry, mostly Sepoys, with one or more battalions of Europeans at each Presidency, and a few companies of Artillery each having on its strength at least one officer qualified as an engineer; these were the first military engineers, the early civil engineers and Surveyors of Works did not hold military commissions.

Separate corps of military engineers were formed, in Madras from 1759, in Bengal from 1761, and in Bombay from 1763. Service in the artillery and engineers was not at first regarded as "in the military line", and their officers were not allowed command over other troops, nor a share in prize money; service in the infantry was often more popular, and brought better pay and prospects [272].

From 1765 a few cadets were obtained from the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, but these did not necessarily join the scientific corps; it was not until 1798 that the Company was allowed to place a few boys at the R.M.A. to be educated for their artillery and engineers. The R.M.C. at Marlow was founded in 1802.

Cadets came out to India, sometimes as young as 14 or 15, and then waited for a commission until there was a vacancy; during the Rohilla War of 1783-4 a corps of 100 such waiting cadets took part in the campaign as a select picket.

Conditions of Service

Civil officers came out with first appointment as Writers and then rose as Factors and Merchants to be Senior Merchants. The senior merchant at one of the early Factories was designated the Chief of that Factory. The senior civil officer of a province or district was called at various periods Resident, Supervisor, or Collector. For some years there were Provincial Councils at Murshidabad, Patna, Chittagong, and other settlements, each with their Chief.

On receiving his first commission, a military cadet received, as a rule, the junior rank of his corps; for cavalry Cornet; for infantry and engineers, Ensign; for artillery, Fire-worke. Besides their military rank, engineers were graded professionally as Practitioner-Engineer, Sub-Engineer, Sub-Director, and Director.


266
senior engineer at the Presidency, or with a field force, was called Chief Engineer, regardless of his grade.

For all corps there was a rank of Captain-Lieutenant intermediate between Lieutenant and Captain, which was abolished for Engineers in 1809, and for others in 1819.

Mrs. Kindersley wrote from Allahabad in 1767.

The army is at present divided into three brigades; each brigade consists of one battalion of ten companies of European infantry; one regiment of ten battalions of sepoys [200 men to a battalion]. Every battalion has an English captain, and the whole regiment of sepoys has field officers, the same as a battalion of Europeans.

The artillery is one regiment of four companies; one company of artillery is attached to every brigade.

There are besides, the three brigades, some battalions called Parganna Sepoys, commanded by English officers; these are a sort of provincial troops, being under the direction of the chiefs of the English factories.

Infantry officers were frequently transferred from one battalion to another, and the numbering of the battalions was liable to change at every reorganization of the army.

There were no pension rules until 1793 and no furlough before 1796. Any officer wishing to return to Europe had to resign the service, usually receiving no pay whilst thus absent, though he might be re-appointed and permitted to return to India. The regulations of 1796 allowed furlough for three years. Officers were allowed to proceed overseas on medical certificate without surrendering their appointments, provided they did not go west of the Cape.

The conditions of life in the east were so severe that Rennell has been quoted as saying that of the young Englishmen who come out to India " scarce one out of 70 men returns to his native country".

CIVIL & MILITARY SURVEYORS

Though there was no training school for surveyors, officers with some elementary knowledge of survey were generally to be found when wanted. Officers with previous experience, or talent, were soon found out, whatever their corps, and every engineer officer was presumed to be capable of surveying.

In reply to one of their earlier demands for surveys the Bengal Council wrote to the Directors,

We beg leave to recommend it as a measure well worth your attention, the keeping your Corps of Engineers constantly supplied with young gentlemen properly instructed in that particular branch.

and the Directors replied.

As we send out several young gentlemen for the Artillery who have been educated at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, we would have you employ such of them in the Surveying way as show a talent for that branch.

The following table gives a rough analysis of the Company's servants employed on survey in the three Presidencies during the 18th century, about half of whom might be considered as efficient surveyors. The table does not cover every officer who ever made a sketch or survey or observed a latitude.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mariners</th>
<th>Medical</th>
<th>Civil Servants</th>
<th>Engineers</th>
<th>Artillery</th>
<th>Infantry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rennell's surveyors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, excluding above</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Kindersley (298-9). 2 Ursula Low (68). 3 B to C. 30-8-67. 4 CD to E. 18-3-68 (59); For many years Engineer cadets were sent out to Artillery and posted to Engineers after a test in India; Addison (21).
Perhaps the most noticeable features of this table are that in Bengal half the surveyors were Infantry officers and in Madras the Civil Servants took a large share in the surveys; for the purpose of this table the skilled surveyors Barnard and Cotsford have been classed as civil, though they started service with commissions as engineers as well [272].

Colborne was the first Infantry officer to become Surveyor General, and his professional qualifications were undoubtedly superior to those of the three Engineer officers who immediately preceded him.

Two civil servants made outstanding contributions to Indian geography, both of them as geographers and not surveyors; Dalrymple, who spent several years exploring the far east, and went on to be Hydrographer to the East India Company, and then the Admiralty; and Orme, the great historian, who never ceased his demands for maps and yet more maps and, like Dalrymple, did not remain content with the mere collection of surveys, but had them engraved and published.

Surveyors "out of the Service"

When in 1788 the Paymaster General put up proposals for surveyors' allowances [275], he added,

You will observe, Gentlemen, that we have made no provision for such Surveyors as are not in the Company's Civil or Military service, because we are of opinion no person should be entrusted with Inland Surveys, except those who are actually in the service.

But in spite of this narrow view there were many notable men outside the Company's civil and military services to whom all the early geographers of India have been indebted. First the Jesuit missionaries, the pioneers of scientific work, astronomical observations, and early maps. Then the French leaders, Bussy and Law, who, though possibly not actual surveyors themselves, kept up the most valuable maps of their travels. There was the parson William Smith, not only an ardent astronomer, but a practical surveyor as well, and the rolling stone Thomas Motte, always ready to take up any task that would bring him a living.

There were the Hanoverian soldiers, Schlegel, Worsebe, and du Platt, who obviously welcomed their surveys and map-making as a relief from regimental duties. There was the uncouth genius Reuben Burrow, who spent his early years as mathematical teacher and compiler of almanacs in London, and escaped to the East to absorb himself in Sanscrit and Hindu learning; doing perhaps the most valuable work of his life in covering Bengal with reliable fixed points, carrying on till his health broke down and a lonely death overtook him in his budget row on the river.

There was Michael Topping, a man of the sea, who was undoubtedly the most talented surveyor who had yet reached India, neglecting no scientific precaution to keep his work up to the highest standards of the time, with the vision and strength of purpose to establish the Company's first astronomical observatory, and a training school to turn out a useful body of professional surveyors. And to Topping's credit also may be put the "young man John Goldingham", whom he brought in as assistant astronomer, and left in charge of the observatory.

And then there was the Master of Arts from Aberdeen, John Mather, who reached Madras after being several times ship-wrecked in the eastern seas, and for over 12 years did steady reliable work, MacKenzie's most trusted assistant. His health broke down completely and he was allowed to return home with a pension, only to find his final rest, drowned at sea, almost in sight of the English shore.

Two surveyors of a different walk of life were Edward Trelawny, Italian, civil architect and surveyor of Calcutta, and Aaron Upjohn, who travelled out to India as a bassoon player in a ship's band. Both of these made large-scale maps of part
of Calcutta; and Upjohn, a capable draughtsman and surveyor, spent an exciting season beating along the Chittagong coast in a small country ship, only to return to his death in Calcutta.

Rennell's Surveyors

The Council at Fort William fully realised the need for the survey of the territories which they had acquired in 1757 and 1760, but it was some time before they found the men for the work. Plaisted proved the ideal man for the survey of the sea coast, and Hugh Cameron, discharged from the Bombay service, was discovered for the survey of the 24-Parganas. The engineers Amphlett and Polier found time to make rough surveys of the rivers and roads between Calcutta and Murshidabad, but up to the end of 1764 the army was engaged in vital struggles on the western frontiers, and officers could not be spared.

The arrival of Rennell with the testimony of his naval friends as to his skill with quadrant and chain came at a most opportune moment, just after the death of Cameron. De Gloss, from the Bombay Artillery, had answered the call for officers, and as soon as he could be released from military duty after the battle of Buxar, was put on to the survey of Burdwan.

Each Governor in turn, Vansittart, Clive, Vereyst, Cartier, and Hastings, was eager to push on the map-making, and none hesitated to exercise his patronage to nominate likely young men for the work. When he first gave orders for a general map of Bengal, Clive wrote to Rennell, “if you have occasion for any assistants, name them, and I will order them to attend you” and Ensign Richards of the Engineers was sent up at once to join him [22]. The following year Adams and Huygens of the Engineers were sent out on surveys, as well as Lady Clive’s “most deserving” relation, Thomas Carter.

On his appointment as Surveyor General, Rennell was given the services of Richards, De Gloss, Adams and Carter, and when submitting his maps he said that they incorporated the work of ten surveyors (Adams having died in 1767); De Gloss, Richards, Rennell, Huygens, Carter, Portsmouth, Call, Martin, Russell, and Ritchie [33]; whilst he mentions several others whose work he used for the small-scale general maps [226 n. 6].

Of these ten, Carter and Martin were Infantry officers, Ritchie succeeded Plaisted as Marine Surveyor, and the rest were Engineers.

Claud Martin was the Frenchman who afterwards took service with the Wazir of Oudh, and is well known for the huge fortune which he accumulated, and the bequests which he left for the foundation of schools. Portsmouth died in 1767, and Carter, Martin, Richards, and Ritchie, were the only assistants to remain on survey for any length of time.

In 1774, after Rennell had submitted his maps, Government ordered that all surveyors should be withdrawn, but two years later, when he pointed out the existence of certain gaps, he was allowed to take on a few surveyors for three or four months and to select them himself. Though the appointment of surveyor was much sought after because of the allowance which it carried, there were not many who were properly qualified, and Rennell did not find it easy to find suitable officers:

At present I cannot fix on any person for conducting the surveys in Delhi and Agra; and I await an answer to an application I have made to the Commander in Coos Beyhar, before I can appoint any person to that survey.

Andrew Pringle had recently got into trouble and had been removed from the survey of Jungleterry by order of the Supreme Council [35, 295]: Rennell now asked for his services again, saying,

1Malcolm, III (162); Clive to Rennell. 4-10-65. 2BPC. 5-12-76 (3).
I find it extremely difficult to get persons properly qualified for this service; ... I am now at a loss to fix on a person of ability, joined with sufficient local knowledge in that country.

The Commander in Chief, General Clavering, objected strongly to Pringle's re-employment, saying, "There are many other officers who would be glad to get the appointment, and are equally or better qualified for it," but Hastings shoved a personal interest in the matter and supported Rennell;

I have a good opinion of Mr. Pringle's abilities as a surveyor, and consent to his being employed in that character on any service, provided it be not in the Jungleerry District.

It was not often that there were enough officers available to allow of two surveyors working in company, though a beginner was sometimes attached to an older surveyor for a short time. In 1767 Adams mentioned that Portsmouth was lately his assistant, and in the same season Carter had both Russell and John Cameron with him on survey in Ramgarh. Rennell had greatly appreciated Richards' company in the early days, and was now anxious to provide assistant surveyors for the more distant areas, as it will be requisite that the Surveyor appointed to conduct the Surveys in Oude, Allahabad, &c. should have an Assistant with him, that in Case of Illness or Accidents, the Surveys may not be delayed; ... and again,

As the probable length of Mr. Ranken's Survey in an unwholesome country may expose him to sickness, & a considerable expense unnecessarily incurred, I beg to recommend the need of appointing a proper person to accompany him; at present in the capacity of assistant; and if need be, to take charge of the survey. Lieut. Dodsworth of the 6th Battalion stationed at Chittra in Ramghur has been represented to me as a proper person, and being on the spot all contingent charges and delays will in consequence be avoided.

OTHER BENGAL SURVEYORS

After Rennell's departure the chief opportunities for survey came from the marches of military detachments or political missions through unknown country; where an engineer officer was available he was generally detailed to make the survey, as in the case of Goddard's march to Bombay, but very often some suitable infantry officer was found. A particularly important selection was that of young Colebrooke who surveyed Pearse's return march from Madras, and devoted himself to survey for the next twenty five years.

The large scale surveys of towns and cantonments was regarded as the particular business of the Engineers, and Wood and several others spent two or three seasons on the survey of Calcutta and its neighbourhood between 1782 and 1785. In 1785, however all such surveys were closed down on account of expense [38].

In 1783 the Chief Engineer, Henry Watson, obtained Government sanction to start a school of mathematics and astronomy for young engineer officers stationed at Fort William, and proposed Reuben Burrow as instructor [157]. In making his proposals Watson writes,

Surveying is much wanted to be known, even to those Gentlemen of the Corps who have had the most experience and are best qualified, for altho' several must certainly possess a competent knowledge to make a correct survey of a small District, none are yet perfect Masters, or able to determine with precision the Longitude and Latitude of Places, and therefore unable to perform extensive Surveys with the requisite exactness.

This useful Branch of learning is more particularly necessary for the Corps of the Engineer in this Country, than it can be even said to be in Europe, where Mathematical and Astronomical knowledge is not sought for from any one Corps or Body of Men, but from a nation at large, when great and Extensive Surveys are required to be executed.

The general want of this Branch of Science in His Majesty's Corps of Engineers, even with all their advantages, is well known. ... But, Exclusive of the great Benefit that would
result from establishing the knowledge, and by rendering the Theory and Practice of it familiar to the Corps when employed in those Provinces; Government may then at all times be assured of having a number of Officers properly qualified for undertaking Distant Nautical Surveys, which I believe are more wanted to the Eastward of Bengal than any other part of the Globe, where such extensive Branches of Commerce are daily carried on. I am the more anxious about the Establishment which I have presumed to recommend, from a perfect conviction of the great want of the Mathematical Learning in the Corps, and of the very great utility that would certainly result from the attainment of such knowledge. Burrow was duly appointed, but three years later was called off for his astronomical survey, and the engineer officers lost his regular instruction. It is doubtful whether his teaching had much effect in promoting the cause of Survey, more especially because from this time forward engineers were seldom to be spared from their normal duties on buildings and works.

About 1780 the Surveyor General had secured the services of young engineer. Wilford, for work on his Atlas of India, and in 1787 his successor, Wood, obtained the services of two others, Anbury and Stewart, as draughtsmen; in 1788 Wilford was deputed on a survey of Benares, and Colebrooke was posted to charge of the drawing office.

At the close of the Mysore War Colebrooke and Anbury returned to Calcutta, and on Colebrooke's appointment to be Surveyor General, James Hoare was brought into the vacancy as third assistant, whilst Wilford, on completion of his survey of Benares, was allowed to remain there on special duty, being borne on the list as first assistant. In 1796 Blunt, who had been employed on important field surveys, was brought in as fourth assistant to the Surveyor General. Blunt and Anbury shortly after found employment in the Commissary General's department, though they nominally remained assistants in the Surveyors General office. Hoare died and was succeeded first by Haywood, who had been a naval midshipman, and then on Haywood's death by Upjohn a local civilian. Upjohn's death in 1800 left the Surveyor General with no assistant actually at headquarters, and Government thereupon abolished the four posts and the salaries attached to them [275 n. 1].

During this period various officers were employed on special surveys, the most notable of whom was Thomas Wood of the Engineers, who had made surveys on the Brahmaputra and Irrawaddy rivers, and from 1798 was surveyor with the army in Oudh. Being a practical surveyor himself, Colebrooke introduced various orders to enable the Surveyor General to exercise stricter control over officers employed on military or other surveys; these rules provided for the issue of professional instructions from the Surveyor General on each occasion, which should fix a definite time for the completion of the survey, and for the regular submission of reports and copies of work done [196-7].

**Madras Surveyors**

The earliest surveyors in Madras were officers, such as William Jennings, who made occasional surveys of the marches of the armies during the wars against the French before 1757; John Call probably carried out some surveys of this sort, and at any rate took a lead in encouraging geographical work of all sorts, and as Chief Engineer was responsible for the compilation of many plans of the southern parts of the peninsula. Engineer officers were detailed for all surveys called for by Government; Barnard, Cotsford, Stevens and others being so employed at various times before 1770.

The Corps of Engineers had a curious start in Madras; it was "formed into a regular Body" from 1759, though one officer's commission as Sub-Engineer and

---

1 [BPC. 1-12-83 (59)]. 2 [BMC. 19-3-1861].
Lieutenant dated from December 1756, and Call’s commission as Sub-Director and Captain dated from January 1st 1757. Several of the earlier officers held appointments in the civil list as well as their commissions as engineers [268].

In 1768 the Directors wrote out,

Mr. Call presses much for Young People to be sent out as assistants in the Engineering way, but We find it very difficult to engage such. We recommend it to you to enquire among Our Writers for such as have a turn to that Profession, & employ them accordingly. Mr. Charles Desvouex, one of those who go out this season, We know draws, and may therefore be more easily initiated, and We are informed some others have that Qualification 1.

Desvouex’s talents were but little turned to survey but both Cotsford and Barnard held commissions as Engineers and appointments as Writers. Cotsford was selected for civil charge of Ganjam for the special purpose that, in addition to the administration of a new and turbulent district, he might attend to the construction of defence works, roads, and maps [92].

With his petition for appointment as writer, Barnard had submitted a certificate that

Thomas Barnard attends the Royal Military Academy very constant and regularly; is particularly assiduous in his studies, and had made very good proficiency in the several parts of Mathematical and other learning necessary to a military employment 2.

On his arrival he was placed under the Chief Engineer, given a commission in the corps, and employed on the survey of the Jagir [88].

In 1769 all engineer officers were called upon to decide between the civil service and the corps; Barnard and Cotsford chose the civil, and Montresor the infantry, and on Call’s retirement in 1770 Stevens and Marsden stood alone on the engineer list. The Madras Council had given warning of the unpopularity of the corps some years before.

We cannot expect they will stay longer in the service than till something more advantageous offers. ... Mr. Call has had great difficulty to prevent their going into the Military, where they have a better chance of rising to higher rank 3 [266].

The Directors now had to fill up the Corps by appointments from home. Patrick Ross came out as Chief Engineer in place of Call, and Pittman, another of the new arrivals, proved a valuable surveyor. Ross took a keen interest in the organisation of such surveys as were ordered by Government, and the drawing and compiling of maps formed part of the duties of the Chief Engineer’s office for another thirty years [244].

Colin Mackenzie who came out in 1783 was one of the last of the Madras Engineers to play an important part in the surveys of that Presidency.

Various officers of the Civil Service were employed on large scale property and road surveys in and around Madras, whilst Cotsford, Maxtone, and others, found that the best way to get maps of their districts was to make the surveys themselves.

The general geography of the country, and the need of the army for route surveys, brought forward keen regimental officers such as Kelly and Pringle, the latter being responsible for the formation of the Corps of Guides which produced a long train of enthusiastic surveyors, Beaton, Allan, Orr, and lastly Valentine Blacker.

We have already referred to those capable men, Topping, Goldingham, and Mather, who came out to Madras in search of employment and did yeoman service in the cause [268].

A subject that is always interesting is the relation between professional surveyors and the military commanders or civil administrators of the districts in which they are working. In 1775 Lieutenant James Johnston, on survey in Vizagapatam, had a dispute with the local military officer; the Chief Engineer reported that the O. C. Troops at Vizagapatam had called on Johnston for “sketches and Reports on the Passes,” and he asked that local officers “should not be allowed to interfere with the work of the Surveyors, who received their order from the Chief Engineer.” Government ordered that

---

1CD to M. 9-3-65 (55). 2WP. Vol. V. 3M to CD. 27-3-65 (32).
plans and Reports do not pass through the Military Commandants, nor that the Engineer Surveyors be looked upon as acting under their orders, but that Every Paper, Plan, and information concerning the Survey, be transmitted to the Chiefs and Councils...under whom the Surveyors are placed.

Amongst the regulations laid down for engineer officers at Fort St. George in 1787 were the following:

No Engineer...is permitted to make out or present any plan or design of any Public Work, or Survey or Sketch of any District of the Country, without a special order from Government for the Purpose. When employed in Surveying they are to inform the Chief Resident, or Commanding Officer of the District of the manner in which they are employed and apply to them for...allowances and other assistance.

[Surveyors are] to inform the Chief Engineer of their progress once a month or oftener.

In 1791 the Chief Engineer reported that the only officers then drawing Surveyor's allowance were Norris, of the Engineers, who was working for the Board of Revenue in the Jāgir [143]; Baron Reichel who was employed as draughtsman [245]; and “the Superintendent of the Company's Lands and Roads”, this being a civil post which had been instituted in 1778 [94].

All Engineer officers did not make successful surveyors; in 1792 Lieutenant George Johnston protested against the nomination of Ensign Caldwell for the survey of Barah-maul, to which he conceives himself entitled, from having been formerly ordered on a similar duty in the Sulem Country,...but, according to the Chief Engineer, his report and sketch of the Guzalhatty Pass had been executed in a very imperfect manner for Lord Cornwallis, and was so perfectly incomprehensible as not to be understood either by His Lordship's secretary or by myself.

In later years Mackenzie attributed the incompleteness of the surveys of the Madras Presidency to the frequent changes of personnel;

Officers have been repeatedly appointed, even so late as 1786, but with little effect. ...[owing to] the change and removal of Surveyors, & the want of a fixed establishment & office or Depot. ...The employ of Engineers in one light promised fair at first, but the necessity of removing them for professional duties occasioned greater inconveniences.

**Bombay Surveyors**

The earliest surveys on record in Bombay were made by Engineer officers on the strength of the Artillery Company, De Funak and De Gloss and Turner, and as time goes on we find a larger proportion of Engineers were employed on surveys in Bombay then in any other Presidency. The most notable surveyors was Charles Reynolds who came out as an infantry cadet at the age of 14, and took to surveying as a hobby. He was given the post of Surveyor General to the Bombay force that proceeded to the Malabar Coast in 1782, and on his return was appointed Surveyor on the Bombay Establishment, and continued as such without interruption till he again went on service to Malabar in 1790, this time in the capacity of Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General, but once more being mostly employed on survey. In 1789 he had made particular request to be retained on survey fearing that, being by rank near the Command of a Battalion of Sepoys. ...I am apprehensive of being shortly ordered to charge of one. This, although a flattering and honorable situation, I could wish not to be called to until I have completed my map.

Some time before 1789, Emmitt was appointed "Assistant to the Surveyor [135]", and they were both struck off the strength of their corps. At the end of 1795, Emmitt returned to Europe, and Monerieff was appointed assistant in his place. Monerieff being at this time employed with several other officers on the survey of Malabar, was given command of the newly authorized Corps of Pioneers, and much to Reynolds' disgust was not able to join him at Surat until 1801.
CHAPTER XX

PAY & ALLOWANCES

Surveyor Generals of Bengal — Bengal Surveyors — Madras Surveyors — Bombay Surveyors.

When Rennell was appointed Surveyor General his salary as such was fixed at Rs. 300 a month, which made his monthly pay.

| Pay as Surveyor General | ... | ... | Rs. 300 |
| Pay as Captain          | ... | ... | 120     |
| Batta as Captain        | ... | ... | 180     |

Total 600

At the exchange of those days, 8 Rupees to the pound sterling, this was equivalent to £900 a year.

In addition to these personal allowances he was allowed establishment charges.

His salary was charged to the General head under civil charges, "his surveys being as much on a Civil as a Military account".

In 1776 the salary of post was raised from Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, and in 1779, when Call was Surveyor General, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Eyre Coote, suggested that this was insufficient.

The allowance...for the Surveyor General does not appear to me to bear any proportion to the allowances established for the other staff Appointments: the importance of the Trust...and the abilities requisite for filling the Office duly considered, ...with the danger to which all Surveyors are inevitably exposed from the severity of the Climate alone. I must therefore beg leave to recommend an increase in the Salary of the Surveyor General, and I have to propose it as this officer is precluded from deriving any advantage from his...profession as an Engineer, either by Field Service or otherwise.

The Governor General, Warren Hastings, supported this proposal;

I most heartily concur in the opinion expressed by the Commander in Chief. ...and on this ground I recommend, ...Salary Rs. 611; House Rent Rs. 400.

Could I hope that my recommendations would prevail, I would further purpose that the Merits of the last Surveyor General...should be again reported to the Court of Directors, that if they shall approve of the salary now recommended, it may be further ordered to take place from the first day of his appointment.

The Directors passed a salary of £1500 a year without retrospective effect, but under the refrenchments of 1785, this was brought back to £750 a year, or Rs. 500 a month, in addition to pay and batta of regimental rank, and house-rent of rank when not allotted free quarters.

This salary contained no provision for establishment charges, and when Colebrooke, as Surveyor General, went out to survey the Churni River in 1795, he had great difficulty in obtaining special sanction to draw the further allowances of a Surveyor of Rivers, Rs. 240 a month, to cover the hire of his boote.

In 1800 he pressed for an increase of salary;

The office of Surveyor General, having formerly been in the Civil Department, although usually held by a military officer, was, on its being transferred to the Military Department in the year 1785, considerably reduced both in salary and establishment. That this office...
has since that period, increased in importance, has been evinced by the successive appointment of four assistants \[271\]; yet the duties of it, which are in a considerable measure connected with the civil department, must from their nature continue to be exercised chiefly by the person at the head of the office. That the salary allowed to the Surveyor General continue nevertheless the same as on its first reduction, viz. 500 Saon Rupees per month, a sum not exceeding what is now drawn by the first Assistant to the Secretary of the Military Board, and falling considerably short of the salary annexed to the head of any office, or department, under Government.

That the First Assistant attached to the Surveyor General’s office, Captain Wilford, now stationed at Benares, is in the receipt of a monthly allowance of 574 Sicca Rupees or 600 Saons, which, added to Rs. 250 in his capacity of assistant in this office, makes up his allowance to Rs. 350 more than the salary above mentioned 1.

I... hope your Lordship may be pleased further to consider the late acquisition of territory in the Peninsula, the several surveys of which it will be my pleasing task to reduce and insert in a new general map of India \[220\]; the recent appointment of a marine surveyor to act under my instructions, and the new military survey at present carried on in Oude and Rohilkund \[57–8\], as conferring some additional importance, increasing the labour and responsibility of my office, and strengthening my claim to an increase 2.

Government refused this request, adding whenever you may have the execution of any Work of an extraordinary nature or extent, His Lordship in Council, upon the circumstance being submitted to him, will readily take into consideration the propriety of rewarding you for such work 3.

BENGAL SURVEYORS

It is well known that till late in the 18th century the East India Company did not pay their civil servants more than a few pounds a year 4, but granted them the right of private trading, on the proceeds of which they were able to retire after a few years with comfortable, or even handsome, fortunes.

Military officers were on a different footing. Their privileges in trading were closely restricted until withdrawn altogether 5; they drew reasonable salaries and batta, and infantry officers had claims on prize money.

In 1762 the pay of the Engineering Branch was settled at the same daily rates as officers of Infantry, viz. 6:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Pay Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>10 shillings (Rs. 4 &amp; Batta Rs. 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capt. Lieut.</td>
<td>5 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>5 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensign</td>
<td>4 (1-10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

whilst in 1768 the Directors approved an additional pay by way of Gratuity or Donation in the same way as the rest of our Military Officers, that is to say, those in the Rank of Captains 3 shillings a day, Lieutenants 2 shillings, and Ensigns one shilling 7.

It is not known what allowances were first drawn by surveyors in Bengal, though on Rennell’s appointment in 1764 he was given the same allowances as had been drawn by Cameron 8. The first rate drawn by Madras Surveyors was 10 shillings a day, and the equivalent, 4 rupees a day was the established rate in Bombay. It is probable that this was also the rate first allowed in Bengal, viz. Rs. 120 a month.

Our first certain information on the subject is in June 1768, when the Military Paymaster General lays before the Board the Disbursements of the Different Surveyors, which he deems very extravagant; he begs leave to submit to their consideration, so that they would be pleased to establish some regulations in order to reduce the great expense incurred in this Branch of Business 9.

The subject was referred to a small committee which recommended that the surveyors should draw pay and batta according to their rank in the army and

1 This particular grievance was remedied a year later by the abolition of all the assistants \[271\].
6 BPC. 22-11-68. 7 Following the settlement of the "Batta" Mutiny of 1766. 8 BPC. 9-4-68. In his own account Rennell includes establishment charges. v. Bio. Notes. 9 BPC. 30-6-68.
also allowances as surveyors—if a captain, Rs. 150 monthly—if a subaltern, Rs. 100—whilst the Surveyor General should continue to draw Rs. 300. They reported that they had found "the Accounts & Disbursements of the several Surveyors, ...uniform in nothing but in the arrangement of the different Heads, each varying in these charges, and in some extravagant". They recommended that when actually employed on river surveys, a captain should be allowed Rs. 240 for boats, and a subaltern Rs. 195.1. Stationery should be indented for from the nearest factory or brigade. They also laid down scales of establishment charges, with definite regulations.

Rennell protested at once, more especially against the "the small number of assistants allotted", and his own recommendations, as under, were duly authorised;

The Surveyor General was allowed an establishment of,

A draughtsman ... Rs. 120 and Assistant Rs. 60
1st Assistant ... 90 Followers ... 318 Total Rs. 538

making, with pay and allowances, a total sum of Rs. 1,188 which he apparently drew all the year round without having to submit acquaintance rolls. The full allowances for the surveyors now became of

Captain,
Pay as Surveyor Rs. 150
   do. Captain 120
Batta as do. ... 180 Rs. 450
   2 Assistants @ 50 ... 100
   Followers ... 90 Rs. 290

Lieutenant,
Pay as Surveyor Rs. 100
   do. Lieut. 60
Batta as do. ... 120 Rs. 280
   Establishment ... 80 Rs. 600

Ensign,
Pay as Surveyor Rs. 100
   do. Ensign 50
Batta as do. ... 90 Rs. 240
   Establishment ... 50 Rs. 600

These rates were thus notified to the Directors;

The Surveyor General...represented to us that it was utterly impossible to pursue the business with the small number of Assistants, Lascars, Coolies & Hinterahs allotted to that establishment, & at the same time delivered in an Estimate of the necessary expenses attending them.

As this Estimate of Captain Rennell’s is founded upon experience, and he assures us calculated with the utmost Occumeny, and we were of opinion that the small addition proposed by the Surveyor General was not an object to be put in competition with the material consequence it is to you to have this Branch of Business properly conducted, we consented to augment the Surveyors’ charges agreeably to Capt. Rennell’s proposals; but we by no means approve of any Innovations upon our Regulations, nor would we have receded from them but from the opinion we entertain of Capt. Rennell’s Integrity, Judgement, and Frugality, and that an addition to the allowances was absolutely necessary.

Just before he left India Rennell put forward a revised scale, exclusive of military allowances, that was accepted, and published in General Orders;

Surveyor ...
   2 Assistant Europeans @ 50 ...
   Followers [280] ...
   Stationery ...
Rs. 100
   100
   425
   12 Rs. 638

When a Subaltern Officer attends as an assistant, pay...Rs. 70, and 6 Coolies, Rs. 30, should be added.

In surveys of a difficult nature; by which I mean those that require strong Escorts & long Marches (such as in the Southern Part of Elahabad, & part of Palamau) an extra allowance may still be required; but this being a mere contingency, it is impossible to determine the sum before-hand.

In 1785 the Directors sent out orders for drastic retrenchments all round [5, 38], and the Council called upon

1 Became the established allowances for River Surveyors, [377]. 2 B to CD. 13-9-88 (119).
3 BPC. 11-10-88. 4 B to CD 2-3-69 (77-78); accepted under CD to B, 23-3-70 (156). 5 BPC. 28-4-77.
the Chief Engineer and Surveyor General to furnish us with a report of all officers employed in survey, or receiving allowances of Surveyors. ...

Having received the report, ...we have recalled all Surveyors from the last day of the present month; we have ordered that their allowances do cease from that period, and that no persons be employed on this duty in future but by special order of the Board.

We have also resolved that no allowances be granted from the end of the present month to Engineer officers excepting their pay and Batta, unless by order of the Board for particular services.

It appears from a statement...by the Commissary General, that the allowances, fixed or contingent, paid to officers employed on survey, ...amount by the latest bill to no less a sum than Rs. 17,405-8-01.

With a view to maintain close control of expenditure the Surveyor General was eventually directed to report: at a stated period, such surveyors as are employed under his immediate superintendence in the surveys of country's and Sea-coasts4.

The revised allowances were published in October 1785:

Surveyors, as such, are to receive for every charge, as well within as without the Provinces, Sonat Rupees 618 per mensem3, with an addition of Sonat Rs. 240 per mensem, if employed on rivers; but they are only to receive 250 per mensem during the rainy season, viz. from 1st June to the 15th September.

The Assistant Surveyors, as such, to receive for every charge, ...100 Rs. per mensem, with an increase of Rs. 105 per mensem, if employed on rivers.

(Surveyors and Assistant Surveyors being Military Officers, also receive the pay, full batta, gratuity and rent allowance of their Regimental Rank.)

These allowances covered all contingent charges, stationery, instruments, and establishment1, and were still in force more than eighty years later.

Although these reductions did not bear so heavily on the Surveyors as upon their Surveyor General [274-5]; it is worth while quoting here the apologies of the Directors for the retrenchments made:

We are aware that in consequence of the directions we have given, many of our servants will undergo a very mortifying alteration in their circumstances, but the situation of our affairs renders it absolutely necessary. ...

We expect a ready and implicit acquiescence in all our servants, Civil and Military, to the reductions which you shall direct...and should any of them so far betray a spirit of dissatisfaction, as to impede, or embarrass, your proceedings upon this subject, we direct that they be instantly dismissed the service, and sent to Europe.

To relieve us from our present exigencies, no alternative we think can be devised5.

The Surveyor General was able to rescue from retrenchment the allowance of Rs. 250 a month for Wilford who had been working in the drawing office for several years [235], and in 1787 the allowances of Anbury and Stewart were fixed at Rs. 150 a month;

When it is considered that the Monthly Writers in Public Offices are paid Rs. 150, and that the duties of a Draftsman, not only require as close application, but a particular sort of Education, ...this will be considered a moderate encouragement for Gentlemen to give up the whole of their time and application6 [236].

In 1789 Colebrooke, was posted as assistant on a salary of Rs. 250 a month [237]7. On his return from the campaign in Mysore, where he had been employed for nearly two years on survey, he applied for further compensation.

I have been at a considerable expense in execution of this survey, and as my salary of assistant to the Surveyor General has proved inadequate to the additional expenses incurred, and I humbly presume was not meant to defray the charges of an actual survey, I have ventured to hope that the allowance established by Government for a Surveyor in the field, or the difference between that allowance and my salary, might be allowed me for the time I was employed upon this service8.

He was allowed a gratuity of six thousand rupees.

On his promotion to be Surveyor General, he asked for an increase to the allowances drawn by his assistants, but was given reply,

1B to CD. 31.7.85 (71-2). 2BPC 59-5-89. 3A reduction of Rs. 20 made in establishment of followers fixed in 1777 [236]. 4BMC. 11-10-85, & see Greene (41. 285-307) & Carroll's Code. 5CD. to B. 11-4-86 (34. 39, 40). 6BMC. 9-3-87. 7BPC. 10-7-89. 8B Pol C. 19-2-93 (19).
Government do not think it proper to make any alterations in the allowances fixed for your office by their resolutions of September 11th 1786 and June 12th 1788. The following allowances are to be drawn by these assistants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Allowance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lt. Wilford</td>
<td>1st Assistant</td>
<td>250 per month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ens. Anbury</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt. Hoare</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The salary of surveyors who were not military officers had to be especially decided. When detailed for his special astronomical survey Burrow was granted 500 rupees a month in addition to his salary of 500 as teacher of mathematics, and Government paid for all his instruments and transport.

When Blair was sent on the survey of the Andaman Islands he was told, Your allowances while employed on the survey are fixed as Sont. rupees 353 per mensem, and further sum of Sont. rupees 30 per mensem will be paid to your order, that you may divide it among the Gentlemen proceeding with you, in such proportions as their services may appear to you to deserve.

To recompense Dr. Hunter for his surveys Government made him a gratuity approximately equal to the amount of a surveyor’s allowances at Rs. 618 per month for the period he spent on the work.

When Haywood was appointed junior assistant in Surveyor General’s office in 1798, he was allowed Rs. 300 a month, on the following calculation:

- Bt. Captain Hoare drew a salary of Sont Rs. 150 per month, in addition to which he had Rs. 60 for house rent, and half batta, which amounted to about 300 St. Rs. over and above the pay and half batta of his rank, but Mr. Haywood, not being on the Army establishment, ...to obviate any idea of his having a larger salary than the senior assistants in the office, the oldest of whom, as such, is only allowed 250 rupees in cashing, [is recommended] salary 150. Subsistence 90. House Rent 60. Total 300.

Surveyors often had difficulty in cashing their salary bills, as the following letter from Wilford will show:

Some time ago I sent my Bills to the Pay Master at Chunâr, but he has refused to Discharge my allowance as Surveyor, and even my Pay and Batta Bills.

There are now five months I have received no Pay or Allowance, and I cannot even form an idea when, or even whether. I am to receive any, notwithstanding which, the service I am upon has not suffered the least interruption. ... In this distressed Situation and State of uncertainty I...beg you will address my case to the Hon’ble Board: ...I shall not much longer be able to fulfil the labours of my present station, and advance the money to defray the great and unavoidable Expenses attending it.

The Military Auditor General then authorized the Pay master at Chunâr to withdraw the prohibition.

The rules of 1796, under which the Military Auditor General was not authorized to pass the bills of a surveyor until he had been notified by the Surveyor General that all journals and field books had been received and found satisfactory, gave rise to frequent delays and complaints. So also did the rule that Surveyors should not draw more than Rs. 250 a month from June to September; in Upper India it often happened that a surveyor was obliged to carry on work in the field through these months but, whatever the circumstances, the paymasters and the Auditor General stuck closely to the regulations, and surveyors who wanted them relaxed generally found Government very firm.

**Madras Surveyors**

Regulations on such subjects as allowances varied from one Presidency to another. In Madras the standard coin was the gold Pagoda.

The first order that has been found regarding the pay of surveyors in Madras is one of 1769 when, on Barnard’s surrender of his commission as Engineer, it
was ordered that during the survey of the "Jagir" he should draw "ten shillings per day as pay, and six Rupees\(^1\) as Batta, the usual allowances made to Civil servants employed out of garrison"; his pay as Engineer was to cease\(^2\).

On the deputation of engineer officers to survey the Northern Circars in 1773, it was ordered that Pittman should draw "the same allowances which were made to Mr. Barnard when he commenced the survey of the Jaghire". Johnston, being yet a cadet, was allowed Ensign's pay and batta until the survey should be finished\(^3\).

In 1775 the Chief Engineer recommended that "fixed allowances be established, ...exclusive of what they may be otherwise entitled to", submitting a copy of the Bengal rates as a model, and in 1776 the following resolution was passed by the Council,

The Board, taking into consideration the Allowances drawn for by the several Surveyors employed in the Company's Lands, do now resolve to fix them on the following Establishment.

Surveyor's Allowances to take place from the 1st December 1776.

Pay and Batta, which as an Encouragement to those who are appointed Surveyors, are fixed at 10 shillings & 6 rupees a day;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monthly Allowance</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pagodas 88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse Allowance</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowance in lieu of Tent Money</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullock hire, including Packally</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpreter's Allowance (to Northward)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to Southward)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (31 days)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Followers to be provided from Government establishments.]

If any Surveyor be obliged to leave the service on which he is employed from ill health, or upon Account of private affairs, or during the Monsoon, the Batta and all Extraordinary Allowances are to cease until he shall have returned to that service again. ... Each Assistant Surveyor to receive as a proper encouragement for a month of 31 days, 88 Rs. 36 40 c.\(^4\)

It is recorded that under the Printed Regulations of the Presidency...Subaltern Officers employed as Surveyors are permitted to draw the full Batta of Captains, and the sum of 10 shillings per Diem as staff Pay. They further receive the monthly sum of six Pagodas for Horse Allowance, and they are provided with lascars for the carriage of their instruments at the Public charge\(^5\).

These allowances did not apply to military officers surveying the routes of an army, and, in pointing out Pringle's good work as surveyor, the Commander-in-Chief writes in 1777 [59].

The expence may be judged of from Mr. Pringle's being necessitated to keep coolies to carry his extra Baggage and Fallankee, with two horses, and his men to work the Perambulator; besides the expence of instruments, and of a theodolite lately purchased; the General had occasion to see these articles of necessary expence whilst Lieutenant Pringle accompanied him.\(^6\)

and the Council resolved, in consideration of the merit and services of Lieut. Pringle, that he be appointed Captain of Guides to the army, as recommended by General Stuart; and that his allowance as such be to shillings a day, exclusive of his pay as Lieutenant, and Captain's Batta when employed on service.

Pringle found that these allowances did not cover his expenses, and in 1780 appealed to Government;

I have hitherto, Sir, executed that necessary Branch of my Employment as Captain of Guides, Surveying, without any allowance having been made me on that score, which has

\(^1\) 100 sino rupees=about 107 avoirdupois rupees.  \(^2\) MMC. 26-1-69.  \(^3\) MMC. 19-7-73.  \(^4\) The consultations give totals as here shown, though both rates of interpreter's allowance could hardly be drawn by one surveyor. \(^5\) MFC. 1-11-76 & MMC. 24-9-77.  \(^6\) MMC. 11-11-1806; minute by Governor.
been greatly distressing to me, and has repeatedly sent me back to the Presidency much impoverished in my finances; but particularly the Extraordinary Expanse I was obliged to be at in journeying to Mahé alone, before the march of the Army, fell heavy upon my circumstances [96].

As I have had sufficient experience of the bountiful Dispositions of my Hon'ble Masters to know that it is not their intention that any Person in their service, who in the Course of their Duty is obliged to make Extraordinary Exertions of this kind, should suffer thereby, I am induced to apply...[for] the allowances of a Surveyor whilst employed in the field, as settled on Consultation Nov. 1st 1776 (except the Batta, which I cannot expect...as I drew Batta in another capacity), in addition to my former Pay and Allowances as Captain of Guides.

On this the Council passed the following resolution:

To enable the Captain of Guides the better to execute his Duty, that he be allowed a Brevet as youngest Captain in the Army, whilst acting in the Field only; ...and to enable him to execute that laborious Branch of his Duty, surveying, that he be permitted to draw the allowances of a Surveyor, whilst employed in the field: ...It having been customary so to allow to any of our officers who have been employed on that kind of service

In 1780 Kelly was put on special survey duty for a short time [97], but the very small allowance granted to assist me in carrying on the work, was so very inadequate to my expenses, that I was exceedingly happy when it was discontinued a few months after it had been granted[2].

He writes again,

In January or February 1780, a letter from their Secretary informed me that...I had their permission to continue the survey, and to enable me to carry it on, they had been pleased to grant me the pay Batta of Major till the Company's pleasure should be known. (It should here be observed that I only drew Captain's pay then, in common with the other brevet Majors). My enjoyment of even this emolument, inadequate as it was to my expenses, was but of short duration. For in October 1780 another letter from the Secretary informed me that as my services would be required with my corps in the field, the Board had thought proper to discontinue my allowance as Geographer[3].

On the appointment of Topping to survey the Coromandel Coast, he was granted captain's pay and batta from the time he started his first survey from Muslipatam in November 1780; and in addition drew the allowances of a Captain of Guides from the start of his survey to the South[4]. After a while he applied for better terms;

Mr. Reuben Burrow in Bengal, a Gentleman out of the regular line of the service, as I am, is employed...on a business similar to mine, for which he is allowed 1500 Rupees per month, or three times as much as I am allowed[1]. My operations are of a much more arduous nature than Mr. Burrow's are; his being Astronomical observations only, while I have undertaken a laborious Geometrical Mensuration besides Astronomical observations...

I agree to defray all extraordinary expenses of my present undertaking such as the Wages and Victualling of the people on board my vessel, the Batta of the lascars, bircarras, and other people with me, with all contingencies; provided Government will allow me to draw 500 Pagodas per month, a sum not greater than Mr. Burrow receives for himself alone...

I do not desire an additional salary for this additional service, ...nor for directing everything necessary to be done at the Observatory[6].

Whilst the Madras Government ruled that "the extra charges he may be at, in carrying on the survey, will be regularly paid, on the account being presented monthly", the Directors refused to raise his actual salary, which comprised the following amounts, drawn as a fixed sum throughout the year;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsistence, Batta, &amp; Gratuity as Captain of Guides</th>
<th>approx. Pagodas a month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pay as Surveyor</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse, Tent, &amp; Packally</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpreter</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paltanquin &amp; Writer</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a total of about 192 Pagodas a month, or about £932 a year[7]. This sum was continued to Beaton when he took over Topping's surveys in 1798, but in addition to his military pay.

Mackenzie raised the question of his allowances whilst Engineer and Surveyor to the Nizam's Detachment;

The Surveyor's allowance I have hitherto received...amounts to no more than 37½ Pagodas a month (Captain's additional Subsistence) and...I have incurred considerable contingent expenses... but the only reply he received was that,

Though the Governor in Council is fully sensible that the allowances drawn by you are not adequate to the labour and importance of the office for which you have been recommended to the Honorable Court [Surveyor General, p. 264] he does not feel himself at liberty to anticipate their decision.

He had obtained the sympathy of Colebrooke who wrote from Calcutta.

The work you are engaged in must, no doubt, be laborious and expensive, and your allowances are certainly small, which circumstances I will mention to Sir John Shore [8th n. 14] on his return from the Upper Provinces: but I cannot possibly say what compensation our Government will be induced to make you, as it is possible they may not like to interfere with the Madras Government.

and again,

With regard to your allowances, I am sorry to observe they are so small. It was my intention to have spoken to Sir John Shore on the subject had he stayed any time between his return from Lucknow and his departure for Europe, but he went away in such a hurry that it was impossible to do so. I cannot venture to represent this matter publicly to our Government, and I have to lament that the little acquaintance I have with the present Governor General would render a personal application improper, and in all probability unsuccessful.

At Colebrooke's advice Mackenzie raised the question very strongly from Hyderabad, where he now, 1798, found himself attached to Bengal instead of Madras troops, and pointed out that he has only received the former Surveyor's allowances, and not those of 518 Rupees per month, which the youngest officer from that Presidency would be entitled to receive for that duty exclusively.

The Council thereupon increased his allowances to 200 pagodas a month as Principal Engineer to the Nizam's Detachment, and eventually the Directors authorized the Council to present him with the sum of Pagodas 2400...for his past services in this line, and approve of your having allowed him a salary of Pagodas 200 a month, in addition to his pay and allowances as Engineer with the Hyderabad Detachment.

Bombay Surveyors

The normal rate of special pay for surveyors in Bombay appears to have been 4 Rupees 23 a day, which Reynolds drew from the time he was attached to the Resident at Poona [127].

At the close of the Mysore War of 1790-92, the following regulations were laid down on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, Bombay, deduced from the experience gained from the work of the Bombay surveyors during that campaign.

1st. No survey to be undertaken but by order of Government.

2nd. Engineers or Officers surveying with a detachment to be allowed 4 rupees a day.

3rd. Officers detached on surveys to be allowed 500 rupees in lieu of everything.

4th. Copies of surveys to be paid for agreeably to the scale: If an inch to two miles, and three copies are required, they are to be completed at the rate of 750 miles a month, for which 500 rupees will be in future allowed.

The pay of a Lieutenant, as drawn by Emnitt in addition to the Survey allowance, was

| Pay as Lieutenant | Rs. 62 |
| Gratuity          | 24    |
| Language Money    | Rs. 126 |

10 shillings a day. 2MMC. 6-2-93. 3MMC. 3-3-98. 9Dn. 14 (52), 7-12-97. 5Lord Mornington, later Marquess Wellesley. 1th (66), 23-3-98. 7MMC. 8-11-98. 6About £970 a year in addition to pay & allowances of rank. 8CD. to M. 7-5-09 (175). 9For ten shillings, as recognized also in Madras [279]. 10BM. MC. 9-7-92.
The pay drawn by Reynolds as Surveyor, at Surat in 1795, was

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>Rs. 702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established Allowances</td>
<td>Rs. 875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rs. 1576</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These allowances covering Lights, Stationery, Carriage of Office Tent, and Attendants.

The allowance included Rs. 800 which had been allotted by the Governor General in 1793 to meet the expenses of the survey towards Delhi and Rohilkhand. On his recall to Bombay Reynolds was unable to draw this sum until the matter had been referred home to the Directors.

Captain Reynolds, who has been employed for a long time in Geographical Pursuits for the Company in different parts of India, represented to us that he had incurred a considerable expense therein, exceeding his fixed allowances. We have no reason to doubt the truth of this assertion, and... submit his application to your decision.

The Directors replied we observe that you have already made an addition of 800 Rupees a month to his allowances, sufficient in his opinion to enable him to complete the work in which he is engaged; so soon therefore as we shall be advised of Captain Reynolds having finished the business, we shall proceed to determine on presenting Captain Reynolds with such pecuniary gratification as his zeal, activity, and ability shall appear to merit.

On the receipt of this authority, Reynolds, who had become Surveyor General, was permitted by the Bombay Government to draw the arrears of this allowance, but the Bengal Government protested that it had only been granted for expenses incurred on the Bengal side, and ordered that the arrears drawn should be at once refunded. This drew a sturdy protest from Reynolds, who explained that the purpose for which Sir John Shore had authorised this allowance was the general geography of India which was still being pursued from his headquarters at Surat, and that the chief expenses for which this special allowance was required was the pay of his native surveyors.

I am at this instant nearly seventy thousand Rupees out of pocket by my pursuits, and am still willing to trust for remuneration to the merit of the work when completed. The Bombay Government supported him nobly, so the Supreme Government gave in graciously, and allowed him to retain the allowance from 1793 onwards.

At the end of 1799, on the order of the Directors, the payment of these surveyors was taken over by the Bombay Government.

Over and above this special allowance for establishment, and the substantial gratuity which the Directors eventually paid him on completion of his map, Reynolds drew "Staff pay as Surveyor General, Rs. 702".

1 Bo. ME. 1795.
2 B to CD. 14-2-94 (83).
3 CD to B. 8-7-95 (95).
4 BoMC. 10-6-96.
5 BoMC. 6-8-96.
6 Report from MAG. BoMC. 50-4-1804; LDn. 146 (92).
CHAPTER XXI

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT

* European Assistants — Surveying School, Madras — Assistant Revenue Surveyors, Madras — Indian Explorers — Reynolds & his Surveyors — Lascars & Followers.

When Rennell set out on survey in May 1764, he was accompanied by an assistant surveyor and three other Europeans [17], the assistant surveyor being probably the Armenian who was killed in the fight against sanyāsī fakirs in February 1766 [23]. Of the others Rennell tells nothing except that one, "having cut a Dandy's 1 Ear off, I delivered him prisoner to the Chief" at Dacca 2.

When De Gaus set out on his survey of Bihār, he took with him from Calcutta four assistants, John Edwards, John Barnard Chausour, John Gerofflée, and Francis Sydor 3, but says nothing further about them [25].

Plaisted was allowed Rs. 250 a month for each of his assistants, Collins and Stewart, who were with him on his survey of Channel Creek and the coast line to Balasore [15] 4.

In his orders to Barnard for the survey of the Madras Jāgir, the Chief Engineer wrote,

To assist you in this Survey I send with you John Ashmole, who, besides his Pay as a Soldier, will have an additional allowance of 5 Pagodas p.m. 4.

In 1768 the Bengal Council sanctioned two "European Assistants" for each surveyor [276], "one for measuring, one for pointing out the Roads and placing flags". On river surveys, a special boat, or willocks 5, was provided for them. It is very unlikely that such assistants were employed after Rennell's departure, but provision for them remained incorporated in the allowances.

Surveying School, Madras

Topping's proposal for establishing a school for surveyors [108], is given in the following letter:

Ten or twelve *Practitioner Surveyors* will be wanted. ... They might be raised in the following manner.

From the Male Asylum 7 and other English schools at this Presidency, a number of youths might be selected. These might be regularly trained to the business of practical surveying: first in the office, for the sake of a few rudiments; and afterwards in real field practice, under such Gentlemen as are employed in actual surveys, who (being doubtless well qualified themselves for their severe trust, and ardent to promote the General good) would cheerfully undertake to prepare them for future service, by receiving them as their daily Assistants.

Either this expedient must be adopted, or the same number of practical Surveyors must be sent to this country from Europe. ... My reasons for preferring Natives 3 Assistants to Europeans are the following.

First, every European...would cost the Company as much, at least, as six Natives; besides tents, conveyances, and a liberal allowance, each European practitioner must have an Interpreter to attend him. ...
Secondly, each European would require a long and previous seasoning, before he could sustain the rigors of an Indian sun and climate; it is indeed hardly to be expected that one European in ten, after leaving Europe at a mature age, could be brought to endure, for a constancy, the fatigues of so laborious an employ in the torrid zone.

Thirdly, the ease with which the establishment might be kept up, from the same fountain, is a material consideration. ...

The Indian-born offspring of Europeans, educated in the public schools at Madras, might be rendered very useful to the public, and happy in themselves if, instead of being suffered to fall a sacrifice to idleness, and a vicious course, some line of active employment were to be marked out for them.

The Revenue Board strongly supported Topping's proposal;

The natives hitherto employed in making surveys of the Tankes etc., have been unqualified for a service of such importance and, without correct information or estimates, it could be no easy matter to detect, or prevent abuses in the expenditure of the public money.

Whether the native practitioners be hereafter employed under the proposed office of Surveyor General, or any other Department in that line, it is obvious that the practical experience to be acquired under Mr. Topping, particularly during his present surveys, will enable them to be of essential advantage in accomplishing the grand design of providing works for the supply of water, upon which the improvement and prosperity of the country must materially depend.

Government thereupon

Resolved that the Board of Revenue be permitted to conclude an arrangement with the Governors of the Male Asylum, and the Directors of the Charity School, for the boys required in the Surveying Department, agreeably to Mr. Topping's proposition.

The Board of Revenue recommended that the boys should be formally indentured, that a building should be erected for their accommodation, and that Goldingham should be appointed to superintend their education at the Observatory, and Government directed that,

For the sake of order and decorum, the young men to be employed in so responsible a service should have a place of residence as near the eye of their superior as possible.

In June 1794 Government ordered that 12 boys should be indentured to the Company for seven years, and after instruction under Goldingham, should be employed under Topping. The school was started in the Fort, probably on Oct. 1st 1794, and in June 1795 when the new building was ready the Revenue Board wrote to Goldingham.

You have permission to remove the twelve articed boys from the school in the Fort to the Company's Surveying School.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council has consented to your drawing the sum of 100 Pagodas for each of the boys, but this charge is considered a very ample allowance, and...may be understood to include every contingent charge of whatever description.

You are permitted to provide the several articles of furniture. Regular reports should be made by you of the progress which the Boys...make in their education...every six months.

Mr. J. V. Pereira, who had worked as a draughtsman for Topping since 1792, was engaged to instruct the boys in the drawing branch, and prepare maps for the Revenue Board. Goldingham submitted his first annual report on the 1st October 1795, and it may be of interest to record the boys' names, for several of them did valuable work during the next 25 years. They were articed as Assistant Surveyors, but were more often known, from the nature of their normal employment, as Assistant Revenue Surveyors.

Charles Webb, aged on 1-10-95, 13 years
Robert Gardner ...
James Allen ...
Samuel Godfrey ...
William Webb ...
James Rose ...

In 1796 Goldingham reported that three of the young men...are now ready for the public service; the professional knowledge they have would enable them to act alone were they not much too young. I therefore beg...
permission to suggest the propriety of their being placed for the present under persons of experience employed on service, and furnished with such instruments, books, and clothing, as may be deemed requisite for their outset.  

Charles Webb, Gardner, and Johnson were accordingly sent to Dindigul in December, and furnished with a tent and lascar from the garrison there.

During the following year Goldingham submitted to the Board of Revenue a number of maps drawn by his pupils and their drawing master; he engaged a language master,

As a knowledge of the Country Languages is indispensable for the Assistant Surveyors, and as many of them, from not having been suffered to speak these languages at the schools they came from, are almost wholly ignorant of them, I have employed a Tutor for the Gunder and Malabar languages at a salary of 8 Pagodas per month.

To fill up vacancies as the boys passed out to the districts, and to bring the whole establishment to 24, others were admitted in 1798 and 1800.

### Assistant Revenue Surveyors, Madras

After equipping and sending out three boys in 1796, Goldingham made the following proposals for their proper supervision:

Each set of Surveyors (two or three in number) should be placed...immediately under the Collector of the District where they may be employed.

A competent person should be appointed to superintend the progress and execution of the survey, with whom, through the medium of the Collector, the Assistants should correspond and consult in all cases of difficulty; and they should inform him from time to time of their proceedings, that he may be enabled to judge whether they are pursuing the most expeditious and advantageous methods.

When the survey is completed, the material should be brought down to his Office by the Surveyors, arranged, protracted, the Astronomical Observations computed, and the superficial contents of the different descriptions of the ground ascertained under his inspection, a correct copy of the whole should be sent to the Collector, who will then be enabled to draw out his report and transmit it with the Survey to the Board.

This person may be called "Inspector of Revenue Surveys", and as the youth and inexperience of the Assistants make it necessary that a watchful eye should constantly be kept over them, more particularly at Madras, they should always while at the Presidency be placed under the immediate charge of the Inspector; the consequences without a check of this kind, at a place where there are so many idle persons of their own class, are easily foreseen.

This was endorsed by the Board of Revenue.

The appointment of a proper person for collecting and superintending the general execution of surveys...seems essential to the attainment of those public benefits which the Board looked for from this institution; for however well instructed the Boys may now be, it cannot be expected, by reason of their early age, but that they will be liable to errors at their first outset, which will require the correction of a more experienced person; the certainty that their labour will undergo revision will stimulate the boys to more diligent execution, and in the selection of a person for this task, we cannot overlook Mr. Goldingham;...we therefore take the liberty to recommend that he be appointed Inspector of Revenue Surveys at the Presidency.

A proposal that was duly sanctioned.

The Board of Revenue wrote to the Collector of the Jägir, to whom other boys had been sent,

They must also be subsisted and clothed at the expense of the Company, and for these purposes, the Acting Collector at Dindigul stated Eleven Pagodas per month each would be sufficient; you will report whether this is found adequate for the purpose with you.

The boys sent out to the districts during the first few years were as under:

- December 1796. To Dindigul; Charles Webb, Gardner, and Johnson. Of these Webb and Gardner died during 1797.
- May 1797. To the Jägir.
December 1797. To Devicottai, for work under the Superintendent of Tank Repairs; Turner and Allen; transferred at the end of 1798 to Dindigul, in place of the two who had died there.

September 1798. To Vizagapatam; David and Godfrey, 1798. Lincoln was placed under the Superintendent of Tank Repairs, and two others were attached to Major Beaton for a few months. James Ross was placed under Captain Mackenzie for his last year in the Nizam’s Dominions.

September 1799. William Webb and Pope were sent with Malcolm’s first mission to Persia, and at the end of the year several others were posted to the Mysore Survey under Mackenzie.

There was a steady demand for the services of these young men, and they were sent out to field work as fast as their school training was completed.

INDIAN EXPLORERS

Useful work was done by Indian surveyors, or rather explorers, trained by the surveyors who employed them.

The first record of such surveyor is of Ghulam Mohammed, sepoy officer, whom Cama sent in 1774 to explore the country between Bengal and the Deccan [30].

Thomas Call employed several Indians to collect information for his Atlas of India. He writes in 1783,

I have for a year and half past, employed 6 munshies and 30 Hurcarrows at my own expense, to travel through the different parts of India to collect information. This I did with the permission of the Hon’ble the Governor General.

And again,

I have by order of the Governor General employed Munshys to survey some Roads between Places well ascertained in the Map, and have procured some very useful information. The expense attending this mode of Surveying is trifling. I employed six Munshys and 24 Hurcarrows for 18 months at the rate of 500 senat Rupees a month, which, with the expense of Law charges incurred by a prosecution one of the Munshys commenced against me, in which he was non-suited, amounts to Rs. 12,600.

May it please your Hon’ble Board to order the Pay Master to re-imburse me this expense, and inform me if it be your pleasure that I continue to employ them at the same rate. Government paid him the Rs. 12,600, but directed that these surveys should stop, as expenses had to be cut down on account of general retrenchment [38].

Call also writes that Ewart had procured for him “several useful routes from Cossidz” during his stay at Nagpur [42], some of which are still preserved;

Great Nagpore 1782. Route from Great Nagpore, Westward to Poonah, from the account of a Cossid, giving stages, and distances in Coss. Signed James Ewart. Similar route, Nagpore to Neemul & Hyderabad, 1783.

This bears a note by Colebrooke entered many years later. “The distances in this route, and party in the preceding one, are greatly exaggerated.” There are similar routes “from Nagpore to Oojin and to Asser Gaur,” countersigned by Ewart in 1782; which bear pencil comments, probably also by Colebrooke, that the distances are erroneous.

Burrow was another who collected routes through native agency; though it is not clear that they carried out any actual survey. In stating the establishment required for one of his journeys, he allows for “a Moonshy, at Rs. 25 a month”, adding,

The last article is more necessary than at first sight may appear, as it is often requisite to send a Moonshy to make enquiries, and to take bearings, and to get copies of routes etc.

In his journal for 1789, describing his trip through Rohilkhand, he writes,

From here I sent my Pandits to the Hills to get routes &c., and to bring such books and papers as I had been promised by an astronomer that I met with near Cossipore [161]. While I was at Anopsheer, my Pandits arrived from the hills and brought several different routes to the Comor Hills. Budrnan, &c.

1 Munshi, an educated Muhammadan. 2 Harbou, a messenger. 3 BPC. 6-10-83 (21). 4 BPC. 20-11-85 (33). 5 Letter carriers. 6 Field. 7 BPC. 15-9-01 (15). 8 Educated Hindus.

1 Journal, 10. Maps. MS. 5.
For his Map of the Countries West of Delhi, Wilford employed, between 1786 and 1796, Mirza Mogul Beg (234) whose surveys included "Chitrail or Hindu Kush", and extended "as far as the parallel of Multan", and were supplemented by "a copious account, in Persian, of the Geographical and Political state of these countries".

It is not clear how far Pringle relied on sketches and information collected by the rank and file of his Corps of Guides [110-1] for he states in his Book of Roads that the routes given were all measured by himself. When the corps reformed in 1790, its function was to "obtain information about the country, especially with reference to roads and passes". Guides were no longer to be employed in procuring intelligence, but restricted to the performance of their duties as surveyors.5

Several of Beaton's maps included information and sketches brought in by his guides [100-10] and when submitting his own maps in 1797 Allen wrote,

"I have also the honor to lay before your Lordship, several maps, made entirely by the Native Guides, together with their own Field Books. ... They have examined, and made every necessary remark upon, near 5000 miles of roads in the Carnatic and Mysore country, which they have compiled into the form of a book of roads. ... I consider it a duty I owe to the Corps of Guides, who were employed in the field during the whole of the late war, to request your Lordship will transmit to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors their maps and field books, also their book of roads, which I have had translated into English."6

Reynolds & his surveyors

No one made greater use of Indian surveyors than Charles Reynolds. When attached to the Residency at Poona he had referred to "my Country assistant, moonshee, and interpreter", saying that the moonshee could "not be entertained on a less salary than 45 or 50 rupees a month".4

From 1793 he had a number of such surveyors scattered in every direction, and, in pressing for the continuance of his special allowances [218], he mentions as "the first and most considerable... and the only constant" item of expense, the pay and rewards of the establishment of Native Surveyors which I have created myself, and whom, from the great difficulty I experienced in being able to select men fit for my purpose, it became impossible for me to discharge, whilst I continued to entertain any hopes of bringing my work to conclusion. ... At the time I was ordered round [to Bombay in 1794], these Native surveyors were all absent from me, and employed in distant parts of the Country, so that had I been inclined to discharge them it was then impossible; since my arrival on this side of India, they have all at different times joined me, and been immediately dispatched again on the same business. All these native Surveyors are at present employed in different parts of India: ... some of them at the Attoka and in the Punjaub, some in Tatta, and in the Indus River, in different parts of Oozarad and Marwar, and others in the Deccan and Tippoo's frontier, besides one just returned from Kutch, and four... on the eve of their departure [132. 279].

The expense of this part of my establishment in pay and rewards has already, since my return from Lucknow cost me upwards of Ten thousand rupees. ... In consequence of my own researches and the labour of these people, my stock of Geographical information is nearly, if not quite, doubled since my return.5

Again, in 1788,

The remaining information necessary... is now carrying on by twenty-seven sets of my native surveyors, distributed throughout the various parts of India.6

He carried some or all of these surveyors on the strength of his escort [302], and protested strongly when Government objected to his charging batta for them

whilst he remained stationary at Surat. The Directors were anxious about his large expenditure, and ordered that it should all be regularly charged to Government and audited;

We do not clearly understand what is the state of the Country Surveyors employed by Lieut. Colonel Reynolds, nor the nature of the disbursements, which he alleges have already exceeded by more than Rupees 70,000 the amount of his Allowances. If the native Surveyors are to be so employed...the expense should be regularly paid by the Company, and not delayed by an individual at his own expense, who would thereby have a claim on the Company hereafter to an unlimited extent, without any vouchers for the Expenditure [382].

Reynolds later explained that,

The expense...has not been brought against the Company, by reason of the Hon'ble the Governor's dislike to it; from a promise I had made him that no further burden should be laid on the public, and that the people then out and charged for, should be struck off as they came in. Command of retrenchment...had been made on account of my people's batta, of between four and five hundred rupees a month; this took place when my receipts...were unequal to my disbursements; on explaining this to Government, I was authorized...to draw for the extra sum under the strictest rule for Military expenditure, declaring the charge...upon honour.

It was at this time, and not before, that the company bore the whole of the expense incurred by my enquiries. The people then charged for, having some of them since returned, the expense has gradually decreasing... The expense resting on myself is for people employed on the Indus, Zemun Shah's frontier, and a part of Malwa, but as these have been despatched since my promise to the Hon'ble the Governor, they are not included in my contingent bill...

None of the native surveyors, including the people it has been necessary to detach with them, have cost Government more than 150 Rupees a month;...no other contingent charges have ever been made. ...

It was impossible for me of course to investigate every part of so extensive a country personally, and hence arose the necessity of employing Natives. The propriety of this measure has had for its support the authority of Government, and the sanction of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. ...

The employment of the Native Surveyors was indispensable, and I should, had I neglected to avail myself of the labours to the utmost extent, have justly stood accused of neglect of my duty. These people are of course at present employed out, and...I do not expect the earliest of them in before the month of November next, and several of them considerably beyond that period.

One of the monthly bills for these surveyors reads,
The sum of 995 rupees, being the balance over and above my receipts, and required to pay up the monthly allowance to Twenty Sets of Native Surveyors, employed by me for the completion of my Geographical work in different parts of India, including the extra people employed with them, on account of the difficulty of travelling from the present confused state of the country.

When he handed over in February 1807, he left his successor a note.

One of these Surveyors has lately returned, and I have taken down his information... There are still remaining four of my Surveyors out;...one of them has a survey to make of upwards of 25,000 [sic] miles, the surveys of the others are less extensive; whenever these people arrive,...take down their information.

He considered the taking down and arranging of the reports a matter which required much care;

The surveys of those Natives now out cannot be rendered of use if they are taken down and translated by any other than a person conversant with the business.

He took a personal and fatherly interest in his men, and made ample provision for their welfare after he should leave the country, though the Directors eventually took over this responsibility, writing out in 1808;

As Colonel Reynolds had represented to us that, in order to stimulate the exertions of the Native Surveyors employed by him, he had agreed, on the conclusion of their labours, to give them a pecuniary remuneration, and had accordingly on leaving Bombay lodged in the hands of his attorneys...the sum of Rs. 22,000, to be applied in payment of annuities to the Native

1Cd. to Bo, 30-5-69 (30). 2Dmn. 146 (33-42), 17-1-1801. 3Bo MC. 5-12-1806. 4Bo MC. 15-6-1807.
Surveyors for the remainder of their lives, and the principal to go among their successors; we have resolved to relieve him from the charge, for as the Surveyors were employed on a Great Public Duty, it is but reasonable the expense of pensioning them should be born by the Company.

Effect was not however given to this laudable purpose till very many years later 2.

**Lascars & Followers**

When Rennell set out on his first survey in 1764, he took with him 11 Lascars and 11 motias or porters 3.

In 1767 De Gloss had “20 Burgundasses and 5 Hircarras” for his survey of Bihâr, besides private followers and an escort of sepoys [25].

In 1788, on Rennell’s recommendation, Government approved the following establishment for the Surveyor General:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tindal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rs. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lascars</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Rs. 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duffadars</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cookies</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Rs. 4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beldars</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watermen @ 4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rs. 8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tent &amp; Moonsby</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peons @ 2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rs. 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hircarras @ 32</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The establishment for a surveyor differed only for the last two items which, stood “2 peons Rs. 8, 6 Hircarras, Rs. 30”, with total Rs. 310.

The duties of the lascars were given as:

- For the Chain: 4 Tent
- Theodolite & stand: 2 Powder
- For carriage of a tent: 11 Signal Flag
- For carriage of Plans, Instruments: 2 Spare men
- Flags: 10
- Spare men: 3

Besides the above, the Surveyor’s necessaries require 26 coolies, for which no allowance is made; this article falls particularly heavy on the Subalterns, whose allowances are so small.

I have found it necessary to employ 25 Hircarras during some surveys; but in the known parts of the Country, on a medium, 6.

The Surveyors are at the monthly expence of 48 or 50 rupees for Bearers, for which no allowance is made in the new regulations.

The expence of Coolies might be considerably lessened by carrying the Tents &c., on Bullocks, but this method of conveyance is remarkably tedious, and occasions the loss of much time 4.

In 1777 establishment was increased to allow each surveyor 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tindal &amp; Lascars</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rs. 82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head Coolies</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Rs. 216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hircarras</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Rs. 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage of Tents</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs. 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moonsky, Interpreter,</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Rs. 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watermen @ 9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rs. 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs. 426 [276].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The establishment which Burrow asked for on his Astronomical Survey was 6:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bearers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rs. 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beesie</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rs. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mooses and Bangies (carriers)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Rs. 60</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hircarras</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarrawalla [sweeper]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musalsches</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is the first time that the term khalaei is found, the term lascar being at that time the usual one applied to a “handy man” in regular service.

The Madras regulations provided for:

- One Tindall & 8 Lascars to be supplied by the Chief & Council of that Settlement under which the Surveyor may be employed, and Batta to be drawn for them while on Service, agreeably to the Regulations. Two Hircarras to be supplied by the Chief... & no charge therefore to be made for them 8.

---

1 CD to Bo 7-9-1868 (11). 2 La Touche (9). 3 Tindal (11). 4 Diggs, or Jungle-clearers. 5 BPC 11-10-68. 6 BPC 23-4-77. 7 IB 21-6-91. 8 MFC 1-11-79.
When Irwin was appointed to survey Blacktown [94], he was allowed "two Conicopilia", and four peons. A conicopilia was a Madras institution, whose business it was to keep the account of household expenses, and to pay the servants' wages, and traders men's bills.

We find very few references to men regularly trained for survey, and in 1788 after only two years in the country, Topping carried his triangulation 300 miles down the east coast with no assistance except from general service lascars, and when measuring his base-line he did not use the stands for his measuring-rods as he could not expect the lascars to manage them successfully [102, 191].

A few years later, when running levels through the Kistna delta, he found that his men responded to patient training;

In justice to these poor people, I must confess that no set of men are more to be depended upon than they are, nor more regular and exact in the several offices assigned them, when once they are brought to comprehend what kind of duty is required of them [192].

When Beatson took over charge of the survey four years later, he tried to get hold of Topping's squad of men,

Major Beatson...applied to the Military Board for nine lascars belonging to the Arsenal, who were employed with the late Mr. Topping, and whose names are mentioned in the accompanying list, but he has been informed that an order of Government is necessary. ... These men, being experienced in the business of levelling and surveying, would be extremely useful to Major Beatson, whilst employed in the Circars. ... I am therefore directed by the Board to request that an order may be sent...that all, or at least half-a-dozen, may be spared to him. During the time they may be employed on the survey, their pay and batta will be paid from the Revenue treasury, and when the investigation of watering the Circars is completed, they will be returned to the Arsenal.

Artificers were a useful addition to the camp of a surveyor, and in 1798 Mackenzie was glad to get sanction for "I carpenter, I smith or brazier, for repairs".

Rates of pay on the Bombay side seem to have been a good deal higher than in Bengal. Reynolds writes to the Resident at Poona in 1786,

The rate at which common servants or coolies have received their wages every since I left Bombay on our journey to Bengal, till the present time, is well known to you to have been nine and ten rupees a mouth for each man, whilst a Hallalore [harhara?] receives eight, as is still the case; it cannot be supposed that I can possibly procure servants in an infinitely more respectable Line of service at a lower rate.

The staff sanctioned for the Surveyor General's office at Calcutta in 1788 was

3 Hircarras @ Rs. 5 ... Rs. 15 1 Darwan ... ... ... 4
3 Lascares @ Rs. 7 ... 21 1 Slegurs ... ... ... 47

1 lb. 29-9-71. 2 Fisc. (5in). 3 MRC. 3-3-98. 4 MMC. 3-3-98. 5 Bo S & Pol. 29-6-86. 6 Polisher; sword or knife grinder. 7 BMC. 10-6-88.
CHAPTER XXII

INHABITANTS & OFFICIALS

_India at Large — Military Escorts — Posts & Communications._

WHEN Rennell started his surveys Bengal had not yet come under the regular administration of the Company's servants, who were still but strangers in the land, occupied with commerce and money-making, with but a few troops for the protection of their factories or to support the collection of revenues; the bulk of the small army was fighting beyond the western frontiers [136, 266].

Local zamindars were, for the most part, independent of all control, except for the payment of revenues to the Nawab's officials, whose exactions were often quite out of proportion to what the zamindars were able or willing to pay; defiance and armed resistance to authority were part of the day's work.

On his journey up the Brahmaputra in 1765 Rennell writes home telling that he is engaged in tracing the sources of the river, but I shall have a number of barbarous [sic] nations to pass through, and some of them are extremely jealous of Europeans.

Travelling by boats however, he tells of no incidents till he came to the frontiers of Assam, where he was prevented from landing, and could proceed no further. It was after Richards had joined him, and they had discharged their boats preparatory for the march across Rangpur District [23], that they met with the first serious trouble;

From 1st January to the 9th [1766] I sent all round the Baharund Countrey to hire Coolies and Bears, but was not able to procure a single one, although I offered a sufficient Price. The Country People like wise refused to supply my People with Provisions, and upon enquiry I found it was all owing to the Villany of the Dewan of Olyapour [20, pl. 14]; who had threatened to punish any person who should supply me with Men or Provisions. Upon this wrote to the Dewan... to know the Truth of it. ... His Answer was that the People might sell me Provisions if they chose it, but dared me to take any Coolies. ...

I immediately applied to the Resident at Rangpur requesting his assistance in procuring Bears & Coolies. He sent me a considerable Number from Rangpur, but as they deserted on the Road I received no more than 18.

The 10th in the morning we left Curungong, having prest what Coolies we could at that Place, and proceeded by way of Olyapour in order to explain matters with the Dewan. We arrived in Olyapour late in the Night.

I sent a message to the Dewan this Night & another in ye morning of ye 11th requiring him to make his appearance but he treated them both with great indifference. About 8 next morning I went with Mr. Richards & 10 Sepoys towards his Countrey House under cover of a thick fog, but he had got intelligence of our March, & was gone before we entered the House. I informed the servants that if they did not produce their master I should set fire to the House, which was accordingly done, & we retired to our Baggage on the South side of the Teesta.

The fire was extinguished immediately after we left the House.

Although the Dewan had not Resolution enough to defend his House, yet he followed us immediately with 150 Burundasses & 300 Villagers some of which came close to our Rear & began to fire at us, which fire we returned in single shots for upwards of 6 miles, they being afraid to close with us & retreating whenever we made a Stand.

---


291
The very next month they fell in with a detachment of the Company's sepoys in pursuit of a band of sanyásis raiders near the southern border of Coocch Behär [23]. There was a dispute raging about the succession to the chiefship of Coocch Behär; the local people had appealed to the English for assistance against the Bhutas, and the latter had hired the services of these sanyásis. Rennell gives the following account of the episode:

We now found ourselves on the Western Bank of the Neelcomer or Cureesa River which is a Boute River passing near Bullerampour. ... It joins the Duria near Curigong. ... We found that the English detachment crossed this River during the Night before our arrival and that the rear had not passed over many Hours. The Sannashys were reported to be marching towards us, & had several Detachments posted in different Villages to the Northward & North East. ... We accordingly crossed the River Neelcomer & marched for Cureesa. ... At Cureesa I learnt that a party of the Sannahys Horse had been routed that morning. ... I stopped at Cureesa to refresh my People & during that Time...heard a firing of Cannon & Mosquetrey to the NE.

We set out in the afternoon & marched 6 miles to the NNE & found the Detachment under the Command of Lient. Morrison & encamped at Bouter Haat, having that Forenoon defeated the Main Body of the Sannahys. ... Morrison had 90 Sepoys Rank & File; and the Sannahys were 700 strong & near 150 of them armed with English Musquets. We halted with Morrison this Night (of the 20th February) [1766].

The next morning early Morrison set out in quest of the Enemy, & my Sepoys being joined with his, I acted as a Volunter under him. We marched 8 miles this Forenoon, and then halted at Santashpour to refresh the Troops. We continued marching all the Afternoon to the S & SE. till we came in sight of the River Ramaputrey. ... About 4 we entered the village of Deenbottah, where a Party of the Enemy had posted themselves, or...had sat down to rest themselves; ...they made a desperate effort to defend themselves. ... In this Skirmish I had the misfortune to be surrounded by the Enemy, & received several cuts from their broad Swords, one of which threatened my Death [23].

Morrison spent the next two days pursuing the sanyásis down to the banks of the Duria, where their leaders escaped to Ulipur, of which we have heard already [291]. Besides Rennell's own serious wounds, Richards was slightly wounded, and what was much more serious, the Armenian assistant was killed [283].

In December 1770 he had trouble with a zamindar of Rajshahi District, which he thus reports to the Council at Murshidaboud:

I am employed on a Survey...on the North side of the Gangas, & halted near Pulash the 5th Instant at Noon. A few Minutes after our Arrival the Villagers came arm'd, & threatened to fall upon Us. I asked them if they had any Complaints to make. They abused me, told me no, & insisted that I should go away. We soon dispersed them without making Use of any Weapons, as I never suffer a Sepoy to fire 'till Matters come to Extremity. Whilst they were in the Action of running away. We caught one of them, a Burkanbass, who had entangled himself in the Jungle. I enquired of him who the Village belonged to, & (after alarming him) sent him with a Message to Cadder Beg, informing him of my Business in these parts.

From this Time none of my People entered the Village, altho' everything seemed quiet; yet about two Hours afterwards, a Mogul (Cadder Beg) appeared on Horseback, & with him a very great Rabble, some of them armed with Matchlocks, & the rest with Pykes & Swords etc. Without sending Me any Message, he came within Call & told me that He was come to fight me. I was obliged to have Recourse to my Sepoys, but hoping to end the Matter with little Bloodshed. I aimed a single shot at the Mogul, which however missed him, but killed a Man close by him. This had the desired Effect of making them retire to a greater Distance; but they kept us in a continual alarm by sending Parties into the Jungles on every side of Us. During this time the Mogul remained in Sight & sent me several insolent Messages; one of them in particular so full of Abuse & Menaces, that I thought Myself fully authorized to chastise the Messenger, which I did; the rest contained his hints of Independence, together with Orders for me to depart. To one of these I replied by showing the Messenger the Sepoys, Arms, and Camp Equipage, by which he might be assured that We belonged to

---

1 For account of these sanyásis fakirs, see Ghosh. 2 Probably the old Torsha 2 or Torser, now disappeared. 3 Balarampur, 78 41 12. All these places are shown in 'Bengal Atlas Map V. & Companion Atlas' [pl. 44]. 4 3 m. NE. from Fulbari, 78 8 9. 5 Dennis Morrison (q.v.). 6 Santoshpur, 78 41 12. 7 10 m. NE. of Kurigram, 78 8 9; not the present Dakhtra on railway. 8 La Tocque (75 4), cf. Hosen Jobson (572) Ghosh (57 9) & HMS. 705, 8 8 56. 9 8 m. NE. of Godagari, 78 6 9. 'Ben. Atlas Map VI.'
the Company, for the Mogul affected to believe that We were Robbers. Even after this he insisted in sending his Messenger, &c. using threatening Gestures, 'till, finding it had no Effect, he fell into the opposite Extreme, & began to apologise for his Behaviour, which he imputed to Ignorance of my Station & Employment.

The Councel thereupon called upon the Naib Duan to summon Kadir Beg to Murshidabad to answer for his conduct, and the records continue.

The Naib Duan reports Cadder Beg has been brought in, a Prisoner, and that upon comparing the account of the affair in Question with the representations received from Captain Rennell, it appears that Cadder Beg had been guilty of the insolent and outrageous behaviour which Captain Rennell sets forth. The person mentioned by Captain Rennell to have been killed is not dead.

The Board decide that He should be way of punishment for this offence, and in order to deter others from attempting to impede or molest Gentlemen employed in the Public Service, he drummed thro' the City of Mooshidabad, and afterwards the village of Pubow wherever the offence was committed, and then proceed to Dinageapore, or wherever Captain Rennell may be, to ask pardon of him for his culpable behaviour.

The following year Rennell had further dealings with theis sansadis, and in February 1771 reported from "Belanchy", then in Rajeshwari District.

There is now in this part of the Country a large Body of Fakirs who are laying all the principal Towns under Contribution. They were yesterday at Lutchimumpore, 4 Coss from this place, and after receiving two hundred Rupees from the Gunge Darogah, marched northward into the Puckaryah Districts. By the Accounts I have from an intelligent person whom I sent to watch their motions, they are about a Thousand in Number, and tolerably well armed. They came from the Western Provinces about a month ago, and traversed the Denageapore and Gorasgaut Districts in their way.

As there is no force in this part of the Country I imagine they will continue in it until they have plundered all the principal places. I have met several of their detached parties, which are indeed scattered over the whole province of Radashy and Gorasgaut. I have expressed my concern about the situation and asked the Governor to send forces to deal with them.

The Council at Murshidabad at once sent two companies of sepoys from headquarters direct to Rennell, and ordered the Supravisors at Rajeshwari and Rangpur to get in touch with him, and to send one or two further companies. Rennell was directed to take command of these troops and expel the fakirs from the province.

On March 1st he was able to report from "Seegjunge", I join'd Lieut. Taylor's detachment the 24th ultimo, and followed the route of the Fakirs towards the Hoamah Division, they retreating that way. On hearing they were passing, Lieut Fetham with the Rangpore Detachment, taking road to Gorasgaut and Gobigunge; surprised their camp on the morning of the 25th, and after a short skirmish, effectually dispersed them, taking their Camp and Baggage, & a few prisoners. Their Chief Shiek Munjino fled on Horseback to Mustan Gurr, where he was joined by 150 of his followers, all disarmed and many of them wounded.

The rest to the number of 2500, are dispersed in such a manner that two of them cannot be found together, so that it is impossible to pursue them; ... They all threw away their arms in their Retreat, and the villagers falling on them killed great numbers.

I marched to Mustan on hopes of taking the Chief prisoner, but on my arrival found the place empty, and was informed that he went off with a few followers on the road towards Furseah. Upon this I sent a Jemedar's Party after him with orders to follow his road four or five days journey, and I am in hope that the Jemedar will be successful as Munjinoo is diseased and cannot travel fast.

As the service on which I am sent is now finished I have left the command to Lieut. Taylor; I shall return to the business which I was before employed in.

[Note. 165 years after this adventure of Rennell's the Sutlawa published a letter from Lucknow, dated March 6th 1936. "Four hundred sadhus recently raided C-village in the Sitarpur district, on the refusal of the villagers to supply them with fuel free of charge. Overcoming all resistance, the sadhus let loose the villagers' cattle, set fire to the houses, destroyed the standing crops and took away property."

The villagers are panic-stricken, as they have reason to believe that the sadhus are planning another raid on their village in larger numbers on their return.

Whilst Rennell had his adventures in what might be called the home districts, his surveyors working on the western frontiers had frequent adventures amongst the more primitive tribes of Chota Nagpur and Jungletery [34 n, 9].

DeGloss has referred to the timid folk who lived in the jungles along the banks of the Son [24].

In 1771 Carter had to apply for a reinforcement of sepoys, to enable him to prosecute his survey through the Herboe^1 district, where the chouara^2 had attacked his detachment without provocation. The Supervisor of Birbhum District reported:

This district is inhabited by a Sett of independent Chouars, who pay no Revenue to the Company, but are very troublesome Neighbours, as they make frequent Incursions into the Borders of Boerboom, and carry of large Quantities of Cattle and grain. . . . I beg leave to represent that as the Herboe People attached Captain Carter's Detachment without any previous Provocation whatever, I think they ought to be made sensible of their Presumption, and that this District should be obliged to pay a proper Revenue to the Company.^

After an extra company of sepoys had been sent up [300], the Supervisor was able to report:

The Herboe District being now entirely reduced by Captain Carter's Detachment, the Chouars in those parts have been quiet for some time past; but when Captain Carter leaves that Country, I fear they will be troublesome again.

About this time Camac, who was in command on the south-west frontier [30], suggested a survey through Chota Nagpur and Palamau, and wrote to the Council at Patna:

Ever since the conquest of Palamow, I have found a great alteration in the attention of the Hill Rajahs, and am well convinced that if proper uses were made of them, very great services would accrue from it. Of all these the Nageor Rajah is the most friendly. In conversing with his people I could not but be astonished at the facility which they seemed to make of passing to and from the Deccan, and of the nearness of Aurangabad, Hyderabad, and Cuttack, to Nagore. I could not but think at the same time on the benefit it would be of to the English, who having two such considerable countries, know much less of the communication between them than the French. The remainder of Mr. Law's people after their defeat at Bahar went by these Roads, and there is reason to think an intercourse is still carried on by them with the Northern Powers by these means [27].

We have often experienced the extreme diminution of our Troops and the great expense and difficulty of sending them by sea, while the Road would be nearer and attended with scarce any objection or trouble [40-1]. . . .

The Gauwals and Headmen of Palamow are now all come in except one or two who are left without followers, so that you may look on the country as fully reduced.

The following year Carter was sent up by Government to survey the road to Ramgarh and he greatly alarmed the country by unwittingly bringing with his followers, a claimant to the chiefship; Camac had to appeal to the Provincial Council at Patna to order Carter to surrender this pretender, and represented that:

If it shall be found expedient to survey these Hills, I think it advisable that the person sent should act with my advice, which shall be such as will give least umbrage to these wild people, who being nearly independent are easily alarmed.

The following report describes an incident of Thomas Call's survey in Midnapore district in 1774 [33]; he had two companies of sepoys as escort, and the officer commanding them writes that, after a brush with the local people, they had been obliged to leave off surveying in order that one might get through the jungle as soon as we possibly could & get on a plain, which we did about 12 o'clock, and here we found that they had got possession of a tank, the only one; however we soon took it from them. I then halted to refresh my people, clean my arms and dress the wounded. . . . In the morning at daylight we proceeded on route, Mr. Call pursuing his survey; as soon as we got in the jungle they fired at us from all quarters, my Detachment parties kept them off for some time; at

\[1\] or "Herboe," now Hansdiha, 72 P 3; Em. Atlas Map II. 3Probably Santilas. 3Firminger, III, 5-2-71 & 1-3-71. 3Firminger, V (138), 15-4-71. 3Aurangabad, 47 M 5. 3B'Ter C Patna, II, 30-12-71. 73 E/10. 8B'Ter C Patna, III, 19-3-72.
last they crowded upon the rear so fast I was obliged to face my people about to drive them off, which I very soon did dropping near a hundred of them. ... I must beg you will excuse my not giving you every particulars, for Mr. Call & myself are in a favor and not able to hold our heads up. Mr. Call has received orders of the Surveyor General to alter his route. ... I have written to the Rajah at Barru Bloom [pl. 14] & to acquaint him that we were coming thro' his District by order of the Government to Survey the road, not in any Hostile manner, and that I would be glad if he would order the Riots to supply me with what Provisions I wanted & that I would take care that they should be paid for what they brought me; he did not chuse to send back an answer but kept [the messenger] 1.

The following were the instructions issued to Pringle for his survey of Jungle-terry [34]:

You will as far as possible, prevent all causes for dispute in the Districts not under my authority with the Zemindars or inhabitants; if they should oppose your surveying, & you think them sufficiently strong to prevent it by Force, you will immediately write to me for assistance, and not incur any risk of being obliged to retreat by attempting to force a passage with too considerable a number of men.

In the districts under my authority, you will not meet with any opposition, I trust; but if you should, advise me, that the Leader of the Offenders may be brought to Justice, and during all your march, give particular orders that no act of Oppression may be exercised on the Riots, without the full value being paid. I shall order an escort...to join you at this Place 2.

Shortly after, Pringle got into trouble for interfering in revenue matters; whilst making his headquarters at Deoghar 3 he undertook responsibility, on behalf of the native farmer of revenues, for the payment of certain tolls; the farmer fell into arrears in his monthly payments, and quit Deoghar without so much as acquainting me where he was gone, or when he would return to his Duty. ... Convinced from this behaviour that he never meant to return to Deoghar, ...I, considering myself as accountable to Government for the amount of the Revenue, took the Collections into my own hands; ... I ordered his Papers and Effects to be secured, in order to investigate his accounts, and obviate as much as possible the Loss I must naturally sustain. I was the more induced to use these rigorous Measures from the Number of Complaints I had heard against him for repeated acts of oppression and Injustice, which in the End would have ruined the Collections, and reflected Dishonour upon the English Government 4.

Although he was supported in his action by his commanding officer, the Supreme Council took a serious view of Pringle's behaviour, General Clavering noting,

I think his becoming security to Government for Pertuba Sing's paying 7,000 rupees, taking the Collections into his own hands and afterwards seizing his papers and effects, Entirely unjustifiable. ...

And the Governor General agreed,

As for Ensign Pringle, I deem him highly culpable in engaging in a Business so foreign from the duties of his profession; and am of opinion that the proper and most effectual example which could be made of such an offence would be to order his immediate removal from his present station to some other Corps at a distance from it. 5 [33, 269].

It would not be correct to give the impression that Rennell and his surveyors were in constant conflict with the people of the country, as this narration of a few incidents might imply; the work indeed could not have proceeded had this been so; on the contrary the Council were glad to commend "his just and inoffensive conduct to the People of the Country" 6.

The following extract from a journal of Showers [29] illustrates the general willingness of the people to help, and yet the difficulty the surveyor found in getting exactly the help he wanted;

The Fauzdar...came to camp and brought along with him two guides; he seems to know very little of his own country, and could give me no information of the distances of the inland Towns. ...

Being unable to obtain any just account of the distances that these Parganas extend from the river, I have thought it improper to insert the confused description I receive from the guides, who are only acquainted with the names of the villages near the Gompy, and are obliged to be changed every two miles, their knowledge not extending further 7.

1 Midnapore Dist. R. III (333), 2-4-74. 2 Browne's instructions dated 18-10-74: BCC 7-4-75 (9).
3 72 L/10. 4 BCC. 24-5-76 (10). 5 BCC 29-6-76. 6 B to GD. 17-10-74 (60). 7 Orme MSS. 8 (3).
Inhabitants & Officials

On a journey down to Nágpur the same year, 1768, Showers records that he "met with every civility" on the way.

India at Large

It was the general rule that surveyors should be subordinate to the civil officer in charge of the country in which they were working [272-3], except, of course, in the case of officers surveying the route of a military detachment. The following notice to the "Chief of Masulipatam" advises him of the appointment of an officer to survey his district:

Notwithstanding it was necessary for the better executing the Business of the surveys of the Circars to direct the Chief Engineer to furnish the Gentlemen appointed for that service with particular instructions for their conduct therein, yet it was not intended that those Gentlemen should be independent of the Chief Council of the Settlement in the Districts in which they may be employed.

You will therefore acquaint Captain Stevens that notwithstanding the instructions he has received from the Chief Engineer, he is to consider himself as acting immediately under your orders; that he is to report to you and the Council from time to time the Progress of his survey, with his remarks and Observations, and to transmit to the Chief and Council his Plans and Charts to be forwarded to us.

At the same time the civil officers were directed to furnish the surveyors "with every necessary assistance" [92].

One of the most remarkable features of the work of the surveyors was the manner in which they were able to travel with safety through unknown parts of the country with but little molestation; and this was true even of countries whose rulers and inhabitants were the most jealous or unfriendly; there is not one case to report during the 18th century of any murderous attack on a surveyor. In the first instance no surveyor ever ventured into a country where access was definitely forbidden, just as Rennell turned back from the frontiers of Assam in 1765 [20, 201]; secondly, surveys of hostile countries were invariably made under the protection of a military column; and thirdly, before a surveyor could enter any foreign territory, he had always to be provided with a parvāna or passport [59, 128]; once provided with this he was seldom molested, and then only if he strayed unwittingly beyond the limits specified; fourthly, the provision of escorts protected the surveyor from the attacks of bandits or dacoits.

The following extracts from the journal which Mr. Thomas kept from Nágpur to Cuttack in 1782 [39] give a fair idea of the adventures to be encountered when travelling off the beaten track.

January 28th. Left Nágore on my return. By Moodabee’s order, Ram Pandit, Rajah of Cuttack, sent 8 horsemen with me, & I have also a Naig and 6 sepoys of Mr. Chapman's guard.

February 1st. Carried hence 3 days' provisions for men and beasts to support us through the Nuctee Pass.

3rd. Delay by Elephants; Bildars clear the forest for the Elephants & Camels to pass.

4th. Kept in alarm all last night by Tigers.

5th. Kyraghur. Disturbed again all night by Tigers.

The Kyragur district is reckoned the extremity of Moodabee's Raj, and that of Bimlajee begins...on the Caburrah Mullah which divides the two Rajes. The Kyragur Jemadar declares himself independent of either Raj, and would give me no guides, nor read the Rajah's passports.

8th. Robbed last night at Lecknow of my ring. Gold watch, chain, and key; Crest cut on a cornelian, crest on an emerald, one pistol, stock and buckles, and other things, at least Rs. 1,500.

9th. About two Coss from Dhiggy, a nullah bad for Camels; at Curmindah, a village two Coss before I came to Dewreah, the villagers, after I had passed the Naig, plundered my

1 Orme MSS. 4 (07-103). 2 MMC. 24-4-76. 3 Maratha Rāja of Nágpur.
people in the rear, which obliged me to return, when...Naig drawing his sword, and the rest beginning to fall on my people, I fired a charge of bird shot at the most distant, to intimi-
date them, which it did, and the greater part took to their heels.

I then ordered the Naig and another leader to be seized, and brought them with me to
dewrah, but dismissed them unharmed on restoring the things they had taken.

10th. Commiss, Pundit came to get the arms, my people had taken the day before, re-
stored; I told him if he gave me a guide I would send them back by him, but he gave me no
guide, tho' he promised it; the arms therefore remain with my people.

12th. Halted. The Jemadar behaved very civilly, came to see me and gave chokes and
guides. I gave him two Turbanels and at his request returned the arms taken at Coromandel.

14th. Sarongur, large place. Rajah came to see me and gave me three kids, rice, &c.;
He gave him half a piece of Crimson Silk which Moodajee gave to me, and Rs. 5 to his servants.
He also gave me Chokes and Guides, and desired me to tell the Governour General that he
had written to him to stay and take care of Mr. Elliott's grave. ... He says that Channajee's
people destroyed the garden at Mr. Elliott's Tomb, but he intended to repair it. I offered
him money for that purpose, but he refused it, saying he would certainly do it at his own
expenge.

The most remarkable instance of the immunity of a surveyor is that of Charles
Reynolds, who spent three years travelling backwards and forwards through the
heart of India, through the territories of the various Maratha chiefs and of the
Nizam. He invariably travelled with adequate passports; but these gave no per-
mission to survey, and both Reynolds and Malet, the Resident at Poona, were
most anxious to prevent the Marathas getting to know the real purpose of all these
journeys. When submitting to Government his first map, at the end of 1787,
Reynolds particularly asked that it should not be published, and this re-
quest was repeated by Malet;

Permit me to solicit your Lordship's attention to the necessity of stopping the publica-
tion of any of Captain Reynolds's journeys with me, or procured by my means during my
residence at this Court...as, should such publication come to the knowledge of this
Government, which I think very probable from the inquisitiveness of its spirit, it certainly
would have reason to reproach us with a deviation from that candour which we profess.

The Directors agreed as to the impropriety of publishing Reynolds's survey at the
time.

Reynolds wrote in again after his trip to Madras; My present Trip has been productive of much interesting information, and I have pur-
pouse deviated in the Nizam's country from the established Roads, to try the practicability
of a full and complete Investigation, without attracting the notice of the Government or any
of its officers, and it has fully answered my most sanguine wishes. I have been most cau-
tious since I came into the Maratha country, and have kept to the High Road, being well
aware of the prying and inquisitive turn of the Peshwa's Government.

The facility with which I make my journeys unnoticed by the natives, whose curiosity
is not easily raised, particularly as I make use of no Instruments whatever before them, and
merely pass through the country as a Traveller, convinces me...of the practicability of com-
pletely effecting my scheme. ... From the time of my leaving Poona to this period, I have
never once had occasion to produce any of my Purwannahs, either from the Nizam's or Mar-
ratha Government.

In preparation for a second visit to Hyderábád, Reynolds asked the Bombay
Government for a letter to the Resident;

I beg leave to submit to your consideration the propriety of my having a public letter
to him to the following effect, "Captain Reynolds is despatched by us on business which he
will communicate to you." It may be necessary to assign some reason to the Nizam's
Minister for my journey, and in that case the producing a letter from Government would
remove every suspicion of my employment, and insure my safety back.

Malet was far from happy about this journey, and told Government that,
I acquainted him that the repetition of his journeys must rest on many precarious con-
tingencies. ... I am at a loss clearly to comprehend on what footing the journey which...
Captain Reynolds is now on the point of prosecuting to Hyderábád will be undertaken, as at
present it appears intended to be performed without the knowledge of this court. In that
case, furnishing him with a guard from my detachment, ...would reduce me to a Dilemma, if called on here to account for his journey, since I should neither be able to disclaim a know-
ledge of it, nor to answer satisfactorily as to the authority by which it was undertaken 1.

The Governor General had by now become disturbed by these journeys, and wrote,
I am so unwilling to alarm the jealousy of the Marathhas that, unless Captain Reynolds
can point out any important object for another excursion, I do not wish that further applica-
tion should be made at present to the Marathas for that purpose, and he may in the mean-
time employ himself in arranging and protracting the Surveys that he has already made. 2 [128].

Reynolds' journeys were not however entirely without adventure, and the following extracts from the journal of a fellow traveller tell of incidents on his journey from Lucknow to Bombay in 1794 [55]:

May 19th. Chambal River 3. Captain Reynolds and myself marched about 3 o'clock, ...
Fight between Reynolds's servants and escort and some villagers, owing to one of Reynolds's
harrarris having seized a young man, Rajput, to act as guide. ... One of Reynolds's khit-
mataras killed; ... matchlock firing; ... had to withdraw and make a circuit of two coss. ...

Captain Reynolds has written to the zemindar of the village complaining of the violence
of his people, and desiring restoration of the articles which fell into their hands.

May 11th. The Zemindar of Ammeres 4 returned almost submissive answers to Captain
Reynolds's demand, expressing his regret that the hastiness of our people had produced con-
sequences so melancholy; he alleged he had suffered seriously by the loss of two of his people
who were killed, and that two more were wounded, and it was impossible for his single voice
to restrain the resentment of the whole village.

He sent the body of Reynolds's servant, and said he would keep the Bodies of his own
men who were killed as a proof, and restore the property as soon as sent for.

The diarist notes that, on arrival at Buhainpur,

The person in authority here who farmed the town from Scindia is not too well disposed
towards Europeans, and therefore I did not chuse to risk going into the city 5.

Burrow records an interesting incident at Cheduba [43,160].

As I was taking equal latitudes a number of people came and disturbed me by beating
the ground and shaking the quicksilver; and soon after one of the Chief Officers came, ap-
parently displeased, and inquisitive what I was about; I told him first to drive the people away
and when I had done I would tell him; after concluding my observations I explained to him
that I was correcting my watch; but he did not seem satisfied at all with my explanation:
and I afterwards found that the Captain had told them inadvertently that I was a Conjuror,
& and could tell fortunes &c, and this they believed; I heard soon after that the Rajah
was very angry and supposed I was making observations to determine the Event of some
expedition that the English might intend against them in favour of the Mugs 6. ...

It is interesting to have Beatson's evidence as to the friendliness of people in
the south [109];

The duties of Surveying in which I was occupied for some years afforded many opportu-
nities of judging of the disposition of the Natives on the Coast, and I declare altho' I have
traversed the wildest parts, amongst Woods and Mountains, from the Circars to Cape Comorin,
with a guard of only six sepoys, I never met with the smallest molestation, except among the
Colliers; on the contrary I was treated with respect and attention wherever I went 7.

Johnson records the following note whilst surveying the frontiers of Malabar
[131].

The Revenues of this country...have not been collected or paid to anybody since the
beginning of last war; before that period, the Revenues...were collected by a Rajah named
Ram Cooty (who is now in the Cochin Territories for his health). The Rajah expended the
Revenues he collected on a God. (Set up near Numbally coté [131 n. 7] whom they call
Hurrowalty) without accounting in the least to any superior 8.

The surveyors did not find the people of Malabar particularly helpful [131];

The want of proper guides has lately much increased the labour and difficulties of the
Surveyors; on one hand it renders the necessary local information precarious, whilst on the
other, it evidently retards the progress of the Survey; and as no exertion of the Surveyors
has been able to overcome the litigiousness of the Tissadars, for whom I had procured orders
furnish the necessary guides, I have therefore to request as the only efficacious means, you

1 Bo S & Pol. 30-9-96. 2 Bo S & Pol. 7-10-96. GG. to Mael. 26-6-96. 3 Conflax with Jumma. 34
will be pleased to direct the Northern and Southern Superintendents to furnish each Surveyor with a Good Pean of their own, to remain with them during the survey, having an order from their respective Masters or the Tassildars to furnish these gentlemen with one or two guides from each district, as they proceed 1.

Blunt had several anxious moments during his journey from Chunār to Rajahmundry [60-2], and received considerable opposition from the natives, while the symptoms of enmity were at one time sufficiently alarming to deter him from proceeding to Amarakan [50 n. 12] although he was only 40 miles distant from that place, and considering it as he did 'one of the greatest natural curiosities of Hindooann' he relinquished the idea of visiting it with a feeling of much disappointment 2.

He was obliged to deviate from the track which had been proposed, as he found it impossible to penetrate through the wild and inhospitable regions bordering on the Northern Circars, and in attempting it, had nearly fallen a sacrifice to the ferocity of the wild Goonds, by whom he was attacked.

Travelling through a part of the Nizam's Dominions his pernanaus were of no further avail, as he had not foreseen that he should require any others than such as were obtained from the Nagpoor Rajah and Mahratta Chiefs. He found the people of course extremely suspicious, and shewing every inclination to molest him on his progress. When arrived near Palonshah 3, he was suddenly surrounded by a considerable armed force, and to avoid hostilities he allowed himself and party to be conducted to the Rajah of the place, with whom he was necessitated to enter into a negotiation, when, after an interview in which Lieutenant Blunt found it expedient to present the Rajah with a Turkry horse, he was allowed to depart in peace, but not until he had distributed likewise among the Rajah's servants a few considerable presents. From here he met with no further molestation, and arrived safely with his papers in the Hon'ble Company's territory, after performing one of the most hazardous and laborious journeys that had ever been made in India 4.

Other surveyors also had found the people of the Nizam's Dominions particularly suspicious. When Emmitt ran a line through the southern districts in 1791, the Resident wrote to his commanding officer, Little.

The conduct of Captain Reynolds was deserving of imitation in the caution he observed lest the natives should see his instruments. ... There was more cause for circumspection in the Nizam's Dominions than in those of the Mahrattas 5.

MacKenzie says that when he was working round Hyderabad,

One of the earliest instructions given to me on that survey was to avoid going into their walled places except by permission, or to erect or exhibit the instruments as seldom as possible; strict adherence to these measures only enabled me to do so much, and I never felt myself at liberty to measure a base in the common cursory way, but in obscure places, and near our detachment 6.

Emmitt's appointment at Poom at the end of 1794 [130], had to be arranged with circumspection, Malet writing that he had been employed, as Surveyor with me, since December last; though for reasons that need not be explained, under Furlough of absence, in preference to a Public appointment to an office that thereby might have attracted notice and interruption here 7.

During his survey with Blunt through Central India at the end of 1792 [43], Anubury met with occasional unfriendly villagers; 15th December, Sellevah. The people at this place chiefly Pataus, and showed every inclination to quarrel had the least encouragement been given them to do so. Refused supplying cooiles and every other necessary ...

17th. The people at Salemow 8 again troublesome, pushing into the camp notwithstanding the Sepoys begging them to keep off, and showing every inclination for hostilities: the people of Phaadu on the contrary shewed every friendly attention by letting the people bring grass, milk, and everything we wanted; Cooiles and Guids 9.

Surveyors often meet with the greatest friendliness and courtesy, of which MacKenzie gives an instance:

In 1794, some years ago, I passed through the Canooil 10 Nabob's country by Attoor... to Hyderabad [112]. I was taken very ill of a fever at Alpoor with most of my followers, just

1 From Sartois, BoMC, 20-1-96. 2 Journal of Waugh & Renny,1833. MBO, M280. 3 Palomaha, 85 C 1/0. 4 SC 8, report, BHC, 23-2-96 (49). 5 Hyderabad Cor; HMS, 615 (SO), 27-10-91. 6 Dn, 8-12-99. 7 BOM, 8-12-95. 8 Salaiynah, 56 1/7. 9 Siemo, 56 1/11. 10 Fath. GB Lib. Aa, 41. 11 Kurronul, 57 1/1.
as I was on the point of going to Canouli to visit the Nabob, who in the handsomest manner sent a good shlooly and a set of his own bearers, who carried me safe to Hyderabad: I can never forget this civility, and if you see him I will thank you to mention that I retain a very just sense of his kindness.

I also wish you would let me know what small present would be most acceptable to him, and I would send it up to your own care. I believe glasses, cordials, and china, are sometimes acceptable to Moor men of rank; after you go to Canouli enquire discreetly, but let it not be mentioned to the Nabob; I do not pretend to go a great length, but I should like to show my remembrance of his civility.

Hoare tells us that when on the survey of the Jumna River At Hermeepore principal pundit requested I would not so much as disgrace him as to pass his place: I accordingly brought to, as I wished to gain some information, and he paid me a visit. I found him a very good man, but as usual the number of servants prevented our being so properly supplied as he wished.

MILITARY ESCORTS

When Rennell left Calcutta on his first survey in May 1764 he took with him only 11 sepoys, and Richards in December 1765 brought another ten and a Jamadar. It was therefore with the small body of 21 men that Rennell hastened to Morrison's assistance against the sanyasis. After this affair the Governor ordered that the Surveyor General should always travel with an escort of a full company, with one or more British officers.

Most of the surveyors also were allowed a company of sepoys when working in the frontier districts; in earlier years these were detailed from the "pargana battalions," an extra duty that was hardly welcomed, as witnessed by the Resident at Midnapore in 1770.

Mr. Carter arrived here yesterday, and proposes to set out for Ballaore in three or four days. I beg your orders, therefore, as soon as possible, whether [it be] absolutely necessary that he should be furnished with a company of Seapos from hence.

If this can be dispensed with, without much inconvenience, I should be glad, as almost our whole force is at present required for the service of our Junguls.

Carter got his company, but the Resident had to complain three months later.

Both the Zemindar and Tahsildar at Gateela have wrote me very heavy complaints against the Seapos and people of Lieutenant Carter's Detachment, of their plundering every place they go through. I have wrote to Lieutenant Carter on the subject, and must request you will likewise represent the matter to him, and how hard it is for those poor Ryots to loose [sic.] by means of English Sepoys what they have saved from the devastation of the Chuars.

Carter's work took him further west, into Jungleterry, and the Supervisor at "Beerbhoom" writes,

Captain Carter who is employed on a Survey in these Western Provinces, has applied to me for a reinforcement of one or two Companies of Sepoys, as a large body of Chouars, in the Borders of the Herbree district, have opposed his passing thro' that Country on his way to Boglepore &c. It was in my power comply with Captain Carter's Application, as I have not a complete Company fit for Duty at this place, independent of those who are detached in small Commands for the protection of the province.

If you think proper that Captain Carter should be reinforced from this Quarter, I doubt not but you will supply me as soon as you conveniently can with two Companies of Sepoys.

In short, Gentlemen, I must take the liberty to repeat to you, the necessity there is of my being supplied with another Company if they can possibly be spared from the City.

The President thereupon informed the Council, that he had ordered a Company from the Bardwan Battalion to join Captain Carter, and that he has reason to believe this supply has enabled him to continue his survey of the Herbree District.

1The word Moor was at that time applied to all Muhammadans. 2DIN, 83, 27-1-1816. 3Hamp外观, 63 C/1. 4Journal 680 Lib. M 481. 5La Touche (929). 6Johnson Johnson (972). 7Bogale, 28-10-76 (14). 8Midnapore Dist R. II No. 517. 29-1-70. 9Khatisa, 72 J/6. 10Hb. IV No. 3, 29-4-70. 1172 L. F. 12Bhagalpur. 72 K/16. 13Firminger, III. 5-1-71. 14Hb. 30-4-71 (21).
As Bengal became more settled, such large escorts were no longer required. When the Surveyor General went up country to survey the Cossimbazar and Ganges rivers in 1795, and again in 1796 [64-5], he was satisfied with escorts of about a dozen sepoys 1.

Reynolds always took a fairly large escort with him on his journeys through Maratha country. In 1788 he wrote to Malek from Nàgpur [137-8]; since my arrival at Nàgpur I have despatched people to explore the Roads from hence to Masuliputtam 2 by way of Rajmundry, in order to be ascertained of the truth of the common report of the Country, which represented it as much infested by Banditti. The men I employed are returned some days with the fullest confirmation of it.

I have therefore, as the season is now approaching for commencing this journey, made an application to Mr. Forster, the Resident here, to reinforce my guard, so as to make it adequate to my protection.

Forster replied to this application,

I would willingly furnish you with a party of Country Sepoys, ... but as the payment of it must be ultimately made by the Bombay Government, with which I have no official connection, I am apprehensive of the irregularity of taking such a step. Fearing however that the service you are employed in may be wholly frustrated...without some adequate protection to your person and papers against the Banditti, ...I am inclined to recommend to you hiring an escort of the sepoys of this Quarter, and to charge the expense of it to your Government.

Taking this advice Reynolds entertained twenty of the common foot of this Country, with a Jamadar, as with a less party neither my Person or papers would be safe in going through the immense Jungles that occupy the greater part of the Road. ... The common men are to have seven rupees per month each man, and the Jamadar twelve 3.

In 1793 Reynolds obtained a substantial escort from the Bengal Government for his survey of the upper doab [55];

A detachment consisting of 2 Sabadars, 2 Jamadars, 6 Havaldars, 6 Naiques, 1 Drummer and 1 Fifer, and 100 Sepoys is to be immediately mounted at Cawnpoore for the purpose of attending Captain Reynolds...on public business, and from whom the Officer appointed to the Command of the Escort will receive his orders.

The following Establishment and allowances are fixed for the Detachment:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Allowance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sircar</td>
<td>Native Doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dooles</td>
<td>Puckaullies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mistry Smith</td>
<td>Lascars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Allowance for the writer and Stationery ... Rs. 20
For Iron, Steel, Charcoal and materials for repairing accoutrements ... Rs. 20

An Annual Allowance of Rs. 70 for supplying Wax Cloth, Tarpaulins etc.

The Detachment is to be furnished with Ten rounds of Ball Ammunition & 1 Flint per man in their pouches, and a further quantity of three bullock loads, and 4 flints per man, is to be sent with the Detachment, for the carriage of which the Commanding Officer will provide cattle, and charge for the expence in a contingent Bill, certified upon honor 4.

He says in another place that,

I had, besides, a Jamadar's detachment belonging to this Presidency, of thirty and forty men; and to the Bengal detachment two European Officers on double full Batta, Tent, and all field allowances, were attached, besides an Assistant Surveyor (an Engineer Officer) on the same footing 5.

As this establishment was over and above all that taken for survey purposes, Reynolds and Blunt must have led a fine caravan.

William Francklin, an officer of the escort, describes their presentation to the Emperor of Delhi;

On the 11th of March 1794, the author accompanied Major Reynolds, who was at Delhi on a deputation from the Bengal government, to an audience of his majesty. Shah-Aulum [24.n.6]. ... [We] presented our Nazzars 6 on white handkerchiefs, each of our names being announced at the time we offered them. The King received the whole, and gave the Nazzars

1Ddn. 16 (82). 8-4-85. 2Masulipatam, 65 H/4. 3BoMC. 11-10-88. 4Bo GO. 14-10-89: BoMC, 23-6-96. 5BMC. 12-2-96. 6Being a definite number of gold mohurs according to rank.
Inhabitants & Officials

... to his son... and two other princes who sat on his left hand. ... We then retired with our faces towards the presence, made the same obeisance as before, and returned a second time to the Musnad. After a slight conversation, we were directed to go without the enclosure, and put on the Khillets which his majesty had ordered for us. They consisted of light Indian dresses, a turband Jamah, and Cumberbend made of cotton, with small gold sprigs.

On being clothed in these dresses, we once more returned, and after a few minutes stay, previous to which Major Reynolds received a sword and a title from the king, we were dismissed.

Franklin also describes as a notable sight a body of Sikh troops in the service of Sindhia, which they met whilst out on survey.

Early in 1796 Reynolds proposed another expedition to the western frontiers of Bengal, and applied to the Bombay Government for an escort of the same strength as he had from Bengal, saying,

I am well aware, from the small military force under this Presidency, the great demand for their services, and the weak state of some of the Battalions, may render the compliance inconvenient.

He suggested that it might be formed as a special unit because,

The inconvenience in taking from the establishment... is the hardship to the Battalion they may be ordered from, and the disgust it creates in the breast of the Officer Commanding it, in having so large a portion constantly detached and from under his authority. ...

There is one other consideration, ... the being able... to disband them on my reaching the Bengal Provinces, and putting an end to the expense, when of course I may be furnished, as I was before, with an Escort. ...

I shall be able to procure the number of men necessary from the Nawab and Buxsehur, and from among the Troops which they have lately disbandet at Surat, which, altho' not so well disciplined as our Troops, are nevertheless old soldiers, and will answer every necessary purpose.

With respect to the allowances (Pay and Batta) for the escort, I do not conceive that the Sepoys lately disbanded at Surat by the Nawab would willingly engage with an English officer for foreign service, and in so active a line as mine must necessarily be, when I set out, without the common advantages enjoyed by similar ranks in the Company's service. ... For my own sake, I should not like to entertain any but able-bodied men, and such I could depend on emergencies to place some reliance on, for altho' it cannot be supposed that I am meant to force my way through the country, but on the contrary to effect it by friendship and permission, still it has happened in the course of my journeys, that I have been obliged to make use of the Military force with me, for the preservation of myself, and partly against large parties of Banditti, which are too often the terror of some the interior parts of India.

He estimated the monthly cost at Rs. 1189-3-10 a month, and Government sanctioned his raising such an escort provided he discharge the Native Officers and men on his arrival at the first station in the Bengal Provinces; taking from them their Arms, and lodging them there.

It is not surprising that the Bengal Government ruled that the charge of this escort should fall on the Bombay Government. The letter Government were however fully generous, and authorized an establishment of artificers, and transport for ammunition and accommodation for the sick, and allowed Reynolds to purchase 24 yards ... Aurora Cloth 20 yards Superfine Dark Green Cloth

80 " Blue Coarse 10 " " Blue "

which probably sufficed for his personal bodyguard.

He never made the expedition for which this escort was primarily sanctioned, but brought on to its strength all his native surveyors, their assistants, and such escorts as accompanied them on survey [287];

He had been in the habit of employing the people of his escort, either as principals or Assistants in the detailed surveys, and had in all such instances allowed them both their pay and Batta, besides other allowances and rewards, to them and to others, altogether considerably exceeding whatever he drew on every account from Government.

1Thorne. 2Waistbott. 3Franklin (204). 4Paymaster or accountant; Hobson Jobson, Buxsehur. 5BMC. 9-3-96. 6ib. 7BMC. 22-9-96. 8Dlm. 146 (46), Min. by Governor, 16-4-1801.
Posts and Communications

During the 18th century the sailing ships of the East India Company used to take, on an average during the favourable season, from five to seven months from London to Madras, sailing from London between October and April only; the passage might last very much longer.

In 1786, a Dutch East Indiaman arrived at Calcutta which had left Amsterdam 14 months before. In 1809 the Calcutta Gazette writes "seven and a half months have now elapsed since the date of the latest advices from Europe".

On the other hand in 1776 Rennell writes home.

The Triton which left Gravesend the 10th April arrived here in the beginning of September. We had advices long ago from England as late as the end of May, by way of Suez. This is a new route opened by Governor Hastings; and letters which left Marseilles the 3rd June, arrived here the 20th August. This...is a ready communication with Europe, and may be kept open at all times, if we choose to take a little pains.

Philip Francis writes of this same event with, however, no acknowledgement to Hastings, August 21st, 1776.

A ship is arrived here from Suez with Letters from England so low as the 20th of May. Such a passage is almost miraculous.

We also hear of

Mr. Whitehill's route by Suez to Madras, when in charge of the Company's orders to restore Lord Pigot [206 n.6]; which journey he accomplished in 59 days from London to Fort St. George.

The passage between Calcutta and Madras occupied anything from 6 days to 28 days, according to the weather and the season [101] 6, so provision for regular postal arrangements by land were organised as early as 1764, when the Directors were informed that we have for some time established a constant correspondence with Madras by Land, by the means of Stage Cossids.

Communication between Bombay and the Malabar Coast seems to have been even more uncertain; Cameron [qv], in 1758 found it impossible to get any boat to take him from Tellicherry to Bombay at the end of May, and says that a passage would not be possible for six months.

For the journey to the far East, the passage to the Straits was taken outside the Andamans and Nicobars; and it was not till about 1795 that the safety of the direct passage along the coast of Lower Burma had been demonstrated, and ships could hope to reach Calcutta from the Straits in about 15 days.

We find many references to the demand for timber for ship-building [20 n. 9, 103], and to the dockyards at Bombay and Kidderpore, and Rennell notes, Teak ships of 40 years old and upwards, are no uncommon objects in the Indian seas; while an Europe an built ship is ruined there in five years. The ships built at Bombay are best.

He records in 1788 that a regular post is established throughout the parts of Hindoostan subject to the East India Company, and also from Calcutta to Madras. The postmen always travel on foot. Their stages are commonly from 7 to 8 miles; and their rate of travelling within our own districts about 70 miles in the 24 hours.

Regular lines of postal communication by runners were gradually established between the more important cities; these being termed dak in Upper India, and tappal in Madras: individual travellers kept in touch with these established lines by means of their own harkaras or cossids.

Where regular lines of post-runners were established, letters travelled with great speed from place to place; for example, a letter from the Resident at Poona, dated 4th was read at the council in Bombay Castle on October 7th, a speed that would not disgrace the post office of 1940. On the other hand, a letter written by

---

1 Calcutta Office (177).
2 HMS. 705. 10-10-73.
3 Francis, I (285).
5 Taylor, I (504-4).
6 Hickey & Colebrooks [qv] embarked in the Hooghly on Christmas Eve; and reached Madras Jan. 11th (1781).
7 B to OD. 36-11-64 (60).
8 Aspinall (159).
9 Memoirs, 1792 (205-1).
10 Memoir, 1788 (287).
the Governor General at Fort William on August 26th, did not reach Poona till October 1st.

In discussing the probable width of the Peninsula [178-9], Herbert writes,

I was 25 days on my journey from Tellicherry to Fort St. David's in the year 1747, and lost as little of this time as possible, being spurr'd on by anxiety lest the ship I belonged to should sail before my arrival [211 n. 3]. And I find, by my memorandums, that I was at least 220 hours travelling it, deducting all delays for eating, sleeping, &c., in that time; but I have been informed that the Couriers have done it in 9 or 10 days; that is to say, they forward letters &c. in that time; for they do not go all the way, but being generally Bramins, they stage it from one pagoda to another; so that upon extraordinary occasions they lose neither eating nor sleeping time. While I was on the spot I computed my travelling at the rate of a league an hour, ... I can in no ways allow it at less than 2½ miles.

The normal means of travelling from place to place for Europeans was by palanquin, with fresh bearers at regular stages; always travelling by night during the hot weather.

The more leisurely and comfortable way, especially with a quantity of baggage, was to travel by river, of which Mrs. Kindersley writes,

The progress up the Ganges is so exceedingly slow, that the voyage from Calcutta to Allahabad takes near three months to perform it in; at the same time that it is common to go from Allahabad to Calcutta in twenty days.

The Presidency Postmaster General had various agents distributed through the country. In 1774 Alleyne was transferred from Cuttack to Ganjam on such duty, and Motte was employed for several years at Benares as agent for despatching the Cossid & expresses from the Presidency to Bombay. Accidents were rare, but the Calcutta Gazette records in 1792 that,

Mail of 2nd inst. was robbed between Jagannath and Neringapata, the Hircarras and Guides murdered, and the Bombay Letters entirely lost; the Madras Mail has been since recovered.

Reduced, by a half, from a map published in Venice entitled Il Desegno Della Terza Parte dell' ASIA, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Note the complete absence of longitude values, and the ignorance of the positions of places like Multan, Chitor, Lahore and Delhi.

Geography of Central Asia largely taken from Marco Polo [70].
Page 306 col. 1. Anbrey, line 17, after 118 insert 298.

310 2, line 10 from bottom, for 208 read 238.

311 2, Bailles, line 8, delete Portrait.

314 1, Begle, line 2, for 1745-7 read 30-11-46.

317 1, last line, for augmenting read augmenting.

321 1, Byres, line 10 from bottom, for Cavery read Cauvery; Cadogan, line 2, for 1-1-34 read 1-12-34.

322 2, Caldwell, James, line 4, for Rickard read Ricketts and insert new footnote John Henry Ricketts (Rickarts) (1767-92). Ben. Engrs., Ens. 3-1-85; older bro. of Vice Adm. Sir R. T. Ricketts, 1st Bart.; father of John Ricketts, founder of Dover Coll., Calcutta, d. in Cambic, 11-4-92.

322 col. 1, line 17 from bottom, insert as new para 1761, assisted in obs. of transit of Venus [153].

324 1, Camac, line 9 from bottom, for 000, 000 read 294.

326 1, line 9 from bottom, after Corah insert [pl. 1].

329 1, line 12 from bottom, after 271 insert 335.

331 2, line 4, after world insert [84].

332 2, line 6 from bottom, after Corah insert [308].

333 2, line 18 from bottom, for not read on.

334 1, line 8, commence para 1772-3, commg. batt. at Berhampore; 1773, after tr. to Midnapore, Eastind., etc.

336 1, Erbb, line 2, for sergeant read sergeant.

338 1, Guthrie, line 8, for Daniel read Daniel.

342 1, Jones, line 6 from bottom, after D.L.B. insert Ency. Brit.

348 1, line 17 from bottom, for Chhattarpur read Chhattarpur.

349 1, MacKenzie, line 18, for Fulchew read Fulcher.

351 1, line 11 from bottom and footnote 6, for Blackiston read Blakiston.

Page 322 col. 2. Marsack, line 13, for 600 read 360.

358 1, Montresor, lines 6, 7, for Ens. 5-4-32 read Pr. Engr. 2-10-31; Ens. 14th Foot, 5-4-32; Maj. Engrs. 14-3-57.

360 1, last line, for the 3rd Mysore War read 1790-2; for Maj. General read Lieut. General.

361 1, Orme, line 12 from bottom, after 223 insert pl. 1 n.;

361 1, Orme, line 2 from bottom, after 331 insert 341.

364 1, line 5, for acquainted read acquainted.

365 2, note 6 after Aroli Rupes insert [270 n.1].

366 2, lines 4, 5, for picture Col. Moriamai's Cock Fight substitute pictures Col. Moriamai's Cock Match and Claude Martin and his Friends.

376 2, line 20, for 3-3-24 read 3-3-1824.

380 1, line 20 from bottom, for heat read health.

381 2, line 2 from bottom, for Arakan read Aroli.

384 at end of note 12 add in letter dated 23-8-77, Eliza Draper writes "Sir I. Newton used to say that some Blockheads [sic] or other would find out the Longitude by eye and by—by the way, it is found out at Fooman by an English Chaplain in the Company's Service, who, through the Directors, claims the reward offered by Parliament." (Wright).

386 col. 1. Charles Stewart, line 5, for Yadgwan read Wadagaun.

388 1, Terranneau, line 3, after Anne insert grandson of Robert Terranneau (1790-1841). Revenue Surveyor, Bengal.

392 1, line 14 from bottom, for 191 read 162.

397 2, line 8 from bottom, after Rohil insert reference number to new footnote to read, sometimes Nowlan or Nowland (1746-1880), 2/Lt. Bom. Est. 12-1-41; Lieut. Bom. Est. 10-2-64; Capt. 8-7-60; Read. Sept. 1766; restored as Capt. Bom. Est. 17-3-69; bur., Bombay, 1-8-80.
### FURTHER ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A D C</td>
<td>Aide-de-Camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A G</td>
<td>Adjutant General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A R</td>
<td>Astronomer Royal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acct.</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>Adjutant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adm.</td>
<td>Admiral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admin.</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adv.</td>
<td>Advertise/dent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App./l.t.</td>
<td>Appoint/ment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arr.</td>
<td>Arrived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art.</td>
<td>Artillery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asst.</td>
<td>Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astr.</td>
<td>Astronomical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attd.</td>
<td>Attached</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auth.</td>
<td>Author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B A</td>
<td>Bachelor of Arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bapt.</td>
<td>Baptized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bart.</td>
<td>Baronet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batt.</td>
<td>Battalion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bio.</td>
<td>Biographical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bri.</td>
<td>Brigade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brig Cen.</td>
<td>Brigadier General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bro.</td>
<td>Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br.</td>
<td>Breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar.</td>
<td>Buried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>About</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C B</td>
<td>Companion of the Bath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C P</td>
<td>Companion of the Bath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cen.</td>
<td>Comptons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capt.</td>
<td>Captain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capt. Lieut.</td>
<td>Captain Lieutenant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cav.</td>
<td>Cavalry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cem.</td>
<td>Cemetery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cert.</td>
<td>Certificate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapl.</td>
<td>Chaplain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civ.</td>
<td>Civil Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co.</td>
<td>County</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cod.</td>
<td>Codex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col.</td>
<td>Colonel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll.</td>
<td>College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com.</td>
<td>Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comd/dig.</td>
<td>Commanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comd/r.t.</td>
<td>Commanding-asst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commy</td>
<td>Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commr/c.</td>
<td>Commissioner/er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er.</td>
<td>Created</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comt.</td>
<td>Court Martial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D D</td>
<td>Doctor of Divinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D L.</td>
<td>Deputy Lieutenant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Q M G.</td>
<td>Deputy Quartermaster General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau.</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depy.</td>
<td>Deputy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det.</td>
<td>Detachment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dismd.</td>
<td>Dismissed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Div.</td>
<td>Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dman.</td>
<td>Draughtsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dsp.</td>
<td>Died without issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eccl.</td>
<td>Ecclesiastical Returns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed.</td>
<td>Educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edn.</td>
<td>Edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engr.</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ena.</td>
<td>Ensign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Est.</td>
<td>Establishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eur.</td>
<td>European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expn.</td>
<td>Expedition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F R S</td>
<td>Fellow of the Royal Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fd Engr.</td>
<td>Field Engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ft.</td>
<td>Fort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furl.</td>
<td>Furlough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fwrkr.</td>
<td>Fireworker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G C M</td>
<td>General Court Martial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G M</td>
<td>Gentleman's Magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G O C</td>
<td>General Officer Commanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H M's</td>
<td>His Majesty's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H M S</td>
<td>His Majesty's Ship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon.</td>
<td>Honourable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I L.</td>
<td>Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I O</td>
<td>India Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I O Loggs.</td>
<td>India Office Logbooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf.</td>
<td>Infantry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kt.</td>
<td>Knight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L L D.</td>
<td>Doctor of Laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lat.</td>
<td>Latitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieut.</td>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long.</td>
<td>Longitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt.</td>
<td>Light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt Col.</td>
<td>Lieutenant-Colonel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M A</td>
<td>Master of Arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M D</td>
<td>Doctor of Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M G O</td>
<td>Master General of Ordnance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M L.</td>
<td>Monumental Inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M P.</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mag.</td>
<td>Magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maj.</td>
<td>Major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maj Gen.</td>
<td>Major-General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>Marine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math.</td>
<td>Mathematician/a/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med.</td>
<td>Medical Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mereh.</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>Nala Stream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N I.</td>
<td>Native Infantry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O C.</td>
<td>Officer Commanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ob.</td>
<td>Obituary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obs/ed.</td>
<td>Observed/ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P W I</td>
<td>Prince of Wales's Island, Penang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers Res.</td>
<td>Personal Records, I O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praet Engr.</td>
<td>Practitioner Engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr.</td>
<td>Probit ; proved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presdy.</td>
<td>Presidency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prob.</td>
<td>Probably</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progs.</td>
<td>Proceedings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pub.</td>
<td>Published</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qnr.</td>
<td>Quartermaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R A.</td>
<td>Royal Academy/Artillery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R A S</td>
<td>Royal Astronomical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R A S (mn.)</td>
<td>Monthly Notes of R A S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R A S B</td>
<td>Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R M A</td>
<td>Royal Military Academy, Woolwich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R N.</td>
<td>Royal Navy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regt.</td>
<td>Regiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resd.</td>
<td>Resigned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resit.</td>
<td>Resident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ret.</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev.</td>
<td>Reverend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S J.</td>
<td>Society of Jesus, Jesuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S l.</td>
<td>Signed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabsy.</td>
<td>Subsidiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supt.</td>
<td>Superintendent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surg.</td>
<td>Surgeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surv./d/j/</td>
<td>Survey/djad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>Transferred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unkn.</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unm.</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vol.</td>
<td>Volume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W P.</td>
<td>Writers' Petitions, I O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES
ABINGTON


b. 1740. d. 29-3-1816.

2nd Lieut. 23-1-62 ... Maj. 26-12-81.

m. Bombay, 23-1-67, Miss Elizabeth Cawley.

Comdg. 9th Bn. in action at Kalya, 24-5-80. Comdg.

10th & 11th Bns. to Tulliherry, April 1781; captured Mahé

12-2-82 & Calicut 13-2-82 relieved by Humberstone [125].

Sketch of coast between Calicut & Mahé.


d. 1707, in Bengal, unm.

Ens. 6-10-61 ... Capt. 26-12-66.

Mother, Eleanor Adams, of Ashburnton, Devonshire ; uncle,

Richard Adams, of Cornwall.

Will ad. Dues 17-7-67; pr. 1787 (v. Portland.

Helson.


On survey in 1766; placed under S.G.'s orders from

1-10-67 [31].

Survd. Mahâand other rivers in

Purnea, and roads in Midnapore [32, 52, 225];

Obsd. astr. lat. Malda [153].

ALLAN, Alexander. Mad. Inf.

b. 1764. d. 14-9-1829, unm.

Ens. 27-8-80 ... Furl. 1796; Maj. 23-5-1803.

Br. of Kingsgate, 18-8-1819.

ELM. I (454).

Served with 3rd and 10th N.I.; App'd. junior Capt. of

Guards [57, 100]; Capt. of Guards, 36-8-69 [277, 287];

Resd. 10-2-68 [117]; Town Major, Madras, 1797.

Surv'd provinces S. of Coercoon R. from May 1790

[110, 174].

3rd. Mysore War; May 1790 to Jan. 1791. Surv'd

marches of Mowars army [6, 110-1]; 1791-2, Guide

& QMG, with Nizâm's Horse; measured 2300 miles of

road [7, 110]; seal and activity commended by

Lord Cornwallis [253].

1795, submitted map of these marches and sketch of

roads and passes along southern frontier of Mysore

[117, 147, 163, 244], which latter however Montgomery

described 25 years later as "very poor." 4th Mysore War 1799,

following extracts from his personal journal [9, 118].

"I have had many conversation respecting the

route to Seringapatam, & I thought it advisable to
discuss the subject very fully with Major Beatson.

After referring to my field books of the Marches

of the Army under Marquis Cornwallis...we have
given our opinion that we should proceed by way of

Aunacauli. ...

"I have made sketches of the proposed route of the

Army from hence to Seringapatam. ... Capt. Orr

[57] has not only had access to all my maps and

field books, but has had my personal assistance on

the march; and as I every evening prepare sketches

of our actual position, and that proposed for the

 ensuing march, as well for Wellesley as the General

[Harris], I have scarce a moment to myself. ...

I am particularly anxious the General should be sensible

that I have no recollection of his behaviour respecting the

QMGship, and yet, had he behaved as he ought to have done,

how enviable would his situation be now?"

1 Memoir, 1789 (27).

2 Map, MRO. 51 (3), shows roads survd. by Admas 1788-9, but pr, of will makes this date imposs.

3 To CD. 3-2-93 (9). 4 DDM. 246 (88). 5 Sinha. 6b. 7 Lushingon (245). 8 Sinha. cf. Beatson (cxxxv-xxxvi)


BIOPGRAPHICAL

After the capture of Seringapatam General Baird entrusted
to Allan the business of gaining entrance to the Palace, "where

it was thought the enemy in defence of their sovereign

and his family would make a serious resistance" 4.

"Nature had given to Major Allan a heart, form, and a

countenance admirably fitted for this humane duty" 8.

"Taking a white flag", Allan was after a time successful

in gaining the surrender of the two princes, and the opening

of the palace gate. The palace was searched for Tipu, but

his body was eventually found in a gateway on the north

face of the fort.

May 11th, Allan "this morning went round the fort with

Baird and Lambton [9]."

May 13th. Beatson received a letter of the 23rd of

April from Lord Mornington (GC.) informing him that a

revel was ordered to be ready at Bombay to convey his

Lordship's despatches to Bussur; ... he wished that one of

us should proceed to Bombay, to go home overland. Beatson

declined this (owing to the great difficulties of a journey to

Bombay at the moment). I also determined to go to

Madras, and not to make an attempt in which I was so likely
to fail."

"May 16th. When I waited on the General the other day,
to ask his permission to go to the Presidency, he thought I

was going to make some request respecting the appointment

of QMG...; I thanked him, and...said there was nothing that

this Service offered which would induce me to remain in the
country, now that I could retire with propriety. The General

has repeatedly regretted that he had not made me QMG;...;

this is so far satisfactory, as it shows that his refusal to re-

commend me for the appointment was not because he thought

me ill-qualified: there was mystery in the whole of his conduct

in that business...

"I have given the General a map of the marches of

the army, which he means to send to the GC. I have

addressed an official letter to the AG...it being my intension to

embark for Europe on the 1st ship that sails."

Allan and Beatson were then sent down to Madras with

dispatches, and Allan slipped ahead of his companions;

"May 28th. Arrived at Amboor", ... I set off immedi-

ately and reached Vellore in the afternoon, to the no small

surprise of my fellow travellers. Being informed that

Lord Mornington was to leave Madras on the 30th...I pre-

vailed upon Mr. S.— to furnish me with bearers, and set

off from Vellore after supper...

"I got to Madras early the next morning (30th.), I

waited immediately on Lord M.—, and was received with
every mark of kindness, and in a manner particularly gratifying.

Being the first officer from the Army, I had a very long and

unremitting conversation with his Lordship."

At a public ceremony on June 4th for the reception of the

colours of Seringapatam, Allan "had the privilege of hand-

ing to Lord M.— the sword of Tipu Sultan, and Lord

Mornington replied 'The gift is particularly acceptable from

an officer distinguished throughout the whole campaign by

the most meritorious exertions of activity and valour'"

Allan arrived in England early 1800; became a

Director of EIC. 1814; M.P. for Berwick 1814-19.

Pub., June 1794, Twenty Views in the Mysore

Country; all his fdbks, show an artist's touch.

Col. Sir Alexander Allan, Born, bred up in the Company's

army, of which he was at once its pride and ornament, his

eminent qualities successively attracted the notice of those

distinguished Governors General of India, the Marquesses

Cornwallis and Wellesley, also of Sir Arther Wellesley, now

Duke of Wellington, with all of whom he formed a friendship

of the closest nature, and which terminated only in Death.

After acquiring a competent fortune, the reward of incessant

and distinguished service, ... he returned to England...
With manners of the most winning cast, and a heart overflowing with benevolence, he displayed all the accomplishments of the gentleman, and the best affections of the friend. The dignity, yet penetrating kindness of his deportment, will be remembered by all, of whatever rank, who have survived his acquaintance; and the voice of gratitude from hundreds, who are now enjoying the most substantial marks of his benevolence, will preserve his memory long after the hand which dispensed them has moldered in the grave. The title is extinct."

**ALLEYNE, Henry.** Ben. (Postal Service). Jan. 1769, Agent at Cuttack.

"Capt. Alleyne" and Mallock, survd. road from Cuttack to Sambhalpur, with obsns. for lat. probably about 1763-4, being sent by Vansittart [39, 153].

1774, the Madras Council report "the arrival of Mr. Henry Alleye in Ganjam from Cuttack with instructions from the Post Master General." [304].


5-7-59, Ard. Madras; 1759, tr. to Bengal as Asst. Engr. to Brohier [93, 4, 12]; June 1760, succeeded to charge of Works, but resid. owing to ill-health, Oct. 1762.


**ANBUREY, Thomas.** Ben. Engrs. b. 1759-60. d. 31-3-1840, Sauqor, C.P.


Son of Obadiah Anburey, of the Asst.'s office at Indian House.

m. Calcutta, 16-2-94, Miss Dint. dau. of Sir Digby Dint. C.B. 24-16-18; KCR; Kt.

1791, Acted as O'Halloran's "friend" in presenting challenge to Samuel Showers [qv.], which led to the latter's conviction by ctm1.

12-8-91, ordered to "Grand Army", 3rd Mysore War [29, 232]. 1792-3, Surv. route Seringapatam to Hyderabad, and thence to Kâlpî [7,43;10;344].

14-2-94, Appd. 2nd Asst. to SG. [271].


Unsuccessful candidate for office of SG., 1823.

Pub. 1-1-99, "a set of views entitled 'Hindoostân Scenery', consisting of 12 select views in India. Drawn on the spot...during the Campaign of the Most Noble the Marquis Cornwallis..." Engraved by Francis Jukes, Flowland St. London [16].

These were from paintings made 1792-3, on journey from Seringapatam to Kâlpî, adj. CG. 24-10-93; the scene in many cases correspond with delightful little sketches contained in his filbk. [43]; beautifully reproduced in *Aqua tintas*, with soft-colours and tones.


b. 17-12-31, d. 18-1-05.

Son of Pierre Anquetil, grocer, of rue de la Verrerie, Paris; each son added a different suffix to their father's name.

Elected, 1793, member of L'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.

*La Grande Encyclopædie*: Dict. Général; Kanga; Schwab; DIB.

Enlisted, 7-11-54, as a means of getting a passage to India to fulfill purpose of research into literature of Zoroaster and religion of the Parsees.

Sailing 7-2-55, landed Pondicherry 10-8-55. Left for Chandernagore 1-4-56. Feb. 1757, avoided siege by deserting to Cossimbazar where Law [qv.] ordered him back; Chandernagore having fallen to the English, he followed Law up country, but did not stay long with him; "les officiers de Law...outre de voir ce civil, qui savait la géographie, consulté par leur commandant sur les meilleures itinéraires,... firent un scandale. "Monsieur," dit Anquetil à Law, "je vois que je suis de trop ici; je quitte le camp, et pars pour Pondichéry." [97]

He left Law 2-5-57, travelled alone through Murshidabad, Balsore, Puri, "qui déserteur," and was well received by Bussy [qv.] in the Cœurs. From Pulicat he took a small boat to avoid Madras and reached Pondicherry 10-8-57. Not only did he arrive "chargé de notes géographiques, monastiques, historiques, météorologiques," but also brought the first news of Law's retreat up-country [27, 115, 222].

It is said that "Orme [qv.]. . . reconnaissait en lui le seul voyageur de l'Inde qui n'eût rapporté aucune histoire douteuse; il suit dans tout les cas la fidélité extraordinaire de sa mémoire pour dire chaque chose comme elle est" [10].

Accompanied his brother who was transferred as an official to Surat, where he spent the next three years collecting material for his work on the Parsi religion.

On his way to Surat he visited another brother at Mahb and travelled overland from Goa through Poona and Aurangâbâd, April 1758, keeping geographical notes which Rennell makes use of [27-8, 127].

During stay at Surat he had an affair with a French lady and killed her husband, and had to take temporary refuge with the English at Bombay. This gave him the opportunity of a journey by land to Bassein [11] in 1760; and at Bombay the Governor "had kindly wished to give me a large map of the interior and of the South Coasts of the Peninsula, made by the Brahmins; I succeeded in making a copy of it." [288, 1. 4.]

Owing to the war between England and France he could only get return passage to Europe in an English ship, sailing from Bombay April 1761; was treated as a prisoner of war on arrival in England [11], but reached France the following year.

He now lived in Paris till the end of his life occupied in his writings, the chief of which was a translation of the *Tand-Asana*, the sacred book of the Parsees, pub. 1771.

1776, Tiefenthaler [qv.] sent him his collection of maps, on the strength of a brief correspondence in
APRÈS DE MANNEVILLETE

India [11-2]. After acknowledging the receipt in the Journal des Savants, 1776, Duperron worked up this material and published it in Paris, 1754, under the title "Des Recherches...sur l'Inde, et la description du cours du Gange et du Gogra, avec une très grande carte [220] par M. Lavoisier, Perron, de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles Lettres: Interprète du Roi pour les Langues Orientales. ... Gravé au frais de l'Auteur". This work forms the substance of Vol. II of Bernardelli's great work, in Berlin two years later [72, 151] in which Duperron made an appreciative review of Rennell's Memoir of 1783, discussing several points on which he disagreed [80]; he corresponded with Robert Orme as late as Sept. 1765.

The following is his own account of his frugal life in his old age:

"Du pain avec un peu de lait et du fromage, et dans l'eau de puits, voilà ma nourriture journalière; elle me coûte quatre sous, la douzième partie d'une roupie indienne; je vis sans feu, même en hiver; j'ignorais l'usage des draps, et des lits de plumes; mon linge de corps n'est ni changé ni lessivi; je subsiste de mes travaux littéraires, sans revenu, sans traitements, sans place assez bien pourtant pour mon âge et mes travaux passés; ni femme, ni enfants, ni domestiques, je suis privé de tous les liens de ce monde; seul, absolument libre, et pourtant très ami de tous, les humains, et surtout des gens de probité; dans cet état, faisait une rude guerre à mes sens, si je ne triomphais pas absolument des arts et tentations du monde, je les triomphe; je me plais, et par des efforts continus je m'ètre suprême et parfait, peu éloigné du but, j'attends avec tranquillité la dissolution de mon corps."

He remained a sturdy royalist till his death, and in the following letter refused to take the oath which was demanded from all members of the newly re-formed Academy:

"Paris, 28-9-04. Monseigneur, Je suis homme de lettres. ... Le vieux Duperron refuse le serment. Déclaration. Je ne jure ni ne jurerai fidélité à l'Empereur comme n'a pas droit de l'exiger d'un Français, simple particulier, sans place ni fonctions. ... [ed.] Ampleux-Duperron, voyageur aux grandes Indes, ancien Pensionsaire et Directeur de la devant Académie des Belles Lettres." 1

APRÈS DE MANNEVILLETE, Jean-Baptiste Nicholas Denis. French Navigator.

b. 11-2-07, d. 1-3-80.

Son of Jean-Baptiste Claude D'Après, lord of manor of Blangy, capt. of ship, French EIC. 2

m. 1732, Mlle. de Baniard. 3

Knight of the order of the King. 4

As. AR. I. 1800, Characters (46-50); Dict. Générale. 5

Born at Havre de Grace; with his father to Pondicherry, 1719; returned to Paris 1721 where he studied Astronomy and Geometry. 1726, sailed as 4th officer on ship bound for Senegal, and, probably on this voyage, made survey of W. Coast of India [123, 157], was shipwrecked, and returned to France.

1780, Appd. 2nd in command of brig sailing for Africa; returned to France 1782, and married; then a voyage to Madeira, and another to Pondicherry [1].

In all his voyages Après pursued his purpose of correcting the charts of the Indian Ocean and of the coasts of Africa and Asia, and in November 1745 he published the Neptune Orientale, an atlas of marine geography, from which both D'Anville and Rennell borrowed freely [14, 86, 157].

 d. 24-7-51, Madras.  
 Engr. Gen. to EIC 8-12-49.  
 One of six ass. to accompany Benjamin Robinson [322] to India.  
 Surv. line from Devilottai to Trichinopoly [86].  

b. c. 1730. d. 14-9-89.  
2nd Lieut. Mad. Train of Art. 1-11-53 ... Capt  
Ben. Inf. 3-1-57 ... Brig. Gen. 24-3-70.  
Only son of Robert Barker, M.D., of Drayton, Salop, &  
St. Anne's, Soho.  
m. 1760, at Belvoir, Derby, Anne, only child of Brabazon  
Hallows.  
Kt. 16-4-64; F.R.S.; M.P. for Nottingham; cr. Bart.  
24-3-81. D.B.B.; D.B.; Hoxton; Holzman.  
CM. 8-11-52. Appd. Lieut. of the Company of Art. at  
St. George.  
1759, with Clive to Calculcut in comd. of Artillery.  
Orme MSS XII (7). Plan of Chandernagore, sur-  
rendered 23-3-57, showing attacks by the ships under  
Admiral Watson, and troops under Clive.  
Flaxey,  
23-3-57.  
"Survey of Country from Lakes behind Calculcut,  
through the Creeks to Ranga Fullor on the Hooghly,  
by Robert Barker, Engineer" [13].  
1759-60. Comdg. Art. at Siege of Madras & battle of  
Wandiwash [86]. Plans of Kârikal & Madras [87].  
Distinguished military career; C-in-C Bengal 1769-73;  
left India 1773.  
Reports on ice-making, meteorological obser.; at Allahâbâd,  
and on Benares observatory; Phil. Trans. LXV. 1775 (202,  
232) & LXVII 1777 (598).  

b. 13-10-46. d. 31-3-1830.  
Engr. & Writer, 1-11-65 ... Surrendered comm. in  
Engrs. 26-1-69 ... Senior Merch. 1770 ... Furl.  
1787 ... Resd. 1790.  
Son of John and Elizabeth Barnard, of Westminster.  
Younger son to Nicholas Barnard, Engr. Mad. Engrs. 7-9-61,  
who was killed at siege of Madura 1764.  
m. Anne—, by whom he had a son, Thomas (b. Dec.  
Ed. at RMA, possibly not as cadet, but granted  
certificate by the Professor of Math, 10-9-64 [372].  
W.P. vol. v.; States himself that he had "been studying  
at a very considerable expense the different  
Branches of Learning requisite to qualify himself to  
serve your Honours as Engineer".  
Nominated Writer. and "to be employed as an  
Engineer [263]".  
3-10-55, Arrd. Madras on the Poni bournes; March  
1797. Appd. by CE. to survey Madras jâigar [68, 141,  
271, 272, 279, 283].  
On the outbreak of 1st Mysore War, "The Fort of Tripa-  
soor being in but a very bad condition it is agreed that  
the Engineers do give Mr. Barnard, who is now on a Survey in  
those parts, directions to examine it, and to make such  
temporary repairs as may serve for its present defence,  
and while he remains there, he is to have command of the Place."

1 d. 1761, Ft. St. David.  
3 Orme II (458, 521).  
4 H.M.S. 777 (161) is letter 29-1-1817 from  
Warren Hastings to "Sir Thomas Barnard of Mad. Ret." & mentions "Lady B." but indemnity is not confirmed.  
5 cf. the line of  
6 Mad. Rec. II (220).  

MMC, 7-12-67, hearing of the intention of Haidar Ali "to  
plunder the Country", the Council ordered "Mr. Barnard  
to proceed to Tripasoor, and establish Signals to be made  
from that place to Pandamalley, and from thence to the  
Great Monarch, which done, he is to send out people and fix  
Signals to be made from Costervak and Bounces' country,  
or at least from Conjevern to Tripasore, which signals are  
to be repeated from each place, on the approach of any of  
the enemy's Home".  
July 1766. Appd. to accompany a member of Council  
to "proceed thro' the Jaghire, and make enquiry into the  
losses sustained by the incursions of the Enemy's Home in  
September 1767".  
Oct. 1771. Appd. Agent for the provision of chasseurs [limes],  
for use on the defence works "with a remuneration for his  
Trouble proportioned to the quantity he may deliver".  
1773. Completed his survey of the jâigar after  
many interruptions, and submitted maps and reports  
Nov. 1774 [143, 147]. His survey was carried out  
on the soundest principles, and did justice to the  
professional training received at the RMA [189, 190].  
Records that he took a personal hand in dragging  
the chain, a remarkable evidence of his zeal [189].  
10-11-74. Submitted application for fuil.; "My health  
having been very much injured in the course of the above,  
and having suffered under it for near a year, with little or  
no material relief from medicine, I am advised to go to Eng-  
land". He was allowed to take passage by a French ship  
which sailed from Pondicherry Feb. 1775, and was granted  
leave to return to his duties, June 1777.  
1785, granted fuil. from the Council at Mouseipatam,  
and once again took passage by French ship from Pondicherry.  
Settled in Sloane St., London.  

BEATSON, Alexander. Mad. Inf.  
b. 1759. d. 15-10-1830.  
Ens. 21-11-76 ... Ret. Aug. 1813; Maj. Gen. 1814.  
2nd son of Robert & Jean Beatson, of Kildrie, Fife; nephew  
of Alexander Read [qv].  
Natural son, Alexander, d. Chingleput, 6-3-92, aged 8  
months & 16 days; natural son, Richard, bapt. 15-11-94.  
m. 1806, Davidsen, 2nd dau. of David Read, Commr. of  
H.M. Customs for Scotland.  
D.B.; EIMO. L. (376 et seq); Portrait, Coln. Mag.  
iii. 1800 (304).  
Oct. 1776, Survd. Blacktown and St. Thoms Redoubt [143].  
After 2 years attd to Engrs., appld. Qmr. of Brigade; 1777,  
with Mad. En. Regt. at siege of Pondicherry.  
10-12-78, Appd. Engr. at Mouseipatam, where he remained  
till 1782, then joining army in the field, 2nd Mysore War.  
Appt. to Engrs. definitely refused by Directors, 2-8-81.  
1786. Appd. to Corps of Guides as senior Capt.  
under Pringle, succeeding to comd. in 1788 (6,97,109).  
Whilst with Guides did valuable survey from "Circars  
to Cape Comorin" [110, 174, 272, 287, 298].  
1787. Survd. Punalur [110, 193].  
M to CD. 5-2-89, Govt. forwarded to the Directors a  
letter from Major Beatson, with a large Map of the  
Coast of Coromandel, made by that officer...for  
the purpose of assisting Mr. Dalrymple's object of  
forming a General Map of India", which the Directors  
acknowledged in flattering terms [109-11].
During 3rd Mysore War, 1790, with the Centre Army under Kelly (qv) as Capt. of Guides, when "Col. Kelly, detached Capt. Beatson, an officer deservedly high in his confidence...to ascertain the practicability of entering Mysore by the Mugly, a pass hitherto but little known".

During remainder of the war, his knowledge of the roads and passes proved of the utmost value, and Lord Cornwallis writes: "The army with all the artillery, stores etc., has ascended the Ghauts through the Mogoly pass, without any material difficulty or accident; and in justice to Captain Beatson, the Captain of the Guides, I must add that his exertions, and the accurate knowledge which he had obtained of the pass, were of essential service". We are further told that he "was employed in conducting all reconnoitring parties, whether for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of places to be attacked, of camping grounds, or of routes by which the army was to march. On these occasions he generally returned to camp with sketches and observations...always acceptable".

From 1792 to 1795, when he returned to England on sick leave, he was Town Major at Madras (1792-1793).

1792. Consulted by Gov't. on Kistna-Godavari irrigation scheme, which he warmly supported, showing in his reply a clear appreciation of the principles of canal construction (105-6). 1797, after death of Topping, wrote to the Directors from Bath, asking permission to return to India, and offering his services for completion of surveys required for this project. Claiming to have been employed on surveys since 1776, he asked that he might succeed Topping as "Chief Surveyor", and the Court wrote out to Madras.

"We are extremely desirous of availing ourselves of his services in continuing the investigation began by Mr. Topping, in order to ascertain the practicality of appropriating the waters of the Kistna and Godavery to the purposes of cultivation. We therefore direct that Captain Beatson be employed on his particular service, with the same allowances as were given to his predecessor, Mr. Topping".

Feb. 1798, Arrd. back in Madras and placed under orders of Board of Revenue; travelled up to Ellore, examining country as he went (107, 285).

Suggested that a rapid survey of the whole of Mysuripatan and Mysore districts would be useful, and would willingly undertake himself the states of my health would permit, but, unfortunately for myself, I have already suffered too much from the effects of the sun and heat of the weather [this was in June], that I am discouraged from attempting a task so laborious"

But he was not to be left in the wilds to continue his professional work; on 7th July, his survey was interrupted by an express from General Harris (acting Governor Feb. to Aug. 1798), telling him to go down to Mysuripatan immediately, prepared to embark in a ship that would call for him. There he found orders to proceed at once to report to the General in Bengal.

Trouble was brewing with Tipu, and Lord Mornington, who had just arrived from England, had written to General Harris, June 30th, "If you could dispatch your answers to my questions by any fast sailing vessel, and could send with your answers any intelligent officer, who might be capable of entering into all the details of your force of the season, and all other circumstances connected with the object of striking a sudden blow against Tippoo before he can receive any other force. Kind assistance, for I would greatly assist me". Harris replied, July 6th, "I did not hesitate in fixing on Major Beatson as particularly qualified to give your Lordship the fullest satisfaction on every point that you may refer to his judgement".

Lord Mornington awaited Beatson's arrival with impatience, writing July 18th, "The Frigate met with such bad weather on her passage that she could not touch at Mysuripatan, and she arrived here without Mr. Beatson; and, then, Aug. 14th, "Major Beatson has been here for some time; I have received great satisfaction from his knowledge and ability, and I feel very much obliged to you for having afforded me the opportunity of forming so useful and amiable an acquaintance".

Beatson was app'd. A.D.C. to the GG. and, after arrival in Madras, "Surveyor General to the Army"; he was General Harris's most trusted adviser throughout the rapid campaign which followed (9-11, 308). He claims to have been responsible for the selection of the route followed by the army into Mysore.

"If I had not on my return from Bengal most decidedly opposed the first intended route of the Army to Seringapatam in 1799, it would have entered the pass of C., a route subsequently used by Lt.-Colonel Read, who experienced with a small detachment so many obstacles from rugged roads, steep ascents, want of forage and water, that there is no doubt if the Army had attempted it, all those evils would have been felt in a much greater degree, and in all probability it never could have reached Seringapatam in time, and in a condition, to undertake the siege of that place being in the Monsoon... Had the attacks on Seringapatam, Bangalore, and Seravandoog (in 1791-2) or the route of the Army to Seringapatam in 1799...failed, the consequence might have been fatal to the public, as well as to my own character."

When it came to the scheme for assault on Seringapatam, Beatson took a line directly opposed to that recommended by Chief Engineers of the Bombay and Madras armies; his was chosen by the C-in-C, and proved successful. "Just as the troops had got possession of the rampart, Col. Sartorius, after he had examined the intricate works of the south-west angle [the point of attack favoured by the Engineers], came up to Major Beatson, and in the most cordial manner took him by the hand, and addressed him in these words: 'I most sincerely congratulate you upon the success of your attack, for I am now convinced, it was the only mode by which Seringapatam could have been taken' (EMC).

Beatson had asked the GG. for privilege of carrying dispatches home to England on conclusion of the campaign, "this subject...I have very much at heart, since it holds out a fair prospect...to ensure my return to India...together with my views in offering to the Court of Directors to complete the investigation of watering the Circars".

The GG., consenting, and asked if Beatson and Allan would carry the dispatches home overland, but they declined as it "was so likely to fail", but took them by the usual sea route, arriving in England at the beginning of Feb. 1800 (308).

3-2-1808. Beatson was gazetted Colonel and C-in-C at St. Helena, an app't which he held till 1813.

1800. pub. history of the 4th Mysore War. entitled A View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with Tippeco Sultan, illustrated with sketches and views, which is a standard authority (115).
NOTES


Ensd. 1-1-80 ... Lt. Gen. 27-3-1825. Son of Mr. Blanchford of Bombay. m. Bombay, 15-9-92, Miss Frances Dick. ELMC. I (175).

Arndt, Bombay, Aug. 1777. April 1780, Attnd. as Engr. with Col. Hartley's force to Malabur; survey of the marches [130]; Flan of Serengapatam [5].

After 1782, on survey of Bombay Town "to ascertain the superficial measurement of each house occupied by the garrison" [ELMC.].

1784-5, ADC to the Governor, and Officer Sup't. the Works. BoGO, 2-1-96, resd. and struck off 31-12-96; furl. from 1-2-96; Reinstated Aug. 1788; BoGO 5-6-1800, Supt. Engr. at the Presidency.

Furl. on sick cert. Sept. 1803 till death.


1st Comm. 1771 ... Capt. 16-10-92; Ret. 1806. FRS. 2-5-96.

1771 b, Volunteer in Company's ship Revenge.

Low (183), "In 1772 was the first surveying expedition undertaken by officers of the Marine (Bombay), including Messrs. Blair and Maccuth, midshipmen. These officers explored the coasts of Mecran, Scinde, Kattywar, and a part of that of Persia and Arabia [123]."

1780-1, Lieut. of the Betsy "Cruiser" when captured by a French Frigate at the Cape, and delivered over to the Dutch. March 1784, the Directors resolved that "the be permitted to return with his rank in the Bombay Marine"; but that "the claim for wages from 4-12-90, the time to which he lost payed at St. Helena be by no means admitted, but that in consideration of sufferings, and long captivity, he be paid a gratuity of £200 as full compensation to...arrival at Bombay" [5].

1786, Attd. as asst. surrvr. with expn. sent to occupy Chalgos I., and survrd. the island, harbour, and surrounding archipelago, till Jan. 1787; [123-4].

1788, Depred. in Bengal, his first task being the survey of Diamond Harbour and adjacent parts of Hooghly R. [51].

In Dec. received instructions for survey of the Andaman Is. with the particular object of finding good harbour for the Company's ships; also to report on vegetable and mineral products of the islands, and if possible open up friendly intercourse with inhabitants [5, 47, 278].

Coming back to Calcutta for monsoon he returned Sept. 1786, and established headquarters at Chatham I., in the "Old Harbour", S. Island. March 1790, leaving Wales [40 n. 7] in charge of the settlement, "sailed with the Ranger & Viper, accompanied by Capt. Kyd [qv] in the Experiment, to prosecute the Survey, and with the intention to complete the circuit of the Andamans [48-9].

The following is an extract from Colebrooke's journal on this trip [328].

1789, "December 23th, went on shore upon Chatham Island and on the view of the small Island near the entrance of the Harbour, where Mr. Blair, the Marine Surveyor, has lately erected a small house with wood and canvas. He has already cleared away a great deal of the wood on the island and planted a small garden.... [328, 7 Topping]."

23rd. "When the Ranger and Viper Briggs first entered this Harbour, the Natives were extremely hostile; they attacked the Boats which went ashore for water, and even ventured to approach the vessel and discharged their arrows at them. One of the crew had an arrow shot through his shoulder, and probably some would have lost their lives had not the timely discharge of two or three muskets put a stop to their attack. In one of these skirmishes a native was unfortunately killed, upon which the rest ran off making the most doleful lamentations [34]."

Blair remained as Supt. of the Settlement till 1792, and established friendly relations with the inhabitants, so much so that it is recorded that "the two Andaman Islanders lately brought from our settlements on those islands by Capt. Blair are both well formed, and their countenances much more agreeable than the African.... The elder is about 20 years of age, & rather of a serious disposition, the younger about 15 very lively and free in his manners [73]."

Dec. 1792, Govt. sent orders for Blair's relief, "The circumstances of your situation on the Bombay Establishment rendering it of consequence to you to be on the Malabar Coast, and the Services of a Surveyor being now less wanted at the Andamans than those of an Engineer; Captain Kyd has been appointed to be Superintendent, and is to receive charge in 4 or 6 weeks" [5, 49].

Blair duly handed over, and submitted his final report at Calcutta in May 1796, his last duties in the Andamans being the transfer of the Settlement to the new Port Cornwallis in the North Island, where he constructed several houses, and a small battery of 9-pounders [40 n. 7]. His first settlement had been in the South Andaman, at the present Port Blair [49].

His original charts are now preserved at the British Museum, and include several coloured views by his assistants, Test and Wales [49 n. 7]. It is recorded, BFC, 1-4-93 (9), that "Mr. Brittridge only struck off 80 copies of the chart of the north part of the Andamans which, with the copper plate, was sent Colonel Kyd"

Blair returned to England 1795, sailing in the Panther to Suez. In 1803, Government allowed him a commission on all cotton belonging to the Company exported from Bombay, as a reward for his invention of 'engines' which effected a "considerable improvement in the packing of cotton" [8, 4-4-99, Read account of the Andaman Is. before Royal Society. Settled at Bayford, Herts.


Ensd. 15-2-85 ... Capt. 1-1-1806; Ret 9-2-1810. Ed. Merchant Taylor's, m. Calcutta, 3-8-86, Miss Mary Bristow, sister-in-law of R. H. Colebrooke [37]. ELMC. III (200); Hedin.

Sept. 1783, Arrd. Calcutta as Inf. cadet; tr. to Engrs. and studied under Burrow [27]; Asst. Engr., Cawnpore. June 1787, Apptd. asst. to Burrow on astr. survey [157, 159], with him up the Ganges to Patna, but on arrival at Dacca at the end of Oct. went down with fever [158, 218]; on recovery was posted as Asst. Engr. at Monghyr.
Aug. 1791, ordered on service to Mysore; sieges of Sewardrood and Ootroodrood; in charge scaling ladders at assault of Serinapatam, 6-2-92.

On conclusion of peace attained as asst. to Anburey [qv], surrv. route of Naizam's army from Serinapatam to Hyderabad, and from Oct. 1792 surrv. a line through Berar and Bundelkhand and to Kali and Cawnapore; then posted to Dinapore [43, 119, 322].

1793-4. Asst. to Reynolds on survey Allahabad-Delhi-Pathpa-Hardwar-Lucknow [51, 132]; April 1794, described Jantar Mantar obys. and Qutub Minar; sketch of latter engraved by Upjohn; measured height of Qutub trigonometrically, but could not climb to read date of erection 1.

After rejoining at Dinapore, tr. to Ft. William.

Dec. 1794, selected for survey from Chunär to east coast; left Chunärghur, 28-1-95, and after adventurous journey got through to Ernagudam near Rajaunbundry before end of May [8, 59-63, 167, 187-8, 399].

4th Asst. to SG. from 1796 [271], making several small local surveys [51, 65]. Held temporary charge during SG's absence on survey 1796-7, and again 1801-02; 1798 appd. Barrack Master, Ft William, in addition to his other duties.

An account of his later services, which included an survey in Orissa during 1803, will be given in a later volume.


b. 1746-7. d. 3-4-81, Calcutta; MI. S. Park St. Cem.

Writer, Dec. 1759. DNB.; DIB.; Stewart; Clements Markham (cxxxv.)

Arrd. Bengal 1770. Mission to Tibet, May 1774 to Aug. 1775 [23 n. 5, 73-4, 204]; corroborated identity of Isang-po and Brahmaputra [80].

Collector of Ranpur. 1779-81; personal friend of Warren Hastings [v. William Campbell, 325 n. 12].

BONG, George. Mad. Engrs.

d. 31-3-1801, Madras.

Ens. 11-12-80 ... Capt. 25-3-92.

3-12-80, CE. recommends for "the Corps of Engineers, Mr. George Bong, a Gentleman who served in that line in the Swedish Service for several years, and is warmly recommended by Lord Macart, under whose protection he came from Europe, and has been employed with me for some time past." 8.

7-11-88, CE. writes: "Lient. Bong having just finished a survey of the Northern Environs for about a mile beyond the Blacktown Wall of Madras, I propose he shall after the monsoon make good the deficiency in Mr. Barnard's survey 9.

18-9-93, CE. writes to Bong "In your letter of 13th August I observe you mention your intention of collecting materials for a map of the country, but as I may detain you in the prosecution of the work ordered by Govt. I think it necessary to mention that the business you have to do at present is to be considered as Engineer's duty, and not Surveying". What was required was a report on the Forts and strong places in Baramahal and Salem 4.

13-6-95, CE. notes that Bong "has been engaging in Mercantile Transactions in the Baramahal, which are certainly derogatory to the character of a military man" 4. 29-8-95 Bong placed on the Invalid List.

18-2-1801, CE. notes that Bong "is now, and has long been, suffering under suspension for his misconduct when in charge of the Works in Baramahal 11.

BONJOUR, Noe Antoine Abraham. Mad. Inf.

b. 1731, at Avenches, Canton Vaud, Switzerland. d. 1807, Switzerland.

Ens. 11-9-77 ... Lt Col. 27-8-78; Ret. c. 1775. Sailed as cadet for Mad. 1768.

Diet. de la Suisse.

With Clive to Bengal 1757; Lient. Ben. Art. 2-12-57; returned to Mad.; Capt. of Pioneers 4-11-61.

1766, Surrv. passes along Carnatic-Mysore border, submitting sketch with proposed fortifications [89, 240].

25-6-72, Commd. dett. which captured Kaliyarkovil 7.

On return to Switzerland bought Bellrivarre, where he died.

Member of the first Grand Consil Vaudois, 1805.

BOUCHET, Father Jean-Venant. S.J.

b. 10-4-1655, Fontenay-le-Comte, France.

d. 13-3 or 14-7-1732.

S. 7-10-1670.

1687. Member of expin. to Siam; expelled thence 1688, went to Pondicherry and entered Madura Mission, 1689; left Madura to found Carnatic Mission 1702.

In letter from Pondicherry, 13-4-1719, described "the Coromandel and Fishery Coasts which he travelled on foot", and enclosed a "map of Madura and other missions", together with results of astr. obss. at Pondicherry and other places, and more detailed geographical sketches 8.

From these D’Anville compiled his first map of the south peninsula of India [11, 86, 169, 210, 238].

Wrote a paper on The Latitude of Cape Comorin, pub. in Memoires de l’Academie des Sciences VII (758). Other writings, are preserved in the library of the school of St. Genieve, Paris.

BOUDIER, Father Claude Stanislaus. S.J.

b. 16-10-1686, in the diocese of Sens, France. d. 1757, Chandernagore.

1718, Left France for Bengal and after arrival Chandernagore established reputation as astronomer.

1734, at request of Raja Jai Singh, went with a companion to Jaipur, returning about a year later. Made frequent obss. for lat. and long. and also kept up a survey of part of his route [11, 149-53].

D’Anville describes him as "Très habile dans l’Astronomie, qu’il a cultivée par inclination" 9, and uses his values for Agra [163], Delhi, and many other places. He also used his value for the latitude of Madras in preference to any other [169] 10.

He further records that "the memoir made by father Boudier on his journey, furnishes the descriptions of places on this road [Agra to Bengal], with the computed distances of each from the course of the Genre [Jumna] and the Ganges, between Agra and Hedebas [Allahabad]" 11 [25 n. 2].

1Franklin (208 n.) & As E. IV, 1796 (313).

2Mack. MSS. LXVIII.

3M. of Norris (143).

4ib. LXIX.

5ib.

6ib. LXVIII.

758 K/10; Orme MSS. 333 (32).

8Besse (19).

9D’Anville (6).

10Jeffeys (8).

11Herbert (25).
Rennell still used Boudier’s values as late as 1793 [152]; he also used his survey of the road from Korah to Agra for his general map of Bengal of 1774 [226 n. 7].

In 1780 Bernoulli pub. all the obs. made by Boudier between 1731–5, and also a map by him of a portion of the Ganges from Delhi to Chandernagore 1.

Letters from Boudier on astronomy are preserved in the library of the school of St. Genève, Paris, and at the library of the Paris Observatory.

BOURJIGNON d’Anville. see D’ANVILLE.


Employed as surrv. and draughtsman; “Plan of Bombay Fort; 200 ft. to an inch. 1793”. July 1795. Resd. post of dman. to CE, which interfered with his survey of town [120]; Bo M. 13–10–95, re-appr. dman. to CE.

Bo CO. 1–1–1803; “Captain Brookes appointed to proceed with the survey of the Magsan Estate, and to continue it thro’ the island for revenue purposes and political utility”.

Bo CO. 17–2–1806, CE, Bombay.


Hodson.

“1777. App. to survey “the country adjoining Rajnoll, being recommended to the Governor General as skilled in surveying”, survey covering part of the Rajmahal Hills [37].”

Some time after, the Political Officer with Sindhia wrote to Warren Hastings from “Futtyghur” 4. You expressed a wish before I left Calcutta, that an Astronomer might accompany me if I travelled to the Westward. Lt. Broome who is here, and well known for his abilities in that line, would be very glad to accompany me in such an Expedition, & make such observations as you may please to direct. He says that he can at the same time Survey the country without the knowledge or suspicion of the inhabitants. He is Deputy Judge Advocate at this station. ... My Expedition will be but temporary.”

R, 5–2–85, proceeding to England, where he was “permitted to remain till his health is restored”. Dec. 1790, requested “permission to return to his rank in Bengal as soon as released from attendance at the Trial of Mr. Hastings”.

Author of a paper dated Nov. 1790, “Observations of the Articles of Impeachment against Warren Hastings”.

After return to India became Judge Advocate, Bengal.


Ensl. 1769 ... Capt. 18-9-90; Resld. 9-12-82.

Hodson.


BURROW, Reuben. Mathematician & Astronomer.

b. 30-12-47. d. 7-6-92, Buxar.

1-12-53, Appled Math. Teacher to Engr. officers at Ft. William [270-1].

25-6-57, Appld. to take astr. obssns. for lats. & longs. [5].

b. at Hoberly near Shadwell, Leeds; son of William Burrow, a small farmer. Ed. at Mr. Crookes' school at Leeds; schooling interrupted by farm duties.

m. 1772, Miss Anne Purvis, dau. of a wholesale provisioner in Leadenhall St., London.

To India 1782, wife and four children following in 1790. His legitimate son, Charles, was b. at Skoredth 2-7-81; entered Mad. Inf. as Ensl. 29-8-97; became Lient. 12-10-98, and d. 8-12-1803 at Cuttack, presumably on active service.


July 1765, aged 17, Burrow left Yorkshire and travelled to London in less than 4 days, mostly on foot, spending only 1s. 10d. on the way. He became clerk to a timber merchant for a year, and then usher to a writing master of Banhill Row, and for a short time was teaching at Portsmouth.

1770, Appled. engr. to a projected expsn. to Borneo, which however came to nothing. The same year was

1 EMC. 18-3-99, (44). 2 Chief Comm. Rangoon, 1826-7; name often spelt Crawford. 3 Crawford. Appx. xiv (88).
8 Mech. Mag. 55 (324), 327 (25-10-51). 9 He was living at this time at 11 NEW Sq., in the Minories.

14 R.A. Library.
Of his mathematical ability it is said "The ability and
elegance of Burrow's geometrical investigations
are admitted by his critics" 1.

"To the mathematicians of the English school
the name of Reuben Burrow is as a household word; and,
as a geometer, there exists no question that he was
only second to Dr M.S. of all his contemporaries".

In capacity as math. master at the Tower he was revered
by the M.G.O. on two occasions to take young cadets out on
survey:

"In 1777 I was ordered to take several of the Gentlemen
of the Drawing Room & Woolwich Cadets, & to make a
complete survey of the sea coast from the Naze in Essex to
Rollaby Bay in Sussex including the 3 large rivers, Stour,
Thames, and Deben up to Manning tree, Ipswich, and Wood-
bridge; together with the Islands, Sands & Soundings, etc.,
& about Harwich Bay, Harwich Harbour, etc. As there
had never been a plan of the kind before what was
excessively erroneous, I did the whole with great care &
exactness, & Plans were delivered to the King & Lord Town-
shend [then M.G. of Ordnance], but I never received a
farthing for my trouble from them". 2

"I was likewise ordered last year [1791] to make a survey
of Woolwich Warren: & in doing it, I was obliged to lay out
about £7 from my own pocket: this £7 with great difficulty,
& after a most unscriptural application... I got returned,
but never received a farthing for doing the Business itself". 3

He persisted in his claims without success; "If the Porter
of the Drawing Room... is to be paid 8 or 9 shillings a day
besides hard-won wages every time he carries a letter as far as
Blackheath, I see no reason why the Mathematical Master
of the Drawing Room should work day & night. Sundays
& all, for 6 months together, on a business of real importance &
public utility, and yet be allowed nothing: when at the
same time that wretched compiler of other men's productions,
the Mathl. master at Woolwich [Hutton] is paid with
preference for his extra services... & his scholars never made
the improvement that those of the Drawing Room did in
the same interval."

"The survey of the coasts of Essex & Suffolk was done,
without any written order, by Lord Townshend's verbal
commands, which were given me by his Ldp. himself, at the
time he was down at Landguard Fort". 4

1792, Burrow decided to resign his post at the Tower;
he was on bad terms with his superiors and
drew no prospect of advancement; he had an interview
with the Duke of Richmond, now M.G.O., and explained
his reasons for wishing to leave:

"that the place was likewise disagreeable on some other
accounts, particularly the dirty behaviour of the chief
draughtsman, & that I had an increasing family, & £100 a
year was not sufficient for a man to save anything by..."

"I wrote a long letter to the Duke giving my sentiments
on the subject of my resignation - & his Lordship, as
I proposed by superannuation of the Chief Draught-
man & his Deputy...

He visited the Board but "the Duke behaved like a mean
dirty fellow... & told me he would advise me for future not
to abuse the officers... at which I looked at him with all the
insincerity and blackness of hell, & told him that my
behaviour was very proper for theirs, & that I did not choose
to put up with impertinence from anybody". 5

It is interesting to note that shortly after Burrow's resigna-
tion, a warrant was issued, 4-9-82, "for reducing the Estab-
lishment of the drawing room of the Company of Gentleman Cadets" -Whereas it has been further represented to us, that the establishment of the Drawing Room at the Tower seems ill-calculated for instruct-
ion, and might be considerably reduced, & the savings,
beneficially applied to the augmenting the Company of Cadets,
... our will and pleasure therefore is, that the Drawing Room
at the Tower be reduced... and the Mathematical Master... be
transferred to the R.M.A. at Woolwich... to be carried into
execution from 1-10-82". 6

Burrow now decided to take advantage of a sug-
gestion made by his friend Henry Watson, CE. in
Bengal, that he should go out to Calcutta and find
employment there [26].

He sailed from Southampton in the General Coote Sept.
12th, in company with a contingent of Hanoverians [99 n. 4].
Whilst waiting to sail, "On 29-8-82, the Royal George
200 gun ship at Spithead, sunk in about 13 fathoms of water.
... Admiral Kempenfeldt was on Board, and drowned with
the rest". [339]. Burrow describes the disaster, and wrote
to the Admiralty suggesting a method by which the ship
might be refloated.

He took with him a set of astr. instruments [204], and
in his usual interlanguate language records that on the day of
sailing, "In the afternoon the Captain showed me a letter
he had received from Arnold the watchmaker, wherein the
Scoundrel had pretended that it was in consequence of
an expression of mine that he did not send Capt. H... a watch;
this exasperated me so highly, that I wrote him a most
bloody letter, & shaved it to Capt. H... & his wife took it
with her on shore". 7

The following extracts from his journal show that he did
not enjoy the passage, and found no kindred spirits amongst
his fellow passangers.

"Damn the Latitudes! I took them every day, and
intended to have kept a Journal, but had no place to write
in alone...

"I took the earliest opportunity of trying the
method of finding the Latitude by observing how
long the Sun took in ascending its diameter, according
to the rule given by Lyotard, and it answer... I also attempted the method by the
moon, but not having a watch that could be depen-
ded on, and having nobody on Board capable of
helping me, I never got a good observation..."

"Last night got an observation of the moon's
distance from Fomalhaut, gave the Long. 19° 2' west of
Greenwich. I deduced the time from the altitude of
the moon. I took the distance, and two of the
mates took the Altitudes, but out of the 3 sets of
observations only one was anything like right..."

"I expected when I came on Board to have found some
of the officers qualified for making such observations and cal-
culations as were at least absolutely necessary, but except
the Captain I did not find anyone that had the least knowledge
of such matters; they did not even so much as know how to
allow for the change in the Sun's declination, nor how to
take out the proper refraction in finding the Latitude from
the Sun's meridian, and they were likewise so混凝土ed and
ignorant as to be above being shown".

He made trouble about his cabin: "What I the more
particularly wanted was to practise Drawing in order to
improve myself, as I was very deficient in that article, but I
could scarce get an opportunity".

He gives a panorama of "Trinidad", and on 26-11-82,
when they got into the Bay of St. Salvador, he wrote to the
Governor, "Mr. Richard Burrow, an English Astronomer, on
board the General Coote. East Indianan, to Marquis of
Valencia, Governor of St. Salvador, asks for liberty of making
some astronomical observations on shore, for the purpose of
determining the Latitude and Longitude, magnetic variation
and other similar matters..."...
"On Jan. 1st 1788, gave Captain B. the Longitude 29° 44' W., Latitude 50° 31' N., & variation of compass 2° 3' W. of the Island of Trinidad".

Soon after his arrival in Calcutta, Burrow wrote to the GG., Warren Hastings, urging the value of research into the writings of the Hindus on the subject of Astronomy, and a study of the construction of the astr. observatory at Benares [150], and offered his services in making these investigations, and also in making such astr. obs. as would give a sound basis to the surveys of India [156-57].

He followed this up on 12-6-83. "The favourable attention you were pleased to show to the Hints concerning the Observatory at Benares, which I had the honour to lay before you by means of Colonel Watson, emboldens me to inform you of the motives by which I was induced to come to India...."

"When I first applied to the study of mathematics, I commenced with the works of the moderns. I endeavoured to discover some preferable mode of investigation....& luckily I hit upon the works of Archimedes and the Conics of Apollonius."

I looked upon it as some consequence to the world, & was by this time convinced of the probability of the existence of several of those bricks supposed to be lost; I concluded that the best method of answering every purpose would be to go to the East Indies for a few years, & while I made myself master of the necessary languages, to endeavour to acquire a sufficiency of money; afterwards to go there;" Ambia, Persia, & Tartary, or any other parts where there was a probability of meeting with those works, & having made a collection of everything curious, & useful, & carried on a series of Astronomical and other Observations, to return to England, and Employ the remainder of my life in publishing such things as I might meet with...."

"These were some of the motives which induced me to leave my friends, my family, and a maintenance not neglegntly, to come to India [156, 158]".

A few months later Watson found him a job on a regular salary, Rs. 500 a month [277, 286], as teacher of mathematics to young Engr. officers [157, 270-1]. Watson writes,

"The Gentleman I wish to recommend is Mr. Reuben Burrow, who has been induced to quit his Native Country in search of the supposed hidden Treasures of Ancient Learning, which he hopes to meet with in the Hindoo and Mohametan Repositories of Asia."

"I am happy...to have an opportunity of making known to the Beggars of the town the abilities of this Gentleman, some very curious and interesting discoveries that he has already made...."

"In the first instance, he has determined these famous Periods of the Hindoes called the Five Yugas, which have been so often mentioned by ancient and modern Authors, and caused such numerous mistakes and conjectures amongst the Learned...."

"He has also discovered that several Branches of Science, which were supposed to be the invention of Europe, were long since known to the Brahmans; that they were acquainted with decimals, and Algebraic Computation, and also that they had determined the mean Motions of the Sun and Moon, and several other parts of Astronomy, to almost as great exactness five thousand years ago, as the Europeans have done in the present age" [148, 150].

In April 1784 Burrow wrote again to the GG., and reported "the discovery of several books that are entirely new among the mathematical MSS. he has received, ... & returns sincerest thanks for the favours he has received."

In 1787 came Burrow's opportunity for the astronomical work which he had suggested in 1785, for he was officially appd. to make regular obse. for lat. and long. for the better control of the maps [43, 157, 204]. To his great disgust he was placed under the orders of the Surveyor General, Mark Wood, who gave him a programme which did not meet with Burrow's own ideas; "no latitude was left to my own judgement with respect to the choice of times or seasons, or the order in which the different parts of the business was to be performed."

With Blunt as asst., he travelled up the Ganges to Patna in July 1787 [209] and, after much loss of time due to monsoon weather, worked back to Dacca, where the whole party was overcome with fever, and Blunt had to be left behind [158, 313]. Burrow then worked up the Brahmaputra as far as Golaputra, having a difficult time with sickness and shortage of supplies; on his return he travelled through the Sundarbans, and reached Calcutta once more in Jan. 1788 [159].

The original programme of a journey round the coast of India as far as Bombay was here interrupted, and Govt. ordered him to Cheduba I, on the Arcan coast, to fix its position and make a survey, which he completed by the end of March [43, 201, 298].

He spent the rains at his house at Russapuggal, to the south of Calcutta [160, 161], and then, finding that there was no prospect of carrying out the original programme, he obtained leave to travel up country on account of his health [161].

Leaving Calcutta Sept. 1788, he went up by river to Fatehgur, and then by land across Rohilkhand to Hardwar, taking astr. obsns. all the way. He also made such geographical surveys as he had time for, and sent out pandits to collect routes to Almora and other places in the Kumaun Hills [77, 234, 235].

He made particular enquiries for learned men with knowledge of astronomy, and picked up a number of Hindi MSS. on the subject.

At the end of Feb. he received orders to return to Calcutta, and, on his arrival there, found that the Directors wished him to be employed on measuring the length of a degree for geodetic purposes, a suggestion that had been made by General Roy [164].

His journal, giving a full and most interesting account of these two seasons' work, and containing very neat panoramic sketches of Cheduba, is still preserved at the India Office. The geographical points fixed by him from Assam to Hardwar were used by surveyors for the next 30 years [35, 163, 168, 180, 232, 234].

The work now assigned to him comprised the measurement both of a degree of Longitude as well as one of Latitude, but it was not commenced until April 1790, for the instruments which had been promised from England never arrived, and he had to..."
collect what he could in the country [202, 204]. He found Sir William Jones, President of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, most interested in the work. He made his measurements in Nadia. District and completed them by May 1791, but never found time to work out the results. His observations were, however, sent home to his friend Isaac Dalby, who worked them out as best he could and sent an account to the Royal Society in February 1796, which was afterwards published [165–6].

During the following season, 1791–2, Burrow made an expedition to Bhār, but while work was still in progress succumbed and died "on board his Badge-row at Buxar, on June 7th 1792 [43. 160–7, 208]."

A full account of his valuable work in India is given elsewhere [55, 155–67, 171, 186–7, 202], and it only remains to speak of his vigorous, and somewhat rude, personality. His mathematical genius was outstanding: and was notable for his efforts to break away from the commonplace. He had a consuming zeal to discover all he could of the ancient learning of the Hindoos, as was witnessed by his mastering the Sanscrit language sufficiently to make his own translations of old manuscripts [156, 161, 208]. Several notes on astronomy in Gladwin's translation of the Advī-Aṅkha [133 n. 3] appear to have been contributed by Burrow, and one gives an interesting account of a Hindu method of measuring longitude, and of the construction of the frontispiece Hindu map [208 n. 4].

Of the less attractive side of his character the following comments are quoted, "A rough but kindly man, who sometimes drank too much, and would then indulge in pagulim". "He amused himself by pointing out coarse abuse in the fly-leaves of his books ..." "Mr. Burrow certainly possessed strong natural abilities, but his attainments were not confined to the mathematics; he could read and translate Latin, French, and Italian with facility, and he made considerable progress in Arabic and Persian after he left England. His disposition was rather convivial, and he had a ready knack at writing doggerel verse". "His form was athletic, and countenance expressive, with a penetrating eye but the graces had been somewhat neglected, and he possessed less of the suavity in manner, than of the fortiter in re."

A biographical memoir, written in 1821, by one who had obviously known him personally, records his liking for "rites of Bacchus"—indulgence in "pugilism"—"Protracted and midnight revels never reveals ungenial, but he was not of dissipated habits"—"Natural powers very great: Education defective: Heart good, but habits lacked prudent training".

After the publication of this memoir there followed a long correspondence between Mr. W.—who championed Burrow, and Mr. d— who accused W.— of having quoted Burrow seriously, without emphasizing his undesirable character.

Mr. W. replied, 3–5–1854; "I offer no excuse for Mr. B.'s surulity and obsequity, altho' something might be urged in palliation from the usages of the times in which he lived. I am still of opinion that his testimony ... will hereafter be received as trustworthy in the main ..."

De M.—continued the discussion, and gave the following specimen of Burrow's malignity: "He had an excessive hatred of J. G.—and W. W.— who were astronomers in Coole's voyages, and he had probably been beaten by them in some competition for prizes. When ever he bought a work of either, he wrote some severity on the fly-leaf. ... On an editorial note he remarks, 'This stupid, pimpling, affected, dull, port, contemptible, vile, falcon, naasicos, villainous note, the reading of which is enough to make a person sweat their liver up, and to give the devil a vomit, was written by W. W. -'",

His private journals were certainly filled with spiteful remarks, and bawdy rhymes, obviously of his own composition, but many of his entries have a homely and intimate touch: 25–9–75. "My wife's Sister Bet had got the itch (at Lewisham) & the Doctors blistered her for it, till at last some woman had given her Brimstone". ...

28–10–75. "Since the above was wrote, I lost my Ink bottle, & the damned Taylor made me Coat without a side pocket, which is the reason that I neglected to keep my Diary as I used to do". Those written in India contain petty details about domestic housekeeping: "August 1784. I have only 20 gold mohurs left out of Rs. 500 that I received for the month of December: how it is gone, by God, I cannot tell, but it is all gone in a very short time. I cannot for my life find which way, I have bought nothing but a few books. ... What the hell can be the reason of all this?"

to Jack Rs. 9 Books Rs. 10
Moonshee 20 Silk & Co. for the Barber 2
gifts 16
Mettrane 3 Gave Malton 6
Rs. 66

"I only remember these, and ... the other must have gone in the house. ..." Then remembers Rs. 30 "the other I cannot make out for the blood of me. I have had no ... nor any liquor in the house."
"16th day of March. Durzea came at 8 Rs. per month. Cut his tally [for the Sunday, and cut it for another day that he did not come, and cut it for 2 days fine, and cut it for another 2. Paid him Rs. 4 in part"

After Burrow's death many of his possessions were put up for sale in Calcutta, including:
"A valuable collection of astronomical, mathematical, mechanical, chemical and other Books of Science, in different languages."
"A valuable collection of Sanscrit Books, with translations from the same in Bengally. Also a variety of Persian MSS. and 2 figures in Black marble of Boddh, the principal Hindoo Deity".

This sale seems hardly in keeping with the provisions of his will, and it is to be hoped that they fell into the hands of some who appreciated them. He contributed several papers to the journal of the Asiatic Society:
"Hints relative to Friction in Mechanics. A Method of calculating the Moon's Parallaxes... [180]."
"Remarks on the Artificial Horizons. Demonstrations of a Theorem concerning the Intersection of Curves. Correction of the Lunar Method of finding the Longitude".
BURROW

A Synopsis of the different cases that may happen in deducing the longitude of an object from another by means of Arnold's Chronometers.

Observations of some of the Eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites.

A Proof that the Hindostan had the Binomial Theorem.

The following extracts from his will give a sad view of Burrow's disease and the family's destitution. He left his wife 18s. 10d. and 10s. 8d. for her maintenance, probably with reference to their early life in London, that Mrs. Burrow owed black eyes and a swelled face to some of her husband's eccentricities... in private life. Relations do not seem to have improved after her arrival in India.

"I, Reuben Burrow, mathematician, being in sound mind, but in a very ill state of health, and given over by the doctor, and of course having very little expectation of living more than a day or two longer, make this my last will and Testament.

"I left in the hands of my brother John Burrow, and my father William Burrow, some chests of Books in trust in Yorkshire, and in the said John Burrow wrote me word that Mr. John Crookes, Teacher of Mathematics (my beloved and most friendly Instructor) was dead, which information was most sincerely false and gave me a long time great uneasiness; I therefore have leave of those Books to my sister Mary Burrow.

"I leave to my lawful wife Ann Burrow the sum of one hundred and no more. I also make it my dying request to my legitimate daughters that they would keep out of her company as much as possible, as lessons of wickedness are, alas, too soon learnt, and misery and repentance are always the consequence."

Remainder of money was to be divided in equal shares amongst legitimate and illegitimate children equally; "I have 4 legitimate children, Ann, Mary, Charlotte, and Charles, who were born in England; and four illegitimate children, Nunoo Burrow, a girl about 6 years, John Burrow, a boy about 4, Ann, and Oliver, all christened.

"Whereas my wife, since her arrival in India, stole and destroyed many of my private letters, and I left a large chest strongly locked up with many other letters, books, and papers, in my house at Russapugly, with strict orders that it should not be opened in my absence; now, if this chest has been opened in my absence, or should be found opened by my executors, I hereby revoke that part of the aforesaid, bequest respecting my legitimate children, and instead of one 8th part... I give each of them only one 12th part... and the remainder or one 9th part I give one half to my sister Mary Burrow, and the other half to my most honoured and virtuous father, Mr. William Burrow of Rounday, near Leeds in Yorkshire, and in case of his death, his share I give to my brother Carmi Burrow, an indolent Shipwright at Whiby.

"My house and ground at Russapugly I give solely to my illegitimate children, but not to be disposed of till they all come to age, and I will, and order, that my wife be immediately turned out of the house on my decease, and not suffered to stay in it by any means, nor have any communication with my illegitimate children..."

"I appoint my most honoured and respected friends the Revd. Mr. John Owen of Calcutta, Mr. Francis Redfern Collector of Kishnagar, and Mr. James Agg, Engineer of Calcutta, my Executors.

Written all with my own hand, the 14th of May 1792 on one leaf of paper at Caranfola in Purneagh, where there are no Europeans, and therefore the Witnesses must necessarily be black people."

(Two witnesses sign in Urdu, and one in Nagri.)

"Codicil. I consider it as a matter of great consequence that the Sanskrit Learning & Sciences should be transferred to England, and therefore I wished to breed up my legitimate, or supposed legitimate, son Charles to the knowledge of that language and the mathematics; but as he has shown the most fixed determination against it, & obstinately refused for near 6 months together to learn anything I wanted him, I therefore annul & make void & revoke that part of the foregoing which will leaves him one 8th part of my money, and leave him instead, one twelfth part, and the difference I leave to Betty Boshy, the mother of my illegitimate son John Burrow, and the rest I leave to be applied to the teaching of the said John Burrow the Sanscrit language & sciences."

After Burrow's death, his family returned to London, where his wife and two daughters died soon after and the remaining daughter married. As has been already noted, the intractable Charles entered the Madras Infantry; no record has been found of the natural family.

BUSBY, Ewan. Ben. Inf. d. 5-2-93, Calcutta.

BGSH, 15-9-70... Lient. 30-4-81.
Hoskoson 21-5-81, Ellere, Appd. D Q M G, with Pearce’s force [41].
Nov. 1751, taken prisoner by Haidar Ali’s forces, near Tri-
puranup.

Dates unknown; DDU, 270 (39). Surv’d route Anupahar to Srinagar, Gachal; obsd. lat. at Tij Mahal, Agra [168].

BUSSY-CASTELNAU, Charles-Joseph PATIS-
SIIER, Marquis de. French Inf. b. 8-2-20, at Ancienville near Soissons. d. 7-1-83, Pondicherry.

Ess. Compagnie des Indes, 1736; Brig. d’inf. April 1758; LGen. cmdg. at Cape of Good Hope, 1782.

His father, Lt. Col. Patissier, took name of Bussy, and Charles-Joseph bought the "marquisat de Castelnaud" about 1756, confirmed by Louis XV at his 1st marriage in 1761.

Diet. Général; Martineau; Memoires, Lettres etc. Le Sieur de Bussy.

With date false of birth, obtained conn. as Lient. at age of 12, and Capt. at 15, under his father’s command; on father’s death obtained conn. in the French EIC, and after service at Bourbon and Isle de France, arrd. India 1741.

1758, sent in cond. of French deserters, 900 Europeans and 4,000 Sepoys, to support Nizam in Deccan; 1751, defeated Marathas at Ahmadnagar, 1753, granted revenue of N. Circars for payment of his troops, and during 1756-7 occupied Circars as far as Cutch, capturing English factory at Vizagapatam [91, 115, 309].

July 1758, recalled to Pondicherry; 1759 captured by the English under Eyre Coote at Wandiwash [85], and returned to France.

1781, sent out from France to support Haidar Ali with French reinforcements, but "found such difficulty in evading British squadrons" [6] that he did not land at Porto Novo till March 1783, and a few months later news arrived of peace between England and France. "The arrangements for the cessation of hostilities in India were made with Bussy, and the most amicable relations followed" [91].

During his command in the Deccan Bussy had surveys made of all his marches [118, 179], and the map compiled from them, described by Rennell as a "monument to the French nation", remained the sole authority for the geography of that country for more than forty years [115, 117, 245, 268]. Both D’Anville and Orme were proud to receive copies.

  b. 1745. d. 23-9-88, Tanjore.  
  Capt. 15-12-78.  
  Youngest son of Patrick and Janet Byres of Tenley, co. Aberdeen.  
  m. Isabella, dau. of James Donaldson, M.D. of Auchinall, co. Aberdeen, and had two sons, who did not accompany him to India.  
  No record of service has been found, either with EIC or at home, before Feb. 1781 when appd. Capt., to rank from 15-12-78.  
  Passenger in Deptford, sailing from London 12-5-81;  
  stepped at St. Helena to H.M.S. Resolute 14, captured by the French 22-1-82;  
  by a French squadron under comdt. of Adm. Suffren;  
  present during the action with the British Fleet off Suda 4, 17-2-82.  
  Byres being seriously ill with fever was sent on shore at Porto Novo, on parole.  
  Byres then asked to be allowed to serve in the north where there were no French, but Coote replied that he could not allow him to serve, as we were liable to be attacked by the French anywhere.**  
  He writes himself:  
  "I had the misfortune of being captured in my voyage out and lost almost everything I had; remaining 19 months a Prisoner of War; and that ever since my release I have been but mechanically in the field with the Southern Army."**  
  He was bound by parole till July 1783, when news of peace with the French reached Madras, and he might well feel aggrieved at not receiving any allowance for so long a period.  
  He was not even able to use his surveying instruments, for he writes in Sept. 1793:  
  "I brought a complete set of professional Instruments with me from London, which I have been lugging after me for better than two years at a considerable expense, tho' it would be perfectly convenient for me to dispose of them, as I have not more than one opportunity of so doing."  
  He offered to sell them to Coote, but appears to have kept them on, for he made several surveys after joining Fullarton's army, taking astr.  
  obans, and submitting "A Draught of the March of the Southern Army to the reduction of the Port of Poligatchery and Coimbatore, together with a plan of the former, and its environs. ..." [88, 170].  
  At the close of the campaign he acted as "Chief Engineer to the Southward, and sent in a detailed report of every particular respecting the garrisons of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Palamcottam, and Rammay."**  
  1797, carried out survey, with Ens. Forrest, of the Caverry K. to W. of Island of Seringapatam, down to the anicut, "that no cause of complaint between the Nabob & the Rajah of Tanjore may remain unexplained" [95, 8].**  
  When submitting this survey "with particular Revenue notes", in June 1798, he applied to succeed Pringle "in the Direction of the Guides. His having been regularly bred a surveyor, and having risen by succession to the appointment of Surveyor General to the Ceded Islands, leaves his experience in that line undoubted."**  

  b. 1-1-54. d. 1780, S. India.  

1 Name also spelt Byres.  
2 CD to M. 2-2-81. (11).  
3 I.O. Logg. Deptford.  
4 Vibart.  
5 "in 3' 30' N; 46' E.  
6 60 D/2.  
7 Wyllie (284-5).  
8 Mack. MSS. LXVII. 15-5-84.  
9 Map. MRO. 135 (25).  
10 Mack. MSS. LXIX. 15-3-87, 23-9-87.  
11 J.C. 9-6-88, & Ddn. 240 (82).  
12 I.O. Misc. 43 (555).  

  d. 26-1-86.  
  m. Elizabeth — who had her two children was admitted to Lord Clive's pension fund 22-8-87. Father of James Lillian Caldwell [inf.].  

1775, "To survey the Island of Devicottah, and lands dependant on Cuddalore" [14].  

Lient. 4-3-81; Resd. 1763.  
Hodden.  

1787-88, Surv'd., with Ens. Rickarts as asst., the Banka N, with estimate of cost of making it navigable. 1788, Corrected Lacam's survey of Channel Creek and harbours on Hoschly R. [51].  

Dec. 1789, "in hospital for insane persons, not capable of attending to any business"; 1790, Struck off the strength on account of lunacy, and sent to Europe; 24-12-1803, Directors decline to reinstate him in spite of restoration of health, pleading lapse of time, but continue allowance of £90 a year from Contingent Fund.**  

  b. 1770. d. 28-6-1863.  
  Ens. 22-7-89 ... Left India 1837; Gen. 20-6-1854.  
  C.B. 4-8-15; C.O. 1837; G.C.B. 1848.  
  Son of Arthur Caldwell, Ben. Engrs. [sup.].  
  DNB; DIB; Vibart, II, with portrait.  

After survey in Baramahal [773] was, 26-3-93, appd. Ass't. Surv'or under Topping on survey of Kistna and Godavari deltas [105]; Aug. 1793, cannot be spared for service at Pondicherry; Surv'd. coast from Masulipatam N. wards for 106 miles [105]; and also several miles of the Godavari, with levels [7, 105-7, 103-3] 1796-7, completed Topping's [qv.] drainage of Masulipatam, reporting that "the putrid stench is now no longer felt".  

1797, Report on project for irrigation of Devicottah; from 1797, Supt. of Tank Repairs under Rev. Bd. [105-6].  

4th. Mysoor War, wounded at assault of Seringapatam, 6-5-60.  

MG O. 11-8-1810, Appd. Second Engr. & Surv'r, on expn. for capture of Mauritius "without prejudice to his situation as Superintending Engineer at the Presidency".  
1-10-1813, resumed asp't. as Inspector of Tank Repairs.  
Jan. 1815, acted as C.E. Madras; designed St. Thomas' Cathedral, afterwards constructed by De Havilland [qv.].  

"Painted in water colours with great skill" (DIB.).
Writer, 1766 ... Senior Mercht. 1778. 
Bro. to John Call (inf.). 
Not. to civil thro' influence of his brother John. 
No surveyor.

Writer, 1771 ... Senior Mercht. 1782. 
Bro. to John Call (inf.). left all his property to his brother. 
James (sup.). 
Armd. Madras; 12–2–73. Appd. to assist Barnard 
in the drawing and writing business required to complete the survey of the Jaffna [147].

b. 30–6–32. d. 1–3–1801. 
Ens. 1–1–51 ... BtCol. 10–4–65. 
Writer, Jan. 1751 ... Member of Council, 8–9–60. 
Ret. 8–2–70. 
Sum. of property to James & Jewell (sup.). 1st cousin to Thomas Call (inf.). 
Edited Tiverton & Sonomteron. 
m. 28–3–72. Philadelphia, dau. of Wm. Estee, M.D. 
DNB.; DIB.; Holzman (185). 
Arrd. with Robin in Bengal 1741–70 for work on Ft. William; to Ft. St. David, 1751. In several military campaigns in S. India up to 1769, making various plans and surveys [3, 57, 98, 271]. 
On formation of corps of Mad. Engrs. Jan. 1759 [271], appd. Sub-Dir. & Capt. of head of corps; to date from 1–1–70 [272]. 

Valuable engr. services during defence of Madras, 12–12–58 to 17–2–59; his journal of the siege is pub. in Cambridge's History, also long letter to Clive, 1–9–58, describing capture of Ft. St. David by the French. 
5–7–60, described operations against the French settlements, Karkal & Pondicherry, in which he commanded 60 Pioneers; 
"Ten sheets bearing the delineation of our Conquests go on this Ship, and I suppose will be published; at least I think the ships that the Commander may reap all the Honor he deserves from such successes". 
Sent the Directors a "very sensible account of the method he practises to make Powder".

Sept., 1757, Conrad, Eugen, at siege of Madura, where he had a fall from his horse and broke an arm, but remained on duty. 
Only one map has been found which is definitely known to have been sketched by him; "A Sketch of country from Vellore to Pess to Cuddapahhattam, taken in April 1763"; 96. J. Call. 

Another map which may contain his work is a "Plan of the march of the English Army under Caulfield from Nellore [16–2–62], to Arni [1–5–62]"; shows coast line, and lines of march with each stage; very neat, especially the handprinting.

1766 and 1769, Sent a number of maps of S. India to Clive and Palk [57 n.9], to be delivered to Orme, to whose History many of them are appended. sd. by

Call as C.E., th' fewest of them are likely to have been survd., or even compiled, by him. [153, 214, 239].

On the death of his father in 1766 Call expressed a wish to leave India, but the Council desired him "to remain in view of an account of his long experience and Abilities in Military affairs, as well as of those of the Company ... constant readiness to give his assistance, a zealous attachment to the Company's true interest, and a vigilant attention to the Prosperity of their Affairs ... Mr. Call replied that his whole aim has been to serve with credit to himself, and with the Approbation of his Hon'ble Employers ... He very readily lays aside his intentions of leaving India" [15].

1767, Sent on a secret mission to interview "the Maharatta Chief", to arrange an alliance with him at the time of the war against Bakar Ali. The following year Call and another Member of Council accompanied the army operating in Mysose, as Field Deputies representing the Council.

1769, when officers of the Engr. Corps were called on to choose between service in the Corps or the Civil [274], Call was specially exempted, and allowed to hold his position in both. At the end of that year, however, he applied to return to England on account of ill-health, and on 25–7–70 obtained permission to embark with his European Servant on board the Britannia, and go back to England. [275] sailing 8–2–70.

During his long service in India, Call had accumulated a substantial fortune; amongst other interests dealing in diamonds, and sending them home to his father through Hoyle & Motto. [5].

Many of his personal letters are preserved, with several to and from Clive; the following are extracts from some of them: 
"Aug. 1759, 'Money I hope soon to have enough; the next thing I want is honour, and unless I can have it here with my right, I am determined to seek it in Europe.'" [5]

On 3–5–61, after describing various marriages and engagements in Madras, he adds, "If you should hear any such reports of me, do not believe it, for tho' my inclination leads that way, Duty and Interest forbid the Baums." [5]

Again, in a letter to Richd. Smith, "I can now say I am worth £25,000, and that, my friend, is the amount of my Fortune; and I am sure I can live on the income of it in my Country like a Prince. ... My affairs are reduced to all money, & that is with the Nabob at 20% per annum." [5]

After retirement Call cherished the ambition of becoming Governor, and in 1779 applied to return to civil duty; on Sir Thomas Rumboldt's retirement in 1780, he was considered to be first rival to Lord Macartney for the succession.

He was always regarded as an authority on Madras affairs, and in 1775 submitted to the Directors a memorandum, starting, "Having spent more than 20 years of my life in the service of the EIC, and participated of almost every Employ in the Civil & Military Line on the Coast of Chorrondel, and been now a standing and independent Proprietor of East India Stock, ... gave me not only a most intimate Local Knowledge of every District, ... but a distinct and clear Idea of all the Political & Military Transactions... from December 1755 to 1775."[12]

Besides a London house in Old Burlington St., he bought Whiteford, Stoke Climpson, in Cornwall, "which he converted into a handsome seat."[5]

In 1786, Joined John Pybus (Mad. Civ.) in founding a bank in Bond St., besides engaging in other business interests [217 n.1].

After 7 years of blindness he died in London of an apoplectic fit.

'CD to M. 4–2–67 (53). 
'Wrongly stated to have succeeded Bennell as SG4; confused for his cousin Thomas. Markham (55). 
'Vibart, 1 (49). 
'Orme; Grose, II (299). 
'Cambridge (155, 156). 
'HMS, 806 (127). 
'Tib. (185) 3–2–61. 
'CD to M. 6–5–63. 
'Orme Mss. 359 (16). 
'MM. Adel. MSS. 110 (11). 
'MM. Adel. MSS. 4–67 (9). 
'Vibart, 1 (104). 
'Palk Mss. (35) 
'Orme Mss. 26 (16). 
'1808, 806 (185). 
'Holzmann (27). 
'At this time many Mad. Servants accumulated large fortunes which they lent to the Nawab of the Carnatic, whose indebtedness in this way led to much trouble. 
'Love, III (219). 
'Governor; Rumboldt, 1778–90; Macartney, 1780–6; Campbell, 1796–9. 
'HMS, 136 (795) & Vol. 772. 

b. c. 1749. d. 12-12-88, at sea.  

Enn. 15-9-71... B2 Col. 13-2-86; Resd. 15-11-88.  

SG. Bengal, 1777-86 [260 n. 2].  

Younger son of Richd. & Mary Call, of Prestacutt, Lanerolle, Cornwall: 1st cousin of John Call [sep.].  

M. Calcutta, 5-3-84. Bethia, d/o. of John Blackburn of Sneton, Yorkshire. Father of Thomas Henry Call, b. 1-11-84.  

M. Exeter Cathedral.  

Hodgson.  

Nominated in England, 6-2-71, Pract. Engr. Bengal, and directed to call at Ft. St. George to assist in finishing the survey of the jigger; as this was almost completed by the time of his arrival, he proceeded direct to Bengal.  

1778-9. Survd. roads in "Culna, Murboon & Burbaraboo, & Western parts of Bengal" [215]; Survd. a line nearly N. & S. to the west of Plassey; given an escort of 2 companies of sepoys from Midnapore and attacked by local people [204-5], withdrew from Midnapore survey on account of fever [33-35].  

1779, received the following letter from his cousin John Call, Great Russell St., March 21st, "A few days ago, thro’ the information of Major Watson who is to be your next Chief Engineer, I learnt that the Court of Directors had appointed a Lieut. Douglas [331] into the Corps of Engineers, to rank just above you. ... Upon this I took the alarm, went to the House, and traced the whole affair through the Committee of Correspondence, and made very strong representations of the injustice done. General Smith [24 n. 9] backed me, and went to the House on purpose. ... I wrote a letter to the Chairman the moment I was certain on the fact, but being yesterday at the Court, and having an opportunity to urge my complaint in person, I added that I asked no favor, I only contended for justice, which they ought to give unsullied. They acknowledged they had done wrong and would recite it".  

Appd. SG. in succession to Rennell from Oct. 4th. 1777 [37-260], having been recently employed in constructing Barracks and defences at Chunar. Built a block of Invalid Barracks at Ft. William in 1782, and had to rebuild the roof three years later "as it admitted the rain very much".  

25-3-81. Produced a theatrical entertainment in Calcutta, "Venice Preserved".  

1783, reported that he had in hand an Atlas of India [3, 5, 11, 12, 38, 215-7, 286], and that "The application necessary to such a work, in a climate such as this, has much impaired my Health, and the General of the faculty have recommended me strongly to take a trip to Europe. ...  

"Being on board a ship I shall be able to pursue my business with more expedition than I could do if I remained in India, both on account of the benefit which I expect to derive from the change of climate, as well as retirement. ... I shall be as fully entitled to my allowances as if I remained in India; it will not be expected that I should labour six or eight hours a day during my passage for nothing; if the work be of Public utility it merits a recompense. ... I am very anxious to see it appear before my Hon'ble Masters at home, from a conviction that it will meet their approbation and encouragement, and further that I shall ultimately be rewarded by a regular succession to the command of the Corps".  

The Council were prepared to recommend this to the Directors, and Call further asked, 14-10-83, that it might be represented that, "in going home, though actually employed in the execution of my duty, I shall be under the necessity of resigning the service; this I consider to be a hard case, but by the custom of the service, and the absolute orders of the Court of Directors, it appears that no alternative can be admitted of. ... I beg leave to request that you will be pleased to issue an order expressing the nature of the service I am sent home on, to secure not only my return with my rank, but the continuance of my appointment".  

As his request for advance of eight or ten months allowances was refused, Call abandoned this visit home, and continued working on his map [215, 216, 257].  

Feb. 1786, the office of CE. falling vacant, Call readied that of SG. to become CE., being promoted to Lt.-Col. at the same time [43, 137, 215, 260].  

As a reminder that more than 100 years have passed since Call was in Calcutta, we may note that in CG. of July 17th 1786 he advertised for "a runaway slave called Jack". Such advs. were common, the slaves being generally negroes.  

1788, Call asked leave to resign, writing on Oct. 13th, "Having for near two years past laboured under a severe and dangerous illness which neither care or medicine can get the better of, I am by the advice of the most skilful of the faculty reduced to the painful necessity of soliciting your Lordship's permission to resign the service, and to go to England for the recovery of my Health. ...  

"Holding a distinguished appointment, lately appointed to it, limited in point of fortune, and having a young family, nothing could induce me to pursue this measure but the most urgent necessity, and as the only means left for saving my life.  

"Should I be so happy as to reach England, and recover my Health, it is my intention to solicit...to be allowed to return with my Bank...and to succeed to my present appointment in the first vacancy".  

16-11-88, Sailed from Calcutta, taking with him a copy of his Atlas to present in person to the Directors [216-7]. In less than a month he died, some where in the Indian Ocean, and it was not until the following August that the news reached Calcutta.  

CG. 30-10-88. Adv.: "Public auction at Cal's Quarter at the New Fort. The effects of Col. Call previous to his departure for Europe.  

Plate A European Built Chariot.  

Furniture A Phaeton.  

Books 2 pairs of Excellent Carriage Horses, also Col. Cal's Garden House to be sold, situated close on the Banks of the River below the Fort, with 70 Bigga's of Land".  

He made his will just before sailing whilst "enjoying a tolerable state of health, and perfect contentment of mind," leaving to my affectionate and Tender wife, Bethia Call, £15 thousand. ... To my mother Mary Call at Kentan near Exeter in Devonshire... To my sister, ... to my Brother Richard Call... To my natural daughter, Sally Preston, now...  

1 M to CD. 28-2-72 [18].  

2 Midnapore Dist. n. 15 & 29-3-74.  

3 Pay (133).  

4 BPC. 6-10-83 [21].  

5 BPC. 20-10-83 [23].  

6 BPC. from Call, 13-10-88.  

7 cf. Reynolds [216].
Living with my dear sister Sarah Terrell, £4,000;... To my
dear friend John Call, of Whiteford in Cornwall... To Francis
Willford, to purchase rings.

To my three legitimate children, Thomas Henry Cali, Maria Cali, and Eliza Cali;... my son
Thomas Henry Call should be brought up at the Bar 13.

CAMAC, Jacob. Ben. Inf.
b. 1745. d. 1784, of a fever in Ireland.
Tr. from H.M.'s 84th Regt. of Foot in 1763.
Liet., 11-10-63... Lt. Col., 2-2-81; Res., 2-12-82.
Son of John Camac, of Rose Hall, co. Downe, Ireland,
and Elizabeth Turner his wife.

DIB ; EUMC II (191).

From 1766, Comdg. 24th Ben. Batt., Rangar frontier;
1770, comdg. forces which subdued districts of Rangar,
Palamanu, & Chota Nagpur, with political charge of this area
[10, 225, 1].

Dec. 1779, Appd. to cmd. force supporting Godfard's
march on the eastern frontier; Dec. 1786, took cmd. of
Popham's force after capture of Gwalior, drew Sindhia from
Gwalior, & defeated him at Mahapir near Sironi, 25-3-81.
[40, 353].

When submitting maps in 1774, Rennell acknow-
ledged sketches made by Camac: "in the little known
regions of Ramgiru and Palamau [35,000,000], and
later acknowledged" some very useful routes and
other Geographical materials, communicated by Col.
Camac...[who] to his praise, employed a part of his
leisure time, during his command on the Western
Frontier, in enquiries concerning the State of Politics,
Government, Geography, and nature of the countries...
which has till now been very little known to us"13
[30, 266] v. Cameron, W.N. [325].

d. 16-3-64, in 24-Parganas, Bengal, of
dysenterery.

Ens. 3rd Co. of Bom. Inf., 1738; Liet. Dec., 1746;
Master Gunner, Bom. Art. Sept., 1748; Capt. & CE.
Art., 4-4-49; to tr. Inf., Oct., 1766; Res. 1-1-35.

Son of Margaret Cameron of Aine, near Glasgow.
m., Bombay, 22-7-59, Miss Elizabeth Johnson.
dec., 1754, comdg. force which occupied Bhakot, or Fort
Victorian, from Bombay.

Early 1758, sent to Tellicherry, on Malabar Coast,
where fortifications were built, but "was Diverted of
his command over the Military the 7th May; he was however
paid to the end of August, though he had often abscissed
himself without leave of the Chief of Tellicherry. On
the 28th September He and his Family set out for Durnapatam,
and on the 1st ut, he sent the Tellicherry servants his com-
mission and a letter from Camborne"14.

"Till Capt. Hugh Cameron became 1st Officer [at Telli-
cherry], the Military behaved properly, ... Capt. Cameron
has been offered a passage hither [Bombay], therefore t's
thought he has no Intention of Quitting Camborne"14.

Cameron himself wrote, 12-10-38, explaining that
the Chief of Tellicherry had on 7-3-38 directed him to hand
over his charge and return to Bombay "by the first conveyance";
that this was "almost six months before there was even a
possibility of proceeding [103]; and for all this not any
reason assigned, no Ormne alleged; nor at any time had
he ever been charged with any misconduct, incapacity, or neglect
of duty during a Service of two and twenty years".

Finding it impossible to secure a passage to Bombay, even
by hiring a country boat, "the Season of the year, often
fatal to small vessels, deterring some, and the length of
the voyage frightening all I laid aside all thoughts of
being able to proceed now, and determined to wait a more
favourable opportunity". He had moved to Cannanore in
the hope of finding a passage, and "as...I believed that my
not proceeding...might be considered as an act of disobedi-
ence,... I thought it advisable to resign the House Co-
pany's Service and my Commission...with a letter the 1st
inst."...

When this "was read in Council, the Governor" declared
I had deserted the Service; but a Majority opposing this
Sentence beggared he would change that odious appellation for
a milder word, and directed the Secretary to call it abstained.
But the Governor in wrath took the minutes himself, dashed
out that word, and wrote Deserted with his own hand. ... In
consequence of this he caused me to be proclaimed a deserter
at the head of the Troops, and wrote to...apprehend me as
such and send me to Bombay a prisoner. ... How hard this!
... to be forced into exile for about two years. ... Just about
this time too [before submitting resignation] I received
warning, even from some of the Council at Bombay, ... by no
means to put myself in Mr. Bouclier's power, as he was
fully bent on my destruction... All intercourse with my
friends at home or abroad he cut off. All letters were inter-
cepted, and either kept or copied as they fell into his hands.
... Letters from Europe, even those to my Wife, were broke open,
and when sent, sent so, some with the Seals shuttered, and
some without any seal at all...

"Could it be for my ill behaviour that I was presented
with two Commissions together at the head of the Troops?
One as first Captain of the Train of Artillery: the other as
Captain of grenadiers, and held both...until the latter was
incorporated...with the other Companies of the Regiment.
Could it be the reward of ill behaviour to have the first Com-
misson that ever was issued for Chief Engineer given me? I
was clerk of the works for Sixteen or Seventeen years, and
I made gun Powder for the Company"15.

Cameron is next heard of in 1761, when the
Bengal Council report that he had been appd. to
survey "the New Lands [24-Parganas]", and two
years later they write to the Directors, "Neither can we
in justice omit recommending to your particular
favour and countenance, Mr. Cameron, who has, for
these two years past been employed in the Office of
Surveyor at this Presidency. In this capacity he has
been engaged in making a Survey of your Lands in
the Calcutta Pargannas, and has in part executed the
same with care and exactness, much pains & Trouble
[2, 13, 37, 136, 269]. ... And as we are very well assured of
this Gentleman's abilities and Knowledge in the En-
ingineering and Artillery Branches, we cannot but point
him out as a person who may be very useful to the
Company"19.

The Directors had however already noticed the
appointment, and wrote out "We observe...that you
have entertained Mr. Hugh Cameron as Surveyor of
New Lands; In the year 1758 or 1759 there was one
Mr. Hugh Cameron, a Captain in our Service at Telli-
cherry where he behaved very ill, as he had done be-
fore at Bombay, and deserted our service, by going
to Cannanore and not returning again to his duty.
In case this is the same man, We direct that he be
immediately dismissed Our service, and sent home by
the same ship"16.

---

1Ben. Will. 1787-90 (31).
2Leiss. War in Asia (296); & Grier (ii)
3Memoir. 1783 (238).
4GJ. 1.
5To CD. 7-11-60 (107)
6To CD. 27-3-59 (163-4). Prop. of Bom. Govt., approved by CD. to Bo. 25-4-60 (134).
7Richard Bouclier.
8Given contract for gunpowder June 1747; Young (70). B&C. 6-5-63, with Cameron's letters of 12-19-64 and
29-7-64.
9To CD. 14-2-63 (37).
10CD to B. 17-12-62 (53).
To which the Council replied, "Mr. Hugh Cameron...is the same person who was formerly in your Military Service on the Bombay Establishment. Upon our giving him notice of your displeasure, and orders for his dismissal, he requested that he might have leave to represent his case, which he never before had an opportunity of doing. ... As we are well satisfied with his Behaviour since He has been here, and have found his Services very useful, and greatly tending to the Improvement of the Revenues of your new Lands, We have presumed to suspend the Execution of your orders, and to keep him in the same useful Employment until we receive your further Determination [51: 136]."

The Court's reply was favourable, "In consideration only of your strong recommendations of Mr. Cameron for his usefulness to our Service. We permit you to continue to employ him so long as it may be found necessary," but long before this reached Bengal Cameron's service had ended, and the Council reported in November 1764, "We are to mention the death of Mr. Hugh Cameron, the 16th March last, of a Dysentery; in him you have lost a very useful servant."

Cameron left his property divided between his widow, his "lawful begotten son John", and Hugh Johnson; "I have a right and Title to 3 Houses in the town of Abo," which he bequeathed to his mother. In January 1765 his widow applied to the Council "on account of the services rendered the Company by her late husband, whose death was, she represented, partly owing to the unwholesome air and Damps he met with in his survey of the New Lands, that we will grant her a monthly pension. "Agreed...that his death was in a great measure brought on by him in the circumstances he represents, that we grant her the usual monthly allowances made to the Widows of Captains deceased in the Company's Service." She appears to have died in Calcutta [bur. 20-3-82], leaving a little more than Rs. 2,000.

Cameron's survey was made use of by Rennell, and is still preserved in Calcutta [13, 250 n.5]. He was the first officer to receive the regular appointment of Surveyor anywhere in India, and was immediately succeeded by Rennell [266].

Ens. 10-4-64 ... Lient. 21-3-65.
Hodson.
Dec. 1764, John Cameron, "Ensign & Draughtsman", sold petition from officers of the corps of Engrs. regarding their grievances.
April 1767, on survey in Rangpur [26, 270].

Ens. 8-5-75 ... Bat. 1864; Lt.Gen. 25-4-1808.
Son of Rev. Wm. Cameron and Judith his wife.
... Calcutta. 17-8-59, Charlotte, 2nd dau. of Sir Wm. Gordon, Bart., of Emlo.
EI.MC. I (50) ... Hodson.

1 v. letter of 30-7-69 [342]. 2 B to CD. 19-12-69 (84). 3 CD to B. 15-3-65 (76). 4 B to CD. 26-11-64 [v. Rennell]. 5 Benn, 104-32 (9). 6 RPC. 14-1-65. 7 Benn. Let. of Adam. 1782, 11-4-82. 8 Obviously Barhampur (inf.). 9 Hodson gives two John Campbells who served with Goddard's force. 10 Wrotley given as son to John Campbell in some places, & both, favourites of Warren Hastings (Clements Markham.). 11 A Robert Farquhar served as juror at inquest on Lord Pigot, Madras, 1777. Under BSC. 20-7-78 (14), drew whilst on Elliot's mission "Pay & Double Batta of a Captain", & shown in index under "Company's Servants". 12 64.2. 13 BSC. 28-9-78.
'P.S. I request you must be kind enough to excuse the
badness of this scrawl, not having yet recovered the strength of
my nerves'.

Anderson wrote a similar letter, and reported later that
the party had reached Nágpur November 15th, and according to
the journal, Campbell appears to have reached Goddard's
camp at Hoshangábád, 21–12–78, and that force would
have reached Bhrámpur 30–1–79 [121], obviously extremely
ill, for he said, his sod, that very day [30].

His death, of which no record has been found, must have
occurred between this date and the middle of June, his will
being filed in Calcutta, 29–6–79.

Eas. 13–8–85 Capt. 19–9–70.

Hudson.

On 8–9–06 Clive wrote to Lady Clive, 'Your relation
Mr. Carter is a most deserving Young man [269]. I
gave him a Commission immediately upon his Arrival, and the
General has since made him his Brigade Major' 4.

Two weeks later the Sel. Com. ordered the C-in-C.
to send him from Monghyr to assist in the survey of the
western passes [25], and on Rennell's appt. as SG., 1–1–07, Carter was placed under his orders [31].

April 1767, on survey along the Rámgár–Mídnapore
Frontier, in company with John Cameron and Russell [263,790]. Carter's opinion about the line of
this boundary met with a protest from Ferguson [28],
who found his movements disputed because 'Lt.
Carter happened to come that way in the course of
his survey, as if the Chief of Mídnapore was not a
more proper judge of the limits of his own province,
than a young gentleman about a year in the country
who is ordered on a survey, I suppose, because
he knows the use of Gunter's chain and the Theodolite,
and is perhaps an excellent hand atCharts 5'.

Continued survey in Mídnapore, from where it was
reported, 29–1–70, that 'Mr. Carter is arrived here
yesterday, and propose to set out for Báiassore in 3
or 4 days [138 n. 3, 152]. Three months later he
was at Ghútisála [300].

1771, Surguy, through the 'Harbooe District' of
the present Santál Parganas, where his escort had to be
strengthened for protection against the 'Chuara'[300]. Arriving Bhrámpur, he then worked into
Rámgár [294], still drawing his expenses from the
Chief at Mídnapore, who wrote to him, Feb. 1772;

'I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the nth, and very
readily admit your apology for your silence, the![1] I could wish
to have had a more favorable account of your health. ... I
heartily wish you health and success' 6.

It is not known when he made his survey of the
'Routes from Benares to Corah, via Fyzábád, and
to Chattépáur via Rewáh', which is referred to by

Sept. 1772, Obad. Int. of Benares in company with
William Smith [154], being probably on duty with
his bat[to as all survy. had been recalled the year
before.

More than 30 years later the SG. sent to the
QMG. 'my best thanks for the very valuable geogra-

phical sketch [of Chota Nágpur] by Captain Carter
which you have sent me' 8.

Carter was one of Rennell's most valuable asst.
and his surveys covered the greater part of SW.
Bengal, from Bhrámpur to Bálásoor [32, 33, 225].

COLEBROOE, Robert Hyde. Ben. Inf. b. 1762–3, in Switzerland. d. 21–9–1808,
Bhrámpur, Bihár.

Lieu. 9–11–78 ... Lt. Col. 2–11–1803; SG. Bengal, 1794–1808 [250 n. 2].

Hudson.

Natural son of Robert Colebrooke, of Chilham Castle, Kent, H.M.'s Minister to the Swiss Canton 1762–3. Ambas-
dador to Turkey from 1765.

Robert Hyde's grandfather, James Colebrooke, mercy of
London, bought Chilham Castle, Kent, 1724, and d. 1754;
he left 3 sons, of whom the eldest, Robert, was M.P. for Maldon
and became the 1st Bt.; the 2nd son, George, became a
Director of the EIC. and succeeded as Bt.; George's eldest
son, Henry Thomas, Ben. Civ., wrote papers on the Height
of the Himalayan Mountains [77].

Robert Colebrooke m. 26. 1741, Henrietta Powell, wh
was d. 1755; 1756, m. 2nd, Elizabeth Thresher, then only 19
years of age. There were no children of this marriage either,
and apparently they did not live together after Robert's
deporture to Switzerland, from which time he lived with Mary
Jones, née Williams, wife of Robert Jones. By this connection
he had a natural family of 5 sons and 1 daughter, of whom
the eldest was our Robert Hyde, Ben. Inf., followed by James,
Med. Inf. [12]; and John, Med. Cav.

Robert sold Chilham Castle in 1774, having to obtain Act
of Parliament to break the entail, in order to assign estates
to trustees as provision for his wife Elizabeth, and to meet
credits.

He continued to live with Mary Jones on the continent,
and settled at Soissons in France, where he d. 10–9–84.
In his will he desired 'to be buried at Chilham Castle, in the
Mausoleum built by me and my brother... at the right hand
of my late wife the Hon. Henrietta Colebrooke'. An account
of this mausoleum is given in the Topographer of Feb. 1791;
It was demolished when the church was restored in 1826.

Our Robert Hyde had a natural son, Thomas, b. 21–12–94,
and ed. in England [11], 31–7–95, he m. in Calcutta, Miss
Charlotte Bristowe, who d. at Bath 2–7–1833. Charlotte's sister
Mary m. J. T. Blank, the following year [313].

Colebrooke's Ist dau. was bapt. 2–10–96; his 3rd dau.
did a double christening with Blunt's 2nd; and they gave
their first-born son a double christening on 9–2–1800, each
with the name of Richard [6].

Young Richard Colebrooke was b. Calcutta, 30–12–1800,
and com. as Enn., Ben. Inf., 1–8–1818, ret. 13–8–1831, and
d. 23–2–1868.

Robert Hyde arzd. India 10–12–78, having obvi-
ously obtained cadetship through his uncle George.
The first we hear of him in India is that he was
granted leave to leave Madras to Bengal, Oct. 1782,
on account of ill-health [11]; he had marched down the
East Coast, 1781, with Pearse's dett. [41].

15–11–73, before the return march to Bengal, Pearse appd, him Sarv. to the Dett., and, shortly
after, his 2nd A.D.C.; Pearse says that 'when Lieut.
Colebrooke entered upon his office, he was not
acquainted with the astronomical part; he however
very rapidly acquired it, by means of the instructions
I gave him, and has, without any farther aid from me, carried the survey on from the cantonments to this place (Grossetti). [41, 279].

Colebrooke's survey extended 1124 miles, from Madras to the Hooghly, measured by perambulator the whole way, and checked at frequent intervals by astr. obns. [4, 42, 60, 155, 199].

While with his batt. up country during the next two years, he took every opportunity of making surveys, and one of these, preserved at Calcutta, "a sketch of the road from Chitta to Jeldar," SW. of Parasarnath, bears a note "by Lt. R. H. Colebrooke when marching with a company in 1786. The distances were measured with a wheel of 7' diameter, the same as he used in his other surveys [199].

"This was done for his own private amusement;" 2 1797, with Kyd to Penang to survey the newly acquired island and its harbour. Sailing from Calcutta in April, they completed their survey, and in July went on to Kedah where they saw the King of Kedah, who had ceded Penang to the English on promise of protection against his enemies [46].

Colebrooke kept most interesting journals of this trip, and also wrote an article On Barren Island and its Volcano. Sailing from Kedah, they anchored next in Achin Roads [47], and were granted an audience of the King.

"We sat up till 11 and then waited impatiently till the King should send for us. The old Persian sat up with us, smoking tobacco through little reeds in the Malay fashion, entertaining us with the politesses of Acheen. When we expressed our impatience at the lateness of the hour, he deliberately took the reed from his mouth, and said by way of comforting us, 'Don't you see that I am keeping you company?'

"At last about 1 o'clock the royal summons arrived. We put on our coats and swords and walked with our interpreter to the palace, which was about a mile from our lodging. The hall of audience had been illuminated for our reception, and as we approached had a cheerful appearance. ... We entered the hall after taking off shoes, which were tossed in an indispensable mark of respect. The roof was supported by two rows of pillars and hung with a canopy of red cloth and blue damask. Glass lamps were suspended from the roof outside of the canopy and others were burning from the niches of the walls. The ground was spread with carpets, and some candles with glass shades were placed upon it. We were surprised to see nobody in the hall except the guards who were ranged on each side. The Persian who was walking up the hall with us in a supplicating posture with his hands joined, and the two ends of his thumb touching his forehead, immediately whispered to us not to speak so loud. But the question being repeated, he ventured to direct our attention to a window which looked down from the upper apartments into the hall. There we met, not the eye of love, nor beheld with awe the glass of majesty, but perceived a little fat Malay grinning from behind a curtain which he held open with this right hand. This was the King" 3.

After staying six days at Achin, they sailed July 26th, and arrived back at Calcutta 12-8-57. Colebrooke stayed in Calcutta the next four months, and amongst other duties kept a journal of the weather, doubtless at Pearce's suggestion.

Leaving Calcutta by boat, Dec. 14th, he rejoined batt. up country, and his journal is of interest as showing the leisurely progress up stream [394].

1787, Dec. 17th. At Nuddea. ... Dec. 25th. At Moorshead... ... Dec. 31st. In the afternoon I left the Badgerow and pitched my tent about 3 miles from Mohunghur. I was unable to get by boats through the remaining part of the Baugnatty on account of the shallows.

1788, Jan. 4th. In the afternoon I left Mohunghur in a patchy boat... Jan. 18th. In a tent at Mongheer... Jan. 30th. In a house at Bankapore... Feb. 23rd. Arrived Buxar... Mar. 1st. Arrived Benares... Mar. 4th. Arrived Chunar.

Whilst with his batt. Colebrooke took every opportunity of survey, its marches, visiting Benares, Jaunpur, Cawnpore, and other places 4.

Aug. 1788, The Directors sanctioned the appt. of a special ass't. for charge of maps and charts [256]; "From the specimen which Lt. R. H. Colebrooke has afforded of his abilities in this line, we think he should have the option of this employment" He was duly appt. and leaving Cawnpore by river, 24-3-9, ar'd Calcutta, June 10th; on the journey down he regularly obs'd. lat. every evening and recorded everything of interest; he took up his employment from July 7th being allowed to draw pay of the new post from Feb. 13th, the date of his acceptance 4 [237, 298, 7, 7, 27].

Four months later he set out on another voyage with Kyd, now become Sg.; this time they accompanied the naval squadron under Commodore Cornwallis [5, 48-9] on a cruise to the Andaman and Nicobar Is. [313].

They left Calcutta Nov. 29th, "and embarked on the board the yacht; 1789 Dec. 1st. Arrived on board the Atalanta sloop of War. 5th. Sailed from Sangor Roads at 10 a.m. in company with the Ariel, Crown, Phoenix, and Perseverance".

Colebrooke made daily obns. for lat. and kept up his fascinating diary [45].

"Dec. 19th. Coasted along the land as about 3 leagues distance. It appeared to be a wild country, overgrown with wood. It has a steep and rocky shore. There were many rocks which seemed to be detached 2 or 3 miles from the beach. The most remarkable one is called the Bubalene."

"We passed Cape Negrais at about 1 p.m. This is the southern extremity of the coast of Ava. At about 2 the Commodore made a signal for anchoring and we came to shortly after, in about 5 fathoms, having Diamond Island about 4 miles to the Southward. The intention of stopping here was to catch turtle which are found in great plenty at this place. At night a party from the Ariel went on shore. They walked round the island in the dark and encountered 45 large green turtles which they found upon the beach. This is the usual manner of taking these animals, as they never appear on shore during the day. The next morning not above 25 were found, the rest having turned again and made their escape. This island is the most remarkable place in the Bay for turtle, and produces the species which is called green, superior in size and flavor to any other."

"Dec. 14th. This morning I went on shore upon Diamond I. in company with Capt. Kyd and Capt. M. of the Ariel. We found the landing rather difficult on account of the rocks and stones which surround the island. Capt. Kyd and M. measured a base and took some angles with a theodolite to 1Ben. P&d. VI (291). Letter to GG, 29-1-83; also As. R. I. (115).
2 MRIO. 46 (11). cf. Charles Reynolds [122].
3 Delavalland (47).
4 Though Capt. Light's promise was promptly repudiated, the Company kept a firm hold on Penang.
5 As. R. IV. (297).
6 Dd. 48, Colebrooke's Journal. 7 Journals, Dd. 7, 9.
8 Ed. Br. Dd. 7 M. 268.
9 RPC. 10-7-9.
COLEBROOKE

ascertain the position of Cape Negrais and other headlands upon the coast. We observed the latitude of the island with our sextants. Mean 12° 39' 23".

"Dec. 19th. We have now caught altogether 102 large turtles in three days. This is an astonishing stock of fresh provisions for the squadron. Each turtle is sufficiently large for the consumption of our whole ship's company in a day, and we now have 125 men on board."

"Dec. 20th. We sailed from Diamond Island at about 11 o'clock."

The squadron then sailed down to the Andaman Is. and spent the last week of the year at Fort Cornwallis, where Blair had established his headquarters. [313]. "Dec. 31st. Sailed from Fort Cornwallis."

They then visited the Nicobars, and after surveying Nancowry and other harbours, returned to Port Cornwallis on Feb. 2nd. They sailed again 19-3-90; and explored the western shores of the islands in company with Blair. After frequent encounters with the islanders, some quite friendly and others the reverse, they took leave of Blair and sailed for Calcutta where they arrived 20-4-90 [49].

BMC. 9-12-90. Colebrooke was detailed for service in Mysore [237]. "The Governor General judging it probable that he may have occasion for your services on the Coast of Coromandell in your line of duty as Assistant to the Surveyor General, is pleased to direct that you proceed with all convenient expedition to join the Detachment of Bengal Troops that is now serving with the Army on that Coast."

He did not this time repeat the weary march down the east coast, but got a passage by sea; William Hickey, the diarist, happened to be making a passage by the same ship, "for his health's sake", and tells of their meeting.

"On Christmas Eve.Capt. L.-[who had told Hickey he would never allow smoking in his ship] and myself embarked in the pilot schooner...and reached the Warren Hastings the following afternoon. We found the whole of the Sepoys already on board. Upon entering the cabin, we saw Captain Colebrooke and four other officers sitting at the table with hooked hooks in their mouths. Capt. L. seemed to have entertained them better than give offense by putting a stop to them. They therefore continued in the use of their hooks during the voyage..."

"We did not arrive until 11th January 1791—owing to light winds and calmas [303] 8."

Colebrooke lost no time in getting to work; his diarist records: "Start from Fort St. George on Jan. 1st 1791... through Vellore on Feb. 13th... near Seringapatam May 27th...; he survived the route up from Madras into Mysore, and continued to survey all the marches of the army during campaigns of 1790 and 1792 [6-7. 112-3. 175. 187. 199. 237].

One of his diarists is embellished with full-page sketches and panoramas, tinted in watercolour, and including spirited sketches of Bangalore, Sevandroog, Nanindroog and other places [187].

In Rennell's Marches of the British Armies...1790-91 is included a "Plan of the Battle of Seringapatam fought May 14th 1791, by Lt. Colebrooke, Surveyor with the Bengal Detachment. The ground from actual survey and measurement." 4.

The following announcement is taken from the CG. of 7-2-93: "We understand that Lieut. Colonel Brooke [尹] has finished, and will shortly present to Lord Cornwallis, a map of such parts of the Mysore Country as were traversed by the army under his Lordship's command during the campaigns of 1791 and 1792, in which the operations of the army and topography of that country are drawn upon a large scale, and with minute accuracy, the whole being the result of an actual survey, performed by Lieutenant Colebrooke while with the army."

"The map has taken Lt. Colebrooke five months in the execution, and is an additional proof of that gentleman's exertions and ingenuity [253. 277]."

Colebrooke now took steps to have some of his Mysore sketches engraved and published. In this connection a letter from Seringapatam to have finished a select number of Drawings for this purpose, to be sent to England by the Earls ships after that period, and to be engraved by the Best artists in Aqua Tinta. Subscription for each set 120 Rupees.

CG. 1-7-92. "Lt. Colebrooke having finished his views of the Mysore Country...asks subscribers to pay in their subscriptions to his bankers...or to Capt. John Garstin at Patna. The drawings will be sent to England by the Dutton and be put in hands of the best Aqua Tinta Engravers. As this mode of engraving is more expeditious than any other, it is hoped that the prints will be struck off in time to be sent out by one of the ships of next season. 14 inches by 16 inches neatly. Then follows the list of views.

CG. 4-7-93. "A Cord. Lieut. Colebrooke has the pleasure to acquaint the subscribers to his proposed publication of Mysore views that the drawings were received in England in December last. They were immediately put in the hands of Mr. Edy, an eminent engraver in Aqua Tinta, who was to execute them under the eye and superintendence of Mr. Paul Sandby; that on the 16th of January three of the plates were in great forwardness, and it was expected that six of the views would be ready for delivery in May. Mr. Edy had engaged to finish the whole set in one year."

In 1796 fifty sets of a second impression of these views were advertised to be sold by auction.

There are now two complete sets in the Victoria Memorial at Calcutta, besides "A water-colour drawing by R. H. Colebrooke, 1794. A near tree from the big tree near the Jail (Calcutta). 22 inches by 12"."

To each of the Mysore views was attached "concepic descriptions of the places drawn, with a brief detail of part of the operations of the Army...and a few other particulars", and he is referred to as an authority by Roderick Mackenzie's history of the war;
NOTES

"For such of these remarks [on Bangalore] as are not consistent with my own knowledge I am indebted to the researches of the ingenious Mr. Colebrooke; and as I know that his information is drawn from a source highly respectable, I entertain no doubt of its correctness. On this subject the reader is further referred to the explanation of that Gentleman's Views in Mysore 1 ."

At an entertainment at the Calcutta Theatre, 6-2-33, to celebrate the anniversary of the victory at Serigapata, the scenery was painted from drawings by Colebrooke 2 .

After his return from Mysore Colebrooke held charge of the SG. s dept. till, on Khy s resignation 7-2-94, he was appd. to succeed as SG. [43, 187-8, 237, 264, 265, 281-280] 3 .

One of his chief interests was the course of the Ganges and the water communications to Calcutta. 1794-5 he made three excursions to examine the channels leading from the Ganges, but his recommendations for improving communications into the Hooghly were never taken up [63-4, 274-5] 4 .

At the end of 1796 he made a three-months trip up the Ganges to record the changes that had taken place in its channel above the head of the Jalangi, and continued his survey up to Colgong. In an interesting memoir describing this survey 5 he wrote that he had seen the Ganges at Colgong in 1779. 1788, and again in Jan. 1797 [8, 6-4-5] 6 .

As was his invariable rule he took regular obseas for latitude, and kept up his journal. 16-11-96, on his way up the river, he met Charles Crawford 7 at Krishnagar.

Was a keen astronomer and after becoming SG. made regular obseas at SGO, and corresponded with Goldingham about the geographical positions of Calcutta and Madras [163-4, 167-8, 186-7] 8 .

He continued to devote himself to the improvement of his map of India, more especially as regards the territories won to the Company through the Maratha War of 1803-6 [179, 219-20, 244, 254-5] 9 . In 1807 he left office at Calcutta in order to carry out a "survey of the Ceded and Conquered provinces in Upper Hindoostan". After continuous work in the field for over a year he was taken seriously ill with dysentery, and on his return journey from Rohilkund died at Bhagaipur, Sept. 1808. Of his 30 years service in India the last 10 had been wholly devoted to survey.

A full account of the last 8 years of his life and work will be given in another volume [65].


Lt.Fwkr. 1756.

16-5-94, Mad. Council write to Chief of Devicosta. 10 We are informed that Mr. Conraddt [sic], belonging to Capt. Ziegler's Company, has some knowledge of the Engineer's business, particularly the drawing of Plans etc. ... He is to be sent to Madras 11 5 .

1755, Made a large-scale plan of Ft. St. George & Madras [91].

1756-7, Lt.Fwkr. in the Train, and Asst. Engr.

COSSARD, Charles, see TERRANNEAU, de.


Writer, 1758. Ens. 1-1-50 ... Capt. 8-10-54.

MPC. 26-1-69, Elected for Civ., and surrendered coun. in Eng. [272].

Resid. at Ganjam from 1796; Mad. Council & Chief at Masulipatam, 12-1-77; to England in 1780.

Son of William and Mary Cotsford of Mary-le-Bone, London.

Took a regular course of Merchant's Accounts, or book-keeping, at an academy in Great Windmill St. 6.

His widow is Sir Morris Ximenes, Kt.

Holzman (138).

Ens. and Dvrt. Engr. from the first formation of the Mad. Engrs. as a regular body [273-2].

Present at siege of Madras by French, Dec. 1758 till Feb. 1759 [93]; at siege of Wandiwash, Nov. 1759, remaining there after capture as Engr. in charge.

1761, with Engrs. at siege and capture of Pondicherry, then sailed with fleet to attack Mahé, which had however surrendered to Hector Munro 19-2-91. Recalled in Aug. from Tellicherry to take part in siege of Vellore, marching overland, and reaching Vellore 10-12-91.

1762, with expn. to Manila 5; 1764, present at siege and capture of Madura, after which he returned to England and to recover his health; 1766, "permitted to return and be restored to his rank in the Engineers and also in the Civil as before", reaching Madras 11-9-66.

1765, Madras Council received authority to take over Northern Circars, and resolved that "As we have all along intended that Ganjam should be resettled as soon as our affairs with Nizam Ally were concluded [91], ... and it being therefore necessary that the Servant sent thither should be one qualified for securing the Settlement, Mr. Edward Cotsford, who may act both as an Engr. & Resident, is appointed to proceed thither ...."

"It is agreed that Mr. Cotsford do now proceed to the Northward, make himself acquainted with the investment at the different Factories, and if he has time, that he do assist in finishing the Fortifications at Vizagapatam and, if he finds the country sufficiently settled to proceed to Ganjam, he is to survey the Factory and report to us its condition, with that of the Country about it 12 ."

After a few months reconnaissance Cotsford found the country too unsettled to accomplish anything without troops, and returned to Madras, but in May 1768 he returned to Ganjam, with the support of Peach's brigade.

For the next five years he administered his turbulent province with energy and tact, and succeeded in mapping a considerable area in the course of his other duties [3, 92-3, 271].

1773, Recalled to Madras and acted on Council for a few months before taking leave to Europe 13. On return to India, held charge at Masulipatam till he returned once more to England 1780. 1781, Appd. 2nd in Council, and nominated to succeed as Governor if anything happened to Lord Maccarney 14, but never returned to India to take up appnt. 15 To Act 60. Letters to CD. re successor to Lord Maccarney 1784.

Succeeded to a substantial inheritance on death of his mother in 1783, and purchased manor of Clact St. Mary, Devonshire. 1792, Became Sheriff of Devon 1784, elected M.P. for Midhurst 15.


Ensl. 15-9-67 ... Lieut. 1-4-69.
Granted gold medal as "prize of honour" at R.M.A., 5-6-68.


DALRYMPLE, Alexander. Mad. Cir. b. 24-7-38*. d. 19-6-1808.

Writer 1-11-52; ... Dissed. 21-0-71; ... Apped. to Madras Council, 4-12-76; ... Dissed. 1777.

Hydrographer to EIC. 5-6-79; to Admiralty 1795.


FRS.


"Alexander was taught geography by his father, not learning by rote the names of capitals and provincial towns, but by study to make his son the Maps, so as to enable him to note those particular points of form and situation, which were likely to make an impression on the child's attention, and fast fix the impression on his memory." As he left school before he was fourteen years of age, and never was at the University, his scholastic endowments were very limited.

"Alexander conceived a strong desire of going to the East Indies, by reading Nieuhoff's voyages and a novel...

"Leit Scotland in the spring of 1752. On the 1st of November 1752 was appointed a Writer in the EIC's service, and on the 8th of November stationed on the Madras Establishment. Wanted a few months of sixteen years of age. About the middle of December embarked at Gravesend on board of the Suffolk, sailed N. the Downs the 26th, arrived at Madras on the 11th of May. ...

"At that time writing a very bad hand, was not at first employed in the Secretary's Office, but was put under the Storkeemp's care, in which he easily learnt anything worth the learning, nor was he in the way of being taken notice of...

"Lord Pigot [143 n. 8] perceiving that Alexander wrote a very bad hand, instructed him to hold his pen, and write with ease to himself. From this instruction he benefited more in a few days than by anything he had been taught at school; and so speedily attained to write a very good hand, and neat. To this instruction the publics are, in some measure, indebted for whatever excellence there is in the writing in the Maps and Charts published by Alexander Dalrymple.

"In this early period of his life, Mr. Orme the distinguished historian [67] shewed him great civility, and wanted to have him appointed his Sub-Accountant; he ever after shewed him countenance, and gave him the free use of his valuable library.

After the siege of Madras, 1758-9, Dalrymple obtained the permission of Lord Pigot to undertake a trading mission to the Eastern Islands; he sailed, 22-4-59, in the Warheisa, commanded by Thomas Howe [330], "and from that able navigator... received his first nautical tuition" [183]. Arrd. at the Strait of Singapore, transhipped to the Cuddalore, commd. by George Baker [83 n. 11]; visited the Sulu Is. [4, and concluded a commercial treaty with the Sultan.

During this voyage he made surveys of the N. coast of Borneo and coast of China as far as the "islands near the Entrance of the Canton River", and explored the great archipelagoes [5]. Great interest in his explorations was taken by Admiral Kempenfelt and, after Dalrymple's return to Madras, 28-1-62, it was at one time proposed to commission the Royal George [317] to return with a cargo to Sulu.

It was, however, the London to which Dalrymple was given a comission, as Captain, and in which he invited Rennell [4v] to accompany him as surveyor. This second voyage was not a commercial success; "To the substitution of the London for the Royal George may, in a great measure, be attributed the misfortune of the voyage; for the Indianman that was to follow could not find her way to Sooloo, and carried the man over of the cargo to China, from whence it was sent to Manilla, then some into our possession, and from thence sent to Sooloo, and indifferently delivered before the former account was settled." [64].

"The London arrived back at Pallest, 19-3-63, after many adventures, fully described in journal kept by Rennell [4v]; on return journey they called at Balamaban off the E. end of Borneo, and Dalrymple negotiated the grant of that small island to the EIC.

The venture; with the Sulu Is. was persevered with, and Dalrymple embarked once more, 5-7-63, with another cargo, this time in the Neptune, with permission to take a passage home to England from Canton. On this voyage he "got a grant for the Company of the North end of Borneo and South end of Palawan, with the intermediate islands." [151].

His interest in Sula kept him at Manilla till that place was handed back to the Spanish in April 1764, when he moved to Sulu, living there "in a small galley, without any other European" till October, when he got a passage to Canton and on to England, arriving 10-7-65.

He writes that "from the time he returned to England in 1765 he was almost constantly engaged in collecting and arranging materials for a full exposition of the importance of the Eastern and South Seas; and was encouraged by the Court of Directors to publish various Charts &c.," and to this collection and publication of charts of India and the east Dalrymple now devoted the remainder of his life [75, 16, 17, 83-4, 251].

1770, Nominated Governor of Balambangan but, falling into dispute with the Directors, was dismissed before leaving England [125].

1775, Sent out once more to Madras, this time as Member of Council to his old patron Lord Pigot, who soon found himself in direct opposition to the majority of his Council, with Dalrymple one of his few supporters. Having arrived in Madras Dec. 1775, Pigot was arrested by his Council Aug. 8th 1776, and Dalrymple was suspended at the same time [256 n. 6]. The unfortunate Governor was kept in confinement whilst reference was made to England, but died before orders arrived [303]. Dalrymple was more fortunate in that he was promptly sent home, travelling overland by Cairo and Alexandria, probably in company with Irwin [4v].

---

During his few months on the Council he had taken particular interest in the maps of the Presidency, and had initiated the large-scale survey of the "Home Farms" carried out by Dugood [143]. Before his departure he found time, 7-10-76, to observe the astr. position of Madras [180], but he had to write from England two years later asking that his "Papers, Charts, and Books" should be sent after him. 3

8-4-79, Appt. Hydrographer to ElC, a special call for nautical sketches, journals, and ships' logs being made, many of which are still preserved at the IO. [5, 45, 85, 89, 125].

In addition to numerous charts of the coasts of India, China, and the Eastern Islands, he published intermittently a long series of Tracts; Memoirs, and other papers of interest to Indian geography, besides many of political and economic interest. His best known publication is the Oriental Repertory, pub. in four volumes from 1791 onwards [100, 104, 112].

One of his most interesting papers is an Essay on the Most Commodious Methods of Nautical Surveying, first published in 1771 [183-4]. In another paper he called attention to the feasibility of measuring the length of a degree along the Coast of Coromandel [191-200] and the principles of survey set forth in this paper bear a marked resemblance to those followed by Michael Topping [183-4, 190].

In 1791 the Company granted him "an annuity of £ 500 for the term of his natural life" [259].

"In 1795 the office of Hydrographer to the Admiralty was created, and Dalrymple was the first to hold it, together with the same post at the India House. He filled it until 1808, when he was suddenly called upon to resign. ... He declined to do so, and was summarily dismissed on the 28th of May. On the 31st he published "the Case of A. Dalrymple", bitterly complaining of the treatment he had received. It broke the old man's heart, and he died on the 10th of the following June".

As regards Dalrymple's geographical work, Markham rightly remarks that he "was more an industrious collector of materials than a compiler". His greatest services to the geography of India were his continual demand for accurate knowledge of the coasts, and his publication of the material collected [85, 243, 268].

D'ANVILLE, Jean-Baptiste BOURGUIGNON
French Geographer.

b. 11-7-1897. d. 23-1-82 in Paris.

La Grande Encyclopédie 8.

Son of Hubert Bourguignon and Charlotte Vaugon. His family name was Bourguignon, and it is under this name that his works are catalogued at the British Museum.

His more important geographical works concerning India have already been described [1, 210, 235], but he also compiled maps of all parts of the world. His earliest Indian works were his map of Tibet compiled from materials sent home by the Jesuit missionaries of Pelcin, and pub. by Du Halde [70, 74 n. 4, pl. 7], and the map of South India compiled from material received from Pére Bouchet, pub. 1737 [238]. His great map of India was pub. 1752 [pl. 13], with another of the Coromandel Coast, 1753 [86, 89, 236-9].

It has been written of him: "In D'Anville's system of work, books professedly geographical formed the least portion of his studies, while those of all the ancient and modern historians, travellers, narrators of every description, were assiduously examined. He studied also the philosophers, onctors and poets, but only for the sake of the occasional geographical lights which they afforded; for it was remarked that in perusing these works he was totally indifferent to everything which did not tend to fix a geographical position. His life work extended over a vast field."

"It was D'Anville who first set the example of accompanying the map with a memoir exhibiting the data on which it had been constructed" [9, 169, 170, 211].

A full list of his works is given in a Catalogue des Livres du Cabinet de feu Doleateur, Jan. 1876, which also contains an Éloge written in 1782, of which para. 8 reads: "Les Anglais ont si bien apprécié le mérite de ses cartes et de ses ouvrages, qu'ils les ont presque tous fait passer dans leur langue; ils ont même une telle estime pour lui, qu'ils ne craignent pas devoir honorer davantage leur plus habile géographe actuel (le major Rennell) qu'en l'appelant "le d'Anville de l'Angiethère."

His Éclaircissements Géographiques, pub. 1753, is well worth reading, either in the original or in Herbert's translation; he had collected far more information than might be expected for such an early date, and it was not his fault that many of the astr. obs. and recorded distances which he used were far from precise.

The closing words of his preface [Titre page, 210], are worthy of the great geographer that he was, praying for further increase of knowledge that should cause his map to give place to a better.

His Antiquités Géographique de l'Inde was pub. 1773 [211]. He continued to take the greatest interest in the geography of India, and corresponded and exchanged maps with Robert Orme [qv]. Though in a letter of 26-4-74, he regrets that he can say little about the maps sent for his criticism owing to "la faiblesse de ma vue" [115].

D'APRÈS, see APRÈS de MANNEVILLE-LETTIE.
D'AUVERGNE, James. HM's 100th Foot. d. 15-3-1804, "on board his Budgetor off Houghly".

Enr. c. 1781 ... Lieut. 22-7-84 ; Resd. 1785-6. Possibly related to Maj. Gen. James D'Auvergne, of Jersey, lst Troop of Horse Guards.


After reduction of rejt. 1785-6, appears to have taken up trading and contracting in Bengal; seen as trader at "Boggha" in Bengal Calendar 1791-96, and in East India Company 1805-6.

1786. Survd. Dinapore Cant.; 1793. SG. received copy of "a most accurate survey of a road from Gya to Sherghaity in Behar" executed by Lt. D'Auvergne.

1807. SG. submitted to Gort. for dispatch to England a survey of "the lands, Public Buildings, Enclosures, Tanks &c., immediately appertaining to the Government at Poosah...with Elevations, Plans, & Sections of the Buildings, by James D'Auvergne" [4].

DAVIDSON, James. Ben. Inf. d. 4-8-1802, Monghyr.

Enr. 27-3-77 ... Maj. 31-7-99 (4th N.I.).

Hudson. From 1790, Comdg. escort with George Forster, [337]. Resd. at Nagpur; SG. considered his journal of route. Cuttack to Nagpur, a "very valuable geographical communication, for which Lt. Davidson deserves much praise and thanks" [42, 137].

Reported from Nagpur, Dec. 1792, that he had received a letter from Blunt who had passed by on his survey through Central India with Anbury [43].

Dn. 67 (278), 22-10-1803, SG. refers to him as "the late Lt. Col. Davidson".


Enr. Mad. Inf. 4-2-80
Wtr. (Ben.) 27-9-89; Younger son of John Davis, Commg. Gen., W. Indies.

m., Burdwan, 24-9-94, Henrietta, dau. of Solomon Boulce of Dublin, sister to John Peter Boulce, comdg. Reid's escort in Nepal 1817.

Father of Sir James F. Davis, KCB., 1st Bt., and Governor of Hong Kong.

D. N.B.: D.I.; Hoddan. 7-3-79*, sailed in Earl of Oxford as cadet for Fort St. George; arri. Madras 18-1-80. Made a sketch "in and about Gunur Creek" [99-100].

A D.C. to Sir Eyre Coote, and sailed with him from Madras to Bengal in the Medea, 28-3-82.

Petition for appt. as Writer read by Directors, 11-12-82, and admitted as such in Bengal 27-9-83 [10].

According to his son, "Mr. Davis went out to India as an engineer officer... but with the privilege...of leaving the army if he wished it, and becoming a civilian. The first station he went to was Madras; and here he became aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, and went with him to Calcutta, where, soon after his arrival, he was appointed, from his known talents for surveying, to accompany Mr. Turner in his embassy to Tibet. During this expedition he made a large collection of excellent plans and coloured drawings. On his return to Calcutta, thinking that the civil service afforded more prospect of advancement, he left the army, and obtained the appointment of collector of Burdwan". [12].

This account is not wholly supported by official records: for Davis went out to the Inf. at Ft. St. George. Turner records that "Lieutenant Samuel Davis" was "appointed to accompany me...as Draftsman and Surveyor" [13], and would surely have mentioned the fact, had he been an Engineer officer. Further, his appt. as Writer was sanctioned in England before he joined Turner's mission. It was in March 1793 that the G.G. recommended that he should accompany Turner's mission "in the capacity of Surveyor, with the established allowances. He is particularly desirous of making this use of the known talents of Mr. Davies" [14].

His sketches of the Bhutan mountains attracted much admiration, but were the cause of his being left behind when the mission moved forward towards Tibet on Sept. 8th, owing to "the suspicious caution of our conductors" [15]. Many of his sketches are published in Turner's narrative [74].

His obsns. made to the snowy peaks on the march to Bhutan were used by Sir William Jones in estimating their distance [77].

After his return, March 1794, Davis held various civil posts at Bhalgupur; 1793, tr. to Burdwan; 1795, to Benares. At Benares he was the hero of the disturbances of Jan. 1799, when he defended his family against a large mob, holding the head of the stairs leading to the roof of his house,single-handed, and armed only with a footman's pike.

From 1800 held several important posts at Calcutta, finishing as Acctt. Gen. A Director of the EIC. from 1810. Author of several papers on Hindu Astronomy.


Enr. 11-12-67 ... Maj. 31-4-82; Resd. 22-1-84.

Written 1769, as Ens. in 3rd Bn. survd. "Road from Allahabad to Corah" and on "to Alawa, with limits of Corah Province and several cross roads... to the Jumna [29 n. 4]" [19].

Persian Secretary to GT. till he left India 1754, carrying with him letters from Warren Hastings to the "Beloved Marzian, his wife" [20].

Being a recognized authority on the transliteration of oriental names, he assisted Rennell with the names on a Persian map of the Punjab [290], while Prof. Joseph White, Oxford University, acknowledged his help with a translation "from the Mogul language. His perfect knowledge of the language, intimacy with Oriental authors, ... rendered him a very competent judge of the subject. ... In writing the name of the Anabian Law-giver (as well as all other names of Persons and Places introduced... I have adopted the Orthography of Mr. Davy, whose accuracy of pronunciation was well known in the East".

DAW, — Bengal.

Probably before 1770, survd. roads in Chittagong Dist., with astr. lats. [155].


d. 21–11–63.


Hodson.

Ed. as cadet at RMA; Entertaint. to be Fwrkr. in the Art. [3] but posted to Inf.

In 1770 Rennell issued instructions to Dawes for survey of unexplored parts of Allahabad and Cuddih, and referred to an earlier survey by him [183]. In 1786 the SGO. held "A Survey of the Ganges below Hardwar, in 6 pieces" and "Routes and Remarks in Allahabad, Benares etc." all by Dawes [36].


Cpt. of Art. & CE. 1752; Resd. 1757-8; Lt.Col. 15–2–62.

Spring.

Held Capt. in Royal Regt. of Swedes in France. 1752, engaged to serve the EIC. for 7 years, all Engrs. been borne on the strength of the Art. [266]. Employed on fortifications and survey [273].

His Plan of Bombay Town, with description and covering letter dated 9–3–56, bear the elaborate autograph "de Funck" [120].

1755. Survd. coast between "Mt. Dilla and Malé" by measurement and compass [123].

1756, Council reported that the fortifications under Funck "made slow progress", and that he had been "accused by Courtmartial of Disobedience of Orders, since the message from the Governor to Capt. Funck was delivered by Capt. Cameron [334] in such a manner that it could not be looked on as an Order".

Spring says that he was dismissed for disobedience of orders, but he was actually allowed to resign, and on return to England was granted £500 as "compensation".


Son of "Frederick Daniel De Gloss, whose lands were at Lübben & Cursow, Poland."

m., Bombay, 2–4–55, Miss Margaret Edgerton.

Hodson.

Granted comm. in Art. by Directors in London, to take effect from arrival in Bombay.

Employed on surveys and "took plans of and surveyed the works of Bombay, the Castle, and all the Forts in the Island [120, 273]".

DE GLOSS, — His large-scale plan of the Town of Surat, 1753, bears title in French, but names and references in English; he also made, 1759, a "true and exact plan of Surat Castle [120]".

8–10–57, Appld. Clerk of the Works: 1760, present at siege of Surat, and in command there for nearly 3 years.

1764, as volunteer to Bengal, where the Council report that "the great work of the lately and now held in the Art. to assist in conducting our Engineering Business, has induced us to entarnt Capt. Lewis Du Gloss, belonging to the Artillery Establishment at Bombay. ... We have granted him a Breveet Commission as Captain, intended to employ him at the New Fort under Capt. Polier" [qv 18].

Appd. to comd. a company of Eur. Pioneers, about 40 strong, and sent up to the Army at Patna; the following year these Pioneers were broken up, and, 19–2–63, De Gloss was appd. additional Surveyor [18].

After making a survey of the Cossimbazar [17] he took up the survey of Burdwan and Midnapore, where his chief concern was the survey of river embankments for the prevention of floods [2, 22, 225, 269].

Sept. 1766, Ordered to Bihar, and spent nearly a year on a survey up the Sen R. and along the hills to the south of Gaya as far as Monghyr. His interesting journal is preserved at the IO. [13]; his English is weak and he uses many French words and expressions [25–6, 234, 283, 286, 294].

Came under Rennell's orders from the beginning of 1767 [32]; Sept., received orders to survey the north bank of the Ganges up to Patna, and then the Gandak as high as feasible, with a view to facilitate the transport of "Firr Trees" which were wanted at Calcutta for ships' masts, and similar purposes [20, 23, 26]. This survey he completed by March 1768 [26–7, 33, 275].

He was then placed in comd. of Dinapore Cant., where he remained for the next two years, having set up a foundry for casting "field pieces & Mortars, and for the construction of gun-carriages and other military stores". In 1770 he was brought down to Calcutta to assist in a similar foundry [153].

He now became very anxious about his military promotion, and addressed a petition to the Council, asking for "some indulgence for my upward of twenty years service to the Hon'ble Company in India... the latter part of which has been mostly employed not surveys...a very Fatiguing duty in this country. By being out at all seasons and exposed to the inclemency of the Weather, my health is very much impaired and my constitution quite broke so that I find it is at present...absolutely necessary that to preserve my life a few years longer, I must return to my Native Country. ..."

"From my being so unfortunate as not to have any particular friends in the Directorate, and in a manner unknown in England, repeated suspensions have very much injured my rise in the Army. ... The oldest Lt. Colonels, either on this or the Bombay Establishments, were but Subaltern Officers when I had the honor of bearing a Captain's commission..."

But in 1766 the Directors had issued an order that no foreigner was to rise to higher rank in their service than Major, cf. Polier (qv) [14], and the utmost that they would now do for De Gloss was to give him the brevet rank of Lt.Colonel on the condition that he forthwith resigned the service. He therefore
resid. his conn., and sailed from Calcutta, Feb. 1773, in the Duke of Grafton.

Before he left he ad. his will, making the following provi- sions. He asks to be buried in ground consecrated in the Protestant religion. He makes provision for Mrs. Margaret De Glos, his present at Anjengo [96 n. 1] also for "Anna Louza de Reosario de Calcutta, single woman, who is to keep the House, Furniture, Slaves, etc., now in her possession, with interest on a sum of Rs. 8,000 for life." Bequests are also made to his slave Anthony, with his freedom, and to other slaves and servants.

May 4th 1774, after his arrival in England, the Directors "resolved that Major Louis Du Glos, in his retreat from the Company's Service be granted a Vessel for the rank of Lieut. Colonel, that he may carry with him to his Native Country that honorary Testimony of their Acknowledgment of his active and faithful conduct, during a course of Twenty years Employed in the Company's Military Service under the Presidents of Bombay and Bengal." Again, in the following month, "Lt. Colonel du Glos...on account of his past long and faithful services to the Company, and his present dis- tressed situation, be allowed the sum of £100 from the Contingent funds.'


b. 10-4-75. d. 23-2-1866 in Guernsey.

Envs. 3-5-53...Lt Col. 1-5-1824; Ret. 20-4-1825;
Hon. Col. 28-11-1854.

Son of Sir Peter de Havilland, Kt., of Guernsey.

m. 1st, Madras, 5-5-1808, Elisabeth, dau. of Thos. de Saumarez, by whom he had issue 2 sons and 2 daughters. She d. Madras, 14-5-1818, and he m. 2nd, 6-8-1828, Harriet, dau. of Anthony Goe, by whom he had no issue.

Oriental Club: DNB; DIB; Vibart, II.


 Probably before 1798, Surv. "A Sketch from Tanjore, West to the sources of the Colleroon"4.

 Mysore. Campaign of 1799, att'd. to Lt Col. Brown's Southern Divn. of the army, which reached Cobambore 1-5-99.

 May 1800, submitted a map of Cobambore and Dindigul with the following letter, "In the course of my Travels in the Southern Divn. for several years past; and particularly when doing duty with Col. Brown's Detachment during the late war, I have amused myself in surveying...have likewise collected every information I could obtain relative to the Geography of the Country...I have now made an humble attempt at compiling a Map of the Cobambore and Dindigul Provinces [114. 175-9. 249]."

April 1800, with CE. to Serigapatam, and remained there as Asst. Engr. (see Vol. II).


d. 25-10-58, in England.

Envs. 7-4-65...Capt. 14-9-67;

m. Calcutta, 27-10, 1762; Mary, sister of Adm. Sir Allenar Burtie. Bertie. Bart. their dau., Priscilla, d. Chunurl, 10-7-74, M.

Broome (1000); Hudson.

Benwell refers to his "curious survey from Goodwater Island to Cape Comorin"7; and for many years this was preserved in SGO, "Sketch of a route from Tutacoin to Kilker, Ramnaspoooram and Madura, reduced from the original done by Capt. P. Delafiel in Nov. 1764."8

Identity by no means certain, for no explanation can be given as to how this Bengal officer made surveys in S. peninsula; on the other hand, the only Madras officer of the name was Richard Delafiel, Envs. 5-9-70.

1775, Disand, by etal, owing to discontent in his batt. due to "his temperate and improper conduct as Commanding Officer"9.


Envs. 1-12-63; Writer, 1763...Senior Merth. 1774.

Son of Rev. Anthony Vinchon Des Voeux, Chmn. of H'M's Regt. of Horse Carabineers, formerly of Baccgearcourt, Normandy.

cr. Bart. of Indiville, Queen's co., 1-9-87.

1763, sent out as Writer and appd to Engrs. after arrival Madras [272]. 1765, O.C. troops reports "Mr. Des Voeux Engineer, left at Ongole to carry out repairs, and will be the more able to complete his chart of all our marches, and of this Country"10.

Probably res. Engr. comm. before April 1766.

1768 to 1771, to England for recovery of health.


d. 6-1-96.

Envs. 21-11-71...Capt. 25-2-81.

Hobson, 26-10-76, with 6th Batt. of Sepoys, stationed at Chitter, appd. asst. surv. with Ranken [qv] on survey in Rangpore [270]; survey closed three months later [36].


b. 1756-7. d. 16-1-1837.

Envs. 1778...Lt Col. 30-9-1803; Furl. from 18-2-1808; Ret. 29-8-1810.

EICM, II; Hobson.

1803-4, Comdg. column under Monson against Holkar.


b. 1758. d. 16-3-1821.

Envs (Engrs.) 9-12-70; Lt. (Engrs.) 17-11-75; Reversed to Inf. 4-9-76; Lt Col. 6-12-97; Ret. 30-7-1800.


Reversal to Inf. ordered in Directors' letter of 28-11-77, on representation by John Call of the injustice of his being brought into the Corps of Engrs. over the heads of Thomas Call [32] and others.

1781, Survd. route of Peas's Dett, Midnapore to Madras, except between Surapjedah and Ellore, where interrupted by damage to permulator [41, 199].

Large-scale plan of action, 20-1-82, between Eyrre Coote and Haidar Ali bears the initials P.D.15.

DUPERRON. see ANQUETIL-DUPERRON.

DU PLAT, Peter Joseph. 16th Regt., Corps of Hanoverians [99 n. 4].

Ard. Madras as Lieut., 1782; called Capt. in 1788.

Ens. 20-3 or 27-5-71 ... Capt. 20-1-75.

1768, Ardl. Madras, a private soldier of Inf. "in the Military", in the Seaboard; acted as dman. in CE's office from Aug. 1768.


Marawar campaign of 1772, surv'd route from Trichinopoly to Vallum [90]; siege of Tanjore, 1773.

Dec. 1773. Ordered to Masulipatam "to compleat the survey begun by Captain Stevens" [3.93].

MCC. 10-10-74, "Having for near three months been incapable of continuing the Survey from ill health, he is now advised by the Surgeon of Eillore to return to the Southward, as the only means of effecting a recovery." After a visit to Gunjampar, its environs he came down to Madras at the end of Nov.

The CE, Ross [qv], complained that he could not get Dugood to send in the plans of his survey of the Circars even though he "went to the Mount Races, where he was well enough to attend the amusements during the day, and to be at night at the Public tents, and still he did not complete the plans of his survey".

15-2-75. CE. sent him Govt. orders that the Drawings of the Survey should be completed as soon as possible, and in May told Govt. that he considered Dugood to have been "a very negligent servant to the Company..., as he was appointed to the Survey of the Masulipatam Circars in Decr. 1773, on which he was only employed between 11th March & 6th June, so that...he can only have surveyed but a months out of the 16 and he has been from June 6th to the end of April in protracting it. ... None of the Engineers experienced in Surveying have done less than Capt. Dugood, most of them a great deal more, and he, so far from intending to exert himself, has repeatedly declared that he would never do more than he was necessarily obliged to."

"It grieves me to be obliged to point out the infirmities that have been inflicted on Capt. Dugood by the hand of Providen, and that I am now under the necessity to remark on his natural defects, but as his shortness of sight essentially disqualifies him from some of the most important duties of an Engineer, ... I hope I shall be excused. His sight is nevertheless very strong, by which he is enabled to distinguish objects at a certain distance with great precision, and it is in this an advantage in Drawing or Projection, the business of the Survey appears to me particularly well adapted for him." Dugood took strong exception to this letter, and retorted by asperities on the CE's capacity as an administrative officer, and demanded a trial to clear himself from the charges made. Ross writes: "Capt. Dugood has been remarkably industrious to misrepresent my conduct everywhere: but I doubt not I shall be able to make it appear that I have acted a consistent part, & that Capt. Dugood has brought upon himself whatever may happen." The trial, now became the causa célèbre at the Presidency, and Dugood put up a stout defence. He said that after receiving orders to proceed to Masulipatam in Decr. 1773, he was helping Ross at Madras, and did not start the survey till March 22nd, working till May 10th; "Land Wmds coming on, obliged me to go in to Masulipatam, where I remained till 15th July... Then was taken ill of Bilious Fever and carried to Eillore." He pointed out that Ostfeld also was shortighted 9.

Even the Governor and C-in-C. were called as witnesses and cross-examined. The decision of the trial was announced in CO. of 15-12-75, with the following findings:


2nd. Conduct to the Prejudice of good order and military discipline.—Acquitted.

3rd. Conduct unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, with reference to his letter of 2-7-75, challenging the conduct of the Chief Engineer.—Acquitted; "the 1st does not appear that Col. Ross had not reason to conceive his Professional Character in some respects attempted to be sullied by the said letter" 11.

Dugood's survey, about which such a storm had been raised, was, after all, no mean effort, and he had submitted to the CE., 27-4-75, a large-scale survey of the irrigation channels led by the Godâvari, to which Dalrymple refers very favourably many years later [93, 105, 107] 12.

During 1776 he was employed on large-scale survey in the neighbourhood of Madras, under the directions of Dalrymple [94-5, 142-3, 331], and in Nov. he was called away to be an Asst. Engr. Tanjore. Towards the end of 1777 he carried out a survey between Vallam and "Serchingham" 13; then returning to Tanjore.


From Lincolnshire. m. Christiana —.

16-1-86, Appd. Asst. Survr. with expdn. to Chagos I. sailing from Bombay 15-3-86; expdn. withdrawn Oct. 1786 [123].

Continued as Asst. Survr. on Bombay est., joining Reynolds at Surat April 1789 [128, 273, 287].

Survr. with Frederick's deit. from Bombay for capture of Dahrwar, landing at Cardona at mouth of Jajergar, 25-11-90. After fall of Dahrwar volunteered to remain with Little's deit. and continued with it till return to Poona June 1792 [7, 113, 128-30].

Survr. not only route down to Seringapatam, both through Chitakrug and Shimga, but also the Tungabhadra R. from its source to junction with Kistna, and then west to Goa [187, 296]. Closed survey at Poona 3-6-92, after more than 18 months continuous work, and then allowed 3 months to finish maps 14 [177-8, 249].

1 G. Schnath, Die Kurzansöerische Landesaufnahme des 15. Jahrhundertes ... Berlin 1933-4. * Wolly (445). 8 Said to have been "Killed at Chittoor" 10-11-81, but admn. of will granted 4-7-79. 9 Emb. List. vol. 2, 1707-9 (30), & Mad. Muster Rolls, I.O. 1 Vibart (125). 6 MCC. 10-10-74. 7 Mack. MSS. LXV. Progs. of GM. 28-2-75. 8 Mack. MSS. LXVII. 28-5-75. 9b. 18-4-75, to Stevens. 10b. 9-6-75. 11HGO. 5-12-70, Mack. MSS. LXVIII. 12 Oriental Registery. II. 13 Siran. opposite Trichinopoly, 58 J. O. 14 Box Mc. 3-7-52.
Account of his visit, Nov. 1791, to the ruined city of Bijayanagar
by Rennell.  
From Nov. 1792, employed on survey in Malabar, returning to Poona on sick leave at end of 1794
[130-2 178, 202, 299]. Jan. 1795, Surv. route of Peshwa's army to Kharada, where it defeated
Nizâm's force [216, 130].

Having "suffered considerably from indisposition during his late employment in the field," obtained permission to
spend rainy season at Poona, and in Dec. submitted an application for return to Europe: "It is a matter of the most
mortifying to me, that from the alarming state of my health, I am reduced to the necessity of relinquishing my employment
as a Surveyor. The fatsigue which I have experienced, and the exertions I have unremittently made in that duty
for upwards of ten years, in various parts of the Peninsula, have brought upon me a disorder from which I have no
chance of recovery but by speedily returning to my native Country ". 2

Furl. was duly granted by GO. of 16-12-95, and he left for England shortly after, not to return.

French sergeant "of Captain Illen's company" of Artillery in service of English.
Surv. and draf. of plans of Trichinopoly and neighbourhood, showing operations against French between Sept. 1793 and Feb. 1794 [87].

Ens. 22-5-79; Lieut. 25-1-81; Furl. 20-11-86; Struck off. 1793.
M. 12-2-96, Catherine, eldest dau. of Joseph Skinner, of Aldgate High St., London, & of Wanstead Essex, who d.,
30-11-1835, aged 90.
Hedon.
10-9-78, Appd. Cadet from date of rank as Lieut. in the Bombay Marine, 18-8-78, "from the Ships under the
command of Captain Joseph Price" 4.
Sept. 1778 to March 1780, Officr. of a ship cruising from Coast of Coromandel by Ceylon. Nov. 1778, Nicobar Islands,
Strait of Malacca, Sumatra Dec. 1778, Malabar Feb. 1779, Madras April 1779, Straits of Malacca Sept. 1779, Diamond
Island Oct. 1779, Fort William 16-3-80.
Throughout these voyages took regular astr. obsns. for lat. and long. and, after posting to Ben. Int. his obsns. continue; Barrackpore Cant. Aug.

At end of 1781 apd. survr. with Chapman's mission to NâgPUR, which according to GG's instructions of 12-11-81 was "to strengthen and
increase the friendship and alliance virtually subsisting between that Government and ours ". [4, 42].

After arrival at NâgPUR, Ewart continued survey through the little known neighbourhood, adding to his range by sending out cossids to Hyderabad, Poona. Ujjain and other important places [286].

1784, brought a survey northwards from NâgPUR to Benares, where he joined his batt. These surveys cleared up much that was unknown in Central India, and by his frequent astr. obsns. their value was greatly enhanced.

Whilst at NâgPUR, "12 European vagrants surrendered to him", probably deserters who had found that a free life had its disadvantages.

Ewart was probably the first survr. in India to make use of a chronometer, buying one from Thomas Forrest [45-6], and passing it on to one of the expns. to the NW. coast of America [202].

In 1786, applied to be allowed to accompany this expn. as survr. "to make astronomical observations and surveys of
harbours, in which branch I have the honour of being employed; for some time past". Permission was given, but
Ewart did not go; two or three such expns. set out about this time, with the object of opening up trade in furs; two
of them came to grief not only through weather conditions but also through encounters with Spanish rivals 8.

Nov. 1786, whilst with 6th Eur. Batt. at Dinaapore, applied for furl. and, arriving in England at end of the following
April, was allowed to remain on half-pay; April 1790, permitted "to remain in England till next Season, but
apparently he never went out to India again, and was struck off the strength in 1793.

26-4-95, Wrote to Warren Hastings, congratulating him on the result of his trial, and regretting that he could not do so in person owing to the distance of his residence from London 9.

FALVEY, Dennis Morris. Ben. Inf.
d. unmn. 27-10-1806, Allahabad.
Ens. 18-9-80 ... Maj. 21-9-1804. Hedon.
Served on survey west of Agra as far as the Indus, and "travelled twice that way in the years 1787 and 1788; according to
him there is no river nor branch of the Indus between Jagnalmore and Beacor."
He was a well-informed man, who understood the country languages, and in his route he always took particular notes of the rivers which he crossed" 10.

d. Sept. 1774, Rânggarh.
Ens. 19-1-69 ... Lieut. 9-5-70. Hedon.
Served under Camae in Chota NâgPUR, and employed on survey till death [35, 225].
20-1-74, Camae reported to the Revenue Council that the Chota NâgPUR people were slow about paying the promised revenue, and had "collected the whole force of the country into a very strong hill, where they had amused Lt. Fennell for about 6 weeks" 11.
In his will, appld. his "worthy friend Jacob Camae" as one of his executors. "I give to Chudry, a little girl what has been with me from an infant, and been particular useful and Diligent in all my ackness, 300 Soon rupees; to Cosella, my eldest girl and took into my house at the Famine [1787], 300 Soan rupees. To Bunch 200 St. Rs, and to other servants."
The remainder to his aunt in London, Mrs. Hester Mertzed; "I have no slaves, all my people are free at my decease" 12.

b. 7-3-43. d. 4-9-73. Cape Town.
Ens. 29-8-65 ... Lieut. 7-1-67 ... Resd. 24-1-69. Eldest son of Rev. Adam and Amelia Ferguson, of Mullna, Scotland.
Hedon.
One of the officers of 1st Brt. who mutinied in 1766.
1767-8, comdy. column of sepoys on the western borders of Mysore, keeping journal and sketch of his route till

misgivings to compass; captured Ghatelias Fl. \[28-9, 900\].
Objected to Carter's views regarding position of frontier line \[29-6\].

Jan. 1769, to Europe on account of ill-health and, Aug. 1770, authorised "to compile a dictionary of the Hindustani Language, taking care to bring the orthography of the Hindustani words, to be printed in the roman characters, as similar in sound and accent to the English as possible! \[28-9\].

Mr. son of Henry to rejoin from England, but killed in duel at Capetown by Captain Roche under circumstances that Roche was recalled to stand trial in England.

"The case became famous in the history and the ethics of duelling during the two subsequent years." 11


b. c. 1751. d. 5-1-61, Nágpur; M. I.

Witter 1710 ... Senior Merit. 1782.

D.E.: D.B.; Forster.

1782-4, made a remarkable overland journey from India to Europe through Persia \[214, 233\], and pub. account, 1784.

1788, on return to India, appd. Resdt. at Nágpur \[327, 301\], being accompanied on journey from Kálpi by the survr. J. N. Rind \[43\]. On another journey, Cuttack to Nágpur, 1790, route was survd. by James Davidon, commd. escort \[82, 187, 337\].


b. c. 1720-2. d. 29-12-1805.

Arrd. Calcutta, 20-8-40; Resdt. June 1758.

3rd son of Henry Frankland, Governer of Bengal 1724-5, and Mary his wife.

Bentham's Buronarjut 1802; Holman \[143\].

Buzay or buzzay \[352\], paymaster and acctt. Fl. William, 1750 avoided "the Black Hole" by escaping from the fort to the ships, playing "a somewhat inglorious part" as described by Holwell; "Mears. M. & Frankland, the first Colonel and the other Lieutenant-Colonel of the Militia, Conducted the Ladies on board, and I understood were to return when they had reconciled the Ladies to their Situation, but they never returned again." 12

1757, responsible for the supply of building materials and bricklayers to the engineers on the new Fl. William, 1758, sixth Member of Council, and Import Warehouse-keeper. App'd to survey the 24-Parganas which had just been annexed, 1758, avoided "the Black Hole" by escaping from the fort to the ships, playing "a somewhat inglorious part" as described by Holwell; "Mears. M. & Frankland, the first Colonel and the other Lieutenant-Colonel of the Militia, Conducted the Ladies on board, and I understood were to return when they had reconciled the Ladies to their Situation, but they never returned again." 12

1757, responsible for the supply of building materials and bricklayers to the engineers on the new Fl. William, 1758, sixth Member of Council, and Import Warehouse-keeper. App'd to survey the 24-Parganas which had just been annexed, 1758, avoided "the Black Hole" by escaping from the fort to the ships, playing "a somewhat inglorious part" as described by Holwell; "Mears. M. & Frankland, the first Colonel and the other Lieutenant-Colonel of the Militia, Conducted the Ladies on board, and I understood were to return when they had reconciled the Ladies to their Situation, but they never returned again." 12

His Garden House became the Loretto Convent now in Middleton Row. 13

Between 1758 and 1760, spent two years travelling home overland by way of the Persian Gulf. From Baghdad he crossed the desert to Palestine in the guise of a "Tartar messenger," and then sailed to Constantinople.

"Returned to England and purchased Muntaham, Sussex; M.P. for Thirsk York. 1788; Sheriff of Sussex 1782. ... Spent his later years in seclusion & study; much interested in mechanical experiment, for which he had an elaborate equipment at Muntaham." 13


b. c. 5-7-76. d. 15-3-1829, Bath.

Engrs. 2-1-96 ... Capt. 14-7-1808; Resd. 1-3-1819.


Some time a Lieut. in H.M.'s 8th Brig. Fusiliers. 1756, Adj. of Engrs. at siege of Seringapatam; Engr. & Surv. to Read's Dett. 14

June 1799, Appd. to survey duties under Mackenzie surrd. island of Seringapatam \[118\]; after a few months returned to Madras on the sick list. 15


Engrs. 16-9-67 ... Maj. 25-7-81; Resd. 22-1-84.

Hodson.

1767, in campaign against Nizám, surrd. march of Peach's dett., Eilore to Wannahul, \[2, 115, 170\].

The artist, William Hodges, stayed with him at Chumár in 1783. 14


b. c. 1746. d. 24-10-1815.

Lt. Ferkr. 26-10-67 ... Maj. Gen. 3-5-96; Ret. 31-1-1805.

Son of Andrew Geils.

m. Madras, 3-2-74, Miss Mary Pascal.

1788, during Mysore War acted as Pd. Engr., there being no engr. with the army. 1774, Senior Qmr. on the Coast; acted as DQMG during siege of Tanjore. 1774, Appd. to comnd. the Company of Guides, and to carry out survey of the Carnatic, but the Nawáb objected to survey, and after correspondence lasting over a year, proposal was abandoned \[90-1\].


b. c. 1765. d. 17-4-1824.

Engrs. 15-1-83 ... Capt. 30-9-1803; Ret. 22-1-1808.

Hodson.

Will, dated Tours, France, 3-11-1829, describes him "of Rochdole, Edinburgh," and refers to his wife, Mrs. Dorothea Montague Alison or Gerard, to whom he left "his sugar Plantations, known as Belvins, in the Island of St. Vincent, and property in the shire of Larne." 15 Left two sons, Archibald and John, and a daughter Dorothea Jane. Uncle to the survr. Alexander Gerard \[1792-1839\].

1793, Survd. route of Kirkpatrick's mission to Nepal \[75\]. Afterwards Ag. Bengal.


Ass't Surg. Feb. 1782; Surg. 21-10-94; Ret. 6-1-1809.

L.D. Edinburgh, 1804.


To India as Ass't Surg. RN.

Employed on philological work nearly the whole of his service. Author of an English-Hindustani Dictionary, pub. Calcutta, 1787-90. A later edn. was adv. as, "Gilchrist's Hindustani Dictionary & Grammar," by John Gilchrist, Russapagla, near Calcutta, with his system of Hindustani Philology. He intends to proceed to Europe in Jan. 1797." 16

1800, Appd. Head of Ft. William College on its foundation; took furl. to Europe, Feb. 1804, and did not return to India. 1818-20, Professor of Hindustani to EIC in London.

His "System of Orthography of Indian names" was more generally used than the more orthodox system of Sir William Jones, and was followed in the Revenue Survey Dept. until the universal introduction of Dr. Hunter's system in 1870 \[249-50\].

GOLDINGHAM, John. Astronomer.

d. 1849.

15-3-88, Appd. astt. to Topping for astr. obsvs.; 5-2-96, Astronomer & Marine Surveyor; 9-2-1805, Leave to England; 31-1-1812, Resumed appt. in Madras; Ret. 1830.

1 CM. 8-8-70. 2 Twelve Indian Statesmen (7), George Smith. 1827. 3 Leckie (1-30); Wills (86-118). 4 Letter to Rom. Council 17-7-56, HMS. 92 (290), 504 (353); cf. HMS. 193 (40-5); & Grove II. 242. 5 Wilson, C., 5-1-61. 6 Holtman (2, 77, 143). 7 Vibarti (327). 8 Govt. letter of 13-9-98 & M. FL. 19-4-1800. 9 Hodges (33). 10 Ben Wills. 1827.

b. 1752-3. d. before 1812.

Enr. 176-78 ... Maj. 19-5-98; Ret. March 1806.

m. Madras, 18-9-99, Miss Susannah Eilker; left 2 sons: Richard James, Mad. Art.; and Edward Thomas, Mad. Civ.


b. 6-3-49. d. 18-10-1803, at Fategarh, of wound received 30th September.

Enr. 15-3-73 ... Lt Col. 21-4-1800.

Son of Hugh Guthrie, of Kilmarnock. Hodson.

1789, visited Garwhal with the artists Thomas & William Daniel, and fixed the position of Srinagar by compass and parambulator [73].


b. c. 1756. d. 3-3-1835.

Fwrk. 10-9-78. MajGen. 12-8-1819.

Distinguished botanist.

* FIMC. I. (178-9); Hodson.

1759, starting from Fategarh with Dr. Hunter [340], proceeded alone from Afnepahur to Hardwar, and then from Najbidal across the hills to Srinagar in Garwhal, arriving 29-4-66. Left interesting journal, with description of the upper Ganges and scenery range.

A plot of his route and sketch of the Ganges is preserved in Calcutta [77-7]. He was not a surveyor, and the plot bears a note by Colebrooke, "It is impossible that in this mountainous Country a Day's Journey should amount to 12 Goo".


bapt. 1-6-47. d. 1810-11.

Enr. 3-2-69 ... Capt. 13-10-78; Resd. 5-1-84.

Son of Rev. Amos Harvey & Elizabeth his wife. Hodson.

Amongst maps in Orme's possession in 1770 was a survey of the W. part of Montana by Lieut. 'Harvey': no other officer seems to fit.

1773, with John Jones [qr] at action "Delamotte".

HAVILLAND. See DE HAVILLAND.

HAYWOOD, John James. RN.

b. c. 1773. d. 10-12-98.

Midshipman, 20-6-96. Ast. to SG. 5-1-98.

SG. recommended appnt. thus:

I take the liberty of recommending to the notice of Government a young man of the name of J. Haywood, now a midshipman belonging to HMS. La Sybille, who, having long been afflicted with sickness and the hardships incident to a sea life, has, with the concurrence of his commanding officer, Capt. Cooke, determined on leaving the service. Mr. Haywood was sent on a voyage of discovery on board HMS. Providence, in the course of which he assisted in a survey of the NW. coast of America and California, but coming afterwards to Japan, the Providence was unfortunately wrecked near that island, when Capt. Broughton and the crew saved in a small tender of the same name, in which they arrived at Canton, and proceeded from thence to Trincomalee.

"Mr. Haywood was at that place sent on board the Sybille in a bad state of health, owing to the hardships he had undergone, but his principal reason for leaving the Navy is that he has been, with little intermission, afflicted with the scurvy ever since he took to the sea. He now lies sick at the General Hospital, where he is well taken care of, and in a fair way of recovery, but the medical gentlemen, I understand, have declared that he will be liable to a relapse should he again go to sea, and be put on a salt diet."
"As Mr. Haywood appears to possess in an eminent degree the scientific knowledge and qualifications requisite for a Surveyor, and is otherwise recommended by his Captain, as a young man of excellent character, his appointment is strongly recommended."1

His appt. was sanctioned but he died the following month [271, 278].

HEATH, Robert Tyrrell. Bon. Inf.
   b. c. 1764. d. 1-10-1813, Bombay, Ml.
   Lieut. 11-3-81 ... Col. 4-6-1813.
   m., Bombay, 9-6-92, Miss Ann Hinton; left a son Henry (1794-1818) who became Lieut. Bon. Inf.
   Bo. Ml, 9-7-92, Ass't. Survr. with Emmitt from April to July 1791 [120].

HEMMONNEAU, André. Draughtsman.
   d. 31-12-99, Calcutta.
   Son of Joaquim Hemmonneau and Frances Castello, of Pondicherry, and half-brother to Jean Boisseau [239].
   m., Calcutta, Maria, dau. of Ferdinand Desplontier, and Maria (George Panger, of Calcutta).
   In COL's office, Madras, from 1773 till moved to Bengal in 1781, and served in S60, till granted pension in July 1798 [236, 237]. Govt. refused an application to continue this pension to his widow.

   d. 1770; lost at sea.
   Junior Chmn. 18-3-62, Resd. 29-11-64.
   Son of Rev. Wm. Hirst, D.D., Master of Hertford Free School; Vicar of Benges & Bector of Seacombe, Hertford.
   RA., Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1760; M.A. 1764; F.R.S. 14-11-54.
   "DB.; DIB.; Hyde (71, 127).
   Chmn. RN. to Adm. Cornish; arrd. East Indies and present at siege of Pondicherry 1760-1. Whilst staying at Govt. House, Madras, obeyed transit of Venus 6-6-91 [153, 169, 296].
   Returned to Europe with Governor Vansittart, sailing Calcutta, 26-11-64.
   His astr. obers. used in compilation of Dunn's map of Bengal [222]. Amongst surveys taken home to Orme by Vansittart was a "map of the river Samelpore, laid down by Mr. Hirst."2
   Returning to India with Vansittart and Francis Forde on board the Aurora, sailed from Cape of Good Hope 27-12-60, and never heard of again.

HOARE, James Griffith. Ben. Inf.
   d. 9-8-88, Barraqukopare, unm.
   Ensl. 13-1-83 ... Lt. Capt. 7-1-96.
   Hodson.
   May 1794, appd. 3rd. Asst. to SG. [271].
   1794-5. Survd. a possible connection between the Ganges and Hooghly [65].
   Survd. Jumna R. from Allahabad to Delhi [8, 57] reaching Agra by the end of June 1796, and remaining there several months [168, 185, 300].
   On his complaint that he was not receiving allowances regularly, SG. pointed out that this was because he had not sent in monthly copies of his fdks. [166-7], and reported to Govt., 10-3-97, that "Nothing material has been received at this office from Lieut. Hoare, who was deputed near two years since on a survey of the Jumma River, and that this officer has not in any adequate degree fulfilled the orders of Government, or my instructions, having been upwards of 8 months at Agra, where he has been detained partly by sickness and other causes, there appears to be little hope remaining that he would ever accomplish the object of his deputation, I beg leave therefore...to recommend that he be immediately recalled."3

To Hoare he wrote, "The plea of sickness which you have urged could not exonerate you from this part of your duty, particularly as it appears by your letters, most of which are written in a fair and legible hand, that you have never been totally incapacitated from writing."4 Hoare carried his survey on to Delhi, and was then recalled.

His plea of sickness was obviously genuine, for he died the following year, being buried at S. Park St. Cem. (Ml).

He had made his will two years before at Agra; "Being this day severely hit by a small dog, and at present uncertain of its actual state of health, I am induced to make such preparations in time."

"Let the Horse I purchased from Mr. Treers be offered to him again, as I have no other mode of paying him, and beg his forgiveness for me. I was much deceived in the horse."5

His fdks. are preserved, and contain several neat and artistic little pen-and-ink sketches; his maps are preserved in Calcutta.6

Willford quotes Hoare as authority for some Hindu legend: "This information was procured, at my request, by the late Lieutenant Hoare, who was remarkably fond of enquiries of that sort; and to whom I am indebted for several curious historical anecdotes...relating to the geography of the Gangetic Provinces."7

   bapt. 18-10-54, Lisbon. d. 1791.
   Writer. 1771 ... Senior Merv. 1782.
   Eldest son of Daniel & Susannah Hoissard.
   1786, Ass't to Resdl. at Nagore, residing at Nagapattam; Survd. lands of Nagapattam and Nagore, a survey which, being "very erroneous" as regards relative positions of principal towns, Goldingham recomposed on Topping's survey of coast-line [103].
   Will, ad. on board ship in Point de Galle Harbour, 12-11-90, describes him as "lately resident of Nagore"8.

HOWE, the Hon. Thomas. Mar. Service, EIC.
   d. 14-11-71.
   Swom 2nd Mate, 11-10-64; Comd. 29-6-67.
   4th son of Enamal Scrope Howe, 2nd Viscount Howe (Debrett, 1803).
   30-12-57, Appd. Comd. of Winchelsea: April 1759, sailed from Madras with Dalrymple as passenger for Bombay and Sulu Is. [183, 330]; sailed again from England 15-3-62, losing ship at mouth of the Hooghly 20-3-64.

---

1Dm. 16 (94), 30-10-98. 2Orne MSS. 134. 3BMG, 19-5-94 (28). 4DDA. 14 (10). 5DDA. 14 (28), 28-3-97.
11CM. 1-10-54; MPC. & IO. Logs. vol. 596 D.
 b. 1755. d. 16-12-1813, Batavia, in Java.  
 A. S. Surg. 4-3-82; Surg. 21-10-84.  
 Had a bro, Rev. Charles Hunter, and house property,  
 in Edinburg.  
 m. Charlotte, who d. Calcutta 9-12-1888, and had three  
 dau. one of whom, Elizabeth, m., 2-2-1811, John Ramsay,  
 Ben. Inf.  
 M.A. 1777; M.D. 1805; of Mareschal Coll, Aberdeen  
 'NDB. DIB.  
 1785, pub. Concise Account of the Kingdom of Pegu.  
 1790, appd. Surg. to Resdt. with Sindia and,  
 1792 survd. route from Fategarh to Ujijain  
 Resdt. writes, 21-12-92, from "Ogeine. An epidemical  
 fever has prevailed here ever since the Rains, and  
 few persons in my camp have escaped it; Mr. Hunter  
 the Surgeon has, for several days past, been in  
 a very deplorable situation, but I am more apprehensive  
 for the loss of his reason, than of his life."  
 Made a good recovery and during the next four  
 years made surveys of Sindia's marches, taking  
 frequent astr. obsns. through a country of which  
 there was little accurate knowledge [ 50, 108, 234].  
 March 1786, with Thomas Hardwicke from Fategarh  
 to Anushahar, running a promambulator traverse, and  
 visiting several Indigo plantations.  
 Hardwicke expressed regret that  
 Hunter could not have accompanied him to Orscha  
 for "the Public would have obtained much important  
 information from the labours of a person of Mr. Hunter's abilities &  
 intimate knowledge of every branch of natural philosophy."
  
 1800, on committee investigating instruments  
 purchased from Dinwiddie for Lambton's survey [129].  
 1807, Presidency Surg., Calcutta.  
 1786-1811, Sec. Asiat. Soc. at Calcutta; Amt. to  
 Professor of Hindustani [240], also Sec. and Librarian, at  
 William College from 1806. Pub. Hindustani-English  
 Dictionary 1808.  

 2nd Liet. 11-10-64 ... Capt. 25-3-65.  
 "Bodson. A Dutch Huygens "designed a pendulum clock in 1656".  
 Oct. 1762, Appd. Sub-Engr. under Poller [q. v.] on works  
 at Ft. William.  
 Oct. 1763, Engr. at Berhamore  
 1763, survd. Ganges, Allahabad to Kanoge,  
 and Allahabad to Benares 12 [ 21, 225].  
 1766, Feb. Survd. the Ganges; Benares to Patna 15;  
 with 3rd Brigade during "Batta" mutiny, but did not  
 take part.  
 From October, survd. the passes thro' Rajmahal  
 Hills and to southern [ 25, 33, 225, 269].

 d. 21-1-87, Susan, unm.  
 Enns. 20-2-69 ... Capt. 28-1-79.  
 Son of Mary Hyde; had an uncle, Thomas Lewis, of  
 Tottenham High Cross, Middlesex; also a bro, David.  
 Hodson.

1 Mar. Rec. Misc. 651 (4) & CM.  
 2 Memoir, 1793 (46).  
 "B" 1784 (47).  
 3 Narrative, As A.R. 1800 (277-310).  
 5 Hardwick's journal, MB10.  
 6 Sometimes Huggens or Huggins.  
 7 EM. Addl., MSS. 0649 (24).  
 8 Orme MSS. 65 (30).  
 9 MB10, 167 (9).
March 1779 to May 1780, acting Ed. Engr. with 1st Bri. at Caunporne, surrd. Jumna R. from Etawah to Allahabad; maps beautifully drawn, with copious notes of military interest [35].
Aug. 1781, stationed at Kali; Dec. 1786 to March 1787, made other surveys along Jumna.

b. c. 1767. d. 6-2-93, in India.
Fwrk. 1-3-87.
Oct. 1791 to March 1792, Surrd. route from Mangla to Dhurrwar with Little's Dett. [128]; classed as "valuable survey" by Jopp (1822).

b. 12-12-37. d. 7-10-1802.
Ens. 14-12-08 ... Lt Col. 2-4-58.
Son of Edward Ironside, of Twickenham, banker, Lord Mayor. Hodson.
24-9-90. Conmy. & Judge Advocate to the army; 8-7-62, Town Major. Ft. William; 27-4-62, Report on Monghyr Fort. Sent Orme a journal of Maj. Patna's march to Gaurhati (or Girhiti), near Calcutta, via "the Bihar Passes"; also list of stages along through Bengal, with geographical descriptions of provinces and districts, and routes in the Upper Provinces [36].
1767, Rennell used his values for lat. of Calcutta, Burdwan, and Malda; also information about march from "Hedgepoo to Botryah," and, in later maps, the "road from Serampore to Ayturah." [37]

bapt. 23-2-51, Calcutta. d. 12-8-1817.
Writer 22-10-66 ... Senior Merch. 1778; Ret. 1794. Son of Capt. James Irwin, of Ben. Council and Rescommon, Ireland & Sarah his wife.
m. 1778, Honor dau. of Rev. Wm. Brooke of co. Longford.
DNB; Holman (147).
1776, with Dalrymple supported Lord Pigot against his Council [266 n. 6]; sent home, but reinstructed later; pub. account of journey home via Red Sea, possibly with Dalrymple [334].
1780-85, again in India; 1792, on mission to China. Wrote verse: portrait by Romney.

d. 1783, in Mysoore.
Fwrk., 31-7-71 ... 2nd Capt. 14-2-70.
April 1783, taken prisoner at Bednar [125], and d. in captivity.
Surv. in N. Konkan and 1779, detailed to assist in survey of Broach [122].

Fwrk. (Mad.) 15-6-54; tr. to Ben. Est. 1757 ... M. 11-12-65.
Son of Joseph & Mary Jennings of High Wycombe.
m. Host.
Ed. RMA. with Knox [qv], probably 1750-21.

1755, Surrd. marches of Heron's force from Trichinopoly to Madura & Tinnivelly, and country round Madura [87, 271].
With Clive to Bengal at the end of 1756, with Art. from Madras*, succeeding to comd. the Ben. Company of Art. as Capt., 29-5-57.
Comdg. Ben. army at Sawant, near Karamnisa R. [24 n. 7], Feb. 1764, to the Eur. contingent mutinied, "the exertions of Jennings & Lt. Claud Martin" [qv] prevented more than a small number deserting into Oudh [23-10-64], Comdg. Art. at battle of Buxar, before which had been employed with Nicol [qv] on survey of battlefield.

d. 11-2-1846.
Ens. 31-5-85 ... Bt. Lt Col. 4-6-1814; Ret. 15-8-1819.
M. Dorothea Meneling. CB. 4-6-1815.
ELMC. I (229).
Nov. 1790, with Frederick's force to Durrwar as Asst. Survr. and after fall of Durrwar surrd. return route of the dett. via Poonah [128-9].
Joined Bom. army in Malabar and, Jan. 1792, surrd. route into Mysoore [131] and various routes round Seringapatam [113]. March 1792, joined Maratha army, making surveys on march back to Bombay.
Mentioned by Moor more than once; "A party of about 300 Banyars now made their appearance, when 500 Mahattas mounted and vowed vengeance upon them; to encourage them, Lieut. Johnson put himself at their head, and they charged to within 100 yards of the Banyars ..."
"Mr. Cruse [126] had the misfortune to break his arm, which at this time was peculiarly unhappy, as his utmost exertions were required with the hospital department. ... Rice this evening in the bazaar was three Rupees per seer. ... On the 19th the Army marched, and were, as usual, pestered by the Banyars, on whom a gun or two was opened in the rear. ... Make the best of our way to Hurry Hal. ..."
"On 4th of May the sick and wounded, with the heavy baggage of our party, proceeded to Goa; ... Lt. Johnson also went to survey another route to Goa, and thence to Poonah, by way of Talgum and Merseh" [38].
At the end of 1792, sent with Emmett to survey boundaries of Malabar, and remained in that province till the 6th Mysore war [7, 130, 131, 298]. 1795 on engr. duties at siege of Cochin, and at end of 1798 on works at Palghat. 1-12-96, Report on gun-roads through Malabar [39]. 1799, Surrd. route of Bombay army to the siege of Seringapatam [118], and there employed on the north batteries under Mackenzie [351]. 1800 and 1801, on survey and engr. duties in N. Canara and Durrwar, and the following year in charge of defence works at Hallyal in which Wellesley was much interested [40].

d. 26-2-93, Edinburgh.
Ens. 18-4-74 ... Maj. 29-9-83; on halfpay to Europe, 4-7-89.
m. 10-11-92, Margaret, eldest dau. of John Blair, of Balfhayock, Co. Perth.

Sailed for India April 1783. Founded Asiatic Soc. of Bengal 1784, his first presidential address being on the subject of orthography.

"During his residence at Calcutta he tried to solve one of the chief difficulties of translations of Oriental Classics into European Languages" by his system of orthography. This system stood for the next 80 years as rival to that of Dr. Gilchrist [qv] [240-50].

Much interested in height of Himalayan peaks [77, 332] and Burrow's survey [165, 319].

Besides a Memoir on his life and writings, Lord Teignmouth edited "The Works of Sir William Jones 1807".

KELLY, Robert. Mad. Inf. b. 1738. d. 24-9-90, killed in duel at Arnil. 5

Ens. 6-10-90 ... Col. 8-11-85.

Nephew of John Barr, of Monaghan in Ulster, who left him land.

En. (7) Miriam —, who gave him 3 sons, Robert, George, and Hastings Montague, and 1 dau. [344].

1764, At blockade of Madura and capture of the fort of Verdagherry. 5

1766-7, Stationed at Masulipatam and, having been often employed on engr. duties, was given charge of defence works at Masulipatam, Ellore, and other places. Survd. roads leading to Ellore and along "the Frontiers of Elour and Mustaphamgar Circars". 6

12-10-67. Reported from Samneocat 5 that "much of the work has been washed away by the excessive rains. ... Just at this juncture, Gentlemen. I was seized with a violent disorder which has continued on me ever since, with very little intermission, and which I have great reason to think has been another unfortunate cause of the backwardness of the work, ... for had I been always present, and able to oversee the works, I am certain there would have not only been more done, ... but better done."

27-11-67, Appd. to cmd. a company in the Eur. Batt., but the following year. writes the Council, "as field Engineers are much wanted with the army under Col. Smith 6, we have ordered Capt. Kelly to return & join him in".

At the end of 1768, left in cmd. of fort at Kolali 10, and the following March reported that he had beaten off several attacks. Peace was declared the next month, but Kelly was now in trouble for having reported that Kolali could not hold out owing to shortage of provisions, whereas these proved sufficient to last till peace came. He was brought to trial, and acquitted, but Govt. refused to accept the verdict; "they consider that Capt. Kelly wished to exaggerate his difficulties, so as to enhance his own merit; the Board therefore Dismiss Capt. Kelly from the Company's service. If he makes due apology they are prepared to reinstatc him".

Kelly duly wrote "expressing his concern for his conduct and the justness of the Board's displeasure, and request[ing] to be restored to his rank in the Service", which was granted. 11

1779, to Trichinopoly with his company of Europeans, 38 strong, and ordered by the Governor to make a survey on the way, and to put up proposals for a general survey of the Carnatic. The scheme he put forward was not taken up, but from this time onward he had no opportunity of making all the surveys he could. [3, 89-90, 95].

1MCC. 6-1-77. 2Mack MSS. LXVIII. 12-12-79. 3Jones (107. 109). 4As R.I. 557 P.h. 6Vibart I (88).

9MCC. 29-1-60. 10Skimleton, 65 K/4. 11MCC. 12-10-67. 121st Moscow War (11). 13MCC. 11-7-68. 1257 K/4.

13MCC. 10-7-69 to 23-12-69.
1-4-71, Appd. to cmd. the 9th Batt. of Sepoys; 1775, his batt. was ordered to Bombay to take part in lat war against the Marathas [121]. He was ordered to “leave the field pieces of the battalion at Trichinopoly, and proceed to Palamettah, and thence through Travancore to Anjengo to embark for Bombay. Before reaching Palamettah he reported that his batt. objected to making the voyage by sea; “the glory of the 9th Battalion is now totally extinguished... on board ship they will not go” [40].

The Council called for volunteers from other batts. to make up a unit in their place; but Kelly meantime had held a council, which decided that the “Black acting Commandant” was alone responsible for the mutiny, and, “as the exigency of the case required, in his opinion, the most exemplary and the most striking mode of inflicting the punishment, he had caused the Commandant to be blown from a gun, in the presence of the Battalion, which to the number of 300 men turned out voluntarily to witness the execution; Capt. Kelly thinks he will have no occasion for any recruits, and, from the behaviour of the Sepoys at the execution of the Commandant, he hopes that there will be few desertions;” the Board commanded the manner in which he handled the situation 1.

The march proceeded, and on March 5th Kelly was able to report, “I arrived at Anjengo with my stubborn Battalion at 7 O’clock this morning,” and successfully embarked it the following day. He wrote from Bombay 6-6-75, “I received orders to march to Salsat, with 4 companies of my Sepoys, to repel the Mahattas;... this service being happily effected, was joined by the remainder of my Battalion;...—commanded a mixed force watching the Mahattas;...—depth of the monsoon, remaining till 9th August.

“Returned to Bombay, hospitals crowded with our men.... In October [1777] we marched to Salset again, and after 12 days returned to garrison duty at Bombay” [41].

He remained with the troops, and negotiations to establish a fort, which was eventually granted, and on 24-7-76 the Bombay Govt. advised Madras that they were sending him back with “the remainder of his Battalion. We mention with pleasure that Capt. Kelly’s conduct whilst under our directions, and particularly in repelling the Mahratta invasion upon Salsat, has given us perfect satisfaction” [42].

1777, Kelly’s batt. was ordered up to the hills of Cuittore, to operate against the poligars 1 on behalf of the Nawab of Carnatic [257], but “after sustaining some loss was found unequal to the undertaking, and more Battalions and artillery had to be sent. On the force entering the Polabans by Skilakaner they [the poligars] made their submission.... When the detachment was withdrawn, Capt. Kelly was left with his Battalion to see order restored, who even in the hour of submission found it expedient for his security to entrust himself to the hands of a Ghulam, where he remained several months and on retiring destroyed the works he had made.” 12-4-78, he wrote from Conjeevanam, “On the Arrival of my Battalion from Bombay in the beginning of 1776, it was ordered to canton in this village;... there have never been any regular barracks.... [We] put the temporary quarters into repair;... just as we had rendered them a little comfortable, we were ordered to take the field against some troublesome Poligars in this neighbourhood; We kept the field about 8 months, & on our return to Cuttorens, we found our quarters very much out of repair again....” The Board refused compensation as no estimate had been put for previous sanction before the repairs were carried out. 5

June 1778, Granted leave to go to sea on account of health; asked permission to proceed to England, but changed his mind and before the end of the year put up to Govt. proposals for a regular survey of the Carnatic, with an account of the surveys he had been carrying out on his own account since 1770 [89-90, 272]. He was asked to estimate the cost of his proposals, and worked out an establishment for a regular survey dept. [263]. Govt. found the scheme attractive, but could not face the expense without reference to the Directors, though in the meantime they gave Kelly the allowances of a major, with permission to do what survey he could by himself [97, 249, 250].

Whilst this scheme was under consideration, Kelly acted as CE. to an expn. sent to the west coast to capture the French settlement of Mahé, which surrendered without a siege, 14-3-79. He then spent several months on survey till, in June 1780, the whole Presidency was mobilised to resist the invasion of Haidar Ali [97]. Hector Munro assembled the army at Conjeevanam, and there awaited the arrival of Baillie’s force from the north, a reinforcement necessary before he could engage Haidar Ali with confidence [40].

“The country round Conjeevanam [pl. 9.] being extremely flat and woody, it was impossible to reconnoitre closely with cavalry: we therefore had no other means of observing the movements of the enemy than from the top of an high pagoda in this city, on which a telescope was fixed entirely under the eye of Major Kelly, a vigilant officer, who engaged to communicate, by signals from this steeple, every motion of the Mysore army with the greatest exactness; this indeed was an excellent expedient” [43].

This anxious watch was no avail, for Baillie’s force was intercepted and destroyed on Sept. 10th [40]. Kelly was now ordered to join his batt. at Tanjore, and on Jan. 1783 was conning a bikt. of 4 batts.

During the rains of 1781 and 1782 he took leave to Calcutta, and there addressed the G G in C. on the subject of his surveys, submitting a copy of his Atlas of the South Peninsula, probably the identical copy now preserved in S G O. [240-3; plgs. 9, 15]. The Council granted him 30,000 aroct rupees [279 n. 1] but though they wrote home most pressingly to the Directors, the Court would not face the expense of a regular survey, nor did Kelly’s request to be made “Geographer to the Company on the Coast” meet with any better success [263].

Haidar Ali d. Dec. 1782 and Sir Eyre Coote the following April [4]. The French, who had been supporting the Mysore cause, now received reinforcements under the veteran Bussy [320], but had to bear the brunt of the English attacks, for the operations of the Bombay army on the west coast had drawn Tippu away from the Carnatic [125]. Kelly with his 4th Btk. took a prominent part in the attack on Cuddalore, 13-6-83, but the siege was not pressed home after news arrived from England that peace had been signed.

Kelly now joined Fullarton’s army and surved its marches from Negapatam and Madura to Paigahit and Coimbatore, sending a copy of map with full report to the supreme Govt. [4, 98, 170, 178-9, 185].

After the conclusion of peace he set to work to complete his atlas in addition to his other military duties [242]. In June 1786 the Directors passed a copy of his map to Rennell, writing, “if Major Rennell will take the trouble of calling at India House, Mr. M. will be happy in submitting it to his inspection.” [12]
In these labours Kelly was at times helped by his eldest son Robert, who writes that he took with him to England about 1786 "a set of maps of the Carnatic, with a copy of the Colonel's map of vast expense, much labor, and great study, in which work your petitioner [Robert Jr.] assisted in the intervals of his military occupations" [220].

1785, Kelly got regular comd. of the 4th Rti, and in 1788 was comgd. the troops at Waaliseld. On the outbreak of war with Tipu in 1790, the Madras Govt. received a "a variety of information concerning in announcing an intended invasion of the Carnatic by a very formidable Force of Horse and Foot. We have been compelled to issue orders for assembling in the field the greatest part of the Troops scattered in the center Division. We have put the whole under the command of Col. Kelly, an officer of great experience and have entrusted him with the defense of the country"

Kelly's responsibilities were very clearly defined; "the very heavy expense which will be incurred renders it necessary that every attention should be paid to economy; ... he will keep this circumstance constantly in view, and be very cautious that his recommendations be liable to the least possible expense. Proper attention be paid to the security of Poonammal, Trinco, Conjeeveram, and Caramgool, where there are considerable supplies of grain".

There were endless preparations to be made before the army could be ready for action, and Kelly had to write to the CE, 20-9-90, "Why do you send as Engineers without Tools? Pray insist immediately for abundance of them". The public chased at the delay, and the Madras Courier of Sept. 14th wrote;

"The Western Army remain in Camp near Amee, panting with impatience for commencing their plan of operations and co-operating with the great force in the South, to the general object".

Kelly's command was cut off by a shocking tragedy. He was killed in duel by a brother officer, Urban Vigors. There still existed at Amee up to some port time ago, "an imposing column, about 60 feet high ... in the old parade ground in the Fort..." bearing the following inscription; "Robert Kelly. Sacred to the memory of Colonel Robert Kelly, who departed this life in the vicinity of Amee September 29th A.D. 1790, aged 32. This monument was erected by Lieut. Colonel Urban Vigors as a mark of respect for a gallant soldier. ... Tradition says that on Col. Kelly's appointment to command, Vigors spoke of him as 'an old woman' to his wife, who repeated the remark to Mrs. Kelly, who insisted upon Kelly obtaining 'satisfaction'..."

Kelly is a striking instance of a zealous and practical surveyor who was at the same time a distinguished soldier; there is no doubt that if the Company had been in a position to spend the money on the regular survey he proposed, and if the Nawab had been persuaded to give his consent to it, Kelly would have been a most successful Surveyor General, but Madras had to wait 20 years after his death before such an office was created.

Nothing is known of his wife, Miriam, except that she d. at St. Thomas' Mount 28-6-1837; no record has been found of their marriage; on the other hand there is a letter amongst the Palk papers, 2-8-86, which mentions that "the natural son of Col. Kelly" had arrived in India with commission as ensign.

Kelly had presented this son, Robert, to the C-in-C, in 1781 with a letter, "I think he has a Military genius, which I should be happy to cultivate, and will therefore esteem it a very particular favor if you will be pleased to recommend him...for admittance as a minor cadet on the Bengal establishment".

The younger Robert himself writes that he "was born in India, and at early age sent to Britain for his education, which designed him for the profession of Arms"; that "in the year 1782, he was nominated a minor cadet, in G.O. by the Governor & Council of Madras, and returned to Madras in 1784, and was appointed an Ensign [30-10-86] to do duty as Cornet of Cavalry. ... After three years service...was obliged to return to England, as well for the re-establishment of his health, as to present to your Hon'ble Court a set of Maps of the Carnatic. ... That your petitioner is with a Wife in a most destitute condition..."

On 25-7-90 Kelly had written to his executor forwarding his will, which he had "mutatis mutandis on account of the infamous ill behaviour of that unchristian boy. I could forgive his behaviour to me, but never shall pass over or forgive his ungrateful & undutiful conduct towards Lord Hawke, to whom he owed more than Filial duty and affection".

By the amended will he left, of his property in India, 2/oths. to my wife, Myrian, 2/oths. to my daughter, Myrian, 2/oths. to my son, Hastings Montague, 2/oths. to his wife; whilst he left in Ireland to George, Legacies previously made to Robert "now in England" were struck out, and further, "I do appoint my noble friend and benefactor Lord Martin Blanden, Lord Hawke 1/2, to be the Guardian of my daughter, in conjunction with my wife", and acknowledges "the kind patronage already experienced from his Lordship". It is not known how Kelly became acquainted with Lord Hawke, who lived in Yorkshire and never visited India.

Kelly's second son, George Robert Abraham, to whom the Irish estates were left, swore in his application for app't as cadet, 13-12-90, that he was son of Colonel Robert Kelly, and believed that he was born at Ft. St. George in 1773 or 1774. He was app'd Lieut. of Mad. Inf. 22-2-93, Maj. 15-4-1813, and d. 29-5-1818; he m. 13-5-1806, Miss Macdowall, and is also said to have been father of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, b. 9-9-94.

The third son, Hastings Montague, became Ens., Mad. Inf., 24-7-98, and Col. 5-6-1829. He was made CE, and d. 12-1-1832, at sea. In reporting Kelly's death, the Madras Govt. made no mention of the duel, contesting themselves by saying that he "departed this life after a short illness". The younger Robert refers to "the sudden and melancholy death of his father, cut off by treachery (being poisoned)"


Enrs. 17-1-73 to Lt Col. 1-1-98; Left India 1801; Maj Gen 4-6-1811.

Oldest son of Col. James Kirkpatrick. Mad. Est. and half-bro. to James Achilles Kirkpatrick (1764-1805) Mad. Est. (Df). DNB.; DBH.; ELMC. II. (454); Rodson.

In granting permission for his return to India in Nov. 1784, the Directors asked the Gg in C. to support his publication of a new Grammar of the Hindoos Dialect."

Rennell's map of the Countries between Delhi and Cankohur, including Cashmere and the Heads of the Indus [235, pl. 8] included "3 measured routes leading into Cashmere from Lahore" and other material, collected by Kirkpatrick from the imperial records at Delhi [to n. 5, 42] 16.

Feb. 1791, acting Judge Adv. Gen. at ctm. on Samuel Showers [q.v.].
1793, Led mission to Nepal, account pub. 1811, including map of route by John Gerard [875, 75, 78].
Nov. 1793. Appd. Resdt. at Hyderabad, and as such helped Mackenzie's geographical researches [116, 359].

1798-8, Ml. Sec. to Go. ; 1801, Resdt. Poona.
1811, pub. London, Select Letters of Tipper Sultan, d. from taking jaundice in mistake for a black draught.

KNOX, Ranfurly. b. between 1730 & 1734 at Sligo.

KNOX, Ranfurly. b. between 1730 & 1734 at Sligo.

b. 28-1-64, Patna, unm.; MI.

Eng. (Mad.) 6-7-54; tr. to Ben. est. Sept. 1758; Maj. Oct. 1765.


Ed. RMA; armd. Madras 6-7-54; to Bengal under Clive Oct. 1756, and obtained comd. of a battery. of sepoys;[4] present at battle of Plassey, a battle in which he bears his signature. 1759, with expn. to Northern Circars, distinguishing himself at siege of Masulipatam and other actions.

Rennell acknowledges use of a MS map compiled during Col. Forde's expedition to Masulipatam in 1753 which, if not made by Knox, probably contained his work [97].

Forde's high opinion of Knox is expressed in the following letter to the Directors, dated 7-3-62, "Had I a command in India, Capt. Knox is the man of all my acquaintance I would choose for my second; his known gallant behaviour on all occasions, his Activity in executing all orders, his Humanity and, I will say, his strength of Constitution, quell him for the service of that country; and the way his officers know to be his being respected and esteemed by the Country Powers, and particularly by our own Sepoys who are inspired by universal confidence when he is at his head."[4]

Nov. 1759, present at the capture of Chinsura, and at the capture of Patna in 1760, having made a famous march of 300 miles from Murshidabad in 13 days with 1200 men, in the month of April, to relieve the Patna garrison; Knox himself marched the whole distance on foot.

After the campaign which resulted in the defeat of the Skulunda[5], Major Carne reported "I was fortunate in having so good a second as Capt. Knox, and wish I could have kept him longer with the Army, but as he now looks upon the part of the Campaign as being over, he has pressed me so strongly for leave to resign that I could not refuse; indeed so violent is his longing to return to his native Country; that it amounts to a disease, and should be a degree of cruelty to detain him"[3].

However at the special request of the Council Knox withdrew his application, and in Feb. 1761 was sent with a small body of troops to command in Midnapore, which had then recently been taken over [11]; during the two years he held this command, he employed James Nicol [qv] on a survey of the province, and constructed a map of the roads [21].

It has been suggested that some of the maps brought home to Orme by Vansittart [217] may have been obtained from, if not made by, Knox[1].

July 1763, on the capture with Mfr Kasim [24], was recalled from Midnapore and took part in the battle of "Oodna Nullah" [229] as QMG to Adams' force.

"On arrival at Patna", Major Adams directed Major Knox...to examine the enemy's position and the defences...with a view to laying down a plan of attack; Major Knox, who possessed considerable skill in military engineering, had been educated at Woolwich [341], and constantly employed in Surveying during his course of service in India[9].

9-12-63, took over command from Adams, but being already seriously ill died the following month[10].


Eng. (11-12-78) ... Lt. Gen. 12-8-1819; 80, Bengal 1788-94 (250 n. 2). Son of Capt. James Kyd, RN.; and Hannah Bever, his first wife; nephew of Robert Kyd, Ben. Inf. [9] qt.

Had 3 natural sons; James, Robert, and Alexander, the youngest of whom was born 1707 [347].

Clifton, 13-11-1891, Elizabeth, 2nd dau. of William Wagstaff, apothecary in Manchester, widow of Edward Hay, Ben. Cív. She d. 22-11-1819, aged 54.

Hodoon.


1778, when war had been declared between England and France, and Hastings was arranging to send a large Bengali contingent to support Bombay against the Marathas [4, 35]. Philip Francis writes that, desiring any result in his attempts to persuade the GO to attend to the defence of Bengal, "he himself, with the assistance of Kyd and Watson, two of the Company's Engineers, devised a plan for the defence of the provinces"[10].

Dec. 1780, posted to Goddard's army in Bombay, going round by sea from Calcutta[11], 1-1-83, appd. to act as QMG. to Bengal Dett., and 2-2-84, was a member of the committee directed to take charge of the effects of Duncan Stewart [qv], who had died on the return march.

Sept. 1784, on sick-leave to Chittagong, and spent several months exploring coast of Arakan for possible harbours [46].

Jan. 1785, appd. to succeed his uncle Robert [347] as "Fort Major and Barrackmaster of Fort William", an office which he continued to hold under the title of Town Major [11], probably till appd. SG.

1787, Deputed to survey Penag [4, 60-7, 261], and visited Kedah and Achin on return journey [47].

1788, Sent by Lord Cornwallis on special mission to report on defences for Tesselberry on Malabar coast and Suddo Harbour in Sumatra; "I have had before me for some time

1Sometimes Raundfurie or Raunfurie. Ranfurly is the usual spelling of the lands in Renfrewshire whence Knox. Earl of Ranfurly, his title. 2Seypo batts, then numbered about 200 men [267]. 3Memoir, 1783 (67-8); Poiler [qv] also made surveys on this expn. but these are mentioned by Rennell separately. 4Morris (qv) [215]. 5Shah Alam [24 n. 6]. 6ADOC, 23-12-78, 39. 7Zalogy, B to CD, 29-2-64 (18). 8cf. IMS, 380 (300). 9Bomme 12-12-64. 10Henry Dodwell (203 n. 3). 11B S 128. 12Wattman (419). 13BPC, 12-12-64 (5). 14Advance copy report of to Warren Hastings, 24-1-85, says that he had recovered in "August last", BM Addl MSS. 39167 (412). 15BPC, 21-1-85.
the report made by Capt. Kyd of his survey of Prince of Wales Island, and, wishing to avail myself of the experience of Sir Archibald Campbell [101 n. 9] in desisting upon the plan to be recommended to the Court of Directors for fortifying that Island and the Harbour belonging to it, I have directed Capt. Kyd to proceed to Fort St. George, and to lay his report...before Sir Archibald Campbell. I have been also induced to make use of Capt. Kyd’s talents as an Engineer in desiring him to go from Madras to Tellicherry to survey and examine the works and lines at that post...that he may judge necessary to be made at a moderate expense for securing Tellicherry against a sudden Native or European attack. From Tellicherry Capt. Kyd is directed to proceed to Sikkoo Harbour to ascertain whether it would be practicable to render it a safe and convenient Port for King’s ships in time of war. [47]

Kyd reached Tellicherry in April at a time when that place was alarmed by a visit of Tipoo to the Malabar Coast; but his visit was apparently not made with any hostile intention, and Kyd was able to send reassuring reports; he further convinced Sir Archibald Campbell “that Tellicherry does not possess any advantages for the purposes of commerce, Politics, or Military operations, and it is for the interest of the Company to dispose of, or relinquish that settlement as soon as possible”.

After surveying Tellicherry and Darnapatam, Kyd visited Bombay where he assumed the Govt. “that the Lines, the repairs to which had been set on foot some time before the rains on the appearance of Tipoo in the neighbourhood, were in considerable forwardness when he left Tellicherry the end of April...nor did he hesitate to give an opinion that the present Garrison was fully adequate to the protection of the place, until a reinforcement might be sent down with safety.”

Returning from Tellicherry he took with him a consignment of pepper plants for the Botanical Gardens at Shiguar, which his uncle had started, and with them two Moplahs “having a competent knowledge of the cultivation of these plants”.

15-11-88, Appl. “Surveyor General & Commandant of the Fort of Budge Budge [43. 260]”, which duties did not prevent a visit to Patna the following year, which also included a report on buildings at Mungo.

Dec. 1790, to the Andaman & Nicobar Is. with a naval squadron to survey all suitable harbours.

Took observ. for lat. on Diamond I. [43. 49]; made a complete circuit of the Andaman Is., survd. Nancowry Harbour, and arrd. back in Calcutta by end of April 1790 [5. 43. 261. 313].

Both on this trip and on that to Penang he took Colebrooke as asst. survr. extracts from whose journals have already been given [47. 45-9. 327-8].

Six months later preparations were being made for a decisive campaign against Tipoo, and once more the G. chose Kyd for a mission of trust, sending him down to Madras with the following instructions: “The Chief Objects...are to learn as correctly as you can...what is the nature and face of the country which lies between the passes leading to the Mysore country and the Center and Southern Armies; to obtain the most accurate information possible of the Number and precise situation of the passes into Tipoo’s country; of which they are calculated for the passage of Artillery, and which of them...naturally strong and defensible [112. 14]. You are likewise to endeavour to make yourself fully acquainted, for my information when I arrive at Madras, with the state of the country and roads.”

Kyd left Calcutta Nov. 11th, and on Lord Cornwallis’ arrival at Madras joined his staff as ADC, and throughout the campaigns of 1791 and 1792 took a prominent part in attacks on various forts, making sketches and plans, and exercising general control of the various surveys [5. 43. 112-3. 139. 175. 177. 187. 237].

After the capture of Nundidroog, 18-10-91, Cornwallis “thanked Captain Kyd, his Lordship’s A.D.C., for the zealous and able professional assistance which he gave as an engineer.”

On the conclusion of peace, Kyd carried a survey through Coorg down to the Malabar coast, returning to Calcutta by sea from Anjengo [115]. Again thinking of his uncle, he bought four cinnamon plants from Tuticorin.

Towards the end of 1792 he was selected to relieve Blair in the Andamans, and to prepare estimates for fortifying the new harbour. Port Cornwallis, in the north island [43. 49. 50]. Feb. 1793, he arrived over the S.G.’s office to Colebrooke, and took over charge in the Andamans on March 5th. By the custom of the period he continued to draw full pay and allowances as S.G., in addition to adequate table allowance, whilst the unfortunate Colebrooke had difficulty in drawing sufficient allowances to pay office rent and establishment till Kyd resigned a year later [261. 329].

Soon after his arrival in the Andamans he had proposed the use of convict labour for clearing heavy timber to make room for profitable crops. After his return to Calcutta he took with him an Andamanese boy as a personal servant. The name Kyd I. is still given to an island about 80 miles N. of Port Blair.

1794, after his estimates for the fortification of Port Cornwallis had been forwarded to the Directors, Kyd made another visit to Penang, reporting, Oct. 20th, “I have completed a pretty exact Topographical survey of the present surface of this island, and think I shall be able to give a clear account of the state of the fortifications and the additions that would be necessary to put this place in a respectable situation.”

The following year the Directors decided to abandon the Andamans altogether, and in 1796 Kyd moved all his establishment to Penang, and returned to Calcutta in May. After constructing powder magazines at Palta, he was, in 1798, transferred to Allahabad to superintend the remodelling of its fortifications. It is curious to note that his selection for this work was made because his plans and estimates were preferred to those of the Chief Engineer; he had to carry out the works according to his estimate “upon Honour”, and received a salary of Rs 1300 during their execution [14].

He remained at Allahabad, for most of the time in command of the station, until shortly before he went on furlough in 1804.

There are several records of his receiving distinguished visitors during this period; the Governor General in Dec. 1801, and Lord Valentia in 1803; the latter writes, “We were at breakfast by garriure, and immediately afterwards set off to visit Colonel Kyd, the Commanding Officer, at his house above the Fort... Improvements to Barracks have been carried on by Col. Kyd during a 5 years residence, and are executed in a very masterly manner”.

There is some interesting correspondence between him and the GoC, Marquess of Wellesley, in 1804, on the subject of a private letter which Kyd had written to Garstin of the Engineers, which had been indiscreetly shown to the GG. All ended well however, and Kyd took arguing with the Chairman of Directors, saying that he had “held a confidential situation in the family of Lord Cornwallis, and other meritorious services prior to the Marquess of Wellesley’s arrival in India... He has been employed in the improvement of the works of the Fortress of Allahabad... with great skill and integrity to my entire satisfaction”.

The existing name, Kydgunj, of a suburb of Allahabad is a reminder of his connection with that city.

Oct. 1807, on return from furlough, appd. CE, with seat on Military Board, until he proceeded on furlough, Jan. 1810, to live in London until his death.

Dealing now with his family and private life—his uncle Robert died unm. 1793, and left him the greater part of his fortune, including house and garden at Sibpur. The adjacent geometrically planned botanical garden, were formally transferred to the Company the following year.

Alexander already owned a house in Chowringhee on the site now occupied by the United Service Club, and his name has been given to Kyd Street which runs past it.

William Hooker mentions another house which Alexander had owned in Kidderpore, and had sold to Saadat Ali of Oude; when Saadat Ali succeeded as “Vizier of Oude” 1797, he returned the house to Kyd, with an additional 100 bighas of ground.

His sons James and Robert (DIB) were sent to England to be trained in ship-building, and on return took over the docks founded by Henry Watson [qv]. They held jointly the office of Master Shipbuilder to the E.I.C. till 1815.

James kept a series of tidal observations on the Hooghly River; 1835, Memorial to CD. To Tract 146.

Robert d. St. Helena 1820-3, and James 1826, when the dock-yard was purchased by Govt.

By their father’s will, 18-12-1823, the house in Chowringhee was left to James, at that time head of the shipbuilding firm Messrs Kyd & Co.

Robert left property to his natural sons, Hayne, James, and Alexander, born to his housekeeper Lavinia Evelina Hitchcock; “if they die previously, then to Lt. Gen. Alexander Kyd of Bengal Engineers, and then to Mrs. Elmsly, a sister of Lt. Gen. Alexander Kyd”.

The general’s youngest son, Alexander, b. 1795, bapt. 16-1-1802, was, 1826, in business at Alibare Lane in the City of London.

The general left the portrait of his wife to her sister Mrs. Morgan, and left to a friend “my jade Tortoise and the table it stands upon, which I hope he will bestow to the British Museum or the India House”.


b. 1746. d. 20-5-93, Calcutta, MI.

Memorial urn, Botanical Gardens, Sibpur.

Eng. 27-10-94... Lt. Col. 7-12-82.

Uncle to Alexander Kyd [sup], “of an old Forfeiture family”.


1766, on staff of 1st Bty. at Monghyre during “Batta” Mutiny; sd. general petition surrendering comm. 1-5-66 [25 n. 3].

1767, Surv. route of Kinloch’s expn. to Nepal [75].

22-1-85, Resd. office as Fort Major and Barrack Master, Ft. William, Warren Hastings writing to Sir John Macpherson who was succeeding as GC. “He assures me that if you shall be pleased to confer the office on his nephew, he himself will continue to officiate for him till his arrival, [Alexander was on sick leave to Chittagong], and will be answerable that no inconvenience shall rise from his resignation of it. He declares that he has not Health to execute it as he ought, and wishes to prepare for his departure from the service. I am so much obliged to him that I shall esteem your acquiescence in this solicitation as the greatest favour you can grant me”.

This request was granted, and Robert then became Sec. to the Mil. Dept., though from the following letter he seems to have lost this post during the retrenchments of 1785. Jan. 1786, wrote home to Warren Hastings from Masulipatam, where he had gone for the recovery of his health; still “very sick”, he discusses botanic subjects, and continues, “From this place I return to Calcutta, under pressure of my present and mortifying Disappointment. I trust to you for my being restored by the Court of Directors to such an appointment as you deem suited to my limited and retired views. Under the present administration in Bengal I wish not to hold any Employ, but shall prefer living in retirement on my present leave of absence till I hear from you”. I have only further to add, that I confidently rely on your protection to Alexander Kyd whom I trust will not prove unworthy of the appointment of Town Major & Barrack master, which you was pleased to confer on him, and which he now continues to hold”.

Later in the year he resumed app’t. of Sec. to the Mil. Dept, and shortly after founded Botanical Gardens at Sibpur. His enthusiasm for botany brought him wide correspondence about trees, plants, and vegetables, mostly of economic and commercial interest. At his death in 1793 he appears to have been Sec. to Mil. Dept. of Inspection.

He left the bulk of his property to his nephew Alexander, and

“To my natural child, Nanny, 4,000; the future care and education of this child I leave to Major Alexander Kyd. "The rest of my fortune I leave to Alexander Kyd, to whom I commit the charge and education of my child. Rs. 6,000 to Jaggoo, mother of my daughter Nanny... To the other native known as George, in reparation of injury done him by his former master, in alienating him from his tribe (understood Rajpoote), converting him to Christianity, and seducing him from all future connection with his family, the monthly sum of six rupees during his life, on condition of their continuing to serve Major Alexander Kyd during his residence in India..."
"The remainder of my fortune, including my House & Garden at Seebore, and all monies or effects of mine whatsoever, in Europe and here, to the aforesaid Alexander Kyd. It is further my desire that I may be buried in my own Garden, without the attendance or Office of any Priest whatever. No military ceremony to take place at the Funeral. The exact place of burial in the Garden was then specified.

"There are in the house at Seebore 3 Boxes containing Botanical drawings of the Plants in the Environs of this District, also a Bex and several Books containing an unfinished collection of the Birds indigenous to this tract, as also of such as migrate here from the adjoining frontiers during the cold and hot weather, also of the Fish frequenting the Hoogly: These having been collected at the Company's expense, are public property, and should be transmitted to the Court of Directors".

The following announcement comes from the Gentleman's Magazine: "July 16th 1799, at Pittenweem, in Scotland, Geo. Forrester, Collector of Customs at Anstruther, married Miss Anne Kyd, daughter of the late Col. Robert Kyd."


Elder son of William Law, who settled in France and placed his sons in French service; the family title, Baron de Lauriston, was taken from their home in Midlothian, Scotland.

Elder bro. to Jacques-Francois, who rose to be Col. in the service of the French EIC, Jean being a King's officer. m. 1755, Jeanne Carvalho, a Portuguese lady. 1742, Arrl. Indus. 1746, ce. Chevalier de St. Louis; 1780, Marechal de Camp. D.B.: Three Frenchmen. 1758, Chief at Cosimbazar; sheltered English prisoners sent to Murshidabad after the capture of Calcutta by Suryad-Daula [240 n. 1]. The French remained friendly to the English till news arrived Jan. 1757, that France and England had been at war since the preceding May. Clive and Watson then captured Chandernagore, March 1757 [222, 309, 311].

Under pressure from the English, as well as from the Nawab, Law was forced to retreat up country and, pursued by Coote, escaped beyond Ghazipur. Until 1761 he lived precariously on supplies sent by Bussy from the south, by his wife Chinsrinah, and from a secret store at Patna. His force consisted of 175 Europeans and 100 sepoys. Anquetil-Duperron served with him for a time [309].

Law led his little force to Lucknow, and then to Delhi, Agra, and to Chhattpur in Bundelkhand. In 1759 he joined Shab Alam [24] in his invasion of Bihār, and in 1761 made a dramatic return to Carnac and Knox. He was sent down to Calcutta and the following year deported to France where he was given an honoured reception.

June 1761, Appd. "Commissionaire et Commandant Général aux Indes Orientales"; 1763, Governor of Pondicherry; though he did not return to India till end of 1784, commissioned to receive back the French settlements on condition of peace; by the following June he was installed as Chief of Chandernagore.

During his wanderings in Upper India he kept journals and sketches of his marches, which he passed to D'Anville on his return to France [27, 272, 268]. A copy of his original sketch, together with his journals in folio, form, and his History of Bengal 1756-61, is preserved in the British Museum [222 n. 1]; letters to Orme as late as 1785 also exist. Rennell used Law's "MS maps and observations" in the compilation of his general map of Bengal of 1774 [226 n. 6].

LAWMAN, George Augustus. Born Art. b. 1750-1, d. Dec. 1802, Edinburgh. Lieut. Fkwr. 4-3-72 ... Bl. Lt Col. 3-5-96; Ret. 3-12-96.

BoPC. 9-10-78, ordered to the Presidency from Broach, "having finished the part of the survey of That Pargamah allotted him" [122].


Ems. 1-10-69 ... Capt. 3-2-79.

Youngest son of George & Mary Lendrum of Moorfield, co. Tyrone.

BoPC. 23-4-79, Ordered from Bombay to Broach, for survey under Turner [122]. 1783, with 11th Batt. Bom. Sepoys, taken prisoner with Mathews, March 28th [125]; poisoned whilst a prisoner at Bednar.


Ems. 19-10-32 ... Lt. Col. 1-1-1806; Ret. 14-11-1810. m., in England, 18,1-93, Emily, dau. of Morley Pendred & Lady Martha Saunders.

1783, with dtt. marching from Ellore through Onagole against Puggars in Cuddapah and Sidout, and survd. route from Onagole; had many adventures and suffered from "a violent fever" [100]. 1786, Stationed at Masulipatam and, at his own expence, explored the Godavari, and offered to make a detailed survey in return for personal profits on floating down teak [105]. Made further proposals for survey of cultivated lands for revenue purposes [144]. Took sick-leave to China to recover from fever, losing most of his papers [100].

April 1789, Appd. astr. asst. to Topping, and took series of obesns. for the long. of Madras, being relieved by Goldingham July 1790 [172].

Sept. 1790, Posted to the Centre Army under Kelly [344]. and given command of dtt. of Pioneers, regarding duties of which he received detailed instructions from the CE. Present at most of the important sieges and actions in Mysore during the campaigns of 1791-2. 1793, Furl. to England on sick leave. 1796-6, Engnr. and Sec. to Adm. Rainier's expn. to Molucca Is., his journal and report being preserved. 1799, Proposed a closed harbour at Madras as the only way to provide secure shelter for shipping, writing a 50 page memoir. To the subject, but nothing done till fifty years later [11]. Go. of 25-6-98, again granted leave to England for his health. 1805, Put up plans of Ft. St. George and Blacktown shewing proposals for embankments and sluices communicating between sea and river, with other improvements for the port [19].

1805-6, Engnr. in charge of repairs at Serilnpattam.

MACALISTER, Matthew. Mad. Inf. b. 1757. d. 23-12-1829.

Ems. 30-8-76 ... Lt. Capt. 1-6-96; Ret. 6-6-98. Of Bar & Rosehill, Scotland.

---

b. c. 1753, Stornaway, Hebrides Is.
d. 8—5—1821, near Calcutta.

Enns. Mad. Inf. 16—5—83; tr. to Enngs. 23—5—88, anteated to 16—5—83 ... Col. 12—8—1819. SG. Madras, 1810—15. SG. of India, 1815—21.

Younger son of Murdoch Mackenzie, merchant and 1st Postmaster of Stornaway, and Barbara his wife.

His elder brother Alexander d. Hastings, 25—6—1816; there was another brother Kenneth, and a sister Mary, who, lived all her life at Stornaway, and d. mm., “a wealthy old lady,” 20—1—1839, in her 80th year.

A memorial stone to Colin Mackenzie stands in Eye churchyard, near Stornaway.

m. 15—11—1812, at the Lutheran Church Batavia, Miss Petronella Jacomina Bartels, a Dutch lady born at Trincomalee in Ceylon. After Mackenzie’s death she m. Lieut. Robert Page Fulchter, of the Ben. Inf. (Hodson), at the Cape of Good Hope, 18—2—1823.

CB. 4—4—1815.

DNB.; DIB.; Wilson H.H. 2nd Edn. (bio. sketch).

From 1778 or earlier, Comptroller of Customs, Stornaway, the last of his frequent spells of leave existing Jan. 1783; other particulars of his early life are given by his friend Alexander Johnston; “Colonel Mackenzie was a native of the island of Lewis; as a very young man he was much patronized, on account of his mathematical knowledge, by the late Lord Seaford and my late grandfather, Francis, the fifth Lord Napier of Merchiston. He was for some time employed by the latter, who was about to write a life of his ancestor John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms, to collect for him...an account of the knowledge which the Hindos possessed of mathematics, and...of logarithms.”

Mr. Mackenzie, after the death of Lord Napier, became very desirous of prosecuting his Oriental researches in India. Lord Seaford, therefore, at his request, got him appointed to the engineers on the Madras establishment in 1783, and gave him an introduction to the late Lord Macartney, the then Governor of that presidency, and to my father, who held a high situation under his lordship at Madura.

The nomination to Engineers did not pass through, and, 15—1—83, the Directors refused Mackenzie’s petition “for a passage to Fort St. George to join the 78th Foot as a Volunteer, or for an appointment in the Company’s Military.” However someone must have intervened at the last moment, for three days later a letter was issued advising the Madras Govt. that he had been permitted to sail in the Atlas which he probably joined at Portsmouth, for the Atlas left the Downs 17—1—83, Portsmouth 11—3—83.

and arrd. Madras 2—9—83. Mackenzie being now 28 years of age.

Nothing was said about any apppt. to the Engrs., and when the official list came out, he was gazetted Ensign of Infantry from 16—5—83 [272].

March 1788, the Directors refused his petition “praying to be removed from the Infantry to the Corps of Engineers,” but again had to relent, for in Oct. the Madras Govt. wrote saying that from May 23rd they had permitted “Ensign Colin Mackenzie of the Infantry to remove to the Corps of Engineers,” to complete est. 17, so the Engr. list of 14—10—88 shows him as Engr. from 16—5—83.

Soon after his arrival Mackenzie visited the Johnston’s at Madura, where Mrs. Johnston was engaged in continuing the search regarding the early Hindu system of logarithms.

At the close of 1783 he joined Fullarton’s force and served in Dindigul and Coimbatore, being attt. “to a corps of Native troops” in Dindigul valley during May 1784, in which year he made his first surveys.

He was then transferred to “professional duties” in Madras and Nellore, and was on survey in the neighbourhood of Nellore during 1789 [117].

Oct.—Nov. 1788, he accompanied the forces which occupied Guntur Circuit, and survev. the roads from Nellore to Ongole, and right through the Circar as far as Chintapalle on the Kistna [117—12].

In sending him to wait on the C-in-C. with his plans and reports, the CE wrote “as they are works of great Labour and of great merit, undertaken by that gentleman at his own expense, thro’ zeal for the service at a time the War was likely to be carried into that Country. I am assured myself you will think deserving of some mark of your approbation, and that you will be pleased to grant him such a compensation as may place him on a footing with Surveyors employed in such service.”

Jan. 1790 Detailed to make complete survey of Guntur, but before he could start work war broke out against Mysore, and he was posted as Engr. to Gen. Medows’s army [110], taking part in the capture of Palghat, on which the CE wrote to him “Have received your letter of 22nd informing me of the fall of Palghat, and I congratulate you on the credit the Corps has gained, having been informed their business was not only well, but speedily, performed.”

The following account has been given of the siege, “The batteries opened against Palliagutheerry on the morning of 21st September... Capt. 0— of the 22nd Battn. and Lieut. Mackenzie of the Engineers, who were both here formerly, and knew the place, went to reconnoiter in the evening. Lieut. Mackenzie, with the pioneers and working parties, with gaieties and fascines, also came up from the east battery... and in the face of an incessant fire of musquetry and frequent discharges from a gun on a bastion immediately opposite, soon converted the top of the glacis into a parapet.”

During this campaign Mackenzie surved the marches of the army, and also Palghat [17. 6. 111. 1].

MACKENZIE

350

In Dec. Lord Cornwallis arrived in Madras to take supreme command, and the CE wrote to Mackenzie, "I have shown him your appointment to Guntur, which your desire of serving in the field has suspended, and my wish that you should have been employed in the Staff-line of the Corps, whilst with the Army. ... I put at the same time into his hands your journal of the Northern marches."

During campaigns of 1791-2 Mackenzie was ADC to the CEs of first Maule and then Ross, and took a prominent part in capture of many fortresses, and was several times mentioned in despatches. A comment on the capture of Bangalore given in the Madras Courier of 3-11-91, would hardly pass an editor of today: "Lient. Mackenzie in his department demonstrated by his success in pursuing the object, how essentially necessary it is, that the practical Engineer should unite art with science."
1 1-4-92, at the close of the war, appd. Engr. & Surv. to the Ellore Dett, now attd. to the Nizam's service as a Subsidiary Force. [7, 112, 116].
2 1792-3, Surv. the districts newly ceded by Mysore to the Nizam, "Cuddapah, Cannau, the wild mountains of Yermulla and Nalmulla bounding the Carnatic as far as the Kistna." The country was far from healthy, and he writes to Ward in after years, "Your account of your balls...is precisely the same with myself in 1793, but I had a severe fever immediately after reaching Koppa; after recovering from which, my body broke out in boils, and I even lost the use of my left thigh for some time."
3 He survd. the whole course of the Penner past Cuddapah to Nellore, following it to the sea-coast by May 1795.
4 June 1795, after being "obliged to halt at Ongole by sickness and deaths among his followers and cattle" he was ordered to "return without delay to the Presidency" to take part in the siege of Pondicherry [112].
5 On his return he continued his survey of the country between the Penner and the Kistna, and again he and his party were overwhelmed by fever, and in 1794 retreated to Hyderabad with assistance from the Nawab of Kurnool [299-300].
6 1794-5, Made several journeys in company with Kirkpatrick, the Resdt. [116, 345], and from Dec. to April accompanied the Nizam's army on march against the Marathas, who defeated the Nizam at Kharda [116-8, 174-5, 205].
7 Mackenzie then remained at Hyderabad working on his map of the Deccan, till called down in Oct. 1795 to join expn. to Ceylon, which resulted in capture of Colombo and all other Dutch possessions in the island [117].
8 As senior Engr. he was instructed to make preparations for a long siege, which in the end proved unnecessary, as recounted by James Welch [219].
9 I was towards the end of the year detached to the seacoast to make fascines and gabions to carry with us. Our first rendezvous was Negombo, about 30 miles north of Colombo, then in the enemy's possession. Here we landed the fascines and gabions we had made, under the erroneous impression that we were not likely to find materials in Ceylon, the best wooded country in the world; we were afterwards all served out to the Bombay Grenadier battalion, at Colombo, for brewood.

Mackenzie was still pressing for Colombo prize money several years later, claiming for a rate at a higher rank than Captain "as Principal Engineer on that Expedition, for which I was ordered down from Hyderabad in 1795, and sent to make the necessary arrangements in the southern garrisons, and at Manar [p4] previous to joining General Stuart at Negombo, (a journey of near 900 miles by land and 100 by water)."

After capture of Colombo he was employed inspecting forts on west coast of Ceylon, returning May 1796 to Madras, where he stayed a few months to complete his map of the Deccan. On return journey to Hyderabad, Sept. 1796 to Jan. 1797, made "a military survey" through Guntur [112].

After a few months at Hyderabad, during which he visited Gulbarga, he was once more called down to Madras to make preparations as principal engr. for expn. designed against Manila; this was abandoned, and he spent the following cold winter at Madras preparing a supplement to his map of the Deccan, and collecting a small staff of assistants, not returning to Hyderabad till April 1798 [117, 175, 286].

In 1796 Mackenzie had urged Govt. to appoint him Surveyor General at Ft. St. George, and also to increase his allowances, and this had been referred home with a strong recommendation [264]. In Feb. 1798 he again pressed for increase of his allowances, and a special allowance of 200 pagodas a month was sanctioned, and confirmed by the Directors [281].

He spent the hot weather of 1798 at Hyderabad and we have the following record of a visit by the botanist, Dr. Heyne: "The greatest acquisition I made was the friendship of Capt. Mackenzie, from whose experience and knowledge I have derived great benefit, and from whom correspondence I promise myself a rich harvest. He had always been attentive to mineralogical objects, and had lived a considerable time in that part of the country where the diamond mines are situated, so that even had he not been so industrious in surveying every accessible spot in his neighbourhood, he would have been led to satisfy his curiosity respecting the Diamond Mines; I was not therefore surprised to find among his papers several descriptions of the different mines. Then follows a note by Mackenzie dated 29-12-98 on "the Diamond Mines at Partal.""

Towards the end of 1798 orders were received for the march of the Nizam's forces...to take part in the 4th war against Tipu; the French force at Hyderabad was broken up in Oct. [117], and Mackenzie says that "he was...employed in a confidential position in reconnoitring the French positions... previous to the arrival of our force, and in the measures which terminated in the dissolution of that Corps."

In Dec. he marched with the Nizam's Army, and gives the following account of the journey to Ambur [118]: "From the intimate knowledge acquired in these surveys I was enabled to suggest the Plan of the March...by the most secure and expeditious route at a critical time. After crossing the Kistna, when the Nizam's Contingent approached Tippoo's Frontier, and it became necessary to turn off into the Carnatic, when a season of great drought threatened much distress and delay, I voluntarily took charge of the duty of exploring the country some marches in front, of clearing the road through defiles..."
not before marched with carriages, and of ascertaining the best stages and watering places from Door, thro' the several Passes to Tripetty1 of about 200 miles.

They reached Ambir. 1-2-90, and Mackenzie continues, "This junction with the Grand Army effected by a march of 464 miles, at the precise moment it was ready to move from Amboor, when the delay of one day might have been highly prejudicial to the success of the campaign, ...may confirm the utility of a previous knowledge of Countries wherein Armies are to move, and attending to the directions of the roads".

During the march forward into Mysore, the command of the Niaiam's army was entrusted to Arthur Wellesley whose regiment, the 33rd Foot, was added to stiffen it; Mackenzie continued as senior Eng., and in this capacity was in close attendance on Wellesley during the celebrated affair of the Sultanpet Tree on the 2nd of April. The following extracts are taken from his journal.

1-4-99. In sight of City of Mysore [Seringapatam].
5-4-99. In the evening at 4 p.m., attended Col. Wellesley to the General,2 viewing the City; ...Tope in front distant about 200 yards. Col. Wellesley was ordered to possess himself of it.

33rd Regt., 1st Batt., 10th Ben. Regt., 2 guns & Pioneers, were paraded as fast as possible, and about 7 p.m. we moved straight forward on the road leading towards Sultanpet; no knowledge of the ground appeared to have been communicated, nor was any one with us acquainted of the windings of the nullah after we lost sight of it on the left of the tope. While the officers at the head of the column deliberated on the road to be taken, one of the men said he observed a light in front; while we were speaking, a discharge of musquetry from the tope threw the Party into some confusion; for being at the moment crowded on a steep narrow bank, the men naturally running to their arms, the expansion of the whole suddenly overcast such as were on the declivity.

I was among several others thrown down, and on extricating myself from the crowd that pressed me down found I was very much hurt, but surprised to find no enemy had advanced; all was dark and silent; Col. Wellesley came up to the head of the advance on hearing the firing, and with the assistance of the officers endeavoured to bring the Party, but the fire being so quick from the tope and to our left, extending so as to enclose us, the Party were again wavering; the grenadier's march was ordered to be beat, and at this moment the enemy's fire extending still further to our left, the greater part of the party suddenly disappeared.

I returned to Col. Wellesley where I found forming and encouraging a very small party to fire upon the enemy.

A long account follows, with sketch of the 2nd attack on the tope, shewing the village, tope, and nullah of Sultanpet.

This affair was greatly exaggerated to the discredit of Wellesley, and has been told in many histories and biographies of the Duke of Wellington, though this account by Mackenzie is probably the only one written by an eye-witness. Blackiston refers to it thus, "As communicated to me by the only person who could possibly give a fair account of the business, that is, the late Colonel Mackenzie of Madras Engrs., who was then attached to Col. Wellesley's Division, and who accompanied him during the whole of the affair in question."

Wellesley and Mackenzie with the Light Company of the 33rd which had got separated from the main body, came suddenly on a work of the Enemy's, who opened a heavy fire. The Light Company, finding themselves unsupported, retreated rather precipitately, leaving Col. Wellesley and Capt. Mackenzie by themselves. In this predilection they endeavored to regain their Division, but in the attempt suffering to the darkness of the night, they quite lost their way, and it was not till after groping about for some hours that they succeeded in regaining the British Camp, but without their Division.

"For my part, even before I heard Col. Mackenzie's version of the affair, I was of opinion that the fault of Col. Wellesley's having fallen asleep on General Harris's table in the way he did, was a sufficient proof that he had not acted discreetly. Besides, any imputation of deficiency of courage must equally have applied to Col. Mackenzie, whose bravery and sang-froid in action were proverbial. It is more than probable that, had not Col. Wellesley been so nearly allied to the Governor General, he never would have had a chance of getting over this affair."3

In one of the many accounts of this incident it is stated that Beacons had misrepresented it in his history, "hoping to give pleasure, being too courtier-like". There is no doubt that there was ever after a strong friendship between Mackenzie and Arthur Wellesley, and there was a tradition at Stornaway that "The Duke of Wellington said at Badajoz, when difficulties obstructed the progress of the siege, 'Oh that old Mackenzie were here!'"4

During the siege of Seringapatam which followed Mackenzie was Engr. in charge of the batteries to the north of the Canvery, from which side the successful assault was delivered.5 [p. 113]. His journal contains many interesting details; "these minutes hastily written in moments of fatigue stolen from relaxation, or from refreshment, may be allowed to partake of the impression under which they were noted down from recollection or recent information, without impeachment of the veracity of the journalist".

The journal contains several neat little sketches illustrating the position of batteries at various points.

In a later letter Mackenzie describes his duties during the siege; "On joining the Chief Engineer of the Army on 17th April, I was ordered suddenly next day over the River, placed in charge of the Engineer Department with the Bombay Army, ... and from that time to the capture of Seringapatam, directing the whole of the works, approaches, and batteries on that side generally by the immediate superintendence of the C-in-C. through his staff."6

Staff cars were not available in those days; the Commander in Chief desires to see you immediately; Major Beaston sends his Palaquin for your accommodation, which will meet you on this side of the river."7

Wellesley wrote of him "I shall say nothing of Mackenzie's merits as a surveyor; his works are a strong proof of them. He was under my command during the campaign, and never saw a more zealous, a more diligent or a more useful officer. During the siege he conducted operations on the north side of the Canvery; and although the effect of the batteries he constructed has been acknowledged and a subject of praise in the General's orders, and notwithstanding that by his exertions during the siege he has entirely lost his health, his name has never been mentioned."

In another letter Mackenzie writes "On the junction of the Bombay Force, I was placed in entire charge of the Engineers' Department with that Army north of the River, and had the honor of directing the whole of the works, approaches, and Batteries on that side during the progress of the siege. From the 17th April, the day of my taking upon me this important charge, to the 4th of May, I had

---

March 1762, Came out on the Engr. list; 1766, tr. to Military, as he "sees no advancement in Engineers" [266, 272]. Date unk.; Surv'd. fort & hills of Santag, 30 m. W. of Vellore, and also passes between Mysore and Canaman.

Ens. 28–11–95 ... Lt. Gen. 11–11–98.
Son of Sheriff Donald Macleod of Geanies, co. Ross, Advocate, and Margaret his wife.

Ens. 21–11–82 ... Capt. 4–7–97.
Eldest son of Lt Col. James and Leonora Manley.
29–5–88, Taken prisoner in sally from Mangalore; 1769, on survey in Malabar with Emmett [131]; 1796, with Reid's escort at Poona.

MANNEVILLETTE. see APRES DE MANNEVILLETTE.

Ens. 3–11–69 ... Capt. 29–6–71; Read. 27–1–78.
Natural son of Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales (and thus half-bro. to George III) by Comtesse Marguerite de Marsac; the Comte de Marsac, a Frenchman, came over to England with the Court of Hanover.
Holman (155).

MANLEY, James. See above.

Ens. 3-11-69 ... Capt. 29-6-71; Read. 27-1-78.
Natural son of Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales (and thus half-bro. to George III) by Comtesse Marguerite de Marsac; the Comte de Marsac, a Frenchman, came over to England with the Court of Hanover.
Holman (155).

MALLOCK. —. Ben.
Visited Sambalpur with Alleyne in 1763 or 1764, and obsd. lat. [261, 151, 399].

Nothing further is known of him.

MARTIN, Claud 3 Ben. Inf.
b. 4—1—35, at Lyons in France.
d. 13—9—1800, Lucknow.

Ensl. 17—9—63 ... Maj Gen. 20—2—95.
2nd. son of Fleury Martin, cooper, of Lyons, where he was ed., shewing a taste for math. and science.

Never married, but maintained a large est. in 'oriental style' at Lucknow. M. St. John's Ch. Calcutta.

DIB. ELMO. II (457) ; Hill ; Beson.

At age of 16 enlisted for service in India, and arrd. Pendi-
cherchy 1762. Served first in Dragons, and tr. to Lorraine
Regt. 1768.

After capture of Pendicherry Jan. 1761, took service with
the English, and given cond. of a 'free company' of French
soldiers embarking for Bengal in the Fattah Salem. Sailing
Aug. 20th, this ship was wrecked on the passage up, and the
Ben. Connell wrote to Madras, 6—10—11, 'Monsieur St. Martin,
an officer of the free company of French having been saved
from the Fattah Salem, we purpose returning him to the
Coast in order to raise another Company of an hundred Men
from among the prisoners now remaining with you' 4, and
they record, 11—3—62, 'The ship Norfolk arrives at the
mouth of the Hooghly, having amongst her passengers, 109 French
Volunteers under the Command of Moin Martin'.

1763, Martin's company was attd. to the Eur. Batt. forming
part of the force under Maj. Adams sent in pursuit of Mir
Kasim [24], and taking part in the victory at Dindia Nala
[345]. Sheet XXI of Rennell's Bengal Atlas contains views of
Oudhassula and Chasagaur, both by Martin [220].

Feb. 1764, three companies of the Eur. Batt., mostly
French, mutinied at Sawai, and started to desert; 'Lieu.
Claud Martin did good service on this occasion [347].
One of his men had privately told him it was the French
soldiers who were the instigators ... and they offered Claud
Martin supreme command of a Rebel Army which should
serve M. Cossins. This information helped to hold the
British mutineers' 5

The Directors were informed that 'A sergeant and 120 of
the French soldiers deserted to Oudh, a loss not much to be
lamented. ... All the Frenchmen which remained in the Army
after the mutiny, have been draughted and brought down to
Calcutta. ... The Frenchmen are to be transported home' 6.

After bringing down these few men to Calcutta, Martin
was promoted Lieut., 18—4—64, and was cond. of two companies
of sepoys in Aug., and present at the Battle of Buxar,
23—10—64 7. In a despatch of 10—2—65 on the capture of
Chunar, he was commended for 'particular care and
assiduity during the siege'. March 1766, after occupation of
Lucknow, 'Lieu. Martin was sent to one part of the country
with 5 companies' 8. Promoted Capt. 30—7—66.

Sept. 1766, it was suggested that as he was 'well
versed in the Business of surveying' he should assist De Goss in the survey of Bihar [25], but by
this time he was involved in the Business of 'the Battu Mutiny'.

and was amongst the officers who, on 23—10—66, signed an address of sympathy to Sir Robert Fletcher
after his conviction by ctnl. [25 n. 1]. The Select
Com. declared that this address "appears calculated
to foment sedition, and to throw an Odium &
reflect Dishonour upon the Council & Court Martial", and
resolved "that the officers who signed... shall be
immediately dismissed the service, and rendered for
ever incapable of holding any Employ under the
Company, & sent home by the Ships of this Season"; Martin
was to be sent home on the Anson 10.

He managed however to avoid deportation, but it
is not known how he spent his time till re-instatement
in Aug. 1760 11, neither is it known when he was first
employed on survey.

Reference to his survey of Calcutta Lands has
often been made [13, 31—2]. The heading Part of a
General Survey of the Calcutta Lands suggests either
that Martin intended to survey the country to the
north and east, or that other surveyors were at
work. It may be that Martin's survey was in
extension of the detailed survey on which Hugh
Cameron was employed when he died in 1764; none
of Cameron's work is on record except his boundary
survey of 1761—2 [136, 250 n. 5]. There is also the
survey of which Alexander Stuart made a failure
in 1768 [137]. Whatever other work was done, Cole-
brooke in 1800 could only find Martin's work in the
southern paraganas and Cameron's survey of 1761—2 12.

It is difficult to state when Martin made this
survey. The copy at MRIO bears his autograph as
"Capt. of Infantry", which implies a date later than
July 1766. The earlier date generally accepted is taken from an office label added at some stock-
taking many years later, on which is a note "1760
or 1764?" by someone with no knowledge of
Martin's story, for he did not reach Calcutta till
1762, was continuously in command of his French-
men till March 1764, and then of sepoys in Bihar
and Oudh. His earliest opportunity of carrying out
this survey, which could not have taken a day
less than six months, would seem to have been after
his dismissal in Jan. 1767, when he might have put
forward his talent as surveyor to avoid deportation.

The survey is not included in the list left by
Orme of those used by Rennell for the map he presen-
ted to Clive in Jan. 1767 [223]. It may even be
assigned to the period between Martin's re-instate-
ment in 1760 and his move to Krishnagar in 1771.
Rennell's index map [33, 244] shows that Martin
surveyed the whole area south of the Ganges and
east of the Hooghly towards Bakarganj for the
5-mile maps, and this area would cover his survey of
the Calcutta Lands. If all this was, however, carried
out later than 1766, Martin must have done some
other work to attract the notice of the Council when
they recommended him for the survey of Bihar
[25], and no record of such work has been found.

\footnotesize
3 MGC 26—1—69. \footnotesize
1 CD to M 23—3—70, (89). \footnotesize
4 Some times spelt 1st name Claude, but never used final "s" for surname.
\footnotesize
5 BSC 11—12—61, 10 m. N. Chalipin (12). \footnotesize
6 DIB. ELMO. II (457). \footnotesize
7 BSC 11—12—61, 10 m. N. Chalipin (12).
8 B. Beson (122). \footnotesize
9 Caraccioli (473). \footnotesize
10 BSC 6—1—67. cf. Nicol [34]. \footnotesize
11 BPC 1—8—60, & Beson, (122). \footnotesize
12 Martin's map is referred to in a note to Ben. Sel., Calcutta, 1895.
By 1771 his reputation was firmly established and in Jan., the Supervisor of Nadia asked that as Martin was passing through his way to survey the province of Krishnagar he might at the same time make a survey of all the embankments of the district, and submit an estimate of putting them into repair, for there were "some very large tracts of lands that now lay uncultivated and waste," and he must assure or be a far better judge of these matters than anybody else," and this was approved by Govt. After surveying Krishnagar he was sent to survey Cooch Behar, but went sick before completing the work; April 1773, he was present at the capture of Delligcottah Fort and its view and plan of which appear on sheet XVIII of the Bengal Atlas. He had volunteered his services for this small campaign, and the following year Govt. called the attention of the Directors to the "losses sustained by Capt. Martin in the attack made upon Chunnicotta by the Boteas when on his duty there of Surveyor, and without any Military charge. We...add our recommendation that you will be pleased to allow Capt. Martin some compensation for losses amounting to Sonaut Rs. 60.25, which he obviously sustained by a spirited and Laudable exertion for the Public Service foreign from the Line of his Duty." In the As. J., Vol. II. of 1816, is a paper entitled Authoric Anecdotes of the Life of Maj. Gen. Claud Martin. The author says nothing of his connection with the mutiny of 1766, but makes the following vague reference to his surveys: "Shortly after this promotion [to a company July 1766] he was employed...to survey the North-Eastern Districts of Bengal being an able draughtsman, and in every respect well qualified for that purpose. When he had completed his journey to the North-eastern districts he was sent to Oude to assist in surveying that Province." Polier had been ordered to superintend surveys in Oudh from April 1773, and Martin appears to have worked under him until surveys were closed in June 1774, when he took service with the Nawáb. Dec. 1773, when discussing the aptt. of batt. comrs., the GG. wrote, "I have also passed by the following order, who have the claim to sepoys commands, viz., Capt. Martin. The first of these has ever been employed in the surveying branch and is a foreigner, altho' in general esteem as a brave and experienced officer, and a man of strict honour"; and the C-in-C. added "as to Capt. Martin, it was not an objection of detriment to that officer, but a conviction that the service and the Company would derive more benefits from his abilities in the surveying branch." The Nawáb of Oudh, delighted with his charming manners and mechanical skill, asked for his services, and by 1776 he was Supt. of the Nawáb's arsenal at Lucknow.
best days...and which must certainly tend to shorten and
imbriter the remaining few. ... The only profit I can expect
from a contract, is that if I should be fortunate enough to
enjoy a good state of health throughout, aided by the experi-
ence I have had, I might be able to complete it in less time'.

He further pointed out that he was not nearly so well off
as gentlemen of the army "as they, being attached to the army,
in cases of ill health can have leave of absence to Europe if
necessary for its recovery, without prejudice to their rank,
whilst I must remain in a distressing and unpromised situ-
ation perhaps. ... No salary, however liberal, will induce a
man, independent of some future prospect, to follow up a
pursuit attended with such fatigue and risk of health, with
that promptitude and alacrity, which is necessary to give it
full effect; on the contrary when encomiums increase with
labour, it's done cheerfully and with zeal.

"I am not arrived at that age which requires ease, neither
am I in circumstances to admit of it, and am therefore deter-
mixed, if encouragement is held out, to persevere in what I
consider a good cause" 1.

His request was supported by Read. "The entering in to
a contract with him may be the way to ensure the speeder
completion of his undertaking, and the giving him a monthly
allowance may be that of ensuring its being done with the
greater correctness. These observations, however, apply not
to him in particular; for great dependance may be placed on
his fidelity, but not to mankind in general; at all events I hope
you will secure him for the public service, for in my opinion
he is a most valuable servant. Surveying being a laborious
business, and necessarily requiring a man to visit very un-
healthy and dangerous situations, and Mr. Matter having
suffered already very much from it while he has been in my
service, he is naturally anxious to procure a certain livelihood,
and with that view alone, has desired he may be appointed
an ensigne in the Company's service. I am sensible that he
cannot be appointed in this country, but if it can be obtained
for him at your recommendation, I earnestly hope it may be
done. The work he is to lay before you is the best recom-
mendation of him, because it is such a substantial testimony
of his merit, but the exertion of some influence is necessary
to draw the attention of Government to it, or him. He has
done his duty with me, and having done all for him in my
power I commit him to your protection" 2.

Mather laid this letter and his Salem survey before
Mackenzie and the Comrs. in charge of Mysore, and
obtained a letter from Arthur Wellesley re-
commending him to be appd. asst. on the forthcom-
ing survey of Mysore. The GC. approved but con-
 sidered "the allowance which Mr. Mather receives
in the revenue Dept. sufficient as a permanent sal-
ary; a farther reward may hereafter be bestowed,
if his assiduity shall continue to deserve such an
indulgence", on which Mather wrote to Mackenzie.

"I had every reason to expect from the zeal and
diligence I had formerly manifested, and the injury
my health had sustained, the Government would have
felt more disposed to forward my views in a
point of salary. ... A salary of 50 Pagodas will
barely furnish necessary and conveniences of life
sufficient to support constitution healthy and vi-
gorous, under such fatigues with servants, Horses,
and Keepers, and the hire of coolies, which last
being constantly in motion falls very heavy indeed,
seldom less than 15 or 16 Pagodas per month" 3.

To Mather's repeated request for permanent pro-
vision in case of losing his health, Government re-
plied "Mr. Mather seems to be too diffident of the
liberality of Govt. towards him, after the Assurances
which have already been conveyed to him" 4.

An account of Mather's services on the Mysore
survey will be given in another volume; he had to
resign owing to ill-health at the end of 1806, and
was granted the pension he had been so anxious
about. He did not, however, live to enjoy it; sailing
from Madras at the end of February 1807, he was
shipwrecked and drowned off the English coast in
March 1808 [268].

bapt. 2-11-52. d. 24-3-1809, at
Madras, aged 56.

Writer, 1769 ... Senior Morch, 1780.

Natural son of James Maxtone, 11th laird of Cultoquhey,
by Janet Thomson of Foils, in Perthshire.

m., Vizagapatam, 2-4-82, Miss Eliza Caroline Russell,
daughter of David Russell; four of his sons, M. Mad. civilians,
and two sons joined Mad. Army.

1775, Ass't at Vizagapatam and, at Johnston's re-
quest and by authority of the Madras Council, was
sent out to assist on survey [93]. On Johnston's
withdrawal at the end of 1776 [342], instruments were
left behind for Maxtone's use, and he completed the survey of several parganas and zamindaris [143-4,
203, 272].

3-10-80, Wounded during mutiny of sepoys of the
Circar Batt. who objected to being sent to serve in
region from Vizagapatam against Haider Ali.

23-10-80, Astr. obsns. for long. in company with
Pearse [153].
3rd in Council at Vizagapatam 1788, and later became
Judge of the Sudder Court at Madras, holding this appt. till
death. MI at St. Mary's Cem. Madras.

d. 27-10-91, at Madras; MI.

Son of Mary Maxwell.

Appd. Supt. Company's Lands, Madras; surveys of lands and
properties [94].

d. c. 1796, umm.

1st Lieut. 8-1-84.

DNB.; DIB.; Markham (5-6).

1786-90, Survd. W. coast of India, in cond. of
Experiment [6, 124-5, 178, 203]; v. Account of the
Navigation between India and the Gulf of Persia.
London. 1786.

1790, sent to survey Pelew Is. and New Guinea, sailing
from Bombay in Panther 20-8-90; McCluer
Inlet at west end of New Guinea is named after him.
1793, submitted resignation in letter which
Panther carried to Bombay, and thus explained his
wish to stay amongst the Pelew islanders;

"From the many petitions which we in a manner have
occasionally, by introducing things of value among them, they
are now constantly at variance with each other, and are
absolutely in need of some person to advise them and regulate
their conduct to prevent them murdering each other; this
task no one could be better provided for than myself, and I
have the vanity to think I have sagacity enough to conduct,
and instruct, the Natives in the most useful branch of agri-
culture; and, they being well disposed towards me, I make
no doubt in the plan I have formed but to succeed" 4.
After two years he was detailed of the service, but was lost at sea on his journey towards India.


Enl. 15–3–98 ... Col. 30–2–95.

m., Mary; Father of Sustenius McGowan of Ben. Inf. Hodson; As A.B. I (178).

Comm. from the ranks after Batta Mutiny of 1786.

1778. Granted permission to maintain channel down Cossimbazar R. for navigation, and to collect tolls. To complaints of collecting tolls without improving navigation as promised, he retorted, "Upon the faith of your Councils, I commenced this great undertaking, having for the last 15 months been employed on it; in taking accurate surveys & a level of both Rivers; in removing some particular obstructions; ... I am not an idle Adventurer!"

After much discussion, the Council agreed that he be appointed to survey the Ganges & Cossimbazar Rivers with the usual allowances granted to Surveyors; and his right to collect tolls was withdrawn [63].

1781, with Lieut. Enr. Br. in 2nd Mysoor War, marching with Pearse's Dett [49].

CG. 4–10–87; A few days ago Maj. McGowan was suddenly seized with every symptom of having been poisoned; relief was fortunately at hand and we are happy to hear that the Major is in a fair way of recovery. The cause was immediately known to have arisen from the Major's having eaten of a dish prepared in a dirty copper vessel".

1784, March, Cond. at Amburkhar; Oct., Cond., Left Br. at battle of Bitaarrak, Rumpur State, 2nd Bobilla War.


m., Matras, 4–9–71, Mary Jane, sister of J. L. Wittewer (or Wittewer), Mad. Engrs.

1810–94, Appd. Company's Engr. at St. Helena, 1771; in charge of works at Maipulpatam; 1772, Plan of the Maipulpatam Circle [28].


Enl. (Inf.) 26–7–85; (Engrs.) 14–1–91; Capt. Lieut. 8–1–96.


Bo. MC. 20–11–92, Suspended by the Bn. Govt. for misconduct; two letters, dated 17–2 and 1–3–91, appeared in an English newspaper, the Argus of 28–9–91, "signed B.M.: an engineer in General Abercomby's Army on the Malabar Coast", which, reaching India, were laid before the Council by the Governor, General Abercomby himself, as "containing the grossest expressions on his character and conduct, as well as the measures of Government during the late War"...

When challenged as to the authorship, Moncrieff replied; "I can only say that whenever I wrote my opinion on what was going on, it was in confidence to a particular friend, and under the impression that any opinion given on such subject by a person in so inferior a station could never be considered as having any weight. I beg leave to express my sense of the sandown with which the General has communicated a subject which appears so very much to my prejudice"..." By which the Board observe that although Mr. Moncrieff does not acknowledge being the Author of the said letter...yet he does not deny it; ... it is evident that he has corresponded by his private letters upon the public affairs of the Company, and has thereby been guilty of disobedience of the orders of the Honourable Court of Directors...and, as he has not thought proper to retract or make any apology for the expression tending to the hurt and dishonour of the Commander-in-Chief..." Resolved therefore that he be suspended the service until the pleasure of the Honourable Company is known; ... we are of opinion that Mr. Moncrieff's writing this libel was occasioned by pique and disappointment in not being confirmed in the Staff Office of Pioneers, which the Honourable the President in Council deemed an unnecessary expense.

The Council at the same time refused an application from Moncrieff for special allowance as Captain of Pioneers to the Detachment, the duties of which became particularly severe from the early season at which the Detachment marched, and through to a Country where it was but seldom there were any traces of a Gun that could be found.

On receipt of orders for his suspension, Moncrieff submitted a letter expressing "his deepest contrition for the erroneous aspersions contained in his letter"; "...Practitioner-Engineer Moncrieff is free to confess that the animadversion he unhappily cast upon the Commander-in-Chief's character and actions...were founded on a hasty undigested view of circumstances, stimulated by a too sudden impression of a recent disappointment on his joining the Army".

He applied for leave, Calcutt, 23–1–93; "Finding I cannot be employed until the decision of the Honourable the Court of Directors on my suspension can arrive, and my health having suffered much from severe and frequent attacks of a fever, I am desirous of trying the effects of a cold climate, [and] should be happy of your permission to proceed to Europe".

He did not take advantage of the leave sanctioned, but stayed on in Malabar, and was employed on surveys [131].

27–12–93. Col. Hartley wrote to him; "As you have been so obliging as to offer your services in the line of your profession,...I have therefore to request that you will be so good as to proceed into that District (Rayamallia) for the purpose of surveying the same; examining accurately the River and forming your opinion respecting the most eligible sites for establishing the Post".

May 1794, at Bombay, reported that he had been employed on the construction of Barracks at Tellicherry, Cannanore, etc., and in Nov. asked that he might receive pay for the period of suspension. Reinstated Sept. 1794, but not brought on to full pay as there was no vacancy.

May 1796, the CE. asked that "As I am very much in want of an officer,... Ensign Bryce Moncrieff may be ordered to do duty, as he is at present quite unemploy'd", and orders were issued that he should be granted the same pay and allowances during the period of his suspension which he would have received had the measure not taken place.

Bo MC. 9–10–95, Appd. to "carry on the survey in the Province of Malabar, in the room of... Emnitt, and during 1796 employed on detailed surveys in Fonnani Dist. [7, 132].

16–2–96. Appd. asst. to the S.G., again in the room of Emnitt, but could not be spared from Malabar, and in March 1797 was appd. to comd. the newly formed Corps of Pioneers [273].
In this capacity he took part in the 4th Mysore War, measuring the road from Cannanore to Seringapatam [128], and holding charge of the Guides and intelligence corps.

After the war he took up the survey of Sonda and Kanara, ceded to the Company, but was interrupted by operations against the Pychły Raja of Kottayam [132], who held out against the British for several years. Wellesley took over command early in 1800, and wrote, 13-4-1800, "It is, however, absolutely necessary that the Pychły Raja should be closely watched during the monsoon; no person is so fit as Captain Moncrieff to have the charge of those who will give intelligence of him. I have had great satisfaction in observing the zeal and intelligence of Captain Moncrieff [132]."

Road-making by the Pioneers, and maps, were amongst Moncrieff's first responsibilities in this difficult and unknown tract, and in submitting a general description of the country and its roads he writes:

"I am sorry that time will not admit of my furnishing the Hon. Col. Wellesley with a sketch of Cotiote and Wynaad; my original survey in those districts was carried out of what my House at Calicut was plundered; and the compiling the papers which I am still in possession of will require more time than the present occasion will admit of. Colonel Close is in possession of the Map of those Districts which I furnished General Stewart with [132]."

During the cold weather of 1800-1 Moncrieff was with Col. Stevenson's force in the Wynad [131], and was then granted a few months' leave to Bombay, obtaining an extension in order to visit Surat and help the S.G. with his map [218-9]. Whilst he did keep in Malabar, Reynolds had been striving without success to procure his services at Surat, and even now his appeal for their further extension was rejected, for Wellesley writes to the Governor, Nov. 5th, "Captain Moncrieff will have informed you...that I have given the leave for which you wish. I hope, however, for his own sake as well as for that of the public, that he will not be induced to remain at Bombay, or Surat, longer than is absolutely necessary to complete Lt. Col. Reynolds' map [132]."

He left Surat 6-10-1801, but got no further than Bombay; his health had been seriously undermined by long service in Malabar, and he died in Bombay Jan. 10th 1802 [132].

Monserrat, Father Anthony. S.J.

b. 1536. d. 5-3-1600, Salsette, Goa [pl. 9].

b. at Vic de Oxana, 30 m. from Monserrat in Catolonia, Spain.

S.J. Jan. 1538.

1574. Left for India; 17-11-79, left Goa with mission to court of Akbar; landed at Damān and thence travelled by land to Surat; leaving Surat 15-1-80, mission reached Fatehpur Sikri, a distance of 650 m. after 43 days, travelling by way of Taloda, Mându, Ujjain, Sirjun, and Narwar [pl. 10], where Monserrat was detained some days by sickness [149].

The mission was well received by Akbar, who took Monserrat on march to Kābul in 1581, in capacity of tutor to his second son Prince Murad; left Fatehpur Sikri 8-2-81, and returned 2-12-81; Monserrat himself did not reach Kābul, being left behind at Jalalābād in bad health [149].

The following year he was member of embassy which Akbar despatched to Europe, though it did not get beyond Goa.

1589, on mission to Abyssinia; captured on the way by Arabs, sent to the galleys, and not released till 1596; died four years later.

On journey up from Surat in 1786, kept a survey and took observations for latitude, taking further observations on road to Kābul which was measured under Akbar's orders [10, 234 n. 3]. No record of these surveys was known to D'Anville or Rennell, and they first noticed by Thomas Call in 1784 [11].

Besides other papers Monserrat left a most interesting account of his journeys and stayed at Akbar's court, entitled Mongolica Legationis Commentarius; which contains not only a list of geographical positions but also a small map of India that is reproduced on pl. 10 [209, 235].

The romantic story of the discovery of this M.S. in Calcutta, 1906, is given in full, with the Latin text, the list of lats. and longs, and the map, in a paper by Father Hosten in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Hosten describes various pencil remarks made in the margin, and discusses the possibility of these being made by Wilford [qv] who was in possession of some of Monserrat's writings, but finds that none of Wilford's many quotations agree exactly with the Calcutta M.S.; we may also note that Monserrat's latitude of Attock, 33° 41' quoted by Wilford [149], does not appear in the Calcutta M.S.

Hosten moreover does not notice that Wilford presented to the library of the Asiatic Society, between 1820 and 1822, "Commentaries of Padre Monserrat, autograph, 2 vols."; these cannot now be found, but they obviously did not include the volume found in 1906; the title Wilford gives in one of his quotations is De Legatione Mongolica.

It is possible that the pencil comments described by Father Hosten were made by Thomas Call, and if so, then a comparison of handwriting might well be made with records now preserved with the Survey of India or the Imperial Records Department. It is to be noted, however, that Call must have had some maps and papers that are not contained in Hosten's M.S., which makes no mention of compass survey or observation for latitude as described by Call.
MONTRESOR

There is another writing of Monserrato's in existence, an abstract from his diary, of which several copies were made at Goa in 1692. This is entitled Relacion do Equador Rei dos Mogores, an English translation of which was published by Horsen in 1612; this contains nothing whatever about Monserrato's voyages, geography, or survey.

References to Monserrato and his writings will be found in Macalpin; Smith; J. A. S. B. VIII (185-221); XVII (37-4); A. R. IX (97-101); and XIII (434, App. ii); Commentariones; Bes P. & F. VIII (219); XIII (297, 313); New Magazine, Calcutta, Dec. 1939, No. 60. X (437-86).


B. C. 1745. d. 10-9-73, Tanjore.

Lieut. (Engrs. & Inf.) 8-9-67; Resd. Engrs. 26-1-69.

Capt. (Engrs. & Inf.) 26-5-70.

Son of James Gabriel Montresor, HM's Engrs. (Ens. 5-4-38 ... Od. 25-5-72; JN'R.). and his 1st wife, Mary, of Thurfield Hall, Notts.

m. Madras, 2-10-70, Miss Frances Cleverly; inf. a son, Henry Eyre, and a dau. Frances.

Lieut. of H.M.'s 48th Regt. of Foot, who, on the death of the younger Lieutenants in the Regiments in the year 1763, was reduced and placed upon half-pay; but he, being an active disencumber, and desirous of serving his King & Country, memorialized...in 1767...for leave to serve in the EICU's service, until he should be ordered back into his Sovereign's service, all of which was readily granted, and to retain his half-pay.

1767, Appd. by Directors to be sub-Engr. & Lieut, from date of arrival in Madras, of whose qualifications as an Engineer we have received ample testimonials, having served the Crown in that Branch in the Last War.

Ard. Madras during 1st Mysore War [89, 91], when it was resolved that "Mr. Henry Montresor, who came out with the rank of Sub-Engineer and Lieutenant shall have a commission given as a Sub-Engineer and Lieutenant in the Infantry and that he be ordered to proceed to act in the Field where most required." Served before Kolar [342], and 20-6-68, was "shot in the arm, but the ball was extracted." The allowances and prospects of Engr. officers were in those days not so good as those of the Inf. [266, 272], and when the Directors ordered that officers should not hold appts. in more than one corps, Montresor surrendered his Engr. rank, the Council noting "that he cannot retain both Military rank, and position as Engineer. He was already appointed Lieutenant in the Military line. In consequence of our great want of officers to send to the Northward, and it being thought he might be useful in both capacities. He may continue in the Military Line only." As he is a very capable and deserving young man, he is to be mentioned in a favourable manner to Court of Directors.

10-6-69, Reported fit for duty and appd. to superintend the Works in Madras, and on Call's departure the following Feb., took charge of the Engrs Dept. Whilst holding this charge he compiled a Map of the Peninsula of India, [3, 239], on which the Council remarked, "Taking into consideration the pains and trouble Mr. Montresor must have had in compiling the above plan, together with his great merit & abilities in other respects, having had the charge of the works at this place ever since Mr. Call's departure, in which his conduct hath been much to our Satisfaction, we could wish it were in our power to make him some recompense adequate to his merits, and as his services in the Engineering Branch are much wanted at this time, it is agreed to ask him to continue in that Corps until we can advise the Court of Directors; in the meantime a commission as sub-Director & Captain of Engineers be given to him to rank from this day." 1

Before this appy., the Corps of Engrs. in Madras had fallen to only two officers [272], and in 1770 the Directors sent out a number of officers from England. In June 1771 Montresor complained of his "supersession by Capt. Pittman in the care of the Contract Buildings", and the Board had to explain that his appy. had been made "owing to the known coolness that existed between Capt. Henry Montresor and the CE, Lt-Col. Ross [94]". 2.

Oct. 1771, at the siege of Tanjore, "much indisposed from a musket ball which grazed his hand". 3

1772, with other officers employed on survey of the routes of the detts. operating against Poligars of Marawar 4 and Tinnivelly [90]. After completing the survey from the North gate of Madura to the South gate of Trichinopoly...I have also taken particular sketches of the villages... As the monsoon is now setting in, I am led to think I shall not be wanted in the field for some time...", so asks for leave to go to the Presdy. [94, 11]

About this time his name was put forward for charge of a survey of the Carnatic [60], but during the siege of Tanjore in Sept. 1773, the C-in-C, after reporting that Montresor was dangerously ill, had later to report his death.

3-2-76, His widow was admitted a pensioner of Lord Clive's Fund and, 13-12-80, petitioned for further help, writing, "He was taken very ill in camp at Tanjore before he had an opportunity of making any provision for his Family, and died...leaving his disconsolate widow in a strange Country, and in very indigent circumstances with two young children, all in very great distress." 5

MORRISON, Dennis. Ben. Inf.

d. 5-3-76, Calcutta.

Ens. 1-5-84...Capt. 1-12-87...Died, by cml. 7-10-71.

Came to India as midshipman in HMS. Medway, consort to HMS. America in which Rennell also was midshipman.

Feb. 1766, Comdg. a small dett. of sepoys sent against anuqar fahirs on the borders of Rangpur and Cooch Behar, where he was supported in action by Rennell [292, 300].

Made "curiosity surveys" in Balasore, Burdwan, and Midnapore, probably before 1769 [21]. obsd. for lat. at "Jellasore, Adjudgur, Cossimbaraz, Moorshedabad, Sourie", and other places 11.

1767, survd. route across Raja mahall Hills, North of Dumka.

12-11-70, Killed John Campbell, of Ben. Inf. in duel at Monghyr, tried by GMC. 29-12-70, and acquitted. Died. by cml. 7-10-71, and became Capt. of a country ship.

NOTES

m. Calcutta, 5-1-79, Miss Mary Touchet.
BFC. 13-5-62 4t seq. Dispute over plot of land at Murshidabad.
ESC. 4-7-65 4t seq. Protested against having to surrender the farming of rents in Burdwan, consequent on withdrawal of licenses to free merchants.


1770, Trading in diamonds at Benares, and in 1774 said to have “had an appointment of late under the post Master for receiving & dispatching the Dawks at Benares [304]”.

BFC. 21-8-75, Ordered to withdraw from Oudh, but pleased for time “as he has business at Mirzapore, and trade to value of 16 Lacks to be settled up”.

1777, Moving in the highest circles in Calcutta, having Philip Francis and Lady Impey to breakfast and dinner on May 18th; 10-3-78, Writes to Warren Hastings from Hooghly saying that he had been on the sick list.

BFC. 21-5-79, Appd. Supt. of Police but, in spite of substantial salary of £2,000 a year attached to that post, he was in Sept. 1780 “in pecuniary difficulties, and his house in Calcutta is advertised for sale on October 3rd”.

Jan. 1784, his wife, a close personal friend of Mrs. Hastings, accompanied her to England and never rejoined her husband.

1785, Salary as Supt. of Police was, like that of many other officers, retroactive from £2,000 a year to £800; about this time he passed through the bankruptcy court, and his many letters to Warren Hastings in England, tell mostly of misery and disaster; he had lost his post in the police by 1792, and was “obliged to live at Serampore to avoid his creditors”. Feb. 1796, wrote from Serampore congratulating Hastings on the result of the trial, and a letter of 1802 mentions that “poor Motte is well and cheerful, but breaking, and his faculties a little impaired”.


Ens. 19-7-82 ... Lt Col. 29-5-1824.
Son of Dr. George Mouat, Surg. H.M. 13th Dragoons. Succeeded his bro. as Bart. of Inglisclough, 1825; of the house of Mouat, of Balquhidy, and of York Terrace, Regent’s Park, London.
July 1787, Asst. Engr., Chunmar; 1796, 2nd Rohilla War; ADC to Sir Robert Abercromby, C-in-C.
19-11-94, Appd. Survv. in the Field, and survd. boundary of the present Râmpur State, and line along foot-hills from the Râmgâna R. to Hardwâr. [8, 52-6, 157-8, 183, 234]. Nov. 1796, permitted “to come to the Presidency preparatory to proceeding to Europe on furlo for the benefit of his health”; furl. 27-3-97, till 10-12-1800.

1  Grier (90); diamonds were much used for making remittances to Europe.
2  Francis. I (281).
3  B M Addl MSS. 29140 (180).
4  4t (181); Beloved Marian (passim).
5  H M S. 79 (49).
6  A Danish settlement, sold to the Company in 1845.
7  Grier (434-5).
8  G O. 14-11-96.
9  B P C. 8-1-1808.
10  Carey (259).
11  B Pol C. 17-9-13 (59).
12  1-10-13 (79).
13  C D O to B. 29-9-10 (67).

Feb. 1803. Asst. Professor of Hindustani at College of Ft. William, and succeeded Gilchrist as Professor, 1804-8; Furl. 1808-10. 1812-13, at P.W.I., Penang. 18-9-1813, suspended till the pleasure of the Directors be known, for “having attempted to dispose of an English horse to the Nawab of Bengal for one lakh of Rupees” 19.

The story is worth telling. In Jan. 1813 the Nawab’s qazi, hearing that Mouat’s horses and carriages were for sale, waited on him in Calcutta, and reported the following terms to the Nawab in Murshidabad:

“A Europe-made Charriot & Harness ... Rs. 10,000 Curriage with a pair of Harness [horses?] 3,000 A Needle [Arab] Horse 5,000 A large spotted Europe Dog [Dalmatian?] 2,000 “Also a Europe Horse from London, of which the Major does not specify the price. He says that His Excellency the Winter of Oudh and the Rajah of Jharpore very willing to give him a lacoj of Rupees for it, but that he would not give the Horse for that price; that now however the Wackel from the Rajah of Nepaul has promised to purchase him, and that he will sell him to the first person who will purchase” 19.

Mouat claimed that the qazi agreed to the purchase, but the Nawab denied this, and on Mouat pressing him, referred the matter to his English Superintendent who took a serious view of the matter. Mouat stuck to his claim that the bargain had been concluded and was perfectly reasonable, and threatened legal proceedings. On being challenged by Govt. he requested an honest trial by etenal. The Advocate General advised Govt. that the case was not cognizable.

The GG reduced the case to “the Broad and Simple Fact of his attempt to obtain the enormous Sum of a lacoj of Rupees for his English Horse, which in my opinion is a very Fraudulent proceeding on his part, doubly odious in a person of the Honorable Profession to which he belongs. This Fact Major Mouat has repeatedly acknowledged in the fullest manner under his own Hand” 12.

The Council accordingly placed Mouat under suspension and referred the case to the Directors, giving Mouat permission to proceed home to plead his case in person.

The Directors sent out their orders two years later; “We can by no means admit that the Advocate General’s opinion... was correctly founded. Nothing is more common than the Trial of Officers by Court martial for un-officer-like and ungentleman-like behaviour, such as Major Mouat was directly charged with by you, namely Acts of fraud and extortion, and it appears to us that the only way of arriving at the truth would have been by an open and public enquiry.

“Although we consider the Governor General in Council to have been justified in suspending Major Mouat from the service, yet as no Court martial took place, ... and in consideration of his long service and good conduct previous to the transaction in question, notwithstanding we highly disapprove the whole of his proceedings therein, we have resolved that the suspension of Major Mouat be removed, and that he be permitted to return to his duty” 13.

Heid various other appriasals, till his death on board the Prince Regent on his voyage to England.


Ens. 26-9-70 ... Capt. 6-2-81.
Son of Rachel Moulton of City of London; bro. of Stephen Moulton, of Chandray Lane.
1st Rohilla War, 1774.

4. 3-5-1816, at the Cape of Good Hope.

Enam. 14-11-81. Capt. 20-12-84. Resigned May 1786; restored, July 1780; Lt. Gen. 23-8-1805; Ret. 1767-3.

App. to Knox's force in Middapore, and employed on surveys south to Balasore [22, 28].

July 1763, with Knox to Patna; frequently employed on surveys [23].

March 1764, "Lt. Nicol was appointed to survey and lay out the line of the entrenched army; was stationed in the battalion, but accused Adjutant to the Sepoy corps, and as such rode in the suite of the Commander-in-Chief, immediately dismounted, and gallantly led his battle forward; but he was driven back with considerable loss, and the corps thrown into great confusion; however he soon rallied his men, and kept up with the front until the enemy were defeated" [34].

When Major Muero ordered it [1st Batt.] to advance to attack in flank a battery... Lieutenant James Nicol... being a lieutenant in the battalion, but acting Adjutant to the Sepoy corps, and as such rode in the suite of the Commander-in-Chief, immediately dismounted, and gallantly led his battle forward; but he was driven back with considerable loss, and the corps thrown into great confusion; however he soon rallied his men, and kept up with the front until the enemy were defeated [34].

"At the battle of Buxar, Capt. Jennings and Lt. Nicol had formerly been employed under Maj. Carnac in surveying the ground now occupied by the enemy, and were well acquainted with the locality" [34].


b. c. 1769. d. 28-1-1817.

Enam. Inf. 3-10-81; tr. to Eng. 1782; Lt. Col. 1-1803; Ret. 25-9-1811.

M., Vellore, Lytha, eldest dau. of Wm. Harcourt Towrano [54 n. 10].

"At the battle of Buxar, Capt. Jennings and Lt. Nicol had formerly been employed under Maj. Carnac in surveying the ground now occupied by the enemy, and were well acquainted with the locality" [34].

When Major Muero ordered it [1st Batt.] to advance to attack in flank a battery... Lieutenant James Nicol... being a lieutenant in the battalion, but acting Adjutant to the Sepoy corps, and as such rode in the suite of the Commander-in-Chief, immediately dismounted, and gallantly led his battle forward; but he was driven back with considerable loss, and the corps thrown into great confusion; however he soon rallied his men, and kept up with the front until the enemy were defeated [34].

"At the battle of Buxar, Capt. Jennings and Lt. Nicol had formerly been employed under Maj. Carnac in surveying the ground now occupied by the enemy, and were well acquainted with the locality" [34].

When Major Muero ordered it [1st Batt.] to advance to attack in flank a battery... Lieutenant James Nicol... being a lieutenant in the battalion, but acting Adjutant to the Sepoy corps, and as such rode in the suite of the Commander-in-Chief, immediately dismounted, and gallantly led his battle forward; but he was driven back with considerable loss, and the corps thrown into great confusion; however he soon rallied his men, and kept up with the front until the enemy were defeated [34].

"At the battle of Buxar, Capt. Jennings and Lt. Nicol had formerly been employed under Maj. Carnac in surveying the ground now occupied by the enemy, and were well acquainted with the locality" [34].

When Major Muero ordered it [1st Batt.] to advance to attack in flank a battery... Lieutenant James Nicol... being a lieutenant in the battalion, but acting Adjutant to the Sepoy corps, and as such rode in the suite of the Commander-in-Chief, immediately dismounted, and gallantly led his battle forward; but he was driven back with considerable loss, and the corps thrown into great confusion; however he soon rallied his men, and kept up with the front until the enemy were defeated [34].

"At the battle of Buxar, Capt. Jennings and Lt. Nicol had formerly been employed under Maj. Carnac in surveying the ground now occupied by the enemy, and were well acquainted with the locality" [34].

When Major Muero ordered it [1st Batt.] to advance to attack in flank a battery... Lieutenant James Nicol... being a lieutenant in the battalion, but acting Adjutant to the Sepoy corps, and as such rode in the suite of the Commander-in-Chief, immediately dismounted, and gallantly led his battle forward; but he was driven back with considerable loss, and the corps thrown into great confusion; however he soon rallied his men, and kept up with the front until the enemy were defeated [34].

"At the battle of Buxar, Capt. Jennings and Lt. Nicol had formerly been employed under Maj. Carnac in surveying the ground now occupied by the enemy, and were well acquainted with the locality" [34].

When Major Muero ordered it [1st Batt.] to advance to attack in flank a battery... Lieutenant James Nicol... being a lieutenant in the battalion, but acting Adjutant to the Sepoy corps, and as such rode in the suite of the Commander-in-Chief, immediately dismounted, and gallantly led his battle forward; but he was driven back with considerable loss, and the corps thrown into great confusion; however he soon rallied his men, and kept up with the front until the enemy were defeated [34].

"At the battle of Buxar, Capt. Jennings and Lt. Nicol had formerly been employed under Maj. Carnac in surveying the ground now occupied by the enemy, and were well acquainted with the locality" [34].
On voyage home, 1788-9, captured by the French near Cape of Good Hope, and taken to France, reaching England Oct. 1760. Purchased house in Harley St. and settled down to write his History: Vol. I. appearing 1763, Vol. II. 1776. From about 1766, Harlequinographer at EIC. on salary of £400 a year.

In his case History and Geography went ever hand in hand, and all his correspondence shows that he was just as persistent in asking for maps and sketches and geographical information as he was in asking for facts and narratives. He wrote to all his friends, civil and military, in Madras and Bengal, begging for all the information and maps they could collect, and it was his request to Clive in 1704 that initiated Rennell's great survey of Bengal [20, 222, 256]. A number of his letters written to Clive between 1765 and 1767 are preserved at Fowis Castle.

Not finding any general map of India suitable of illustrate his History, he compiled one of his own, his chief dman. being Thomas Kitchen [211]. Amongst his papers now preserved at the India Office are details regarding the projection of this map, and astr. positions for control [153, 223]. The map is produced in different forms in Vol. III of his History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in India, from the year 1745 [87], and again in his Historical Tragodds of the Mogul Empire from 1659 [211-2]. The 2nd. edn. of this latter work, 1805, contains a brief biography.

Amongst his correspondence are many letters to and from D'Anville who showed the greatest interest in his work [211, 331]. He paid his respects to the Marquis de Bussy during a visit to Paris in 1773 [115, 320].


Witer, 1778. At home in 1787. d. unm.


Palamootah, 1-18-83. Dedicated a map of Tinnivelly "to J. Sullivan Esq. [243], Resident, &c. at Tanjore". 5 m. to an inch: map described by Montgomery as "poor" [111].

OKR, Alexander. Mad. Inf.

b. 8-4-64. d. 14-3-1809, at sea.

Em. 6-10-81... Lt.Col. 25-7-1805; Ret. 31-1-1809.

Eldest son of Alexander & Elizabeth Or, of Waterside, Scotland.

m. 1-12-1802, at Madras, Mary Ann, dau. of Maj. Gen. Will, Sydenham, Mad. Art.

Lost at sea with wife and 3 children in the Lady Jane Dundas, on homeward voyage.

3rd Mysore War, 8-11-91, with Ellore Dett, or

Nizam's Subsy. Force, at capture of Gurrunkonda Ft. 7, as Qmr. to the Dett, survived all its marches through the Nizam's Dominion "since the beginning of 1799" till 1796 [116].

M. Rev. Bd. 5-1-08. Recommended for survey of Gunthar Cirkar, the Collector writing, "The sketches which I have seen...from Capt. Orr point to his assiciuty & qualification for his Task, & as Under-stand he is on the point of quitting the adjutancy and quartermastership of the 11th Regt. I...recommend his offers be accepted [115, 147]".

Beaton [317-2] wrote, 10-6-68, "I am not personally acquainted with Capt. Orr, but his correspondence with me on Geographical subjects, & the specimens of his performances, impress me with so high an opinion of his talent, that I think it is to be regretted they remain unemployed".4

The approach of the 4th Mysore War prevented further thought of this survey, and Orr was given command of the Guides [117], and frequent reference to his work during the campaign is made by Allan [308] in his Account of the Campaign in Mysore [117, 118] 1824. Q.M. Madras.

An appreciation of his services was made. pub. in M.G.O. of 3-1-1809, just before his retirement.


b. 4-3-74, in India. d. 18-5-1833, Bath.

Fwkr. 6-1-02... Capt. 17-9-1807; Ret. 10-6-1808.


b. 4-9-72, Monghyr.

Ens. 5-1-69; Lieut. 8-11-69.

Son of Mary Parrott.

Nothing is known of the circumstances under which he carried out a large-scale survey of Budge-Budge and the Hooghly R. [34].


b. 1741-27. d. 15-6-89, near Calcutta.

Tr. as Maj. from RA. 2-9-68; Col. 12-6-70.

Son of Thomas Pears of Reading, Capt. RN. (d. 1778), and Martha his wife; cousin to T. F. M. Pannenhauser [68 n. 13]. Mads regular remittances from India to his father and to a sister. Ed. RMA.

m. in Calcutta, a muslim lady, Panna Paree, who d. 1820. DNB.; DIB.; EICM. II (247-50); Mill. Repository. I to IV; Ben. P. & P. II (305 of seq.). Portrait in R.A. Mess, Woolwich, and photograph of this at VM.

Fwkr. RA. 8-6-77; military service in Europe and W. Indies. Arrd. India 24-6-68; stationed at Chunar till July 1780, succeeded to comd. of Ben. Art. 28-10-69, holding appt. till his death. He writes; "When I first came into command of the corps I was astonished at the ignorance of all who composed it", and says he "set himself to work to improve the state of the regiment, and in 1772 he had arranged for the supply of better material, and was rewarded ere his death by seeing the corps raised to a high state of discipline and efficiency".

Pearse was a keen astronomer, and kept up a regular series of astr. obsns. for lat. and long. at his residence at the Treasury Gate, Ft. William, the results of which, for the period 1774-9, were pub. in As R. [154-5, 163, 180, 209]. He also took regular meteorological obsns., the record of which opens in

1MRO. M 398; DNB. 246 (44). & MMC. 19-12-II. 2M Rev Bd. 27-7-98. 3Sinka. 4Muhammadan lady. 5DNB. gives birth c. 1785, but M.I. in S. Park St. cem. shows death at age 47. 6Mil. Repository. II (109). 7Buckle. (37).
Nov. 1773, and shows readings taken 3 or 4 times a day of Barometer, Hygrometer, Thermometer, and Wind, with many interesting comments;

28-1-74. "Sky clear. Saw Saturn, his ring a straight line, one satellite above him."

29-1-74. It rilled & began again from the NW, then again died & freshed in the NE, horribly black the SW, from whence I expect it. During this time very little rain fell, & I was obliged to run out of my tents for fear they should fall, and my thermometers packed up for fear of breaking.

11-9-74. "Uttill a little before Gunfure the heat was terrible, the wind was northerly, tho' I know not from what point, & it brought a horrid stench from the Brick Killa, or town, or both. About Gunfure the dew fell heavily, the air felt cool and agreeably moist, & the wind getting round to ye Southward rendered the morning pleasant & cool; but before that, the heat was suffocating & deprived me of all sleep.

12-5-76. "The Sky wind gradually died away, a lull of a minute intervened, & then came ye NW'r which raised the dust to the clouds; as the force of ye wind increased, the clouds grew thicker & thicker, & swelled out in the middle, forming a regular curve, which seemed to be of a consistence like something solid. When this mass reached our Zenith, the storm began. While I have been writing I have several times smelt the electricity as when the matter flows from the sharp point as a conductor, & so as a gentleman who is with me; from which I conjecure that my Electrical rod is very much affected, for the Lightning is very frequent without Thunder."

19-9-76. "Thunder in ye NW, from whence a storm coming on I think I felt an earthquake in three successive shocks. About one minute ago I was reading & my attention was taken off by a motion of my chair & a repetition of it twice afterwards almost confirms me. I heard immediately after Thunder at a distance. (It was felt all over the Town)"

Pearse was a close personal friend of Warren Hastings, and acted as his second in the duel against Philip Francis, 17-8-80, reporting details to the Chairman of Directors in a letter of 4-10-20.

Jan. 1781. Took comd. of the force that marched down the east coast to join Eyre Coote's army against Haider Ali [4, 40-2].

The great difficulties which he had to meet during this march through the physical nature of the country, lack of discipline within the force, duels and court-martials, sickness and cholera, and the uncertain attitude of the Marathas, are vividly described in his letters [40-1].

Throughout the march to Madras, which occupied over six months, Pearse displayed all the qualities of a great leader, and it was a very great disappointment to him that on arrival, the Bengal Dett. was split up amongst the various brigades of the army; Pearse himself was given no command nor responsibilities worthy of the seniority, and was continually passed over by his juniors, and kept out of the higher commands by brevets granted to officers of King's troops. Throughout his correspondence Pearse shows strong animosity against Coote, which seems to have existed ever since the C-in-C's first arrival in Bengal, March 1779.

During 1782, he took a few months leave to Bengal, at his request, and on his return journey, writes the Council, "having offered to convert 20,000 Gold Mohurs with his baggage for the service of the Presidency of Fort St. George, this sum was accordingly delivered to his charge. The necessity of keeping secret a trust which in Every mile of the way might be exposed to plunder if it were known, made us withhold the entry of it upon our records, and prevented our taking any caution to safeguard notice of it to you. Col. Pearse arrived and delivered his charge safely in to the Company's Treasury at Madras, acquiring in our opinion some degree of credit, both from the proposal itself, which was made at a time when the season would not admit of a safe and speedy convoy by sea and from his successful execution of it." 4

On this journey, as well as on that of the year before, Pearse had a perambulator traverse kept of his route, and took astr. obsns. at all important halts [154-5].

Took a short spell of leave after being wounded at Cuda- lore, writing, 28-8-83, "I am quite recovered, that is, my wound as such is entirely healed, but I am emaciated and worn down, and am not likely to get better. I had been bannished from camp to avoid the Brevets".

The dett. was re-assembled under Pearse's comd. at the end of the war [41]. "The army was at this time many months paid in arrears, and there was much discontent, and in one or two instances the conduct of the troops was highly insubordinate. By combining that necessary degree of character, which will ever uphold subordination and discipline, and at the same time command respect, with an amiable and ever zealous interest in the welfare of all ranks under his command, Col. Pearse had acquired an ascendancy over the minds of his native soldiery, which proved of the utmost value at this time. The conduct of the Bengal Detachment, at the period of their final departure from Madras called forth the highest praise from all quarters, and the Government of the Madras Presidency for their past services and their conduct both in field and in cantonments."

The troops refused to be sent back to Bengal by sea, as against their religious prejudices [40, 343], and the dett. started its return march 23-4-84, and after a halt of about 3 months for the monsoon, arrd. at Gaurhati, opposite Barrackpore, 15-1-85.

Throughout this march a continuous survey of the route was kept up by Colebrooke, whom Pearse appd. Surveyr. to the dett. 7 and instructed in the taking of astr. obsns., a number of which Pearse made himself at the more important stations [200, 262-7].

Warren Hastings honoured them with an inspection a few weeks before his departure from India, and amongst the rewards issued, Pearse himself received a "Sword of Honour". A few weeks later the C-in-C. held a review at Dam-Dam...

When Col. Pearse's detachment of Artillery returned...in 1785, they were quartered at Dam-Dam...and were there reviewed in February 1786, by the Commander-in-Chief, on which occasion Col. Pearse gave an elegant entertainment, at which were present, besides the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor General, a very numerous and respectable Company..."

1787, supported plans for Burrow's astr. survey [157]. His correspondence is full of references to other scientific interests.

He describes the Benares observatory [150, 157] and in a letter of Jan. 1774 writes, "When I left Calcutta, our army was encamped at Ramgaut, which is about fifty miles from Delhi on the eastern side of
the Ganges, and about 150 from the Cataract called the Cow's mouth. It is the source of the Ganges, for there the stream first takes this name, and there is the sanctum sanctorum of the Hindoos. 11

In a letter to Sir Robert Barker he writes; “Maskelyne [155 n. 13] has suppressed all my astronomical observations, and had not the civility even to answer my letters to him, which is rude enough for a philosopher and a man of science.”

In another letter to Sir Robert, dated 15-2-88, after writing “I have not the honour to be a member of the Royal Society,” he discusses designs for steam engines, and testifies to the excellent workmanship of Jesse Ramsden’s instruments [260].

During the later years of his life Perse lived in a house in Chowringhee, and owned 4 other houses, including one at “Mootcehee Colah,” 5 miles from Calcutta. He died in 1789 “a few miles up the Hooghly where he went for change of air” after a journey to the Sandheads for benefit of his health, and returned with little benefit, “after a long and painful illness which he supported with the greatest firmness and resolution.”

A pillar erected to Perse’s memory still stands at Dum-Dum.

The following extracts from his will tell something of his private life:

“Married to Panna Perse, a native of Hindostan; marriage though kept secret for many years, was in every respect lawful.” — Other native women who bore him children in his Zenana. — To son by his wife Panna Perse, named Thomas Deane Mahomet Perse, property in Chowringhee.

Bought the piece of ground in Chowringhee in 1782. — “Warren Hastings at his departure presented me with a diamond set in gold, which I have lodged in the hands of my wife.”

“Isaac Hampry Lient, my war horse called Innaam Bulch, which I had with me on the Coast of Commandery, together with the Saddles, bridles, Trappings, and accouterments belonging to him; and I also bequeath to the said Isaac Humphry all my mathematical or Chymical Books, together with all my mathematical Instruments of every denomination.

There are still preserved letters from “Panna Perse” to Warren Hastings, beautifully written in Persian, with incompressible English translation, asking for his protection for “Mr. Tommy.” The young Thomas Deane entered Harrow, Jan. 1783, three months after his father; and he entered Oriel Coll. Oxford 9-6-93, but nothing further is known. of him.

PERRON, du; see ANQUETIL-DUPERRON.

d. 12-3-86, at Hooghly, Bengal.
Enns. 15-5-83.
B. 1757.
M., before 1753, Maria —
Already in India when recommended by C-in-C. for enns.
Employed on survey of the SE. parts of present Central Provinces towards Ganjam, but withdrawn during the retreatment of 1781 [38].

PITTMAN, Philip. Mad. Engrs.
b. 1740. d. 20-1-73, Vizagapatam.

Capt. 15-9-70.
M., Matric. 1772, Miss Honora Dawkes who after his death m. Mr. Tasswell; left a son, Gibson Charles George Pittman b. Nov. 1773, afterwards Lieut. Mad. Engrs.
Enns. in H.M.'s 48th Foot in N. America; 15th Foot, 14-9-60; Lieut. 23-7-62.

1 MG Repository. I (25).
2 In IV (334-5).
3 Busteed (117).
4 CGG. 18-6-80.
5 Probably by muhammadan law.
6 Sec. to Bd. of Ordnance (Rodeson).
7 Enns. Wills 1787-90 (36) with cod. 25-5-89.
8 Sometimes "PITTMAN.
9 M. C. 29-12-69 & 17-1-70.
10 M. C. 14-3-71.
11 Maps MSS. LXIX. 28-8-90; r. Malby (189).
12 MR I O. 124 (29).
13 Plaited (30, 91, 113) etc.
14 Mack MSS. LXIX. 28-8-90; r. Malby (189).
15 M. C. 29-12-69 & 17-1-70.
16 M. C. 14-3-71.
17 Orms MSS. 353 (22, 34).
Wrote a long letter 6-5-50, describing journey to Governor Drake in Calcutta, and pub account entitled *Journal from Calcutta in Bengal* by Sea to Bussorah, ...to the 2nd edn. of which was added *Account of the Countries, Cities, and Towns adjacent to Bengal*, "with a Map by Mr. Plaisted 12."

Though this map bears a note that it is "collected from the best authorities", it is said to be little superior to that of van den Broeck dated 1650 [221].

Returned to Bengal with order from the Directors for re-employment and, on death of Robins [311 n. 1], held change of the fortification works till arrival of Col. Scott [51] in 1753. In Court letter of 24-3-1754 it was ordered that he should be appd. Master Attendant, or Harbour Master.

1755, placed under suspension and again returned home, thus being fortunate to escape the tragedy of the "Black Hole" [337].

The Directors then refused to allow Plaisted to return to Bengal "on account of a turbulent temper and unbecoming behaviour, lessening the Government in the eyes of the whole settlement" 4, but after two years he was once more sent out, with the app't. of Survry. of Works, and sent to Chittagong when that Province was ceded to the Company at the end of 1756 [14]. "Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted was, in compliance to your commands, ordered to hold himself ready to proceed to Bombay, and accordingly gave up the office of Surveyor, ...but being afterwards advised that Mr. Plaisted's assistance would be very useful in completing the Surveys of the River and Coraas near Chittagong, we have employed him on that service" 6 [269].

1760, Employed on surveys of Channell Creek and waterways to east of the Hooghly, and then survd. coasts and creeks from S. of Chittagong to Balsore 2, 131, 132, 284, 283. He made Chittagong his headquarters most of the time and was given a seat on the Council there, the Directors approving that he "should be given all reasonable encouragement himself to preserve, advantages in trade etc. [275], but he is not to rise on the list of Covenanted Servants".

In addition to his surveys he drew up Navigation Instructions for the coast of Chittagong, 9 and obad. the transit of Venus during 1761 [153]. 1763, with Verl'est's expn. to Cachar; survd. route through Tripura and return by water to Dacca [82]. Feb. 1765, was survy. the Meghna near Lakshmipur where Rennell just missed him 4.

1765, called to Calcutta to join De Glos in survey of Burdwan [22]. His last job was a visit in 1767 to "the Factory House at Luckynecore...to survey its situations, and find a proper spot for new Buildings" 10. On return from this trip "departed this life after a fever of ten days, the 27th October".

The following extract from his will show that standards of life had changed somewhat since his days:

3 Orme MSS. VIII (2095).
4 Ben P. & P. IV (600).
5 To C D. 61-1-61 (107-8).
6 C D to B 13-2-90 (47).
7 From the Portuguese world, i.e., meaning Jews, Wright (29).
8 The feminine joys.
9 Ben. Willis, 114-33 (61) : the conscientious fullment of such obligations is a feature of 18th century wills.
10 As R. XIV, 1822 (440 n.).
11 Reprinted As. J. VII, 1819.

"I...give to all my slaves their liberty and freedom, together with all their Cloaths, joys, or anything else I may have given them, and to Martha, at present my slave, I give further the sum of 2,000 Rs., also to Catharine, at present my slave, 1,000 Aroo Ruppes; also to Isabella and Anna, formerly my slaves, I give each 1,000 Ruppes [12].

Secondly, as I was never married, I am under the necessity to adopt heirs: my natural and reputed children, Mary & Ana, now in England, under the Care of my esteemed cousin, Mr. Thomas Burnett of the Strand, London; and Samuel, now living with me in Calcutta 8.

He further bequests to cousin Thomas Burnett(s) and to his married sisters; also if any of my slaves be with child when I die, due provision is made. 10.

Wilford records a story that "Plaisted, while surveying some parts of the Sundarbans, was carried away by an alligator, which he mistook for the rotten trunk of a tree." 14.

POLIER, Anthony (Antoine Louis Henri)

Ben. Engrs. & Inf.
1. b. 1740-1, Bapt. 28-2-41, at Lausanne, Switzerland. Assassinated, 9-2-95.
2. Rosetti, near Avignon.
3. Ena. Inf. 1-3-59; Capt. Luit. (Egres.) 11-10-82 Lib. (Col.) 12-4-82; Ret. 1789.
4. Younger son of Jacques-Henri-Etienne Polier, of a French Protestant family which had emigrated to Switzerland in the 17th century, and Jeanne-Francoise Moreau de Brosses, his wife.
8. Ed. at Neufchatel.
11. 1757, Appd. cadet for St. George, hoping to join his uncle. "I was born at Lausanne...where my family had become naturalised. My Uncle was in the English service...I had made some progress in my mathematical studies...An opportunity of going to England...occuring in 1756, I went thither in that year & embarking for India in the year ensuing I arrived there at the age of 18, in June 1758. Departed by the death of my relation, of the only friend I had in India, I entered the English service as a cadet, and after being engaged in some actions with the French on the Coast, of Orissa, proceeded to Bengal".
12. 1759, Served under Forde during the campaign in N. Circars, and survd. route of return march to Bengal; apparently on Ben. Est. by this time [28, 91, 343 n. 3].
13. 1760, with Cailland's force to Patna and, "after that, I was employed as Engineer with the army that was sent against the Nawab...and upon the termination of the campaign was employed to superintend the military labours carried on by the troops."
14. I was shortly afterwards nominated Assistant Engineer at Calcutta, and in September 1762, succeeded to the post of Chief Engineer with the rank.
of Captain"¹, the Council resolving that, "Lt. Anthony Polier having served as Sub-Engineer under Mr. Amphlett [309] these two last seasons with great Diligence and Assiduity, and having always from his Capacity acquitted himself to the Satisfaction of his Superiors, He is now esteemed the most proper Person upon the Spot to take charge of the Works [the new Ft. Wm.]. . . . " We have further granted you a commission as Engineer, with the rank of a Capt. Lieutenant in the Army, to enable you to maintain the proper sway and Authority over those who are to, or may in future, act under your directions"².

It was about this time that Polier made the map of Midnapore and Burdwan, from which Rennell borrowed the detail of certain rivers; a map probably compiled largely from the work of other surveyors [21, 222, 256]. Sepoy July 6th, Handed over to Capt. Fleming Martin³, who had been sent out from England to become CE, and "now proceeded to the Army with the command of a company of Pioneers"⁴; probably present at battle of Buxar; 21-11-64. Appd. Ft. Engr. to the Army in the Field, and with Munro to Chunar⁵.

Continuing his own account, 1764–6: I was directed to join the Army about to proceed against the Mahtras & Sujah-ud-Dowlah, with the title & rank of Engineer which I was allowed to retain. . . After the campaign was finished, I joined the expedition under Lord Clive, and with the rank of Major commanded the Sipahis of his second Brigade. I was so fortunate as to attain the friendship & confidence of that distinguished Commander, and was entrusted with a general superintendence and control over the officers of his army [whose] cabals I was principally instrumental in defeating."⁶

The expn. here referred to was evidently that made by Clive soon after his return to Bengal, 3–5–65, when he went up country to settle terms of peace with the Wazir of Oudh and the exiled Emperor of Delhi [24].

May 1766, Polier was one of the officers "whose attachment to the service, as well as steady adherence to discipline might securely be relied on", whom Clive took up country to suppress the "Batta Mutiny", and was specially selected to go on ahead to collect early news of the situation at Hencyrgh⁷. In July he sat as member of cmlt. at Bankapore [353].

June 1767, he is shown as doing duty with the 2nd. Bri. as Sepoy Major⁸.

It is not clear what appra. he held between 1767 and 1774. In 1766 the Directors had written out that he might succeed Fleming Martin as CE.⁹, but he never did so, and Martin held that office till Archibald Campbell arrived, from home in 1769.

Feb. 1768, Polier was in Calcutta, "Commanding the Garrison", and making various reports about "works" on the Fort ¹⁰.

Both Rennell and Orme refer to a map of Allahabad, Oudh, and Bihar, compiled by Polier in 1768 [222, 426 n. 7].

March 1768, the Directors repeated their order restricting foreigners to the rank of major [333], mentioning Polier by name; the Council protested that Polier's excellent service seemed to mark him for exception,¹¹ but the Directors did not deign to reply.

1773, Appd. to the service of the Wazir of Oudh, who had asked for an engineer and architect for "completing the Works of his new Town of Fyzabad". This provided, the GG, noted, "a creditable Employ for an Officer of long Services and distinguished merits and abilities, who was preceded by the standing orders of the Company from being in the Service, being a Foreigner, and of course could not perform actual service in the Army without being subject to the command of many officers who were his juniors"¹².

Polier accordingly left Calcutta for Fyzabad, where he "adopted the habits & customs of the natives of the country".¹³ Here he was given charge of the surveyors working in Oudh [3, 34, 426, 354]; "The service which was officially committed to his charge, of Superintending the Surveys in that Quarter, was given in consequence of the great distance of the Surveyors from the Surveyor General, whose residence for some time has been at Dacca, in the opposite extremity of Bengal [335], and for which duty Major Polier was amply qualified both by his Education and considerate Practice. In that part of his duty he receives his instructions from the Surveyor General and transmits his information to him"¹⁴.

Col. Champion, who comd. the Company's forces in the Rehalla campaign of 1774 [224], complained of Polier's disrespect; "nor has Major Polier, who is also in the Nabob's Court, thought proper, tho' an officer in the Army, to show me any part of that respect which it was his duty to have manifested".¹⁵ "You must be surprised at the Vizier's conduct. Major Polier's was also extraordinary; he neither offered his services to me, nor asked permission to assist the Nabob's Troops in the action, but remained on his Elephant seven miles in the rear, and, tho' he was in the lines next day, he did not think proper to pay me the usual congratulatory compliments . . . . "But what I understand gives the greatest, and indeed a general disgust, is that Major Polier, whose behaviour has impressed this division of the Army with a most unfavourable opinion of him, should be permitted to reside at the Nabob's Court and visit him at pleasure, whilst at the same time Officers of distinguished merit are altogether denied admittance to his presence"¹⁶.

The GG, Warren Hastings, replied, May 13th, "I have written to Major Polier to proceed immediately to Fyzabad, or if the Vizier should not have any further occasion for his services, to return to the Presidency. . . I am much concerned at this behaviour in an officer, whom I have ever hitherto known to have been observant of the common civilities of life, and equally the duties of his profession. . . . I have hitherto entertained an esteem for Maj. Polier as an officer and a Gentleman". The following month Champion writes that "Polier went off yesterday morning without doing me the favour of a visit"¹⁷.

Later in the year Polier "was called upon to accompany Sujah-ud-Dowlah in a campaign, and joined at the Siege of Agra under Najat Khan, & contributed essentially to the reduction of the place".¹⁸

This adventure awoke the strong opposition of Philip Francis and his fellow Councillors, who were only too glad to find an opportunity for interfering with a protégé of the GG, and in spite of every argument that Hastings could bring forward, they insisted that Polier had no right what-
ever, whilst still in the Company’s service, to join the military adventures of the Wazir. The Gg., was over-ruled and Polier recalled to Calcutta 1. He writes, “Finding that the services of ten years were required with injustice and suspicion, I determined to quit the Company’s employ altogether, and resigned it in November 1775”.

He returned to Fyzabad without permission, but Sajah-ud-Dowlah had died and the new Wazir was called on by the Council to expel him; so he went to Delhi and took service with the Emperor, and was granted the command of 1,000 men, and two jipas, one of them “the parganas of Kair in the Sireer of Agra” 2. He quarrelled with the people of his jipas and had to give them up.

May 1780, under the influence of Eyrre Coote, he was permitted to return to Oudh and restored to his former post as Engineer and Architect, but the appointment was annulled, March 1782. He was re-admitted to the Company’s service with the rank of Bt. Lt. Colonel, but not to serve in any corps, and received permission to settle at Lucknow 3.

Whilst at Lucknow he undertook to build the monument to Cleveland at Bhagalpur; and the artist Wm. Hodges spent about 10 days with him in 1783 [354].

Oct. 1785, his offer to superintend a survey of the Upper Provinces was refused 4. He wrote several historical memoirs, including a History of the Siks; collected MSS., and was the first European to obtain a complete copy of the Vedas, which is now in the British Museum.

In his Memoir of 1793 Rennell acknowledges a map of the Punjab by some unnamed European, sent to him by Polier [233].

1779, Put in a claim for “Rs. 7,76,305, the Balance of an account arising from sundry transactions between him and the Nabob; ... large commissions for Army Clothing, stores, ... executed for H.E.; ... Arrears of pay and allowances; ... anns lent by him to H.E.”. The Resident remarked that “There is a dispute between the Nabob and Major Polier regarding some articles of this account, but as the Major has produced Receipts & vouchers for most of the charges... I see no reason to doubt the authenticity of the account. ... He thinks himself entitled to the legal interest of 12%, which I think is true, as some of the transactions are of 3 to 5 years standing must greatly swell the balance”.

July 1786, wrote to Hastings that he had “now received payment of the greater part of his debt from the Witzer, and am making preparations for return to Europe” 5. He was allowed to proceed to Europe on half pay before the end of the year, arriving England July 1788.

1-88, Sir Wm. Jones gave him a letter of introduction to Dr. Ford, Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford; “Give me leave to recommend to your kind attention Colonel Polier, who will deliver this to you at Oxford. He presents to the university an extremely rare work in Sanscrit, a copy of the four Vedas, or Indian scriptures, which confirm, instead of opposing, the Mosaic account of the creation, and of the deluge. He is himself one of the best disposed and best informed men who ever left India”, and on 11-10-89, Jones wrote again thanking Dr. Ford “for your kind attentions to Colonel Polier” 6.

Polier settled in Lassanam for a few years and moved to Rosetti in France 1798, from which year also he drew a pension from Lord Clive’s Fund. In 1785 his house and possessions were plundered by robbers of the Revolution, and he was murdered in their defence.

His portrait appears in Zoffany’s picture Col. Mordaunt’s Cock Fight.


Eas. 1-11-67.

Lev’t his estate to his mother and three sisters, and mentioned two bros.,in-law, John & James Pitt of London, presumably brothers to his “beloved wife”.

In will sd. Dacca 17-7-67, John Adams [308] mentions Portsmouth as “lately my assistant in surveying”, at which time Portsmouth must have been a cadet waiting for admission 10 [266].

Dec. 1767, Send on survey to Midnapore with an escort of a company of Sepoys, and surve’d roads in “Bissempour”, the Dummothah and Dalikiser rivers, and part of “Pachete”, all in the Manbhum and Midnapore Districts 11 [325].

When writing his will, Aug. 1768, he was “sick and weak in body”, and, 10-5-69, Wm. Thackeray 12 wrote from Calcutta to the Residt. at Midnapore.

“I am directed by Mr. Cartier 13 to inform you that he has received your favour of 3rd inst., and is extremely sorry to hear of the death of Mr. Portsmouth. He requests you will forward to him all such papers and drafts as you may find relative to his surveys” 14.

In his will Portsmouth left “to Mr. John Blair of Calcutta, my Slave Boy, and choice of either of my horses” 15.


Eas. 22-11-71 ... Capt. 26-2-81; Resid. 17-12-92.

Bro. to Col. Robert Pringle.

m., Lucknow, 5-6-90, Cordelia, dau. of Lt Col. John Fortnam, Ben. Engrs. [334], by whom he had two sons and two daus.

18-10-74, with corps of L. Inf. stationed in Jungleerry, survd. country between Rajmahali Hills and Madupur, the present Santal Parganas [35].

Whilst at Deoghar, became involved in disputes with the local revenue farmer, and was led by zeal to take somewhat high-handed action, which met with severe disapproval from the Supreme Council, and led to his removal from Jungleerry [395].

Two years later, when Rennell asked for his services again, Gen. Claverling, C-in-C., objected; “Whilst he was acting in this Quality, a complaint was made to me, that he had seized and confiscated the effects of —. I wrote to Captain Brown in whose Battalion Ensign Pringle was, & find that he had taken the management of the Revenue Collecting into his own hands — for the sake of the inhabitants, as a punishment for the repeated acts of oppression and injustice that he had heard had been committed. ... The Board, not being willing to ruin the young man by bringing him to a court martial, ... ordered
him to rejoin his regiment, and not to be permitted to return to surveying business".  

However Warren Hastings did not think this should bar his re-employment; "I have a good opinion of Mr. Pringle's abilities as a surveyor, and consent to his being employed in that Character on any service, provided it be not in the Jungleerry District."  

Pringle was accordingly sent to complete the survey of Cooch Behar, a matter of about three months work, and then returned to his unit at Midnapore, April 1777 [36, 183 n. 1].  

During 1778, on survey of Sabarmarsha R. and 1779, in Shahabad [37], 1782, sent the SG, "a plan of Rhotas and its dependencies" [38], writing, "I should deem myself highly honoured in receiving your instructions to make a survey of the Purgunnah of Retas, in order to ascertain its true extent and value", ... but retrenchment was then the order of the day, and no more surveys could be sanctioned [39].  

1792, Resd. and settled at Lucknow to engage in commerce; in 1794 he was arranging terms for supplying the Company with 1,000 tons of sugar, and in a cod. to his will at Lucknow July 1801 he says that he was "deeply engaged in commercial pursuits" [40].  

Shortly after this he went home with a letter to the Directors from the GG, "introduces Mr. Andrew Pringle, a most respectable merchant who has long resided at Lucknow, and whose general conduct has met my particular approbation. He has recently been employed in the management of an important branch of the Company's Investment in Oude".  

PRINGLE, John. Mad. Inf.  

d. 27-5-88, Cuddalore.  

Ems. 7-12-70 ... Capt. 2-11-83.  


He left a natural dau., b. c. Oct. 1784.  

Arrd. Madras 14-8-70.  

1775, the CoC. reported that Pringle had devised an improvement "in the laying of the Barrack to the Carbine", and "has been at great expense and trouble in completing this, and attending to its trial at Cuddalore". In acknowledging this "very material Improvement", the Directors sent out to him a Furse with his own Improvement, as a complimentary Acknowledgement of his merit.  

Aug. 1775, with 1st Batt., 1st Br., at Palanmootal; June 1776 with 16th Batt.  

1777, Submitted two books of survd. roads, and survey of the Tanjore anicut; Appd. Capt. in Corps of Guides from Aug. 1777 [4. 95. 272].  

28-5-77, with Cosby's force which assembled at Sholinghur, and after a short campaign defeated the troops of Bussum Rouse. 1778, Wounded at the siege of Pondicherry.  

Jan. 1779, Attd. to Brathwaite's force which marched from Trichinopoly through Madura, and across the Ghats to Anjengo, where it was to embark for the capture of the French settlement of Mahé. In his capacity as Capt. of Guides, Pringle was sent in advance on general intelligence duty. Brathwaite reported, 4-2-79; "I have received a letter from Capt. Pringle, wherein he informs me that the King of Travancore, tho' he treated him with great civility, would by no means allow him a passage by the direct and good road through his country, and under the pretence of an escort, carried him as a prisoner under the care of a Subadar and 20 Seapoy, the Subadar told him he was not allowed to strike into the Country 200 yards from the sea Beach, nor must he hold conference with anyone, not even the Portuguese Missionaries. ... Captain Pringle was to embark on board for Tellicherry, from whence I shall soon hear from him again" [96].  

March 1780, put forward a scheme for establishing the Corps of Guides on a permanent footing for the collection of surveys and military information; at the same time submitted his 3rd. Book of Roads, and asked for brevet rank as Captain and an increase of allowances, both of which were sanctioned [279-80].  

July 1780, Surveying near Onegole when Haidar Ali invaded the Carnatic, and reported, 27-7-80, that he found "the villages deserted on account of Pundering Horsemen."  

The following week he wrote to the Select Committee, "Lt. Col. Ballie has just communicated... orders for me to join the Army: shall... lose no time in getting to the Southward, leaving my company of Guides under Col. Ballie's command. Thinking that you would forgive me for quitting the inglorious employment of a Surveyor, to render what service I could in a more Military line, I have accompanied Col. Ballie thus far on his expedition, and intended to have remained under his command until I knew your pleasure respecting my situation."  

He pushed on, and joined Hector Munro's staff at Conjeevaram, whilst Ballie marched steadily on to disaster [95].  

From now till the end of the war in 1784 Pringle was engaged on surveys, the routes of the armies marching to and from through the Carnatic, and on general "intelligence" work. He was present at the capture of Karunguli, and mentioned in Cooke's despatches of 21-8-81. After the war he submitted to Government a complete Book of the Roads of the Carnatic several copies of which are still preserved; the Book was accompanied by a plan [97, 169, 184, 190, 257].  

At the India office is preserved a most interesting letter from Pringle to Sir Hector Munro, who had incurred great public criticism for not taking vigorous action to prevent the disaster to Ballie's force at Peramubickam on 10-9-80; Pringle writes from "Bowerryunj, near Chillumburn" 22-9-80, replying to 2 different letters from Munro, after explaining that he had not written before because he had asked others to send home their opinion that Ballie had brought his disaster upon himself, "I am at present employed in examining all the Routes by which the Army may have occasion to march, and cannot without running risk, nay without a certainty, of losing the most beneficial appointment I have ever had in my life, proceed to Madras, at a time when, from the sickness of the
Treasury. Government is obliged to suspend the most necessary services. I instantly sent to Madras for every paper... I had, recollecting that amongst the rest there was the triplicate of a Letter, written by me, and signed by you, positively ordering Colonel Baillie to march on in the night... which letter I despatched from the Camp at Conjeeveram...

"My heart bleeds when I reflect on the unkind return you have met with for all the eminent Services you have performed... It shall be my endeavor, I assure you, to set this matter in its true light to all the World. For the present on my own affairs, I will only give you my sincerest thanks for advancing the 200 pounds on account of my infirm sister, whose soul is now with GOD who gave it."

The "beneficial appointment" above referred to was the result of a proposal which Pringle had put forward that he should be put on special duty to extend his surveys to all the roads of the Carnatic and make a complete survey of the country [97, 179, 257], on sanctioning which the Council consented to Capt. Pringle drawing Major's pay during the periods of his absence upon service, in addition to the other allowances enjoyed by him in the field.

In 1776 fresh orders were issued for the est. of the Corps of Guides, and Pringle was appd. Major of Guides [6, 109, 287].

Two years later he died near Cuddalore, reputedly "through taking by mistake some violent medicine instead of common salts". He was buried at Christ Church, Old Town, Cuddalore, where an inscription to his memory existed.

RANKEN, Charles, Ben. Inf.

b. 1751–2. d. 9–4–1802.

Ens. 1779... Capt. 15–11–80; Furl. 2–11–83. Eldest son of Rev. John Rankin, Presbyterian minister at Antrim, and Sarah his wife; b. of John & William Rankin, both of Ben. Inf. 

m. 18–1–57, Mary, dau. of Rev. Moses Grant, rector of Nolton, co. Pembroke; father of John Grant Ranken, Ben. Inf.; M. I. St. Mary's churchyrd, Horsey.

Hodzi...

Sept. 1776, ordered on survey of Rangam, with Dowdworth as asst. [334], but survey was suspended 4 months later owing to disturbed state of country [36, 270]. Resuming work some time later, Ranken writes "In the month of July 1781, when on a Survey of the Mahraat Frontier, your memorialist received an order from the Governor General to attend him immediately in Calcutta.

"The Supreme Council then ordered me to undertake and complete a road...from Calcutta, in a straight line through the Hills and jungles, to Chunar-Gur, for the more safe and expeditious conveyance of letters, and the more easy communication and march of the Army through the Provinces, it being nearer than the old road by 140 miles" [38].

He was promised 50,000 Sicas rupees as personal remuneration, and the Directors were astounded at such extravagance; "This undertaking we find is to cost the Company at least two lakhs and a half rupees."

"When we consider the enormous amount of your Military charges, the Scarcity of cash at our Presidencies whereby they are unable to pay the Troops (362)... we are astonished at the measure; nor can we withhold our surprise at...the enormous gratuity, which we can by no means assent to; but if upon the completion of the business, the officer shall appear entitled to some Reward, we will...take the same into our consideration... However as the business will be in great forwardness by the time of your receipt hereof, we have only to enjoin you never to exceed the sum of Rs. 15,000 per annum for keeping the road in repair; and to direct that all future projects of this kind be submitted to our consideration before you carry them into execution."

The Council replied, "We have intimated the purport of your orders concerning the reward of Capt. Rankin for this service to him, and as the most difficult part of the Road is completed, we have desired him to finish the remainder of it in the manner he intended, when the restriction which you have been pleased to lay for the expense of its repairs shall be punctually attended to.

"We cannot quit this subject without remarking how hard it is that we should receive your censure for an act for which we did think ourselves entitled to your approbation... The distance of Chunar from Calcutta by the present Road is 800 miles, it will be reduced to 390 exactly by that now making. The passes in its course over the most impassable parts of the Western quarters of Bengal, thro' Woods, Rocks, and Hills, hitherto impassable, the whole expense on the estimates if the Commission be included will be Sicas Rs. 2,88,357".

15–11–84, Ranken submitted "plan and measurements of the public Road lately completed from Fort William to Chunnaghr, via Raganathpoor and Sheergotty" [38 n. 10], and, when reporting the final completion, the Council wrote; "The Trial of some months has fully evinced its utility; the Danakps pass with greater rapidity throughout the Provinces, at a reduced rate, and your troops effect their Marches with facility and without any impediment."

"We think it but Justice due to Capt. Rankin to recommend his Claim to your favourable consideration, and to express our hopes that it still be admitted.

We have positively directed that the annual expense of repairs shall not exceed...16,000 rupees..."

Ranken then applied for permission to "retire for three years... my pay continuing in Bengal. The state of my health very much impaired by a late and severe illness, and the situation of my private affairs jointly, compelled me to solicit this favour". This leave was duly sanctioned, and he reported his arrival in England 11–6–88, at the same time paying for payment of the Rs. 50,000 that had been promised; in their despatch to Bengal, 22–12–88, the Directors gave directions for the payment of this sum, and ordered "report on the state and condition of the road to be annually transmitted home, and also account of expenses on repairs, which are not to exceed Rs. 16,000 annually."

His brothers John and William continued in succession to maintain the road after his departure on furl., in the capacity of "Superintendent of the Military Road".

 Rs. 40 per mile on 442 miles was allowed each year from 1789 for the upkeep, a regular report being required "from the Superintendent General and from the Collectors of Districts that the road has been kept in a proper state of repair".

In 1791 it was ruled that a further sum of Rs. 10,000 per annum is to be allowed to Capt. Rankin, Superintendent of the Military Road, for cutting down the jungle contiguous to the road."

Ranken’s house and premises in Chwinghee were sold in 1793, and he was struck off the strength of the same year.

READ, Alexander. Mad. Inf.
b. c. 1751. d. 19-5-1804, Malta.
Ens. 18-5-72. Col. 1-5-1804; Furl. 9-4-1800 till death.
Son of Alexander Read of Torbeg, and Elizabeth Wedderburn; his sister Jean was mother of Alexander Beaton [311].
Left one or two sons; uncle to Alexander Read, Mad. Cív. Bradshaw (217-9).
Taken prisoner at Baillie’s disaster, 10-6-80 [40]; released at treaty of Mangalore, 17-3-84.
1788, in charge of Intelligence Dept. with force occupying Guntur, making cursory survey of roads between Penner and Godavari rivers [110].
1789-90, Comdg. at Ambur, in charge of Intelligence Dept.; 1791-2, 3rd Mysore War, in charge of transport of supplies.
1792-9, in civil charge Baramahal and Salem dists. as Supt. of Revenue, the first military officer to receive such app. After making rapid sketch of the country during 1793 [113, 103], employed Mather on geographical survey and, with aid of three military officers and native staff, completed the first raiwâlî settlement and survey made by the English in India. His system of a 30 year revenue settlement formed, in its main essentials, the foundation of the Madras and Bombay systems for the next sixty years [7, 144-5].
1799, 4th Mysore War, comdg. a dett., captured hill fort “Shulagherry”, 15-3-99.
6-5-99, Resigned his station as Superintendent of Baramahal and Salem.

REICHEL, Thomas Joseph.
Draughtsman in C.E.’s office, Madras, 28-10-83; Discharged 1791.
“In 1786 Baron Reichel...offered his services as an Engineer to the Hon’ble the Court of Directors... who, induced by...the length of his services in the Austrian Army, came to a resolution of appointing him a Captain in their Corps of Engineers on the establishment of Madras.

“But, after the annual election of six new Directors in April, ...the Court...thought proper to rescind it [the app.], on a plea that as a foreigner he was not eligible to so high a rank in their service, but voted him one hundred guineas as a compensation for the expenses he had incurred in preparing to go to India.

“Baron Reichel, being at that time married to a Lady who had some property at Madras, which, to realize, required her presence in India, and being unaware that a permission from the Court of Directors was necessary to go to one of their settlements, they proceeded without applying for one via Bagdad, Bussorah, Bombay, and arrived at Madras in June 1783” [2].

M. P. C. 10-1-84, under resolution of 28-10-83, Appd. “to assist in the Engineer’s office with the usual Field allowances formerly granted to Surveyors”, and employed on copying plans for the Directors [97, 245].
Amongst the maps he copied was one of Fittman and Johnston’s survey of the Chisone Circar, which the Directors considered “unwieldy” though an “elegant map” [93, 252-3].
In 1791 the C.E. reported that “Baron Reichel is the only one [surveyor] under my direction out of the corps; he has been hitherto employed in preparing Plans for the Court of Directors, whose approbation you will perceive he has merited” [273] 4.
The Baron’s narrative continues; “The natural desire which every man has of improving his situation in life induced Baron Reichel to solicit...the Employ long vacant of Civil Architect, ...but Sir Archibald Campbell having declined to favour the application, Baron Reichel, in the year 1790, requested his friends in London to solicit the Court of Directors for the said employ in his behalf. But how different was the result of his hitherto expectations, when...an immediate order...came out, “It is our positive order that the Baron Reichel, who we are informed is at your Presidency, be not permitted to reside within the limits of any of our settlements”[4].
The Baron was accordingly discharged from the CE’s office, but after an appeal and a recommendation from Madras, the Directors relented; “As this gentleman proceeded to Madras without our license, and even after he had received a compensation for having been removed from an appointment in the Corps of Engineers, ...he could have no case of complaint if we were to adhere to our former orders; but from the...testimonials you transmit of his faithful and upright demeanour,...we authorise him to remain...so long as he shall continue...to merit that Indulgence”.
After yet another petition for re-instatement, the Directors approved that this may be allowed, but the C.E. had by this time filled his place, and his services were offered to Topping who replied, “I have known Baron Reichel these nine years past, and...he always appeared to me a man of Merit, Talents, and good character, and...I have no doubt but that he may be very usefully employed in my Department”[7], and that is the last that we hear of the Baron.

RENNELL, James. Ben Engrs.
b. 3-12-42. d. 20-3-1830.
Ens. 9-4-94... Maj. 20-1-73; Resd. 9-4-77. S.G. Bengal, 1767-77.
Son of John Rennell, Capt. of Art., killed on active service in the Pays Bas, 1748, & Ann Clark, his wife who, on her 2nd marriage, became Mrs. Ann Elliot.
b. at Upcott, near Chideleigh in Devonshire; brought up and ed. by the Rev. Gilbert Barrington*, Vicar of Chideleigh.
N. Calcutta, 15-10-72, Jane, dau. of the Rev. Thomas Thackeray, Headmaster of Harrow School, and sister to William Makepeace Thackeray, Ben. Civ., grand-daughter to the novelist; she d. 1810.
1st dau. Jane, b. June 1773, d. Decca 29-7-74, M. 2nd dau., also Jane, b. St. Helena, Oct. or Nov. 1777, m. 5-19-1809, John Tremayne Rood RN, afterwards Vice Adm. KCB. Her grandson, James Rennell Rood, was cr. Baron 1833, becoming 1st Lord Rennell [4].

1 O.G. 11-4-93. 2 M. R. C. 6-7-99. 3 M. P. C. 12-12-94. 4 Petition of Baron Reichel. 5 Mint. MSS. Ixir. 7-1-91. 6 CD to M. 5-1-91. 7 ib. 9-2-92 (32). 8 M. P. C. 18-12-94. 9 One of his father’s two farms. 10 His guardian. 11 ib. 9-11-1858; d. 2-7-1941, succeeded by eldest son, Francis James Rennell Rood, b. 1809.
Grafton in Madras Roads, the 9th April 1762, & stranded ashore at Madras for the recovery of my health till such time as Mr. D. was Ready to embark. Half the goods shipped on the London to be Commanded by Mr. Dalrymple, remainder to follow. Mr. D. had accidently touched at Sooloo in 1761, & promised to trade with the islanders'.

10-5-62, Embarked on the London, a ship of 150 tons, and sailed the following day; his journal runs to over 100 pages, and tells of voyages in company with Dalrymple, many adventures, and much sickness, small pox, and scurvy.

After passing through the Nicobar Is. on the way back, they took 15 days with light winds to Pulicat & where being quite destitute of Provisions, wood, and water, We ran into Pulicatt Islands and made a signal of distress, we having at this time more than 100 People on Board. The same day (March 19tth 1763) I left the Ship in Pulicatt, having leave of Mr. Dalrymple to return to Madras.

"The Charts, Plans, & views belonging to, and mentioned in this voyage, were all lost in the ship Union in Madras Roads in October 1763; this Book being saved by remaining on shore. Copies of most of these plans &c. are in the hands of Alexander Dalrymple Esq., lately gone to Europe."

J. Rennell. Ft. St. George; 30-10-63.

All hope of further advancement in the Navy being extinguished by the Peace of Paris, Feb. 1763, Rennell took his discharge in July, and after refusing "command of one of the Company's ship of War" obtained command "of a fine ship of 200 tons, drawing 200 a year pay, besides trade". The Union was however sunk off Madras during a hurricane which lasted from Oct. 20th to 23rd, and sunk all the ships in the Roads except one; "every moveable belonging to me was on board, so that I saved nothing but what remained on my back. I fear the loss of the ship and Cargo has also ruined my merchant."

"About six weeks after the loss of my large vessel (which happened the 21st October 1763) I was appointed to command a small ship in the service of a very worthy Merchant who was half ruined by the same storm."

Whilst commanding this ship, the snow Neptune, Rennell surved the coast from Caliming Point to Tondi (pl. 9), a survey extended by Stevens the following year [87] and used in his Map of Hindostan twenty years later.

"A private friend of mine recommended me to Mr. Palk [57, n. 6] as proper person to superintend the disembarkation of the troops to be employed in that expedition (the Siege of Madras). The last grand detachment being landed, I returned to Ft. St. George the latter end of February [1763] when the Governor and Council were pleased to signify their approbation of my conduct by a handsome present..."

"I left Ft. St. George the beginning of March, and returned to my Owner's Port, from whence I was ordered to make a voyage to Bengal... On my arrival in Bengal I met with my worthy friend Capt. Tinker, who commands the King's Squadron here... [who] hearing me mentioned in a gentile
manner by Mr. Carnac, the Commander-in-Chief [to whom Rennell had introductions], ... waited on Mr. Vanstart the Governor the same night, & produced me a Commission for Surveyor General of the East India Company’s Dominions in Bengali; before I was scarce apprized of the matter, and a few days after, I had another Commission sent me for Practitioner Engineer in the Citadel erecting at Calcutta, near Fort William. ... After having stayed a month at Fort William I was ordered on service 1.

Rennell was certainly not made Surveyor General at this time, and the only official record of his appointment is the following Resolution of 9–4–64:

“Mr. Hugh Cameron [13, 324–5] who was employed ... as a Surveyor of the New Lands having deceased the 16th ult.; ... it is agreed to appoint Mr. James Rennell in his room, who is recommended to us as a capable person, & by specimens of some Surveys made by him, which the President now lays before the Board, promises to be a very useful servant [265].”

“Ordered that the Secretary do advise him & the Committee of New Lands of his appointment, acquainting them that he is to receive the same allowances as the late Mr. Cameron” [2, 275].

Rennell did not however carry on Cameron’s survey of the 24 Parganas. He sent home later a memento of his month at Ft. William in the form of “a plan of the new Citadel, but it is not quite exact, as indeed it is not my duty to send one that is so.”

On May 6th he received orders to make a survey of the Ganges in search for a navigable channel giving communication with Calcutta, and the account of his work already given [17–21, 182] is taken mainly from his Journal, now at the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta.

Leaving Calcutta by boat, 7–5–64 [17, 283], he started work on May 19th at Jalangi on the Ganges and worked down river to Dacca, where he spent a few months of the rains, recovering from bouts of fever. He then carried his survey down the Meghna to Lakshmipur and the following year up the Brahmaputra as far as Goalparga on the borders of Assam [172–4, 201].

May 1765, Clive arrived in Bengal for his second tour with his interest in maps already stimulated by correspondence with Orme; his attention being directed to Rennell by Carnac’s recommendation, he sent orders in October for him to start a general survey of Bengal [20, 22].

Rennell was joined on Dec. 11th by Richards, of whom he writes, “I have now company at all times; and luckily for me, the gentleman proves a very agreeable and cheerful companion” [22, 270, 271, 381].

They left the Brahmaputra and surveyed right across Kangpuri and back to the Coch Behar border, where, in Feb. 1766, they fell in with a company of sepoys commanded by Rennell’s sailor friend Dennis Morrison [358], and engaged against a band of sanyasee marauders [23, 292, 300]. Joining in the fray, Rennell was badly cut about;

“Morrison escaped unhurt; Richards, my brother officer, received only a slight wound and fought his way off; my Armenian assistant was killed and the sepoy Adjutant much wounded. ... I was put in a palanquin, and Morrison made an attack on the enemy and cut most of them to pieces. I was now in a most shocking condition indeed, being deprived of the use of both my arms; ... a cut of sabre had cut through my right shoulder bone, and laid me open for nearly a foot down my back, cutting thro’ and wounding some of my ribs. I had besides a cut on the left elbow which took off the muscular part of the breadth of a hand, a stab in the arm, and a large cut on the head 4.”

“I followed the Detachment in my Palankeen, and was embarked on a small boat for Dacca the 23rd. The 26th I arrived at that place and for the first time got: Assistance from a Surgeon, having been near 6 days without the least Assistance 5.”

After three months he was out on survey again, but it fell the effects for a long time; and over twelve months later wrote to his guardian, 10–3–67, “I find my constitution terribly hurt by the Accident I mentioned, ... and tho’ it neither affects my Appetite or spirits, yet I am not capable of going through the fatigue I formerly was. ... I neither presented a mark to weather or diseases, my spareness of Body effectually preventing it. My Arm is very weak, and during the whole cold Season past I have had little use of it except for writing or drawing, for the shoulder Bone now lies immediately under the thin covering of the ear.”

Again, 20–9–67, “I am at present rather better than I have been since I was wounded, for I had an intermitting fever for near nine months after I got up; ’t was to the great surprise of the Doctors that I recovered from the first Disaster; for there was something extraordinary in the length of time that elapsed between the time I got wounded, and my being first dressed, for in this Climate the flesh of a European soon mortifies under such circumstances.”

Still in a weak state, he had made an easy trip to Chittagong and back during June, but was smitten by malaria, the scourge of that noisome climate; “on my return from Islambad towards Dacca, I was seized with a fever and ague, and continued very ill till near the middle of July.”

Nov. 1766, he was out again with Richards to survey the rivers of Faba and Râjshâh, and then hurried down to Calcutta “by reason of the sudden departure of Lord Clive”. They reached Calcutta at end of Dec., and spent the next month “compiling and copying maps for Lord Clive”, who sailed at the end of Jan. [24].

Before leaving Clive acknowledged Rennell’s good work by appointing him Surveyor General, 1–1–67 [31]. and Rennell writes, 10–3–67: “In the beginning of the year I had a new Appointment of Surveyor General of the 3 Provinces of Bengal, Bahâr, and Oria, (wheresoever I was only Surveyor of the Company’s Territories given them by the Nabob) and since I wrote you last I have had two steps in
my military capacity. From Lieut. to Capt. Lieut. [267] and from that to Captain & Director of Engineers [265]. I have at present 3! above me in the Corps of Engineers " [26].

For the next seven years Rennell and his surveyors continued to extend their surveys east and west over the Company’s territories and beyond the frontiers where possible. Rennell himself took the countries to the north of the Ganges from Purnea on the west to Sylhet on the east, which he was able to reach by boat from Dacca, where he spent about three months of the rains every year, and where he compiled his maps as the surveys came in to him [2, 32-3 222-7].

He was an intimate friend of both Veralst & Carter, Chiefs of the factories at Chittagong and Dacca, who followed as Governors after Clive’s departure, and Rennell was frequently called down to Calcutta on business connected with his maps.

25-9-67, he writes home from Calcutta, “My Employers…have offered me an easier tho’ not so lucrative a post as my present one, however I am resolved to persevere. … I was ordered down from the Western parts of the Kingdom to this place in order to form a map of the Provinces, which is to go home by the first ship. I arrived here in the beginning of August, just after the commencement of the rainy season.”

Dec. 1767, after leaving Calcutta, he went north and surved. the borders of Assam near Rangamati, working up to the foot of the Bhutan Hills until driven back by the Bhutanese [32, 75, pl. 5], and during the next two years he surved. the eastern districts including Sylhet [82-3].

May 1768, again called down to Calcutta, and while there “engaged on the destruction of the fortifications clandestinely erected at Chandernagore”. “I have some suspicion of being kept in Calcutta next year, however I shall do my utmost to disengage myself from so disagreeable a place” [2].

He did not get away till December, and his fears were justified for he was in Calcutta from May 1769, employed with the CE. on the survey and demolition of “the ditch and Rampart of Chandernagore...which was constructed round the boundaries of that Settlement… This Rampart was found to be a definite work of fortification, and not merely an embankment to protect against flooding”, as the French had represented it. 1772, when he was in Calcutta for his marriage, he was sent to Chandernagore to report on the damage done by river floods, and reported that it seemed “no more than what is experienced all over the country by the heavy Rains”, and could not possibly be due to the demolition of the works the French had been building round their colony.

At the end of 1770 he was working westwards through Rajahshai and had an exciting encounter with a turbulent zamindar. Cadder Beg, who turned out his whole village to stop the survey; Rennell managed to get out of the situation without disaster by showing patience and firmness, and Cadder Beg was duly dealt with by the authorities [292-3].

Two months later he was warned of the approach of large bands of Sanyāsi fahīvī, who were taking advantage of the distressed state of the country from two successive seasons of disastrous famine, to swarm through Dinajpur “laying all the principal towns under contribution”. Rennell gave information to the Council at Murshidabad, who sent several companies of sepoyos to cooperate under his orders. He was not long in seeking out their main body, which was severely handled and driven across the borders of Purnea in complete disorder [293].

It was just before this that he had an adventure with a leopard which had jumped upon him, after wounding five of his men; he succeeded in killing it by thrusting his bayonet down its throat.

We find but few references to duties other than survey. In 1770, the Chief at Dacca writes, “I have delayed to forward a plan of a building I would propose to erect in the Kalkee [fort] for the purpose of accommodating the Supervisor and his assistants, as well as for transacting the business, because I had no one who could give me a design; Captain Rennell is lately arrived here, and at my desire has prepared a Plan and Elevation of a Building which I submit to your approval before it is carried into execution. Conceiving that it will be the most expeditious method of Building by Contract, I desired Captain Rennell, together with the plan, to give in proposals for executing, in case he should be wished to undertake it upon contract.” Rennell’s estimate was to build it for Rs. 24,855.6/3, excluding the cost of old bricks from the fort. So apparently he had acquired some practical knowledge of the duties of an engineer since abandoning his nautical life.

About this time he began to think his surveys were sufficiently advanced to allow him to retire, but was doubtful whether he could afford to do so. As early as 1764 he had written; “I hope to return to my native Country in a very few years in easy circumstances, as I have only set my mind on 5 or 6000 pounds. My allowances on my present Establishment are £900 sterling per annum, which with other perquisites amounts in all to just £1000, and I can enjoy, my Friend, my bottle and all the necessities of Life for 400 £8 16-1-67. Left in Calcutta £800 to be remitted to England. “The Company has forbidden Europeans not in their service to trade in Bengal, and many such are starving in Calcutta. … I am no small sufferer by the restrictions laid on trading, as I cannot at present employ above half of my little Fortune”. 1-7-68. No fortunes now to be made in Bengal. … Allowed to remit only £291 a year. 20-7-69. Cannot yet return to England, having saved only £600.
1-9-70. Owing to poor health determined to retire in 1771. ... Company's servants confined to trade in cloth and tea. 30-10-70. A sum of £500 worth of cloth lying unsold in Calcutta. Cannot return to England as soon as he expected as his survey will not be finished 1.

12-11-71, to Robert Palk. By the Regulations I find myself too rich a man to partake of the provision [a pension]. ... If the makers of these Regulations think that man can subsist genteelly on the sum allotted, my only wish is that their fortunes may be stinted to it. ... I find myself very well during the cold season, but the heats and damp and of the other season are too powerful for the present relaxed state of my nerves. I could therefore wish myself at home 2.

11-11-71, To Burringtons, sends instructions about his money, which he thinks will ultimately amount to about £9000. Is eager to go home. India is too unsettled to leave property in, as he wishes it well secured in England, where he will probably marry, as he is now scarce 29 years of age, 4-1-72. Nearly died of fever in November. 15-3-72. Is disappointed to hear that it will be difficult to keep a family in England on £300 or £400 a year, but intends to try to do so.

7-9-72. Having thought over the dearness of living in England, proposes to stay longer in India. "Is impossible that I can live here this year as I cannot make a single farthing. ... I have tried my interest with the Council to get me recommended for a Pension." My expenses during the last year have been nearly £1000 a year. With that sum a Bachelor can keep a handsome table, a sufficient number of servants, and a Carriage. House Rent I am allowed by the Company, as being in their service, and of late I have been settled at Dacca, where the different rates of living between that and Calcutta bear the same proportion as between Country and City in England: by this you may judge how expensive living is in Calcutta. I came down here on business with the new Governor [Hastings] about six weeks ago, and in about six weeks more shall return to Dacca, where I shall be settled for 14 months more; and then go to England." His very next letter announced his marriage.

In 1765, when he was not yet 22 years of age, he had written to his guardian, "I have had some thoughts of getting a Partner (if I could meet with an agreeable one) but I find that Finances are so very expensive in this Country, that I am afraid to venture; so that I must endeavour to mortify those desires till my Arrival in England.

The story of his engagement and marriage is here quoted from The Thackerays in India. "In 1771, William Makepeace Thackeray, grandfather to the novelist, was transferred from Calcutta to Dacca to be Factor. ... He took with him his two sisters, Henrietta, aged 25, and Jane aged 32. The elder sister, although not a beauty, was a kind unaffected woman, of whom her mother predicted, if there is a sensible man in India he will find out Jane. One of the most sensible had already found her out while on a visit to Governor Cartier in Calcutta, and was waiting at Dacca to welcome her:-James Rennell.

"In the autumn they became engaged, and next year the family party went on a visit to Mr. Cartier in Calcutta. ... Jane was married from Mr. Cartier's house to Major Rennell on 15-10-72, and they returned to Dacca 3.

Their first child, born July 1773, died a year later, and Rennell wrote: "I had lost my little girl, who promised to be a sprightly healthy child, but unfortunately died in cutting her teeth. God Almighty, I hope, will give me another." 4

Quoting again from Hunter, "A silver model of her tomb...still remains an heirloom in the family.

"The loss of their firstborn, the common tribune paid by our predecessors in India for British rule, combined with Rennell's ill health from wounds and fever to make them cast longing eyes homeward. ... They got their only change of air by voyaging up and down the rivers in thatched country boats. Their sole amusements was the Chittagong coast-strap,... now considered a malaria tract, then the one poor health-resort. ... Writing hence in 1776, Rennell described it as the Montpelier of Bengal" 5.

Jan. 1776, Rennell, writes of his prospects of retiring. "I thank God Mrs. Rennell and myself look no further than for the mere conveniences of life; so that what would be a trilling pitance to many, will be allusion to us", and later, "Mrs. Rennell remains at Dacca for the present, as journeying in this part of Bengal at this Season, will not suit with women. And having no physician Rennell I cannot help repeating how supremely happy I am in possession of such a woman" 6.

After his marriage Rennell occupied himself mostly at Dacca, compiling his maps of Bengal, a complete set of which he submitted to Government early in 1774 [224]. Later in the year Government ordered the withdrawal of all surveyors from the field, and Rennell continued at Dacca, filling in and extending his maps from such material as he could collect [334, 225]. His health gave him much anxiety; in Feb 1775 he wrote to Hastings, from Dacca, "Honorable Sir, On the 3rd instant I had the honor to inform you that I was under the necessity of changing the air; I am now returned to this place, and am nearly in the same reduced state as when I left it. ... As a sudden turn of my disorder may make it necessary for me to remove either to Chittagong or seaward, I request the favour of your permission to proceed thither if necessary" 7.

He now felt at liberty to close his labours in the unattractive, unhealthy, country of East Bengal, and sent in his first request to retire on a pension, in those days an almost unknown privilege.

"My Circumstances and Situation in Life reduce me to the necessity of making the following Application to you, in hopes that by the favor of your Patronage, my case may be represented to my honorable Employers; from whose Justice and Humanity alone I may expect the accomplishment of my just Desires; namely the being enabled to retire from this Country; where, by means of a painful and laborious Service of 13 years, and by various Accidents of Wounds and Sickness, my Health is so bad, that I am advised by my physicians to lose no time in quitting a Place, in which I have experienced no tolerable degree of Health for these eight years past; and in which if hard Necessity compels me to stay, I can only expect to linger out a few years longer. Yet, however necessary it may be to change my Situation, the sandedness of my Means will not permit me to live in England, encumbered as I am by a large Family 8, and disabled from pursuing any active Employment by reason of my Mains, and the

1 H M S. 765. 2 Folk MSS. (167). 3 Hunter (73-8). 4 H M S. 765, 20-12-75. 5 Hunter (96). 6 Folk MSS. (260). 7 H M S. 765, 16-10-76. 8 B P G. 54-2-75. 9 His wife only.
ruined State of my constitution; unless my Honorable Employers would generously assist me".

"In forwarding this application to the Directors, the Council wrote: "He has resolved not to leave India before he has completed the work which he has still in hand. His wishes afterwards are centred in retiring with a competency. On this point, Mr. Rennell himself began this business, and has carried it on in a manner hardly to be equalled. Besides, his total abstinence from any obnoxious pursuits of Wealth, added to the Perseverance and Courage manifested in the Dangers to which he has been frequently exposed, render him an Object really deserving of your favour".

The Directors replied in guarded terms which hardly gave Rennell the assurance he was looking for: "We approve of Mr. Rennell's promotion to Major, and have taken into consideration your very earnest recommendation of him for a further Gratuity, which we are induced to think will merit our further consideration when he returns to England".

But Rennell was most anxious about his health. "If the Chittagong air does not speedily recover me, I must go to Madras; if I recover, I shall return to Dacca, where I am building a Magazine &c. I heartily wish that I was enabled to try my native air; but the state of my receipts will not allow of it. I had hopes of the Company, but their last General letter speaks in too general terms. ... After my last illness of Jaay, and Feb'y. 1775, I enjoyed better Health than I had experienced at any time since I received the wounds in 1786; till the beginning of June last, when by an inconsiderate trick of basking in cold water whilst overheated, I was seized with an inflammation in the Bowels, and had a narrow escape. My Bowels have never been composed since that time, and I have just removed to this Place [Isamalband, or Chittagong] which is reckoned the Montpelier of Bengal. This is a chilly Country bordering on the Sea, and at the S.E. extremity of Bengal".

To the Council he made this further application, "A trial of my native air has long been advised, although the slenderness of my means has not allowed me to make the experiment. But now that I have a prospect of being made easy at the conclusion of my labours, I shall cheerfully exert myself during the course of another year; at the close of which I expect to see my work compleated; and I then propose, with your permission, to go to England, and avail myself of the promises of the Honble Court of Directors."

"But as I desire not to eat the bread of idleness, but rather to make myself as useful as possible even after my return to England, I take the liberty...to subjoin...a scheme which I flatter myself you will approve of; his scheme being to work up a "General Map of All Hindoostan" from the material collected at the India House".

The Council took prompt action, and not only forwarded Rennell's address with a strong recommendation, but on their own responsibility gave him permission to return at once to England; "The great decline of Major Rennell's health, owing partly to the intemperance of the climate, to which the nature of his employments has unavoidably exposed him, and partly to the dangerous wounds which he received from Sinassies and othersin the course of his Surveys, & the state of his fortune, which even after a long period, the most useful of services, is too slender to admit of his retiring to England without some certainty of support, have induced us to go beyond the letter of his request, and as the best means that occurred to us of fulfilling the benevolent intentions which you have been pleased to express towards him...we have agreed unsolicited to allow him to retire to Europe upon a pension of five hundred rupees per month, being merely the amount of his pay without Batta, subject to your confirmation or reversal...."

"We think it incumbent on us on this occasion, to place his character in the strongest point of view...by calling to your remembrance that you owe to his genius and unremitting labours, a complete Geographical Survey of those extensive Provinces, begun and finished under his direction, and a great part of it executed immediately by himself".

Rennell was busy right up to the last, having, since Oct. 1776 persuaded Govt. to send out surveyors to fill in various gaps [35-6]; he issued his last detailed instructions, submitted his final reports, handed in his instruments, and sailed from Calcutta 9-4-77.

The following extracts are taken from letters written just before he left India:

21-12-76. "The Governor General & Council have now settled a handsome pension on me for life (subject however to the Confirmation or reversal of the Company at home) payable in Bengal, but to be remitted annually to England;...Rs. 500 a month which may be reckoned about £600 per annum."

5-2-77. "I am now on my way to Calcutta in order to embark on the Ashburnham...My present dependence is on the Company's pension; as I have by no means enough of my own to live on."

4-3-77. "My Health is greatly restored. We left Dacca the 2nd February and arrived here (Calcutta) the 20th...I think the mercantile part of this settlement is advancing fast towards ruin."

He wrote to Warren Hastings after arrival home, "You will have heard, Sir, that we stayed four months at St. Helena, waiting for a little girl, which we have brought home with us. During that time I made a survey of the Island, and Fortifications: and, I believe, made a pretty complete investigation of the strength...of the latter."

He wrote to his guardian, 24-2-78, "I have been in Town several days, and yet have but just finished the Task of visiting the Directors and other great People. I can form but a poor judgement of what they intend doing for me; it will be little I fear, but I will not lose it for want of application."

"My present lodgings are in Oxford Street, near the corner of Orchard Street, No. 199, and I believe I shall keep them some time in preference to my old lodgings in Surrey St., Strand."

Again, 5-3-78, "When I set out for Devonshire, I shall take Bath in my way, in order to visit Russell and Richards", staying with his friend Russell.

20-1-81, he wrote to Hastings from "Nassau St." [377]: "I am now settled in town; having taken a house for a term, and furnished it."

1Petition, 25-9-74; V. M. Richt. 1884. La Tosca. (3 a.). ²B to O. D. 17-10-74 (60). ³O to B. 5-4-76 (8). ⁴H. M. S. 765. 16-10-76. ⁵B P. C. 5-12-76 (5). ⁶B to O. D. 19-12-76 (56). ⁷H. M. S. 765. There have been pessimists in the Calcutta business world since 1777. ⁸B M Addl Mss. 20140, 1-3-78 (343). ⁹H. M. S. 765. Probably not George Russell, the surveyor. [352-3]. ¹⁰Now Suffolk St. Cavendish Sq. ¹¹B M Addl Mss. 20147 (191).
He was always fond of Bath, and wrote from there, "I am somewhat better for the change of air, and have begun to drink the waters".

His first anxiety after reaching London was to get the Directors to confirm his pension, and he writes to Hastings, 1-5-78, "My business was finished at the India House last week; & I am to have £400 a year paid in England, in lieu of the pension which you were pleased to fix for me in Bengal. I am confident, (I was so before I left India,) that any sum you had fixed would be best done here by men accustomed to drive Bargains. Not but that a few of the Directors, more liberal than the rest, wanted to give me the whole; but were overruled. Be it as it will, it is a very handsome Pension, and I once more thank you for getting it for me, and I shall still continue to thank you during the course of my whole life".

The Directors wrote officially to Bengal, "Having maturely considered your recommendation in favour of Major Rennell, and the many and signal Services he has rendered to the Company, and finding that, in consequence of the sufferings and hardships he has undergone in the course of a long painful duty, he is disabled from continuing longer in India. We have resolved to gratify him with an annuity of 400 pounds, payable in England, in lieu of the pension of 500 rupees per month which you had allowed him". This annuity was to commence from Christmas 1777.

Two years later, on his own application, the Directors raised the pension to £600 a year, equivalent to the sum originally suggested by the Bengal Government.

After he had settled down in London Rennell's first thought was the engraving and publication of his Bengal maps; he could not persuade the Directors to undertake this, but they made him cash advances, and allowed him to send copies out to Bengal by Company's ships. The first consignment was sent out before July 1780, and other editions followed in rapid succession and were soon sold off. This promptness in getting the work of the surveyors out to officials working in the country is a striking instance of Rennell's public spirit and enterprise, and a great contrast to the official policy of the period.

Even before the printing of the Bengal Atlas began, he had made a start on the compilation of his Map of Hindoostan, and had the first edition ready by the end of 1778. A full account of the several editions has already been given. Perhaps his most striking innovation was in showing the Tsango and Brahmaputra as one river, whilst one of his most notable archaisms was the retention of the strange westerly sweep of the upper Ganges.

More important than the maps were his Memoirs which gave a detailed account of their construction, and established him as a geographer and man of letters; he fell naturally into the position of the Company's answerer on all geographical matters though he held no official appointment as such. In 1783, he was elected F R S., reading a paper on the Ganges and Brahmaputra, which, besides discussing their origins, described the extraordinary changes effected by action of their floods in the low lands. In 1791 he was awarded the Society's Copley medal. In 1792 he published a special map to illustrate the campaigns in Mysore, and such was his promptitude to seize the opportunity that by the end of the year he had got out a second edition to illustrate the cessions made by Tipu at the Treaty of Seringapatam signed in March 1791. He also produced a new edition of his map of the South Peninsula showing the great additions made to geography by the campaigns of the 3rd Mysore War; issue was made on December 7th, which, considering the six months transit between India and England, and the time required by engraving, indicates a promptness that would hardly be outdone in the 20th century.

Rennell was particularly unselfish in the help he gave to other authors in advice or the provision of geographical material, and often in the compilation of a special map.

1796, the Directors consulted him about Colebrooke's proposals for cutting a canal between the Ganges and Houghly rivers; and in his reply he remarks: "The advantages of a nearer route to and from Calcutta and the Upper Provinces... has always been self evident; more especially as the direct passage continues to be shut up during so large a portion of the whole year. But this evil arises from natural causes, and which appear to be not easily remediable."

"I am clearly of opinion that unless the opening from the Ganges...downwards to...the place proposed to be cut through, should be found to be of a sufficient depth, at the driest season, that so important whatever ought to be incurred, for admitting a bare sufficiency of water now, the chances are against its continuing open long...". The proposal was abandoned, and Rennell's arguments have not since been refuted.

1791, he advised against the publication of Call's Atlas, as the map over which so much labour had been spent was already altogether out of date. He now extended his interests to other countries. Between 1800 and 1810 the whole of Europe became interested in Persia as a possible scene of Napoleon's ambitions, and Rennell corresponded with Warren at the Madras Observatory about material for a map. Warren was able to supply work done by Webbe and Pope with Malcolm's mission of 1800, and wrote, 25-2-1807, "I shall...always feel particularly gratified that the temporary charge...has afforded me an opportunity of communicating with a person so eminently entitled to the veneration of all Geographers, and particularly of those whose long residence in this country has enabled them fully to appreciate the merits of your extensive and important labours". To which Rennell replied, 1-5-1808; "You flatter me most agreeably when you tell me that my labors have been beneficial to the society in which you are at present", and went on to refer to his own work as that of a pioneer.
He wrote again 17-1-1804, "I am now constructing Southern Syria and Lower Egypt, which is all that remains to be done in the 6th sheet of the Comparative Geography, the 5th, which includes all your matter, being now in the engraver's hands. The French Book on Egypt is not arrived, nor has M. Bonaparte allowed any one Book published in France for near 18 months past to come to our hands; so that the King of a country prevents his subjects from obtaining their full measure of fame; for surely the French Saracens look to this country for a large portion of it, as we to them. Nothing can shew the littleness of a mind so much as this; no one is to be a partaker of glory with him".

Regarding this major work of his, an Atlas of the Comparative Geography of Western Asia [328] he continues, "Lord Grenville, before his resignation, obtained from His Majesty a grant of £2,000 as an aid towards the execution of any work (concerning his) His Lordship went out late in March 1807, but I did not get the money till July, when the Engravers were set to work".

Rennell had correspondence with Warren Hastings on a number of subjects; and in 1802 Hastings, in a paper on the subject of Ocean Currents [377], commented thus on an earlier paper by Rennell; "Of the nature of these currents no scientific account was ever given to the Public till the year 1797, when Major Rennell printed a short tract accompanied with a Chart of the South coast of Africa, in which the lines of the currents setting round that coast were accurately laid down and described. The authority of Major Rennell on all points of a Geographical nature, but more especially such as are connected with the Geography of India, is unquestionably of the first credit, due not more to the numerous authentic materials to which he has access than to the peculiarity of his talents, and the industry and sagacity with which he is known to have applied them. This praise is not mean as a compliment to him, but to impress my sense of the truth of these documents".

Rennell was not happy in his criticisms of Lambton's proposals for a Trigonometrical Survey, which had been referred to him in 1800 together with Mackenzie's Plan for the survey of Mysore. Lambton's proposals had been entitled Plan of a Mathematical and Geographical Survey, and Rennell quite misunderstood them; he assumed that Lambton meant to carry out independent astronomical observations, to which Mackenzie and his assistants would tie their topographical survey, and he argued that the plan was wasteful and unnecessary. He also quite misunderstood the proposals for Dr. Heyne's Botanical survey of Mysore, and for establishing a Botanical garden at Bangalore; "the plants of the country, meant to be collected into it, must of course grow spontaneously in the country itself".

Both Lambton and Mackenzie were put to much pains to answer Rennell's criticisms, and their replies completely satisfied the Directors and Rennell himself. The criticism was however very disturbing to Lambton, who was fighting a lone hand in support of his large ideas; and the following comment by Warren is particularly interesting, as he was serving with Lambton very shortly after Rennell's note had arrived:

"We think very highly of the father of our Indian Geography, and yield to no one in admiration of his sagacity and skill in combining heterogeneous materials, and extracting from conflicting statements results so nearly approaching to truth, as to leave little to his successors beyond the task of confirming his statements, but...science was not his forte...nor had he carried his acquisitions in mathematical leaning to the level of his contemporaries in Europe...Colonel Wellesley might justly observe, in comparing his opinion with that set forth in Colonel Lambton's prospectus, 'one or the other must be very ignorant'. Maskelyne, then Astronomer Royal, at the request of his relative Lord Clive...having explained to Major Rennell the real nature of the survey, the latter very handsomely came forward and declared to the Court that he had been misinformed; and wrote also to Capt. Lambton to urge him to prosecute his labours".

Warren's paper first appeared in a Madras newspaper soon after Lambton's death, and this is probably the first recorded reference to Rennell as "the father of Indian Geography", an expression also used by Blacker in a letter to Govt. dated 3-3-24.

In 1823 the Directors were discussing their scheme for the 1-inch Atlas of India, and wrote out, "We have caused enquiry to be made of that distinguished Geographer Major Rennell as to the best mode of obtaining a complete map of India within a reasonable time, and we transmit...a copy of a memorandum which we have received from him".

Rennell had been more impressed with the necessity of speed in order to cover the enormous area of India than with any thought of high accuracy or permanence; and wrote, "The survey in contemplation can of course be no other than a very General one...a general delineation of the roads, mountains with their passes, courses of rivers, and boundaries of the large districts, and not a military survey, is required. All ideas, therefore, of mensuration, or of a series of triangles over the country, is out of the question, and according to my opinion, the only mode in which the work can be accomplished with such a degree of general accuracy as is consistent with the required dispatch, is to obtain, in the first instance, a series of celestial observations of latitudes and longitudes, by which a sufficient number of geographical points at proper intervals may be determined, in order to regulate the scale of the map, and to furnish the means of correcting that of the earyory surveys, by which the intervals between those points must be filled up"

He worked out details of such a scheme, and advocated the appointment of a special astronomer, with an assistant, to lay down the points of control, instead of continuing the Great Trigonometrical Survey.

His note was written a few days before Lambton's death, so it fell to Valentine Blacker, during his first year as G.S., to make reply; which he did in an able letter pointing out the unsatisfactory nature of astronomical control, and the urgent importance of the rigid framework of G.T.S.; "The character of that distinguished geographer for talent, industry, and literature, is so well established that his opinions on the subjects to which so much of his attention has been successfully directed, claim immediate respect. But there is a distinction between geography and geodesy; and the latter is the object of the present inquiry. Notwithstanding Major Rennell's..."
celebrity chiefly rests on the ingenious use and sagacious reasoning with which he has turned to account a variety of uncertain authorities [213], and that his Bengal Atlas, although said to be founded on actual survey, depends neither on measured base or triangulation, ... he is evidently aware that transcendent geodetic methods are now employed in Europe, however he may have overlooked their later progress in this country 7.5.

Blacker agreed, however, that there were tracts, such as Bengal, "whose nature forbids the approach of the Great Trigonometrical Survey", and that astr. control would have to be employed in these, though on somewhat different lines to those proposed by Rennell.

It should be remembered that at the time he made these recommendations Rennell was over eighty years of age; he was unable to realise that India was now very fairly covered by cursory surveys of the nature he was recommending, and that all surveyors were employing astr. control of a sort, except where the G T S. rendered it unnecessary. What was now wanted was a uniform map of a higher class altogether.

It is not possible here to go into all the varied interests which filled Rennell's later life. As Markham writes, "Though Rennell continued to labour zealously in the interests of Indian Geography for the remainder of his life, he welcomed all geographical material, and warmly supported all explorers. His great work The Geographical System of Herodotus examined and explained was pub. 1800, and in 1815 it was followed by his Geographical Illustrations of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. In 1793 he was assisting Mungo Park in the arrangement of his African travels 9.6. He devoted much attention to the subject of winds and currents of the Indian Ocean [376], making a study of the log-books of the Indiamen, and his conclusions, entitled Investigations of the Currents of the Atlantic Ocean, were published after his death.

Amongst other publications were, Result of Astronomical observations in North America. 1794.—Atlas of Western Asia, in six sheets, 1805-1810,—besides numerous papers pub. in the Philosophical Transactions of the R S.

His name has been given to an island off the coast of Chile, and to one of the easternmost of the Sandwich Is. in the Pacific, to an ocean current near the Sally Is., a mountain in North Canada, and a bay in British Columbia. He was Foreign Associate of the Institute of France, 1802, of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, and of the Royal Society of Gottenburg.

1835, he was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Society of Literature: "The Royal Society of Literature have presented to this venerable gentleman one of their gold medals. On the 6th May, a deputation waited upon him, at his own house in Nassau Street, consisting of the President, the Bishop of St. David's, Sir Wm. Ouseley, Archdeacon Nares etc., when the medal was presented by the Bishop 7.8.

In describing the original foundation of the Royal Geographical Society, Professor Mill says that Rennell had often discussed with the members of the African Association and the Raleigh Club the possibility of founding a Geographical Society, but that he "died while the Society was being organized, or he would have been the most honoured member of its first Council. He received the posthumous honours of a founder, for on the centenary of his death, 29-3-1930, the President and Council of the Royal Geographical Society attended the morning service in Westminster Abbey, and laid a memorial wreath on his grave, close to that of Livingstone, and marked only by the initials J.R. and the date 4.

So much has been written 5 of his personal charms that we need only add the following extract from a letter he wrote to Warren Hastings from Nassau St., 10-9-1816, "Capt. and Mrs. Rodd are in Cornwall, and have taken away with them my little playmate, their son 8.

He lived to a ripe old age 8. After he had reached his 85th year he possessed the full vigour of all his intellectual faculties, and though suffering little short of martyrdom from frequent attacks of the gout, he still devoted many hours of each day to his favourite pursuit 9.

"When upwards of 87 years of age, he slipped from his arm-chair, and broke his thigh. He hardly left his bed again, and died on March 29th 1830 9."

He was buried at Westminster Abbey, and the Abbey Register shows that he was "buried at noon of 6 April 1830 in the nave of the Abbey by the Very Reverend The Dean", and notes the expenses for his coffin and the penalty for "burying in Linen".

On a window ledge of the Chapel under the NW. Tower, at the west end of the nave, is a bronze bust by Haybolt, and a tablet with the following inscription: "Major James Rennell—Died March 29 1830—In his 85th year—His useful life—Firm character and high talents—are amply exhibited in his works—and need no other Monument. This Tablet—therefore merely records—that this celebrated man was buried—near this spot."

In 1908 a bronze copy of the Haybolt bust, specially made by W. H. Thornycroft, was presented to the Victoria Memorial at Calcutta by Sir James Rennell Rodd, later Lord Rennell. 8 A plaster copy is at the rooms of the Royal Geographical Society.

There are in the family two coloured wax models by Haybolt, obviously taken before the construction of his bust, and also a Wedgwood plaque, whilst a third wax model was presented to Sir Henry Yule by Major Rennell's only surviving grand-daughter in 1882. He left it to Sir Joseph Hooker in 1890, who presented it to the Royal Society 10.

There are three porcelain medallions, executed at Sèvres "from a model", inscribed on reverse "Portrait fait en 1829". Lady Rodd presented one to the Royal Geographical Society, one to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and, apparently one to the India Office, which was transferred to the South Kensington Museum 11. In her letter to Calcutta, 27-12-1845, Lady Rodd writes; "Her Ladyship had it executed at Sèvres, during her late visit to Paris, by desire of the French Institute, and she feels anxious to send a copy to India, where Major Rennell's fame has ever been duly appreciated 12."
It is obvious that these medallions were made from one of Hagaël's wax models, which must therefore have been taken at least four years before Rennell's death.

In his biography of Rennell, M. Walckenier, Sec. of the Institut de France, writes of these medallions: "Le portrait de Rennell a été très bien gravé, and a beau barbier de sa tête, vue de profil, a été exécuté en porcelaine par les habituées de la manufacture de Sèvres. Son étole a été prononcé dans la seance publique de l'Institut de France le 2 août 1842, par l'auteur de cet article." 4

There is also a marble bust, sculptor unknown, bequested to the National Portrait Gallery in 1802 by Major James Rennell Rodd, Lord Rennell's father. This was apparently taken from a death mask; it has several slight differences from Hagaël's bust and has not the same kindly expression 5.

The following portraits are known:

First: A small oval painting in uniform, painted in India when he was 35 years of age, viz. c. 1777, making a pair with a similar one of his wife, now in the Hon. Francis Rodd.

Second: A crayon portrait, 6 half length, in profile to observer's left, signed by George Dance, 15-2-94, now in the National Portrait Gallery.

Third: A miniature by E. Scott, painted for Lord Spencer a great friend of Rennell. This was engraved, first by A. Garden 7, pub. in 1799, and again, slightly smaller, by W. Ridley, pub. in the "Art Mag." of 1802, and reproduced here on pl. 19. 8

There is a distinct resemblance in character and pose between these three portraits, which represent a man of under 40, rather than 52, as Rennell would have been at the time of the Dance portrait.

Fourth: A portrait in oils by Opie, of which nothing was known till after 1850, in the possession of the Hon. Francis Rodd. It represents a man rather older than is shown in the portraits already described. We have, however, no evidence that Rennell ever sat to Opie who died 1807.

The following additional particulars are given about Rennell's second son, William, who obviously did not inherit his father's abilities and character.


From 1813, Collector of Dacca, where he was not a success as he was "not qualified for the proper discharge of so responsible an office; ... nevertheless not in competent to the exercise of public functions of an easier and less responsible nature." 10

29-3-1816, Appd. Depy. Collector of Customs at Benares "a situation which involves the performance of comparatively easy duties" 11.

D. Patheghar, 25-7-1819, without issue 12.

M., before 1815, Miss Millicent Lucas, who d. Patheghar 1828, mentioning in her will her mother, Miss Millicent Lucas; her bro. Mr. Robert Lucas; two sisters Elizabeth and Sarah Lucas; a sister Mistress David Todd and a sister Mistress William Browne; also her sister-in-law Mistress Rodd of Devonshire 13.

REYNOLDS, Charles. Born Inf.

b. c. 1756-8. d. 24-6-1819.

Ens. 20-7-75 ... Lt. Gen. 4-6-1814; Resd. 2-3-1807 14.

S. G. Bombay, 1796-1807 (265). A bro. William, attorney at Folkestone, had two sons, George and John, both on Bom. Est. 15.

m., 1811, Mary (William?), who d. at Pigeon House Pte., Dhaka, 5-10-1854.

Left a dau. Elizabeth Ann and two sons, Charles William and John Williams. A niece, Elizabeth Reynolds m. Wm. Lenn, Rom. Inf., 4-11-1816. 16

---

1 Bibliographie Michaud XXY (429). 4 Exct. 1153.
2 Reproduced, Century Series (Frontispiece), &c. 5 B. M. Addl MSS. 13714 (3).
3 Rev. to C. D. 1-11-1816 (786). 6 B. M. Addl MSS. 13714 (3).
4 G. O. 16-2-1807. 7 B. M. Addl MSS. 13714 (3).
5 Boto C. D. 28-12-84 (9).
7 Mill. 9 Cardon & Ridley were contemporary & independent.
8 Caron & Ridley were contemporary & independent. 10 Ben Wills, 1828. 11 Boett. C. D. to Bo. 7-9-1808 (10).
JAMES RENNELL,
SURVEYOR GENERAL, BENGAL; 1767—77.

From the portrait in *European Magazine*, 1830, engraved by W. Ralby from miniature painted by E. Scott.

From the bust by W. H. Thornycroft, which was copied from Haggard's bust in Westminster Abbey, Victoria Memorial.
Exh. No. 395. Photographed by Major G. F. Heaney, R.E.
Plate 20.

CHARLES REYNOLDS,
SURVEYOR GENERAL, BOMBAY, 1796–1807.
Dec. 1787. Submitted his first map of Western India, which he was proud to explain as a great advance on Rennell's Map of Hindostan, pub. less than 5 years before [121-2, 217]. He continued his routes from one part of the Deccan to another working with as little display as possible, and in 1788 made a remarkable journey through Nâgapur, Hyderâbâd, Manulpâtam, and on to Madras, returning by a different route [115, 127-8]. He was planning yet another journey at the end of the year when he was stopped by orders from G.G., who was particularly anxious to avoid offending the Marâthas in view of an impending break with Tipu [6, 123].

April 1790. On outbreak of 3rd Mysore War, Appd. Adm'g. to the force sent to Malabar under Lt. Col. Hartley 1, and during the next two years made the first surveys ever carried out in that country [7, 128, 136, 179]. At the close of the war in 1792 he carried a survey from Seringapatam to Hyderâbâd and then on through Berâr to Agra [116, 132]. We hear of him on the way, through the following letter from the Resdt. with Sindia:

“Opeine, 1-12-92. Capt. Reynolds arrived some days ago at Bourhoorepo, at which place he is stopped by information of Alesh Bheve having prohibited the passing of any number of armed men at the Grant of the Nârbuddah on his intended route.

“I have dispatched a letter to her, requesting to permit Captain Reynolds and his party to pass, and have engaged that they will commit no disturbances in her districts. I forwarded to Capt. Reynolds before he left Hyderâbâd Passports and Letters of Recommendation from Sindia to his principal Officers”.

May 1793. Reached Agra, and there made the acquaintance of Dr. Hunter, who greatly appreciated the interest shown by Reynolds in his surveys [56, 108].

From Agra, obtained permission to go down to Calcutta, where he put forward a scheme that he had been considering for several years, the completion of a large-scale map of Western India, which should deal particularly with the areas beyond the Company's territories. He was given authority to proceed at once on a survey of Sindia's territories [8, 55] and, besides an escort of Bengal troops with two English officers, was given Bunt as ass't. survev, and a special allowance of Rs. 800 a month for contingent expenses [282]. When passing through Delhi, he and his officers were received by the Emperor [301-2].

April 1794. Recalled to Bombay to attend a ctmn., the following particulars of part of his journey from Lucknow being taken from the journal of a travelling companion.

“May 4th. 42 miles from Cawnpore, Capt. Reynolds joined me this morning on his way from Lucknow to Surat, and I was fortunate in the likelihood of having his company for the greater part of the long journey before me.”

May 9th, Elaâwah, on the Jumna : May 13th, Gwalor : May 22nd. Sirorj; June 3rd, Berhânpur.

They marched from 16 to 24 miles a day, travelling in palankeens. Near the crossing of the Chambal Reynolds's servants and escort had a scuffle with some villagers over the requisitioning of a guide; one of Reynolds's khaduâgars and two of the villagers were killed, but no serious notice seems to have been taken of the incident. 4 [295].

The ctmn at Bombay had to do with the sale of captured goods during the war of 1791 in Malabar, and the allegation was that various officers, including Reynolds, had been making illicit profits.

“A court of inquiry had recommended that Capt. Reynolds should be brought to a Court Martial for his conduct, 5 but the court reported later, 6 The Officers are still of opinion that Captain Reynold's conduct was very culpable, but not so much so as they hitherto believed it. In consideration of the very high character which Capt. Reynolds has ever borne in the service, and of his merits as an officer, they consent to drop the prosecution. ... They deem the transaction regarding the purchase of Captured property highly dishonorable, but from what Capt. Reynolds has set forth in his letter, they are inclined to believe his intentions are not so, and that he has been deceived and misled by his associates.”

On this report “the Commander in Chief readily agrees to the charges exhibited against Captain Reynolds being withdrawn and the matter dropped”. 7

In forwarding the results to the Directors the Council report “that previous to Captain Reynolds' being concerned in the purchase of the Purrukâbâd captured property, he bore the most honorable character”, and in their reply the Directors “express great satisfaction at the sentence being honourable, and also direct that no other proceedings shall be held respecting Capt. Reynolds'”.

Reynolds now returned to Surat where he remained for the next 12 years working on his great map [132, 217-9, 246, 248, 253, 258, 282], being appd. S. G. on the Bombay est. in Jan. 1800 [205].

There was considerable discussion as to whether he should continue to draw the monthly allowance of Rs. 800 which had been allowed to him by the Bengal Govt. in 1793, especially as he was no longer on field work himself; but he urged that his expenses, mostly in the pay of his native surveyors, were far greater than would be covered even by this allowance. “My expenses over and above my allowances have added very considerably to the tax on my private fortune; and from fifty thousand rupees at the time of my laying my plan before Government [in 1793] it had increased to upwards of seventy thousand rupees” 8 [132, 218, 234, 282, 287-9]. He was permitted to retain this allowance in addition to his salary as S.G. [382], and in 1799 the Directors ordered that all the expenses of his native surveyors should be charged to Govt. [288-9].

They grew very impatient as year after year went by with the map no nearer completion. Reynolds explained the delay partly by the continuous flow of new information brought in by his surveyors, and partly by the failure of Govt. to give him a capable ass't. [218-9, 273].

He was very anxious that the map should be the best possible, and much hurt at what he considered to be obstruction on the part of the S. G. in Bengal, alleging that there was reluctance to send him copies of surveys from that side [255, 254-5]; on
the other hand we find a friendly enquiry from Mackenzie in a note to Johnson, "Please give my respects to Colonel Reynolds, I hope he is well. Were it possible to procure draftsmen, I should send him copies of the general plan (of the Mysore Survey) but when I go up to Mysore I may have in my power. Has he any intention of going home?"!

At last, after repeated representations, Moncrieff was allowed to join him at Surat for a few months in 1801 (210,357), and by 1804 he had a regular staff of three assis. He was deeply grieved at Moncrieff's death, and writes from Cambay, 17-11-1802:

"I remained at Surat until the 11th when, finding my health somewhat improved, at the moment, I embarked on my way back and arrived here the 13th: I am sorry to say that...I found the change from Cambay did not preserve me from the fever...hav...now also the symptoms of the re-approach of my complaint."

"It is constant succession of ill health, with the consequent slow progress of my work, and the extreme difficulty of my situation from the want of such assistance as similar talents only to what Capt. Moncrieff possessed... The affliction I have suffered from Capt. Moncrieff's loss is only known to myself, and to the state of despair it opened to me with respect to my work. I attribute much of my ill health, I had more to do than I could get through with. I saw no hope before me. It was needless publicly to walk. I could offer no remedy..."

"I apprehended from the critical state of my health for a considerable time past that I should be forced to quit Cambay for a short time... I consulted Dr. Moir, and... requested of him...to meet me at Surat. By the last post I have received his letter wherein he states the absolute necessity for my taking immediate steps for my safety, and his willingness to meet my wishes by coming to Surat; but regrets from the present state of the medical line at Bombay the impossibility of his asking permission, there being few of the profession left there to perform the necessary duties.

"My health is so very much disordered that there is an absolute necessity for my returning to England as soon as possible, and it will be very painful to me, that this part of my work should be imperfect when I give it in... Independently of the feverish attacks I am so constantly exposed to, I am affected in another way that renders my stay in this country to be actually at the risk of my existence, but I refrain from applying for leave on a sick certificate, in the hopes of being able to finish it here..."

"From the month of August 1801 to the present month of November, I have had a full eight months of sickness... My constitution is so impaired, and my sickness every year grows ground so rapidly on me, that I do assure you that nothing but the disgrace it would be to me to quit while my people are still detained beyond my power of recall..."

"Was ever to preserve my health, my sight is now seriously injured, that I am totally unable to do anything by candlelight, or even by daylight, to give the constant application to it I was used to do..."

At last, Jan. 1807, the map was so far completed that he was able to tear himself away, and depart for England, taking with him a copy of the great work he was in progress at his masters in London.

An interesting account of a visit to Reynolds in 1804 is given by James Welsh [243]: "One of the greatest treats, however, which I enjoy at Surat, was the acquaintance of Colonel Reynolds,..."
11-12-65, Joined Rennell as Asst. Survr.; described as "a very agreeable and cheerful companion" [24, 270, 371]; wounded in action against
Smyssáis. 21-2-66, north of Kurigram [23, 292, 371].

From 1766, Employed on surveys in E. Bengal and Chittagong [13, 22-4, 35, 152, 225]; 1768 to 1771, from Purneel along the north bank of the Ganges to Sáraú [21, 27, 33, 225]; 1772, Sháhabád, making a
plan and report on the fortress at Rohtás [32, 234, 269].

Presumably recalled with other surveyors June 1774 [34], and on engr. duties Ft. William 1775.

5-10-70, Applied for leave to Europe; "I beg your per-
mission of leave to proceed on a Voyage to Suez as the means of
getting the better of a nervous complaint in my Head, occasionally attended with paralytic symptoms, which I have
acquired in this country during a course of upwards of twelve
years Service in the Corps of Engineers; but if I should find
on my arrival there, that I have received no benefit by the
passage, I may then be permitted to resign..." to proceed to
England.

As the coasts of the Red Sea between Jeddah and Suez are little known to Europeans as well as the navigation
thereof; if during the voyage I can be thought of any service
therein to future Navigators, I will endeavour to execute any
directions you may be pleased to give me." [11, 12].

The Council granted the leave and accepted his offer
to survey the Red Sea; "His abilities as a surveyor have been shewn by the large share which he has had in forming the Maps of these Provinces".

Dec. 1776, Left Calcutta, reporting arrival in
England the following Oct.; Jan. 1778, on hearing of Rennell's resignation, applied to succeed as S.G., and in Nov. the Directors appd. him as such in
preference to Thomas Call, who had been nominated by the
Council at Calcutta. Never returned to India, and in Jan. 1781 resigned on account of health [260].

Nothing is known of his life in England except that
in 1778 he was living at Bath, where Rennell visited him [374].

d. 1814.


m. possibly 1805, Anne, dau. of Maurice Evans, his eldest son being born July 1801; father of James Nathaniel and William James Rind, both of Ben. Inf.


"Was a cadet of 1778, before which he was in the sea.
line. In November 1779, before his appointment of cadet
was known in Bengal, he was an officer belonging to the
Royal Charlotte armed ship..."

When the Bengal Armed Ships returned to Calcutta in
1779, I was the officer who remained in charge of the Royal
Charlotte, moored close to the Bankshall—he describes a
fire on shore, and his energetic attempts to save property—
revised reward from the local Board of Trade, but now
petition Directors to grant some compensation. [1]

1785, Asst. to Resdm. at Delhi; 1786, Submitted to S.G. map of "The Sick Country and of that of the
neighbourhood of Delhi", for which Govt. granted him Rs. 4,000 [42, 233].

1787-90, with 17th Batt. Sepoys; survd. various
routes. Êtawah to Aligarh; Kápi to Nápur; Nar-

bada R. to Mirzapur; also the Ganges from Allah-
bád to Benares.

18-11-93, Appd. Adj. & Qmr. 1st. Sepoy Bri.;

In reporting on Rind's surveys [42], the S.G. writes "As it would appear that Mr. Rind has provided himself with every necessary instrument, both for surveying, and for Astronomical Observations, and must also have had a number of people employed, his expense...must have been considerable, and should I think be reimbursed him." [4].


Employed from 1767 till retirement 1786.

B P.C. 22-11-86 (14 B), Ritchie states that he had been a Mariner, and that "about the latter end of September, or the beginning of December, 1767, he was employed by the Governor and Council of Bengal as Surveyor to the Marine Department, and...that...his employment...was incessant and exceedingly laborious" [15-7, 21].

24-3-69, Chief & Council of Chittagong reported;
"We have furnished Mr. John Ritchie...with...1000 Rupees for the use of the vessels employed on Surveys under his command" [8].

1736-69, "Mr. Ritchie, who was employed in
taking surveys to the Eastward, is returned, and
submits a Plan of the Sands & Coast from the
Island of Sagor to the Eastern Shore" [33, 50].

Continued surveying the coasts and Islands, including
the Andaman & Nicobar Is. [16, 42, 225], until
1773, and in 1774, Rennell submitted a complete
series of Charts of the Bay of Bengal compiled from
Ritchie's surveys [17, 153, 224, 269].

1773, Sent on survey to Oudh, and presumably
placed under Polier [34]:—

B P.C. 22-11-86, "Mr. Haslings sometimes employed him
upon Land Surveys, and not unfrequently upon what he
called Military Surveys; that in the year 1771, he, the said
John Ritchie, being ordered up to the Province of Oude upon
one of those Surveys, and there being no channel of payment...for the allowances of surveyors out of the British
Provinces, his salary became greatly in arrears, and upon
his return to Calcutta...the new members of the Board of
Council, General Clervering, Col. Monson, and Mr. Francis,
refused their assent to the payment of his arrears, on account,
as it was alleged, of their irregularity..." The said three
members of the Council, who were then a Majority, therefore
continued him in his said office of Marine Surveyor, and he
has so contended therein to the present time; that his estab-
lished allowance...from the end of October 1773 to the end
of February 1776...has not been paid to him". He further
claimed "for Money which he actually expended for Boats
from Calcutta to Fyzabad and from thence back to Calcutta*; From this claim it would appear that he was not released
from survey in Oudh till the end of 1775; and that his allow-
ance as surveyor was 500 arcoi rupees a month.

In 1777 Ritchie asked that Govt. would fit out a
special expedition for the survey of the Andaman Is. and coast of Arakan, but this proposal was
shelved [17].*
ROBERTSON, Alexander. Mad. Inf.  
b. 1762.  
d. 4–4–1825.  
1781–2. Explored roads round Nellore [120].  
Surv. Dindigul Dist., date unk.; map 24 miles to an inch; "with Table of Distances [2]."  
b. 1762–3.  
d. 18–6–1831, Calcutta;  
M.I. S. Park St. Cem.  
Enf. 17–7–82 ... Col. 5–6–1829.  
m., 1st, Edinburgh, a dau. of Wm. Hamilton; she d. at sea, July 1817.  
m., 2nd, a lady who d. at Selkirk Manse, 18–1–1822.  
Country Cadet of 1781.  
Probably employed on survey of Calcutta under Mark Wood, as in May 1785 it was ruled that he and Wood were not entitled to draw survey allowances, being Engrs. [5. 52–3, 270, 277 [3].  
"now on duty at Chittagong, as appointed Engineer to Lt. Col. Erskine's Detachment," and employed on survey of the southern frontier of the province [59].  
G.O. 5–12–96, Furl. to Europe for 3 years, returning 12–12–1800.  
1802–4, on survey of eastern Sundarbans.  
d. Nov. 1781, Bhagalpur, of dropsy; M.I.  
Enf. 23–10–73 ... Capt. 29–1–81.  
1786, Survey of Bridge Budge and Roughly B. [51], and probably some of Calcutta as referred to in B.P.C. 5–4–84 [52]; Thos. Robertson [sup.] was then an ensign.  
1781, on survey with Maj. Popham's det., Gwalior [344, 345].

* Dm. 246 (80).  
* Frequently Robinson.  
* Indica Gazette, 28–11–81.  
* Ocene MSS. 65 (48) & 134.  
* Mack MSS.LXVIII–IX.  
* Carmichael (220).  

b. c. 1737.  
d. 17–10–69, Calcutta.  
Enf. H.M.'s 54th/52nd Foot. 1–1–36; Arsd. India Sept. 1755; as Capt. under B.M.C. 1–9–68.  
Surveys in Mundopar & Siran [29 n. 4] [2].

b. c. 1740.  
d. 24–8–1804.  
Enf. H.M.'s Engrs. 19–5–38; Principal Engr. & Lt Col. Mad. 15–8–70; C.E., Furl. 1787–82 and 1792–7; Maj. Gen. before 1799; Retd. 1–1–1813.  
2nd son of Patrick Ross of Invermerry & Susanna Douglas his wife, of Strathairn, co. Fife.  
m., Madras, 23–12–77, Mary Clara Maule, sister to George Maule, Mad. Eng. left a son Robert Charles Ross (1785–1816), Mad. Civ.  
M.P. Forhams, 1802. D.N.B. D.B.  
Sent out in 1770 to succeed John Call as C.E. [322].  
... Responsible for all surveys carried out by Engr. officers; see specially his instructions for survey of Northern Circars, 1773 [2. 160, 203].  
See also account of Dugood's cml. 1775, one charge being Dugood's alleged defamation of Ross's professional attainments [335].  
1795, Recommended the appt. of a Surveyor General at F. St. George, and the est. of a corps of surveyors [261].  
... Responsible as C.E. for custody of maps and surveys and for the compilation of general maps [239, 251, 256–7]. His official letter-books are preserved at the India Office [24 n. 9 b].  
1791–2, 3rd. Mysore War 1792. [172 n. 3].  
bapt. 8–10–32.  
d. 17–4–1820.  
3rd. son of John Russell of Braidshead, by his 2nd. wife, Mary, m., Madras, 17–9–77.  
Leuvara, natural dau. of George, 1st Baron Pigot [14 n. 8].  
1776, Nomination as Resdt. Tanjore started the dispute between Pigot and Council [256 n. 15, 317].  
Recorded routes to Jeypore & Bhadrachalam, both of which journeys must in those days have been charged with adventure [9].  
b. 1742–3.  
d. 6–12–1827.  
Enf. 29–1–67; Resd. 30–12–74; Re-admitted 20–2–83; Furl. 21–12–1803; Lt. Gen. 4–6–1813.  
One of his daws. m., Calcutta, 1819, Sir David Elliott KG. S.L, Mad. Civ.  
8–4–67, on survey in Râmgâr in company with Carter [26, 270, 346].  
1767–71,Surv. "the country between the Soane and the Caramassas Rivers, as also the Roads from Patna to Daoudnagur, from Patna to Moneah, and..."
the course of the Soone below Dassoungaur "; which would approximately correspond to the present Shahibad Dist. [33. 243].


1778-9. William Hickey records a visit to "Salt Hall"; found some of the party up, engaged at hazard, to which several were greatly addicted, especially Major George Russell, who about four years ago, had returned from Bengal with a fortune of upwards of forty thousand pounds, the whole of which he had squandered away or lost at the gaming table, he at the period I became acquainted with him not having fire hundred pounds left. 

To recover his losses Russell had to return to Bengal, and Hickey narrates that "the arrival of the little Hannibal was announced. This was an English fifty gun ship taken by Mr. Saffire on his way to India [327]. On board this ship at the time of her being captured was my London friend, Major George Russell... Whilst laying at St. Helena, the Hannibal touched there, and, Major Russell being intimate with her commander, he offered to take him on to Madras... The Major, therefore, removed to the Hannibal, which off the Cape unhappily fell in with Saffire's squadron and was taken... While upon the voyage he fell in with a Danish Indian boat with a Dutch flag, and Major Russell, obtaining the French Captain's leave, after giving his parole not to serve until exchanged, went on board the Dane." Hickey writes later, "On the 31st August [1789] I left town to spend a few days, as I frequently did, with my friend Major George Russell at Barrackpore... Major Russell, although he had attained the rank of a field officer, knew nothing of military tactics, never having done a day's duty or relieved a guard. He had acquired a very handsome fortune by building the Barrackpore [Berhampore?] barracks and other public edifices, which, as already observed, he squandered away at the gaming table in England, and then returned to India to endeavour to acquire a second competence." Then follows a story of Russell being left as senior officer commanding the troops and getting through his parades with the help of the adjutant.

SARTORIIUS, John Conrad. Born Engs. b. c. 1740. d. 10-12-1801, Cunnanore; M I.

Lieut. 21-7-75... Col. 1-1-98.

His will mentions relatives in Germany. m. Bombay, Annabella Ellis, dau. of Mr. G. E. Rose; father of Adm. Sir George Rose Sartorius, GCB. [DNS.]

1783-4. C.E. at defence of Mangalore. 1785. to survey Sailette I. [120. 147]. 1796. Engr. Surv., and O.C. Troops, with expn. to Chagos I. [123].

Dec. 1799, with Frederick's dett. at siege of Dharwar, taking over cond. on Frederick's death, March 1791: led dett. back to Bombay via Poona [128. 187].

From 1792, Charge of defence works and survey of frontiers, Malabar, till death; commd. the Engrs. and submitted maps of the province [131-2].

C.E. Born Army during the 4th Mysore War, 1799, and present at capture of Seringapatam [118. 312].

SCHLEGEL, Charles Augustus (Carl Christian, August). Corps of Hanoverians [99 n.4]. b. at end of 1761, Hanover; d. 9-9-89, Madras.

Ens. 13-8-81; Lieut. 19-1-89.

Son of Johann Adolf Schlegel, preacher, schoolmaster, and poet, and his wife, dau. of the Mathematician, Bubach.

Bro. to August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767-1845), Sanscrit scholar, and translator into German of 17 plays of Shakespeare, who assumed the sees in 1814 [D I B].

1778, Lance-Corporal in the Regt. of Linsingen (10th Inf. Regt.).

The British army being engaged in the American War of Independence, King George III placed the 15th & 16th Regts. of Hanoverian Electoral troops at the disposal of the E.I.C. for the war against Haidar Ali [4. 40. 90 n. 4].

Arrd. Madras, Oct. 1782, as Adj. 16th Regt., which became the 14th from 1785.

1788. Completed a striking map of the Carnatic now preserved at B.M., which reveals him as a good surveyor and no mean geographer [90. 160. 185. 243]; he also wrote a book on the military geography of the Carnatic at the desire of the Governor. After the arrival of re-inforcements to the Hanoverian Corps in 1784, he became involved in quarrels with the new officers, wrote a scurrilous poem, and was accused of other breaches of discipline. Whilst the latter accusations were not proved, he was convicted of embezzling the count of the offensive poem, but the period of arrest already served was considered sufficient punishment. The court took notice of his voluntary labour on the map, commending "dessen Dienstfahigkeit, Einsicht und nachdankenswürdige Anwendung".

SC(III)ULER, Robert. Mad Inf. d. 11-6-89.

Ens. 19-10-66... Capt. 16-7-79.

m. Madras, 11-9-83, Miss Elizabeth Bellew; Father of James Brathwaite Scouler (1784-1812) Mad Inf. 1777. on detail survey of roads of Madras Town [94].

SCOTT, Andrew. Mad Civ. b. 1752-3... d. 21-1-1825, Pt. St. George; M I.

Writer 1772... Senior Merch., Masulipatam 1790. 1774, Appd. to survey lands of Masulipatam [143], and survd. Nizam'spatam in that dist. [150].

SCOTT, Samuel. Mad Engrs. d. 20-8-73, Vaillam.

Ens. 12-2-73. M.P.C. 19-2-73, "well qualified to answer Mr. Barnard's purpose... appointed to assist him" in finishing the maps of the Jaffare [142].

SHAW, James. Mariner. Master Attendant at Chittagong. B.P.C. 9-1-64, in the marine service at Chittagong, "to be employed in sounding & surveying the Coast & River, conducting Vessels out of in, etc." [14-3].


Ens. 27-12-64... Lt Col. 28-5-88; Dism. 1-9-93.

m. 1st, Catbuts, Miss Ann Hammond, who d. 4-5-78, Patna, aged 25. m. 2nd, Catbuts, 12-11-79, Melian, widow of William Dare of Ben Inf. who had been drowned at sea; she d. 1-1-1884, aged 87. Father of Charles Lionel & Howe Daniel Showers, both of Ben Inf., besides 4 other sons.

Sailed for India 20-2-64; Posted to 1st Eur. Regt. 13-8-63.
1766-9, Employed constantly on surveys by Col. Richard Smith, O.C. 2nd. Bt. on the western frontier [34. 20-223]. 1768, on mission to Raja of Nâgpur; surved. road from Allâkâbâd [295-6]. Many of his maps are preserved, all beautifully drawn; there are also records of astr. obsns. for lat. at Lucknow and elsewhere [226 n. 6]1. No record of surveys later than 1769.

Furl. 1768 till 1790; on return to Calcutta, whilst on half-pay as superannuated Lt Col., waiting for a vacancy, he became the central figure at a ctmnl. that created a great stir. Suspected by Lieut. O'Halloran of misconduct with Mrs. O'Halloran, he was brought to ctmnl. on a charge of disgraceful conduct in refusing to meet O'H's challenge to a duel. The trial lasted from Jan. 16th to Feb. 16th 1761, and in spite of an apparently reasonable defence that lettres had gone astray, the Court found Showers guilty, and ordered his discharge from the service [309, 344]2. Two weeks later O'Halloran completely withdrew his charges.

The report read: "I imagined he showed no disposition to acquiesce in my desire of a personal interview, arose from a different motive than that which I attributed to him—it arose from an earnest desire to exonerate Mrs. O'Halloran of the most distant shadow of guilt. He gratified my wish. I have dropped the action I commenced against him in the Supreme Court of Judicature.... I am alone deserving of censure for my precipitance." On the orders of the Directors, O'Halloran was tried by ctmnl. for defamation of character, and was found not guilty, "it appearing to the Court that he had sufficient apparent cause to warrant the accusations he preferred" [refusing to meet a challenge]3. The sentence of the ctmnl. on Showers was confirmed by the Directors on, and in spite of many petitions, they steadfastly refused to re-instate him.

Mellan Showers, his wife, warmly supported him throughout this trial, having been seen of his innocence, and did her best to prevent any duel by getting a warrant out for the arrest of O'Halloran. It was on her application to the Directors that Showers obtained a copy of the proceedings of the ctmnl. which he pub. in 1796, together with O'H's letter of retraction4. Cmnl. 1766-68, Showers was granted an annuity of £ 180 from the Contingent Fund.

It is said that the marriage with Melian Dare had been "arranged" by Marian Hastings, and that it was a miserable marriage, for Showers was a violent man from whom she separated after "shocking recriminations" and scenes in public, also that Showers refused her any share in his pension "since she left him of her own accord"5. There is no indication of such trouble in the records of the ctmnl.


"Outside the Service".

Has not been identified, though there were many of his name in Holy Orders who might fit. He would probably have been under 30 years of age at the time of his survey.

By 1771, he was at Bengal as private Tutor to a young gentleman there [154].

July 1775, Col. Monson [31 n. 1] proposed that he should be appd. survr. with Upton's mission to Poona [30-1], and Smith records that "as I was not particularly employed in the duties of my function, the Superior Council were also pleased to honour me with an appointment and the necessary instructions".

He discusses the prospect of discovering new and valuable products, particularly of medical value, in the country they were to pass through; "One such secret would undoubtedly be a handsome fortune to a European of the faculty; I had accordingly proposed to make these several enquiries.... I was favoured with other Instructions, which were delivered with so much necessary precaution, to avoid any suspicion in people so jealous of Europeans, and who might thereby cause difficulties and obstacles to be thrown in the way: and the nature of the journey was altogether such, that it afforded but few means and opportunities of making these enquiries, and I was obliged to relinquish all thoughts of carrying them into execution"7.

On the march from Kâhpur to Poona, Oct.-Dec., Smith kept up a continuous survey, taking regular obsms. for lat. and long., and continued down to Bombay the following month. [2, 31. 154. 176. 185. 200, 268] His survey was the first continuous line measured across the centre of India, and was a notable achievement.

His journal contained "55 large Folio pages closely written, & of these one half are figures & Astronomical Observations"8.

From Poona he submitted a paper on the determination of longitude, with a claim on the "Board of Longitude" at the Admiralty for the offered reward [157. 154]. "Soon after my arrival at Poorninder, I began to work up the Observations conformable to the Method I had proposed; it became necessary to settle the theory previous to that work, which has cost me abundantly more trouble than I had first apprehended. I have at length succeeded beyond my expectations, and improved much on the plan I had first adopted. Just before the rough copy was finished, I received the Accompanying Abstract of an Act of Parliament, which gives me some hope of a gratuity for the performance; I should therefore rather close to decline my former intention of it's appearing in our Philosophical transactions, as mentioned to you on a former occasion, and wish to have it communicated to the Honourable Commissioners for the discovery of the Longitude at Sea, with a view of its being put on due trial, and claiming a Competition for the reward"9.

The paper was referred to the Astronomer Royal who "reported that...he finds that the same is not new, and that it is not practicable at sea with sufficient exactness"10.

From Poona he visited Bombay and obsd. the long. there, and on other occasions he obd. the long. at Cochín and Calcutta [154, 179].
It was over a year before he submitted any results of his survey, and he writes to the GG in C; "Poornah, Sept. 14th 1775... I have been much concerned and grow uneasy at not being able to transmit to you the Particulars... and though you specified no limited Time, and seemed not to expect them before my Return to Calcutta, yet I confess our long stay here ought to have been productive of something in that way. ... But the progress of my work has gone on much more slowly than I had apprehended. ... I hope soon to present Colonel Upton with a Copy of my Journal''.

He eventually travelled back by Balasore, and wrote to the Council again, "Calcutta, 25-2-77. The ill state of health which Providence has been pleased to afflict me with, laid me under the disagreeable necessity of leaving Col. Upton at Poornah, and going to Bombay for Assistance, which prevented my returning with him; and also from completing my journal... A map of the tract now only remains to complete it agreeable to my wish; but since... a more favourable opportunity of complying with the advice of the Doctors in going to England cannot occur, I entreat your permission... to lay my journal before the Honble Board as it is; [1] promise to finish the map, if it please God, and send it at the first opportunity. ... I also beg leave to return my sincerest thanks... for the appointment you were pleased to honor me with,... "viz. Surveyor to the mission''.

After selling his quadrants to Pearson [200], he sailed from Calcutta in the Egmont taking home on behalf of a friend "2 bags, the first containing 1000 Pagodas and 218 Zlvees or Venetians, the second containing 1100 Pagodas—in all 2100 Pagodas and 218 Zlvees—which I hope will sell for about £1000 sterling. The Pagodas are better than those generally sent from Madras—for example, the Madras Pagoda passes for 3 Rs. 5 annas [250 n. 7], and the Hyderabad Pagoda, being those I have now sent, pass for Rs. 5 As. 14, and very often Rs. 4, as they are heavier and much better gold" 4.

He wrote again, "Cape of Good Hope. 29-1-78... The hypochondriac complaint, which laid me under the necessity of returning home, and being also seized with a fever on my way to Madras, prevented me from sending you the plan of the tract to Poornah... for the completion of my journal. ... I thank God I am much recovered, and during my stay here have done the best my health and time would permit to finish that plan; indeed the places of resting each day are accurately laid down; but in other respects, I was not able to pay the attention I wished; and very much regret the necessity of omitting most of the hills, mountains, and every embellishment: as well as ornament, I had intended; it is however, intelligible, and by the help of which and my journal, another person may draw a more accurate and complete one" 5.

The Egmont called at St. Helena with Smith on board and sailed for England 8-3-78, but it was not until 1-1-79, that he handed in his map to the Directors 6.

Whilst at Poornah Smith had asked the Bombay Govt. to app't. him Chaplain at Surat, which was recommended to the Directors, "as this gentleman bears a general good character, and from his astronomical knowledge and other qualifications may prove exceedingly useful". The Directors approved, but after arrival in England Smith decided not to take up the app't.

Nothing further is known of his later life in England; there are several Wm. Smith's who were app'd. to livings in England about this time, one of whom, app'd. Rector of West Kirby in Cheshire 1780, d. 1787.

St. Paul's, Jean-Baptiste. French Inf. b. 1729, Mézières, France.
c. 7-4-92, Pondicherry.

St. Paul's, Jean-Baptiste. French Inf. b. 1729, Mézières, France.
c. 7-4-92, Pondicherry.

Killed in action, Pondicherry, 14-10-78.

Enu. 1-1-64; Maj. 11-3-74.

Son of Mrs. Ann Stevens, who was granted a pension from Lord Clive's fund, 21-1-53; d. unm.

July 1764, at siege of Madura.

1765, deputed to search for a navigable channel through Adam's Bridge and Palk Strait; spent several weeks during Feb. and March on survey without success [87].

June 1765, at capture of "Beaucaire's Pollam" from Trincomalee and employed "to open the woods and destroy the strongholds...of Trivallary" 11.

From Nov. 1765, Engr. at Masulipatam, employed on fortifications and works. Submitted plan of fort at Konnapalli [112 n. 8] and country round, referring to "Mons. Bussy's Chart [115]"; also "a small scale sketch showing country from Masulipatam to Konapplpy along Kista, and along Coast northwards to Sattivaram [92]"" 12, 8-9-66. Report on works required for defence of Vizagapatam.

Board record that "Mr. Stevens is the only Engineer who is not on the Civil Liss, and is a most deserving young man, and a great acquisition to that Corps", and the following month they report; "We cannot avoid mentioning the particular Merit of Mr. Wm. Stevens... He is a very great acquisition to that Corps, and, indeed, such is his Capacity and assiduity that we can venture to assure his Honors so promising a servant is very seldom to be met with [154]."

1772, Survd. Coringa Bay as a possible shelter for the Company's ships [101, 103].

Continued to be employed on Engr. works and occasional surveys at Masulipatam, till in 1773 ordered on survey of the southern Circars [3, 92-3, 110]; a few weeks later "ordered to repair to the
Presidency for the Reduction of Tanjore' [93]. After the capture of Tanjore, appd. to charge of the works at that place and survd. its neighbourhood [95, 203]. 1778, Acting C.E. in the absence of Ross [82] and Oct. 14th killed at the siege of Pondicherry. "He had conducted the two different attacks on the Fort with uncommon exertion, and fell only two days before the Surrender. He was a man of great ability in his profession, and possessed such integrity and zeal, as rendered him a most valuable servant of the Company' 9.

Gen. Hector Munro reported 25-16-78, "Major Stevens, the C.E., went immediately to repair the gallery, and on his return...he was fortunately wounded by a cannon ball and died that evening. In him Society have lost an honest man & the Company a most gallant soldier" 9.

"There was at Pottaur, on the high road 4 miles west of Pondicherry, close to the French Frontier, a monument to his memory, erected by Maj Gen. Sir Hector Munro" 9.

In a letter to the Directors, 13-3-79, the Madras Council wrote, "Maj. Wm. Stevens...this diligent & faithful servant, tho' employed in situations which have been supposed extremely lucrative to others, has died worth no more than £ 800, & his family at home are likely to be distressed by the loss of the little support that he was able to afford them while living. The character of Major Stevens and his long and faithful services to the Company, plead strongly in favor of those relations who were so poor".

Rennell acknowledged the use of many surveys by Stevens [271]; the coast of Palk Strait from Negapatam to Tondi; Masulipatam to Coringa Bay; Yanam to Masulipatam and a survey of Kistna R. from Buxwada to the sea.

Took astr. obs. in company with Pringle [169, 170], who sometimes wrongly calls him Stevenson; there had been a William Stevenson in the Mad. Engrs., Ens. 1757, but he died 1765, and there is no record of his having been employed on surveys.


Son of James Stewart, sheriff, co. Kintyre.

Jan. 1779, after disaster of Vagadon, Surrendered with Wm. Farmer as hostage to Marathas; kept up survey of marches [121] till released at Goddard's camp near Baroda 9-3-86.

2-12-82. Appd. Paymaster & Commissary to Force proceeding to Malabar Coast under Mathews [123]; taken prisoner at Bednur April 1783.


March 1779, Appd. Survr. to Goddard's Dett., having already survd. route of the march from Barhampur to Surat [4, 30, 165].

A paper found amongst his effects, and accepted as a will, appd. William Stewart of Holleside, near Lochmahon, as executor in Europe. Left annuity to his mother, and to his cousin Mrs. Watson, and mentioned an uncle Mr. Campbell.


Ens. 30-9-81; Lieut. 1-11-82.

Son of William Stewart, of Loinearmostock, Lord Provost of Perth, and Christian his wife.

d. unm.; name on cenotaph at Bangor.


Left 1000 current rubees to Mark Wood "as a small Testimony of my regard for him", and also Rs. 500 to Thomas Wood, of Engrs 10.


Lieut. 2-9-81.

Son of James Stewart, writer in Edinburgh, and Alison his wife.

d. unm., leaving 4 natural children.

Sailed in Neptune 3-6-80, aged 17; tr. as Pract. Engr. to Mad. Est. May 1781, but did not join.

Surv'd. road between Agra and Delhi, possibly after joining escort to Resdt. with Sindia in July 1787.

1790, Appd. Asst. Resdt. Hyderâbâd, and survd. route from Agra through Gwalior and Aurangâbâd to Pângal where he joined the Nizâm's camp, 5-7-90 [56]. Leaving Pângal 12-3-91 with Nizâm's troops, survd. route to Bangalore to join the Grand Army [116]. After close of the war made surveys round Bangalore, and through Cuddapâh to Pângal [173].

Continued as Asst. Resdt. at Hyderâbâd till death.

In his will, appd. his bro. Thomas Ruddiman Stewart, physician, and Charles Stewart, writer to the Sygnet, Edinburgh, to be executors, still maintaining the form "Stewart" for his own name.


d. 12-1-1801, Penang.

Ens. 20-7-82... Bit. Capt. 8-1-98.


STUART, Alexander. Ben.

B.P.C. 12-1-97, "Mr. Stuart", Asst. Survr. under Plaisted on survey of Channel Creek, drawing Rs. 250 a month [311] [identity uncertain].

B.P.C. 15-8-98, withdrawn from survey of Calcutta Lands on account of unsatisfactory work [317].
b. 5-4-48. d. 31-10-1839.  
Son of Benjamin Sullivan of Cork.  
m. 23-5-89. Lady Henrietta Anne Barbara Hobart, dau.  
of George, Earl of Backs.  
Burke's Peerage.  
From 1774, Member of Council at Maaupatam, where  
Sterne's Eliza Draper stayed with him. Author of Observations  
respecting the Circle of Maaupatam. 
21-12-81, Appd. Resid. Tankore; assisted organization of  
Fullarton's army [89]. Sent Rennell map of south India,  
authorship unstated [243].  
Settled at Kiching's Park, Backs; 1801-5, Under-Sec. to  
War.  

SYDENHAM, Benjamin. Mad. Engrs.  
bapt. 24-9-77, Madras.  
d. 15-3-1828, Bruges. unm.  
Ens. 13-9-94. Capt. 1-1-1806; Resid. 13-7-1808.  
Eldest son of Maj Gen Wm. Sydenham, Mad. Art. and  
Amelia his wife; minor cadet 1789; ed. Harrow 1788-93.  
Bro. to George and Thomas [ref]; both of Mad. Inf.  
29-12-96, Ordered to join Mackenzie at Bammud for expn.  
to Colombo [117, 397].  
1797-8, Adj. of Engrs. at Madras.  
1798, Appd. Asst. to Mackenzie, Engrs. & Surveyor to  
the Nizam's Dett. ; April, Survey from Ellore to  
Hyderabad; asr. obsns. at Hyderabad [175].  
22-10-98, Present at disarming of French force.  
Left Hyderabad with English Dett. 13-12-98, making  
survey of march & reaching Ambar 21-2-99, after  
visit to Madras [118, 203].  
After resignation become Comrn. of Excise.  

SYDENHAM, Thomas. Mad. Inf.  
bapt. 3-8-89, at Madras.  
d. 28-5-1816, Geneva.  
Lieut. 5-12-94; Capt. 26-3-1802; Resid. 4-5-1810.  
2nd. son of Wm. & Amelia Sydenham, and bro. of Benjamin  
[sup]; ed. at Harrow; minor cadet Jan. 1789.  
m. St. George's Hanover Sq., 19-12-1803, Mrs. Frances  
Bunbury, who d., Hyderabad, 23-10-1807.  
D.T.B.; G.M. 1816, II (374); A.S.J. 1816. II.  
27-1-99, as Lieut. of Guides during 4th Mysore  
War, sent to meet Nizam's Dett. on its arrival from  
Hyderabad to conduct it into Ambur [116].  
Succeeded to comd. of Guides after fall of Seringapatam  
[101].  
In July sent to Seringapatam to collect information  
regarding new boundary of Mysore and, after  
waiting a month for instruments, commenced survey  
of that boundary between Gazahlatti and Panganuru.  
Measured a 3-mile base, but astr. obsns. were interrupted  
by boisterous weather, and not completed.  
Then "a violent attack of the fever and ague,  
a distemper common in the districts, obliged me  
to repair to Seringapatam for the benefit of medical  
assistance. It was with unfeigned regret that  
I felt my precarious state of health, the natural  
consequence of so violent an attack, would oblige me  
to relinquish...a work which I had undertaken with  
so much pleasure [119, 194]." He abandoned the  
survey, went down to Madras, and was appd. Persian  
Translator, 29-10-99.  
31-5-1800, Appd. Secretary to the Resid. at Hyderabad.  
1802, Resid. owing to ill-health, and returned to England,  
where he went into residence at Christ Church, Oxford.  
Returning to India 1804, became Resid. at Poona,  
and then at Hyderabad. Resid. 1810, and returned once more  
to England, where he did distinguished work in the Diplomatic  
Service, becoming Envoy Extraordinary to Lisbon 23-5-1814.  

TAVERNIER, Baron d'Aubonne Jean-Baptiste. French Mech. & Traveller.  
b. 1605, Paris; d. 1683, Moscow.  
Son of a dealer in maps and charts, who had settled in  
France from Antwerp.  
m. 1662, at Paris.  
Is said to have sold golds and diamonds to the value of  
3 million francs to Louis XIV, who ennobled him in 1669.  
Bought the barony of Aubonne in Switzerland, but had  
to sell it later to clear his debts.  
On the revolution of the Edict of Nantes, 1786, moved  
to Switzerland, and then to Berlin.  
Dict. Générale; La Grande Encyclopédie; Ball.  
Made several expeditions from one end of India  
to another. No scientist, but kept detailed  
accounts of his journeys, particulars of which,  
especially distances in ess5, helped early geographers  
to work out the relative positions of places visited  
[10, 13 n. 13, 78, 118, 233].  
An account of his six voyages to India was published  
in Paris in 1676, and an English translation by Ball in 18855.  
1st.—1631, to Persia, returning to Europe 1632.  
2nd.—1638, to Persia, to Dacca 1640, Agra 1640-1,  
Surat 1641. Ahmedabad; sailed for Europe 1642.  
3rd.—1643, to Persia, to Surat 1645, Golconda6,  
Kistna, Vergurla7, Goa; then to Java whence he  
sailed for Holland 1649.  
4th.—Left Paris 1651, to Maaupatam July 1752,  
Madras, Golconda, Surat, Ahmedabad, sailing for  
Europe 1654.  
5th.—Left Paris 1657, Isfalah till 1659, Maaupatam  
May 1659, Surat 1659, Sholapur8. Returned  
Paris 1662, and married.  
6th.—Left Paris 1663, Persia till 1665, Surat,  
Gwalior, Agra; visited "Great Mogul" at Delhi,  
Jahanabad9, Patna, Dacca. Left Surat 1667 for  
Isfalah; Paris 1668.  
In the account of his own journey from Basra to  
Aleppo, Plaisted [363] writes scornfully of  
the accuracy of these records; "Tavernier...has so far  
deviated from the true State of Things in crossing  
the Desert, that I am not aware his Voyages were  
collected after he had done travelling (mostly from  
his memory); I should have been suspicious that  
many things, delivered as his, had been the produce  
of some of those Chamber Geographers."10  

1 Wright. 2 Mack. MSS. 3irix. 3 Journal, M.R.I.O. M.85.  
4 56 E/2 & 57 K/11. 5 Index to travels. Orms MSS. 240  
(1-63). 5 m. W. of Hyderabad, 56 K/7. 6 48 E/0. 7 47 O/14. 8 One of the ancient cities of Delhi. 9 Plaisted  
(Preface).
TERRANNEAU, Etienne-Charles Cossard 1 de.
Ben. Art.
d. 1765, in India; hanged himself.
Lis. 1756; Capt. Lis.

M. 2nd. Anne—
March 1757, a French officer of Art., serving in Chandernagore during siege [311]; quarrelled with the Governor and deserted to the British March 9th. Clive wrote to Adm. Watson, 18-4-57; "The only artillery officer at Chandernagore is come over to us; he gives a very favourable account of matters"; given a comm. in the Company's Artillery [296].

"Had served with credit in the south of India, and had lost an arm in his country's service."*

"Bore the recollection of his treachery very well for at least eight years, rising to the rank of Capt. Lieutenant in the Company's Artillery, and at last hung himself owing to the misconduct of his wife".

His map, already described [221-2], was undated, and was apparently compiled from his own obser., and such information and maps as he collected during military service up-country. He probably served during the campaign round Patna, 1760-1, and in his will of Sept. 1762* notes that he was "now ordered on an expedition against Cossim Ally Cawn [24.345"]

TIEFFENTHALER 5, Father Joseph.
S.J.
b. 24-7-1710. d. 5-7-85, Lucknow.

Born at Boharn 2 in the Austrian Tyrol; S.J. 9-10-39.
Left Germany 1740 for Spain; to the Philippines 1742, and then by way of Goa to Surat, 1743; worked in India till death. Good linguist, mathematician, and astronomer, and devoted to geography.

Bernoulli: Blunts; Notti; Macquain (137-8).

From Surat his first journey was to Damascus and back; 1744, moved to Agra, via Broach, Udaipur, and Dig, making astr. obser. on the way. Obs. lat. of Agra, and in 1745 visited Jain Singh's observatory at Murta 1746.

1746, left Agra for Delhi, and thence to NWnr., Central India, where he ministered to Christian Community for the next 18 years. 1750, travelled to Goa via Malwa and Bombay; then by Surat, Bombay, Guzerat, and NWnr., to Ajmer, and returned to NWnr. 1751, making other expeditions later [11].

After suppression of the Jesuit order [12], and death of the Armenian Governor at NWnr. "Tieffenthaler found himself one day a pastor without a flock; worse yet; he was a penniless man, wanting even the necessary of life. ... He conceived the bold plan of making his way to Bengal, and appealing to the charity of the English".

In 1753 therefore he travelled down to Calcutta, keeping surveys all the way, "la Boussle à la main". Having there apparently found the help he needed, he travelled up to Lucknow, and settled in Oudh for the remainder of his life. Till 1771 he was continually on the move making astr. obser. and surveys, employing also one or more local assistants

*versed in Geography", whom he sent to explore the sources of the Ganges and Gogra [5. 11-2, 72-3, 151, 222].

1775, sent home from Fyzâbad a large collection of maps and geographical papers; as Jesuit hqrs. were now closed he sent the maps to Duperron at Paris and the writings, all in Latin, to Copenhagen. Duperron published the maps with commentary of his own, and a general map on reduced scale [72, 309-10]; and Bernoulli reproduced these both in German and French, with translation of Tieffenthaler's major works, the chief of which was his Descriptio Indiae, a gazetteer of India, with account of his travels, [21-2, 86, 214, pl. 6, 309-10].

Amongst other papers sent home, all in Latin, were:

"Indian Astronomy and Astrology"

"Natural History of India; animals, birds, trees, and flowers; also Meteorological Observations covering a space of 20 years, with astr. obser. covering the same period".

"Course of the Ganges, together with a description of the villages and cities lying on both banks".

"Course of the Ganges, from Priaga or Chabar, to Calcutta, explored with the aid of a magnetic needle".

"Course of the Jumna, which is numbered among the great rivers".

"Other Geographical maps, which show various coasts of India".

"Drawings of Cities and Forts, Temples, Idols, and Mountains".

"Catalogue of the Places, whose Geographical Latitude has been observed".

"A paper entitled "De Longitudine et Latitudine Indiae"".

Amongst several of his papers that reached Orme are a letter to General Richard Smith, and a review of D'Aulnvy's maps, in which he points out that, "Pour Connaître le Latitude et Longitude, la grandeur des villes considérables de l'Inde, leurs situations, et autres choses remarquables de cette vaste Empire, on consulera la description latine faite par le P. J. T. S. J.".

Some of his maps reached Thomas Call in Calcutta by 1784 [12], probably through Wiltord [397], who visited Tieffenthaler at Lucknow in 1784, a year before his death.

An account has already been given of the use that Renou made of the publications by Duperron and Bernoulli, and how he had subsequently to reject Tieffenthaler's version of the upper course of the Ganges [72-1].

Though he died at Lucknow, Tieffenthaler's body was interred at the Padri Tolla cemetery at Agra, where the headquarters of the "Mogor" Mission had been for many years.

1 Family name being Cossard. 2 Orme MSS. X (2388). 3 Three Frenchmen (41). 4 Delwells (43). 5 Rev. Wills. 1765. 6 Spelling of Imp. Qz.; elsewhere sometimes -thaller or -taller, the latter being used by himself. 7 Sometime Botan or Bozun. 8 Bernard, L. 239). 9 Allahabâd. 10 Bibliothèque de la Société de Jésus. Sommervogel, S.J., Paris 1892. 11 Orme MSS. 23 (51).

1768, engaged in building contracts etc. in Calcutta.
1790, Appd. Civil Architect; Jan. 1781, Appd. Surveyor and Registrar to the Commissioners of Police; started detailed survey and levelling of Calcutta city, but lack of funds led to its completion by Engineer officers. [52, 208].

Probably best known for the lottery bearing his name, which ran for many years; Hastings writes home to his wife, 5-2-84, “Tiretta’s Lottery is drawn and the Prize has fallen to himself.”

1792, still Civil Architect, and in CG 21-1-93 there was adv. the “Sale by auction, House & Extensive Gardens, Grounds & Offices, at present occupied by Mr. Edward Tiretta, valued, with house & offices opposite together in Tiretta’s Lottery, at S60,000.”

CG 24-4-94, “at a General Quarterly Session of the Peace at the Town Hall, Mr. Edward Tiretta was appointed Surveyor to the Court.”

1797, wrote to Hastings to congratulate him on the result of the trial and to introduce his sister-in-law, Miss Josephine Carrion, who was going to England to receive “an Education suitable to her birth, and my family.”


b. c. 1747. d. 7-1-96, Masulipatam; M I.

Nothing has been found about his family, education, or early life, but his sound knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, and survey, and the fact that the course of instruction he laid down for the Surveying School in 1795 was “the same that is followed at Christ’s College,” suggest that he may have been educated at Christ’s Hospital, London. His name is not found in the school registers, but it is known that the mathematical master of those days took private pupils, one of whom was Warren Hastings.

Topping arrived Madras 1785, and, presumably on his voyage out, made astr. obsns. near the Maldives Is. and along the coast of Ceylon, as noted by Rennell who adopted “Mr. Topping’s observations of latitude and longitude in 1785 of the northmost Maldives Island,” and says that “when opposite to it on the north, he counted 32 islands.”

In the Town Mayor’s Register of 19-1-99 he is shown as “Surveyor, arrived from England in 1795, by permission of Government.”

The inscription on his tomb [302-3] states definitely that he was sent out to India for the purposes of astronomy, and that his expenses for the journey were paid by the Company; he himself says that his services commenced before he reached India [392], and though no confirmation has been found in official records, it is possible that he was sent out at the suggestion of Dalrymple, who had inspired the orders for the survey of both the east and west coasts [125, 164]. Topping’s methods of survey in many ways resemble those recommended by Dalrymple [184, 190].

Nov. 1786, he had made a journey by land from Masulipatam to Calcutta, fixing the position of every important place on the way [101, 170, 202-3].

He made the return journey in the Company’s ship Walpole, and the Council write to the Directors, “We forward herewith a journal kept by Mr. Topping on board your ship Walpole during her passage from Kedgeree to Madras in 1787, with a chart of the Bay of Bengal showing the effects of the currents on the ship’s course, and the position of certain places on the coast.” to which the Directors replied; “The communication of like materials, when a proper number can be accumulated, will be extremely useful in giving a rational foundation for a theory of the currents in the Indian Seas, a perfect knowledge of which would be of the utmost importance in Peace or War” [376, 377].

The Council then deputed him to survey the Coromandel coast towards the south, taking astr. obsns. with instruments he had brought out from England [5-6, 101-3].

Before setting out on this survey Topping arranged for the use of Petrie’s private observatory, with John Goldingham as observer, to take obsns. of Jupiter’s satellites at Madras corresponding with his field obsns. [171-2].

As he could not get a ship, he made his survey entirely by land, observing a series of triangles along the coast. Leaving Madras at the end of Jan. 1788 he returned in Dec., reporting “that I have made considerable progress in my Survey of the Sea Coast southward; and that, being advanced as far as Kistnapatam, a distance of near 300 miles from Madras, I have left my instruments and other implements at that place, in order to continue as soon as possible” [190-1, 200].

In another account, he writes, “In all the operations I have had no one to assist me, except a party of black fellows to carry my flags [102, 209]. I need not tell you how many thousands of miles I have travelled to take the angles; nor what the labour and fatigue of such a work must be in this burning climate, where I have frequently had the Thermometer at 106 in my Tent.”

He was such an ardent advocate of regular triangulation that it would be interesting to know whether he had ever had experience of triangulation before he came to India [174, 175, 190, 193]. He was, indeed, the only surveyor before Lambton who had expressed any conception of a great trigonometrical survey of India, though it is doubtful whether he had the necessary knowledge of geodesy to have carried such a work through himself [100]. Topping would indeed have been thrilled had he known of Lambton’s great work that was so soon to come, and that his own coastal series would be incorporated
into Lambton's triangulation of the South Peninsula to fix the position of Point Calimere. 1

At Madras he arranged for the purchase of a small cutter, showing a sailor's experience in selecting one that should be admirably suited for his coastal surveys. 163.] He was not able, however, to complete his survey to the south, for the Directors had called for a survey of the Bay of Coringa and the months of the Godavari R. and a report whether there was any safe accommodation for large ships during stormy weather.

He started this survey Aug. 1789, finding his cutter Mary of the utmost service: and sent in his charts from Masalipatam before the end of Feb. 1790 [193-197].

It is a decided compliment to Topping that his survey and report on Coringa Bay and the Godavari should have been considered of sufficient importance to be published by the Mad. Govt. in 1855, and that the Marine officers who were employed on examination of "the Harbours and Ports of the Northern Circars in that year, found themselves "in full agreement" him. 2

During 1790 he raised the question of establishing a Govt. observatory at Madras, and with the Council's approval started looking for a suitable building and site, and was eventually allowed to purchase "Mr. Garrow's garden house including the grounds" in Sept. 1791, and to commence building [163, 172-3, 338, 348].

After a vigorous controversy with the C.E. about designs and plans, he was allowed to proceed, and the observatory was ready before the end of 1792 [104, 173, 180].

He had many other duties whilst the observatory was being discussed and constructed.

In a letter dated 20-8-95 the Directors had suggested that, among other tasks, he might "be employed in determining the positions of places on the east side of the Bay of Bengal down to Prince of Wales' Island, and from thence, by Acheen, down the West coast of Sumatra to the Strait of Sunda; in the course of which voyage he will be attentive to take views of all the lands". 3

He was not able to carry out so ambitious a programme, but the following extracts are taken from his journal of a voyage made between Sept. 1790 and March 1791 which was published by the Mad. Govt. in 1855, with the comment that copies of "Topping's journals & Sea-Logs on his several cruises across the Bay of Bengal, (which for method and accuracy have never been surpassed)" will be available when required. 4

*Journal of a Voyage in the Bay of Bengal, undertaken with a view towards ascertaining the set and velocity of the currents in that extensive gulf.*

"Encouraged by the approbation bestowed on my former attempt to discover the course of the currents in the Bay, I embarked in September 1790 on board a small cutter that had been provided for my coast surveying. ... In this vessel I left Madras the 25th September 1790, taking with me my two Chronometers, and some other instruments (173, 203). ..."

"After putting into Nanovery 1 in bad weather, I proceeded to Prince of Wales Island, from whence I originally proposed to coast the Straits of Malacca with the Chronometers, but was dissuaded... by the friendly advice of Mr. Light [46], who represented to me the hazard I was about to incur of being cut off by the Malays, at that time assembled in large bodies with armed Prows, for the purpose of attacking his Island. ..."

"During my stay at Pinang, I commenced and made considerable progress in a Survey of that safe and well situated Harbour; but the Malay pirates presently interrupted and frustrated the undertaking, by carrying off my signals, and engaging the attention of every one at that place".

After remarking on the currents of the Bay he continues, "Besides 18 drawings or views of land, there is subjoined to this journal a Series of Observations made for determining the Latitude, Longitude, and variation of the magnetic Needle at Prince of Wales Island".

Extracts from the "Log of the cutter Mary, from the Southern Niechlar to Nanovery Island". 6-10-90. "When we left Madras we had on board not more than eight casks of water, the most we could stow, and three of these we were obliged to lash upon deck. Yesterday morning we opened our fifth cask; and during the gale the hoope had all started from our largest cask (a new one, just received from the Company's stores); and our quantum was there by reduced to two forty-gallon casks, or six days water only with economy."

"The driving of the rain had killed almost all the remnant of our livestock. This state of things made it absolutely necessary for us to seek some port of safety where we might meet with a speedy supply, and it was lucky for us that the fine accessible harbour of Nanovery happened to lie under our lee at the time [10]...."

"Went on shore...but found no European there to support, with due parade, the King of Denmark's presumptive authority in the island. A country-born, Dutch-descended, Serjeant, was Comandant of the place. The whole duty required of them seemed to be, to hoist a Swallow-tailed Danish Flag upon a bamboo pole; to take charge of three or four old, ill-mounted, unserviceable iron guns, and a few rounds of powder and ball, given them for the defence of the settlement and (the most difficult task of all) to preserve themselves from the pressing attacks of hunger and disease [48-9]...."

"Landed at Pinang October 23rd. Saluted the Fort with 9 guns, which was immediately returned by an equal number."

"Describes attacks by Malay pirates; sailed from Penang, 25-12-90."

"Jan. 1st. Sailed into Port Cornwallis [48, 49]; anchored on the North side of Chatham Island. Landed; found there the Superintendent, Mr. Blair [313]." Took astr. observations with Blair, and describes the island and people."

"There are several other harbours in the Great Andaman besides Port Cornwallis. Capt. Blair has surveyed the whole, and constructed a general Chart of the Island upon an extended scale. This, when it comes to be published, will be a valuable acquisition to geography, as it not only contains information of a new and very useful kind, but is a work of

1 Lambton's Report, D Dn. 63 (279), 11-2-1812. 2 Mad. Sol. XIX 1815 (1). 3 ib. 4 Nanovery Harbour
great labor and merit, and such an one ought for the security of the ships that navigate the Bay of Bengal, to have been executed many years ago. Topping’s journal contains a description of “Qedah, (pronounced Kuddah)” and other ports, “Chiefly from the information of Francis Light Esq.”

He arrived back at Coriniga, 10–3–91, after visiting Calcutta.

On return to Madras Topping had to attend to the affairs of the observatory, and, the campaign against Tipu being in full swing, took up the construction of gun carriages. There was some discussion in the Council as to whether he should not carry out a survey required at Masulipatam, or continue his survey towards Cape Comorin, but he suggested that, rather than undertake distant surveys at such a time, he might with Goldingham’s assistance carry out the survey of the Pulicat and Armagon shoals, and still keep in touch with the work going on at the observatory [104, 187 n. 3. 392. 338].

This was approved, one of the members noting; “I agree to the resolution because Mr. Topping’s attention is at present required by a duty of more immediate importance than either, namely the business of his contract for Gun carriages, which was confided to him in the expectation that his singular mechanical abilities would produce considerable improvement in the construction of that essential article. The Military Board have lately given him an order for making up sixteen 18-pounder Gun carriages, and the ships with timber from Pegu are just arrived; if then there be any solid ground for the above expectation, Mr. Topping could not at present proceed to the distance of Cape Comorin, with convenience either to himself or the other Branch of the public service entrusted to him.”

In 1790 Topping had put in papers and drawings of a “new depressing Gun-carriage”, or “screw-coin” which he devised. The local Condist. of Art. thought very highly of this, writing 31–1–92; “the ease with which it is worked, and the certainty with which a gun may be laid by it, surpassed any idea I had formed; I am fully convinced of the great advantage which will be found by using it with all heavy guns... I am also much pleased with the experiments I have seen made with your covered-way carriage, which will certainly answer fully the purpose for which you constructed it.”

The designs were sent to the Royal Military Repository in England, but were found to have been anticipated in principle by contrivances of greater simplicity and practical advantage. Topping seems to have stayed in Madras throughout 1792, occupied with the observatory, whilst the Pulicat shoals were survd. by Goldingham [104, 107, 396].

Orders now came from the Directors that he should survey the Kistna and Godavari deltas for irrigation purposes. After a visit to the Tanjore anicut [106] he left Madras, with Caldwell as ass., at the end of March 1793, to start the new survey from Masulipatam. The following Feb. he submitted a report on his survey and levelling, and made recommendations for a more detailed survey [7, 105–5].

He then took up the question of the drainage of Masulipatam and its surroundings, reporting 17–12–94, “I take the liberty of laying before Government a survey of the Post and Environs of Masulipatam, made by myself during the course of my late operations in the Cimeter. “Having frequently noticed the situation of the Fort of Masulipatam in a Swamp or Morass; and been convinced that the unhealthiness of the Garrison there has arisen principally from the putrid Vapours exhaled from the low and Marshy grounds that surround it, I turned my thoughts towards the natural remedy—draining and embanking... “Situated on the Sea-Coast are found in general to be healthy; Masulipatam is the only exception to the rule that falls within my immediate knowledge. Perhaps, therefore, if that place were to be secured from the effects of the Sea and Land floods, it would be as healthy a situation as any one on this Coast.”

The service suffers a great and melancholy loss of Europeans annually at Ellore. The intense heat there during the months of May and June are such as scarcely any European constitution can endure. At that season the borders of the sea are the natural Retreats of those who dread the indolence of the weather, and even Masulipatam itself, under all its past and present disadvantages has been found beneficial to many who would probably have fallen a sacrifice to the rigours of the Climate had they remained at Ellore.” After discussing the proposal to move settlements from Ellore to Berwadha, he continues; “Perhaps however if Masulipatam were to be improved in the manner I have suggested, the Climate there, owing to the Vicinity of the Sea, might have the advantage for European constitutions”. His suggestion was approved, and in March 1790, he submitted “a full report and plan of the embankment scheme he proposes for purifying the putrid swamp which infests the Garrison and its neighbourhood”. He was ordered to put the work in hand and “to observe as strict an economy...as the service will possibly admit”.

Amongst maps preserved at Madras 30 years later was one “250 yards to an inch. The Port and Environs of Masulipatam, with the Embankments, Canal of Navigation, and other improvements executed in 1793-95”.

M R C. 7–11–93, the Council wrote that though the President was “fully sensible of the utility of the works you have carried on at Masulipatam, he shall be apprehensive that they may eventuall be detrimental to the public service, should they be found to engage too much of your attention—and prevent your abilities being directed to the particular objects for which you have been specially appointed”.

At the same time Topping was ordered to visit “the Havelli of Caimaco and Vizagapatam” [144 n. 1], where considerable devastation had been caused by the turning out of the banks of the tanks, and on Nov. 13th he reported from Masulipatam “that a fortunate interval in my operations at this place enables me to visit the Caimaco and Vizagapatam Havelli without detriment to my present undertaking”. This was his last work, for he returned with raging fever, and died at Masulipatam, Jan. 7th 1796.

It is particularly disappointing that we know nothing of Topping’s early life or education, for he had outstanding talent and strong character, and had been a convenerated civil or military servant would undoubtedly have risen to high rank [193, 368].

In a letter of 16–3–92, the Directors asked him “Astronomer and Surveyor...” and gave him control of all surveys that were not of a military nature [253, 255]. He urged that such responsibilities were rightly those of a Surveyor General, and in their letter of 23–4–94 the Directors appd. him “Company’s...
Astronomer and Geographical Marine Surveyor," under the Madras Presidency, without however making any increase to his allowances [263-4, 280, 312].

Topping protested against this lack of consideration, pointing out that in addition to the duties specified there was also "the office I virtually fill of Civil Engineer", and he urges "the length of time I have toiled in the service, the rigours and disappointment I have experienced, and my perseverance in adhering to the Company's employ, through every species of difficulty and disappointment."

The convivial servants of the company come out at an early period of life in India, and rise by sure, if not rapid, steps into situations of trust and emolument. The military candidates for fame and reward have also the advantage of rising rank, as well as the pleasing prospects of future independence to excite their activity for public good; both have their professional knowledge at first to acquire, and are for some years after their arrival little more than "Vocatistes in the service of the Company. With Mr., however, circumstances have been somewhat different. My services commenced even before my landing upon the coast of India; at a ripe season of life than usual; nor has my situation been attended with the advantages of rising rank and consequence, or official emolument of any kind above my bare salary."

He urged that "the sacrifice I have made of every other prospect in life to the service of the Company; the losses I have sustained by that sacrifice, and a long and tedious absence from my family (whose presence in this expensive country my present scanty allowances will by no means admit of my being consented with) are deserving of more than a bare supply for the current expenses a person in my reasonable situation must of necessity incur; and that perpetual exile from my native home would cost me but an ill recompense for my faithful and zealous exertions to serve the company."

The office of Civil Engineer to which Topping refers covered various irrigation projects [107-8], and to meet his lament, he was appd. "Superintendent of Tank Repairs and Watercourses", with an extra allowance of 400 pagodas a month, drawn from the Revenue Dept., and apparently his first increase of pay since first appt. [280].

Probably his most valuable contribution, after the founding of the Observatory, was his suggestion of an est. of asst. survrs., and of a school for their training; this he put forward in Jan., and all preliminary arrangements for recruiting the first batch of boys and starting the school were made by him [128, 145, 234:4].

It is a tribute to his abilities that after his death his duties were distributed amongst three officers; to Goldingham the duties of Astronomer in charge of the Observatory, Marine Surveyor, and Superintendent of the Surveying School; to Beaton the survey for the "Watering of the Circars", and to Caldwell the duties of Superintendent of Tank Repairs.

Amongst difficulties to which Topping referred as "unpleasant circumstances that have occurred, numerous difficulties, embarrassments, and jealous oppositions I have encountered, for want of my official situation being duly confirmed and supported," were encounters with Capt. George Johnstone, in charge of Engrs. at Masulipatam. Johnstone tried to interfere with Caldwell who was uncertain whom to obey; he removed "a shed in which a boat was being built"; "sized and detained some dead stumps, filled in the course of Topping's work; and "publicly menaced to imprison Mr. Topping in the Main Guard." 1

The Council wrote to Johnstone "cautioning him against throwing any further impediments in the way of Mr. Topping, ... and to state the authority by which he considered the Portia wood filled by Mr. Topping...as his private property." They also wrote to the C-in-C, expressing "great displeasure at Capt. Johnstone's conduct in constantly impeding the works of Mr. Topping." 2

On the other hand the Council had to write to Topping disapproving the style of his letter to Col. B.— of 21st August, and recommending that in preferring complaints, he express himself in terms more suitable to official correspondence. It is disappointing that the offending letter has not been preserved.

Five years later, Johnstone's conduct at Masulipatam led, Jan. 1690, to his arrest, etc., and dismissal. 3

In another letter Topping points out the trials of a surveyor's life, which require "a constitution capable of enduring the greatest fatigues, in the most trying and destructive climate; The Hon'ble Board will be pleased to recollect the mortality occasioned in the Circars by the unhealthiness of last season, when, even at Masulipatam, besides some thousands of the unhappy natives, full two thirds of the Gentlemen established there by the Company during the months of May and November; and yet none of the latter were exposed to the severities of the weather, but enjoyed the comfort of capacious Houses, a regular and tranquil employment, and even the luxury, during the hot season, of air artificially cooled to a refreshing temperature." 4

Topping had other interests besides his work; "An issue of Boyd's Hymnals of January 1764 supplies an account of a concert of sacred music at St. Mary's Church in aid of the Male Orphan Asylum. Mr. Michael Topping acted as organist, Capt. Beaton with Messrs. — and Caldwell took the violins." 5

The artist Wm. Hodges writes: "The annexed plate, a view of the great Pagoda at Tanjore, is from a picture which I painted from an accurate drawing made by Mr. Topping, an ingenious friend of mine, now on a survey of the coast of Coromandel." It would be interesting to know how far Hodges commits himself by referring to Topping as a "friend of mine." Hodges was in India from 1778-84, leaving before Topping's arrival, and there was hardly time for them to have met in the interval before Topping reached India in 1785, which would imply that their friendship dated before Hodges left England.

Another possible clue to Topping's early associates is that in 1789 he sent the account of his survey of the coast to Tiberius Cavallo, F.R.S [191]. Amongst MSS. preserved at the observatory many years later, but unfortunately no longer extant, were Topping's Journal of Oct. 1783; his Log Books of 1785, and 1788-91; and a Book of Views. 6

The following epitaph was inscribed on his tomb at Masulipatam: "H.S.E. integer et urbans, cui summam fuerunt animi dotes ad extremum fovit, machinarum minus artifex, necnon in literis humanioribus ac musicis virtus," 7 Michael Topping, mathematicus admodum soleris; ingenii multa quidem pignora posteris" 10 reliquit et missus in his regiones astronomiae excellere, societatis mercaturiae in India orientali facienda sumptibus, spectulam sideralem juxta sancti Georgii arcem formavit et posuit; officio

The text seems to be a literary or historical document discussing various historical figures and events. It mentions characters such as Michael Topping, Elizabeth Smith, and Charles Turner, along with references to other notable figures and events. The text is rich in historical context, discussing events such as the French influence on India, the surveying of the roads and forts in India, and the appointment of Charles Turner as a surgeon. The text also references a map and an autograph, suggesting a connection to historical cartography and personal records.
1794. Issued his “Map of the Town of Calcutta and its environs,” of which Govt. took 40 copies at Rs. 60 each. He is said to have completed and published the map in “12 months, a feat which so far from obtaining praise, was censured by his contemporary critics, as proof of careless haste, as they considered that such an undertaking required at least 2 years for its proper completion” [54].

Shortly after this became Head Dman. in S.G.’s office and, Oct. 1799, appd. Junior Asst. [271].

The following month, Appd. to survey the coast of Chittagong, and in spite of constant ill-health carried survey down to Cox’s Bazar, where heavy weather early in April stopped further work to south; left an interesting journal [65-6, 269-9].

Nominated Richard Blechynsen of Calcutta as one of his executors.


Nothing further known. Surveyor survey of the “Junglebari & Isamot” creeks before 1770.


Ens. 11-11-71 Capt. 24-2-81; Resd. Nov. 1782. m. Jane, dau. of Rev. Thomas Walker.

Paymaster with Goddard’s Det. and, on breakdown of Eliot’s mission [39]; sent by Goddard to Nagpur, keeping survey of route from Hoahangshid to Nagpur.

Inherited considerable share of Goddard’s estate of £106,000, and became M.P. [48].


Cpt. 1-5-64; Lt. Col. 10-1-75; Resd. 8-1-83 [258].

Son of a grazier at Holbeach; Ed. R.M.A. m. Calcutta, 26-6-80, Maria Theresa, sister of Thomas Keaman, Ben. Inf.; left one dau. who m. George Evans, 4th Govt. Carberry.

DN B; DTR; Enc. Mag. Dec. 1786 (407), with portrait by John Smart, in uniform of 52nd Foot.

Ens. H. M.’s 52nd Foot. 27-12-83; Lt. H. M.’s Engras. 17-5-59; H. M.’s 97th Foot 22-3-82; Capt. 164th Foot 4-2-83.

To Bengal 1764; resd. 1772, and returned to England. 10-1-75, Appd. C. E. Bengal; arrd. Nov. 1777. 17-8-79. Second to Philip Francis in duel with Hastings [362]; 1780, Founded dockyards at Calcutta [347].

“To Colonel Watson unquestionably belongs the honor of having established the first dockyards in Bengal. He... obtained a grant of land from Government at Kilderpoor, ... His works were commenced in 1780; and the next year he launched the Nunsack frigate of 36 guns.”

“He devoted his time and his fortune to this national undertaking for eight years, and in 1788 launched another frigate, the Surprise, of 22 guns; but his resources were by this time exhausted; after having sunk ten lachas of Ruppes in his dockyard, he was obliged to relinquish it” [48].

Patron of Francis Wilford [398].

Friend and patron of Reuben Burrow from 1773; persuaded him to come to India, and had him appd. instructor to Engr. officers in astronomy for survey purposes [156, 157, 163, 247].

UPJOHN, Aaron. Printer & Dman.

d. 21-6-1800, Calcutta.

Son of James & Mary Upjohn, England.


“Reached India in the humble capacity of bassoon player in a ship’s band.”

“Came to India in the year 1785, bringing with me several respectable Letters of Recommendation to the Governor of Madras and to Colonel Sydenham [351, 357]; but owing to misfortunes, unsuccessful connections in business, I am now involved in a Debt of so serious a nature, that almost precludes the Possibility of my ever revisiting England.”

It was possibly Upjohn who put the following adv. into the local paper C.G. 4-8-93, "Just arrived; A Person who is acquainted with Architecture, Land and Marine Surveying, having been under the first masters in England. He has been in most parts of the world and speaks French and Italian." Printed the Calcutta Chronicle for Baillie [310] and in 1792 owned one sixth share in the paper and press.

1791. Commenced a large scale survey of Calcutta and environs, as a commercial venture, and the following year issued an adv., C. G. 19-7-92 "Plan of the River from Fort William to Soolsaughur. Mr. Upjohn, under the pressure of the late unfortunate change in his circumstances solicits the encouragement of the Public.

A neat & accurate plan at the moderate price of One Gold Mohur. Impression taken from Copper plates elegantly engraved, ... and to render the plan convenient for the pocket, it will be fixed on a small roller about 8 inches in length. Mr. Upjohn pledges himself that, should the accuracy of delineation & neatness of execution not meet with the approbation of those who may oblige him with their names the amount of subscription shall be immediately returned".


b. c. 1759. d. 2-1-1802. London.

Ens. 1780 Capt. 18-3-99.


Embassy to Tibet, 6-1-83 till March 1784, travelling by way of Bhutan [74.332]; convinced that Tsiangpo was one with Brahmaputra [80]. Author of An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Tesho Lama in Tibet. "This relation was published in 1801, ... It is exceedingly curious and interesting. The author whose amiable manners and good qualities had endeared him to his friends, was seized with an apoplexy as he was walking the streets of London, and died within a few days” [2].

3 Repub. in French, Paris 1800. 4 Tehgnowth, II. (18). (183). 5 B. P. C. 11-1-83. 6 Blechynsen. 7 Name wrongly given as Daniel, Wills (61-4). 8 Memoir.
NOTES


Ens. 6-10-89; Lieut. 6-7-81.
Bri. Maj. to Cockrell's Dett. which marched down the east coast, leaving Midnapore 23-3-90, arriving Conjeeveram 3 1-9-90. During return march, starting from Nellore 28-9-92 and closing in Bengal 21-1-93, Wells survd. route by compass and perambulator, with frequent lat. obsns. 4 [43].
Comm'd troops in Andaman Is. 1793-4. under Kyl [346]. occasionally acting as Supt. ; 2nd Rohilla War, severely wounded 26-10-94.

1755, Survd. Pt. William and part of Calcutta. His plan shows house No. 27 as occupied by "Capt. Wills" [31].
Left in charge of the works at Pt. William on Scott's transfer to Madras, 19-3-54 [43].

WENDEL, Father Francis Xavier. S. J. d. 20-3-1803. Lucknow.
Belgian or German by birth.
 Came to India 1751 ; 1763 at Lucknow ; 1769 sent to Agra. and " seems to have resided at Lucknow and Agra for the greater part of his life 5.
" Fathers Wendel and Tiefenthaler [368] were for many years closely associated. Wendel, though not a writer like Tiefenthaler, had also something of the geographer in him. A Russian named Czernichef had travelled in 1780 from Bukhara through Kashan to Lucknow, and Father Wendel interested himself in his experiences, communicating the diary of his travels to the learned Colonel Wilfert [367] at Benares.
" He himself, in 1794, prepared and sent to the erudite Anquetil Duperron [399-10] a map showing the strategical position of the Mogul and British armies at the time of the battle Buxar. .. He was also the author of a "Memoir on the Land of the Rajputs and Other Provinces to the South and South-west of Agra, with a Map which he drew up in 1779. .. afterwards presented by Colonel Popham to the famous geographer Major Rennell. These labours of Father Wendel were stated by Rennell to have been most useful to him in the preparation of his own great map of Hindustan." 6

Thomas Call incorporated a survey of the country north-west of Delhi by "Padriques Windell & Tiefenthaler" into his Atlas of India [12, 233].

Amongst the Orme papers are a number of letters from Wendel to Richard Smith, written from Agra, probably between 1767 and 1770, about political affairs.


WILFORD

After the death of Tiefenthaler, Wendel remained the sole survivor of the old Jesuit "Mogor Mission" and he also was buried at Agra [388].


b. 1754. d. 21-12-85. Arect.


Having served in the ranks from 1775, became Comte 10th Cav. 22-4-74; Lieut. 16th Inf. 21-7-81; Capt. shortly after 6-8-89. 10.


1783. Served with Hanoverians under Fullarton against japoins of south peninsula, at capture of Palghat, and about Tanjore, where "Lieutenants von Werebe & du Platt [334-5] specially distinguished themselves "11. Continued with the army in south as Engr. and Survv.; Fullarton intended to return to Europe overland by Arabia and Egypt taking Werebe with him as survr., but had to abandon the proposal owing to ill-health, and Werebe remained in India till his death 12.

His route surveys and map of Tanjore, are quoted by Rennell, Mackenzie, and Schlegel, and are embodied in Faden's published map [98-9, 220, 243].

WHEELER, Thomas Lucas. H.M.'s 100th Foot. 13.

Liet. 8-8-80; Capt. 36-4-83.

1782, with regt. under Humberstone [125] ; wounded during retreat from Palghat in Oct. 14; Prisoner in Mysore; released March 1784, and surrd. march down to Madras [69].

WHITEMAN or WITTMAN, Charles Henry. Born. Inf.

b. 1745. bur. 1-2-88.

Ens. 10-1-75 ... Capt. 21-6-84.

Obviously of German origin.

m. Jane ; and permitted [C.M. 17-3-79] to take her with him to Bombay.

1772, as cadet. Aset. to Charles Turner on survey of Bombay [147].

1777-8, made unsuccessful attempt to recruit German artisans, on behalf Directors, for Art. Company to be raised in Bombay [C.M. 25-6-78, etc.].


b. 1750-1. d. 3-9-1822, Benares; M.I.

Ens. 21-12-61 ... Invalid List from 28-6-1812 ...

No record of parentage, or of arrival in India. It has been suggested [Commentaries 526 n.] that he was of Hanoverian or Swiss origin; no confirmation has been found, and same points to his being English, at any rate on the male side.

Bio. note, Blunt.

1781, Appd. cadet at Calcutta on recommendation of Henry Watson [394].

B.P.C. [3-2-86 [15]; Thomas Call records that Wilford had "been in my office upwards of six years ", so he was obviously working as dman. in S.G.'s office for some time before appt. as cadet [271].
April & May 1782. Surv'd. river channels between Kulhuin and Dacca; and, apparently in Jan. & Feb. 1783, surv'd. channels from the Ganges, Cossimbazar, and Jalangi rivers, giving in his journal a most interesting discussion on the sitting up of the rivers of Bengal and their possible control. B.P.C. 6-10-3 (21). Call describes him as a Gentleman of the first Geographical abilites in India, and in 1786 writes: I am much indebted to Lieutenant Wilford for his assistance in the construction of the Map of India, whose Merit & Zeal I cannot sufficiently applaud. He... till lately was allowed about 250 Rupees a month as assistant; the sum is so trifling, and his services so necessary for the continuation and completion of the work, that I must humbly intreat your Hon'ble Board will be pleased to restore to him an allowance he so much deserves. B.P.C. 235, 277-8.

Wilford continued in S.G.'s office till the end of 1788. (217 n. 4). completing reductions of Call's Atlas, and was then sent up to survey the zamindari of Benares. An account has already been given of the frequent delays he experienced during the survey of the boundaries, which he spent in the study of ancient Hindu Geography.

A few years after my arrival in India, I began to study the ancient history and geography of the country; and, of course, endeavoured to procure some regular works on the subject... through mere chance, several geographical tracts in Sanscrit fell into my hands; they are very scarce, and the owners unwilling either to part with them, or to allow any copy to be made, particularly for strangers. For they say that it is highly improper to impart any knowledge of the state of their country to foreigners; and they consider these geographical works as copies of the archives of the government of their country.

In the meantime I have given myself up entirely to the pursuit and study of antiquity from the Hindo Books, and I am happy to say that my success has even exceeded my most Sanguine expectations. This work, when complete, will make a large quarto volume and is divided into three sections. The first is Historical; the second and third will contain the origins and progress of the Brahmenical Religions.

1794. Wilford's claim to succeed Kyd as S.G. was considered, but it was decided to appoint Colebrooke, his senior in army rank.

June 1794, the Benares survey was closed down, but Wilford was allowed to remain there, keeping his allowances, to continue his geographical and historical researches; the Reid's pointing out, even in a general and national point of view, the importance of continuing that Gentleman at this place, as well as of the Government affording him such further encouragement... to prosecute his valuable Researches. Considering all Mr. Wilford's attainments in the essential points of an acquaintance as well as the Eastern as the Western languages, joined to the zeal and Ardour that he had by his former publications he has already shown. It seems to me very doubtful whether any person may again... be found so fully competent to do justice to any similar undertaking.

The new map of the Upper Parts of India, which Lieut. Wilford has procured such ample materials for, at a very considerable expense, may also... appear to you... to deserve the attention of Government [234, 397].

The G.G. was fully sympathetic: "The Board are well acquainted with Lieut. Wilford's professional abilities, and with his successful application of them. They must also... have obtained a knowledge of his zeal and success in researches into the literature of the Hindoos, particularly their Geography, in which his extraordinary discoveries... may certainly be expected to throw considerable light on the ancient history of India... Lieut. Wilford's talents and knowledge of the Greek and Roman, as well as the Sanscrit, language, render him unusually qualified to pursue discoveries of this nature. I have no hesitation in proposing... that he be allowed to remain at Benares in his present situation, with an additional allowance of 500 Rupees per mensem."

To the Directors, the Council explained that, "In determining this allowance, we estimated generally the charges he must incur in securing a numerous collection of Books not easily to be met with, and employing a competent Number of learned Native Assistants."* Wilford remained at Benares for the rest of his life, devoting himself to research, and writing many interesting papers on ancient geography and history, but after a few years he made the unplesant discovery that he was being imposed upon by his head pandit. He gives a full account of this discovery in an essay published in 1805:

"Though I never entertained the least doubt concerning the genuineness of my vouchers. I resolved once more to make a general collation of my vouchers with the originals, before my essay went out of my hands. I soon perceived, that whenever the word Swetam was introduced, the writer was somewhat different, and that the text was of different colour, as if stained. Surprised at this strange appearance, I held the page to the light, and perceived immediately that there was an error, and that some size had been applied. I was thunderstruck, I recalled my essay on Egypt, and instantly referred to the originals which I had quoted in it; my fears were but too soon realised, the same deception, the same errors, appeared to have pervaded them."

He found that these forgeries had all been carried out by the pandit whose transcripts from the original documents he had trusted implicitly:

"As the money for his establishment passed through his hands, his averitous disposition led him to embellish the whole, and to attempt to perform the task alone, which was impracticable. In order to avoid the trouble of consulting books, he conceived the idea of framing legends from what he recollected from the Puranas, and from what had picked up in conversation with me. Many of the legends were very correct, except in the name of the country, which he generally altered into that of either Egypt, or Swetam."

"His forgeries were of three kinds: in the first, the Egypt, was only a word or two altered. In the second, such legends as had undergone a more material alteration; and in the third, all those which he had altered from memory;... afterwards sensible of the danger of his detection, he was induced to attempt the most daring falsification of the originals."

The "Essay on Egypt and the Nile" had been published in 1792, and had attracted the attention of Sir William Jones.
[342.], and Wilford writes, "I shall ever lament that I was the cause of Sir William Jones being thus misled like myself. I have shewn that I was exposed to imposition, first, from the nature of my literary pursuits, and, in the second place, from the confidence which I exposed in the integrity of my native assistants, and more particularly my chief pandit. This no longer exists, and of course no similar deception can now take place". 1

His many essays, from 1805 inceptive, are free from any suspicion of such imposture, but are of interest mainly to students of Hindu philosophy and comparative geography. A remarkable tribute to the value of his researches is made by the African explorer J. H. Speke, who says that Wilford's account of the Nile in his essay of 1872 gave him the clue to the source of that river, and testifies to "the substantial correctness" of the ancient Sanscrit account. 2

Wilford's theories propounded from his old Sanscrit books have been described as "hazardous" but, as Father Hosten writes, "Wilford was, no doubt, very bold, but throughout his writings there is a ring of honesty which cannot be mistaken". 3

Of more immediate value to the geography of India was his Map of the Countries West of Delhi, to ascertain the track of Alexander [234] which he completed by 1804. The map was a tremendous advance on anything that had been produced before, and stretched as far as Sakkur and Dera Ghazi Khan on the south-west, Kabul on the west, and Chitrál and Gilgit on the north. For the collection of material he employed a Muhammadian surveyor for several yeas [234-287], and in addition to his Hindu books he had a M.S. journal of Father Monserrate [357] dating from about 1590 [149, 234 n. 3, pl. 10 n.].

Great interest attaches to Wilford's possession of the work of the 16th century Jesuit J. V. Grimaldi, who says that Wilford's account of the Nile was given to him by Tiefenthaler whom he visited at Lucknow in 1784 [385].

Hosten has discussed the possibility of the Calcutta M.S. of Monserrate's Commentarius having been in Wilford's possession, and comes to the conclusion that though this M.S. is scattered with pencil notes obviously made by an English geographer interested in the Punjab, yet, as not one of his many quotations from Monserrate fit the Calcutta M.S., Wilford is unlikely to have possessed that copy, and must have made his quotations from another MSS.; 4 this is confirmed by the fact that he presented two volumes of Monserrate's commentaries to the Asiatic Society [357].

1803, Wilford's appt. and allowance as an Asst in S.C.'s office was struck off "as sincere" [271], and on his prosecting that his situation at Benares had met with the approval of the Directors: the G G in C. made up his allowances to their former amount, being "desires of giving every proper encouragement to Capt. Wilford in the prosecution of his literary studies". 5

1800, becomes Sec. to "the Committee which took over the management of the Sanscrit College at Benares, and for some years he practically ruled the institution". 6 Was a regular contributor to the publications of the As. Soc. of Bengal, amongst his essays being:

3 As R. III, 1792, Egypt and the Nile; VI, 1792, Or Mount Carmel; VII, 1805, The sacred Isles in the West, concerning the Hindu geography of India; XIV, 1822, The Ancient Geography of India.

4 A.S.B. XVIII. 1822.

5 Wood's narrative, H. M S. 436 D [241].
They reached Madras, July 2nd, and Calcutta, July 14th. "We were furnished with a very ample credit for the expenses of our Journey, but scarcely had we reached the continent of Europe" wrote Wood, "when my companion assumed to himself the sole charge of the Money.

He had some difficulty in getting payment of his allowances for this journey, and was at pains to explain that he had made nothing out of the sum provided for their expenses; Noland had told the Madras Government that the nature of the journey did not admit of his keeping any account, and they "desired that the balance he reported to be remaining might be divided between us," but Wood "thought it incumbent upon me to refuse to participate or reap any advantage from the balance," and urged that he should be paid his legitimate allowances, though "if joining over the rugged roads in Germany, Stewed during a month in summer on board a dirty Schlesvian boat, or roasted on the desert of Suez and upon the Red Sea, in all of which situations I can now say, was not much to be envied—can be deemed a proper recompense, I acknowledge I have been most amply rewarded".

During 1780 and 1781 Wood was employed on "a survey of the river and country on the western bank of the Hughly River from Sankrail to Bridge Budge, showing sands and soundings at low water etc." and in the cold weather of 1782-3 he made a survey of Channel Creek [30].

June 1784, he was at Dinapore, employed on the construction and repair of barracks, and three months later was back at Calcutta, "commanding at Manicolly Point".

Some time between 1780 and 1783 he was in charge of surveys of the Hooghly and of Calcutta, on which several Engr. officers were employed. Three maps of this survey are preserved at the B.M., two of which seem to have been actually drawn by Wood, and beautifully drawn they are [38, 52-4].

Feb. 1786, Appd. S.G., and continued to comd. at Bridge Budge, or "Manicolly Point", and to superintend the construction of the barracks and fort there [261]. At this time as S.G. he was unmementful [43, 216, 233]. His orders for Burrow's programme of astr. obs. met with that outspoken gentleman's unqualified disapproval [157, 158, 161, 318].

BGO. 26-11-88. Appd. C.E. on the departure of Kyd and his assts. to the Mysore War at the end of 1790 assumed charge of maps and plane in S.G.O. [237].

13-2-93, Resd. appt. and sailed from Calcutta with wife and family in the Bushbridge. During the voyage home reported on fortifications of St. Helena. Soon after his return, consulted by the Directors and had an interview with Lord Cornwallis on the subject of reforms for the Company's army in India. 795. Received by King George III and presented him with an ivory model of Ft. William.

Said to have brought from India £ 200,000, which could certainly not have been acquired during his surveys, nor by virtue of his office as Surveyor General! Purchased the estate of Piercefield, on the banks of the Wye.

Editor of a small book entitled A Review of the Origin, Progress and Results of the late War with Tippoo Sultan, 1800, comprising two letters to friends in India, copies of certain official papers, and a general map.

---


b. 1770. d. 5-8-1800, Arni; M.I.


Bro. to Mark Wood, Ben. Engrs. [sup].

m. 1796, Mary, dau. of Maj. Gen. Sir Ecelos Nixon, and left one dau.

From July 1786, Duman. in S G O, Calcutta [236],

M.MC. 14-9-88, allowed 40 pagues a month as Duman, to C.E. Madras [245]. 18-9-90. Permitted to join Centre Army as Engr. star; still employed as Duman. 1-8-92.


Engs. 18-5-83. Col. 25-6-1830.

Son of Robert & Anne Wood; 1st cousin to Mark & Thomas Wood [sup].

m. ist., before 1793, — ; m. 2nd, Calcutta, 30-10-1827, Miss Elizabeth Peirce.

Left 5 sons: James & Robert both in Bengal 1831; William; Henry (1817-90). Ben. Engrs. and George; and 3 daus. Margaret; Jane; and Anne who m. Capt. William Reynolds R.N.

CB. 4-6-1815.

16-1-83, Appd. Inf. cadet; sailing in the Fauadat 11-3-83.

B.P.C. 18-12-83. Applied. Calcutta, 22-1-83, for tr. to Engrs., "my inclination leading me to serve in the Corps"; sanctioned from 12-11-83.

G.O. 15-8-91. Ordered to join the Army in Mysore.

9-10-92, to proceed with Capt. Welsh's Dett. to Assam as Survr., joining at Gauhari 7-12-92. Convinced survey from the point where Renuell left off near Godapara in 1765, and by April 1794, when the expn. was recalled, had completed the survey of the Brahmaputra as far as the mouth of the Dikho, besides making a circuit up to the Bhutian border through Durang [8, 80-2].

The following are extracts from some of his letters to Colebrooke:

24-10-93, after telling that he is moving up the river with an advance dett., "I have at last got a decision on my allowances, but I could not get those of a Surveyor of rivers; while I am so employed they very generously pay my boats, and leave me to make the best of the rest" [276 n.1].

"We promise to have a pleasant party, at least it will be so to me, compared with my last year's excursions, in all of which I was seldom cum sola; ... Graham is a vile place in my opinion, and I hope never to be there again for any length of time; indeed never to see it until I am on my way down to Bengal".

10-4-94. "Accept...of my sincere congratulations on your becoming Surveyor General [261], an office for which you are so eminently qualified. ... We went to a place called Jorhatt...; it at first was not thought proper that I should be surveying until we had had a meeting with the Soorah Gossain, as they are all very jealous of our intentions, & after we had met the Gossain, in place of surveying, M. & I found ourselves under the necessity of fighting for several days... we had only 18 sepoys, however with them we beat our opponents (2000) in two pitched battles in one day, and for two or three days more had a shot at them new and then & regularly offered them battle, which however they declined. We killed about fifty of their best men and one of their Sirdars; the wounded in proportion. On our side they murdered a miquey and sepoy, whom they unfortunately..."
gost hold of in the jungles, and wounded a bugilker and three sepoys, none however dangerously. In this sort of employ-
ment M. and I continued until the 2nd of March at Joornbait, 
when orders came from Capt. Welsh for our immediate
return.
"I had surveyed about half the way up to Joorn-
bait but most fortunately for me, the day we fell in
with the Moahmarriahs, my instruments were
with the boats. If I had had them with me, I
should most certainly have lost them all, for our
followers, missing our tracks in the jungles, fell in
with our enemy, and were obliged to make a run for it.
By this I lost a horse, pistols, etc., and my
sicle1 received a wound in the breast from a spear,
and an arrow in the back. ... Capt. Welsh was very
upset even with our victories as he was in hopes of
having persuaded these people by gentle means to
acknowledge and receive their former lord and
master [87]."

27-4-94, again from Rangpur, after regretting the
proposals to withdraw from Assam; "If we do
move from Rangpore the 1st July, all shall be
to do previous to that, will be surveying from
where the detachment disembarked to proceed to
this place, which is the only mode I have of ascer-
taining its situation; ... to survey the road hence
to Gurgaon, formerly the capital, and afterwards
to make a particular survey of Rangpore. ... We have not
heard anything lately relative to the Moahmarriahs,
but had it not been for that cursed order, ... we
should ere this have given them another dressing. ...
We were all very much disappointed. for besides
(s)ory, we expected to have got some prize money.
... As I lay my account with the worst happening,
viz. being ordered with the Detachment into Bengal,
may I request your interest and application for my
being appointed an assistant in your office; ... I
believe there is a vacancy in it at present. ...
"I had flattered myself next season to have had
it in my power to clear up Major Rennell's doubts
relative to the source of the Burmanpooter, and
I find it totally impossible to obtain any
information from the natives to be depended upon
[78-80]."

We have here at present a number of Mugglos,
subjects of the Mannypoor Rajah [82]. M. & I have
had a pressing invitation to go to Mannypoor, and
I will thank you to ascertain whether Government
will allow of my going there as surveyor. ...
Don't mention a word of it, however, unless Capt.
Welsh is positively recalled, as I would much prefer
tracing the Burmanpooter to any trip of that kind.4

The dett. was withdrawn without Welsh being
able to take obns. to fix Rangpur or visit Manipur;
he returned to Ft. William, and stayed there working
on his maps till Jan. 1795 [82].

Feb. 1795, apptd. Asst. and Surv. to Snyms on
embassy to Ava, and prepared a map of the Irra-
waddy that was found of the utmost value during
the Burman war of 1824-6 [8, 84, 85].

1 Groom. 2 D Dw. 15 (25). 3 Similar account, Johnston (35). 4 The old capital of Assam. 88 J/NW. 4 D Dw. 15 (33). 5 B M C. 27-1-07 (45). 6 D Dw. 15 (77). 7 H 8 E/10. 8 B D Dw. 15 (113).
He wrote from Cawnpore, April 30th., reporting completion of the survey.

It is not surprising that Wood was very disgusted when he found his allowances refused because he had not complied with regulations and sent in copies of his fieldbooks as his survey progressed. \footnote{1}

"The whole of my allowances have been retrenched by the M. A. G. for a noncompliance with the regulations laid down for surveyors. ... Little did I expect this would have been the case, when for 5 months I was labouring from morning to night. ... To have copied my field books, allow me to assure you, was completely out of my power; ... they consist of at least 128 pages of foolscap paper, written close and small." \footnote{1}

Full allowances for the field work were eventually passed, but he was only allowed four months reduced allowances for protraction and mapping, although he did not finish his maps till December 1801. It was not until 1807 that he obtained any further allowances for this period, and he bore much resentment over the matter, Colebrooke writing to Sackville in 1806: "Should you proceed to Allahabad...you might have the advantage of a few lessons with the Theodolite and sextant from Captain Wood, who is a very able surveyor, as well as practical Astronomer. But do not hint that I advised you to apply to him for any instruction of that kind, as we have unfortunately not been upon the best of terms since he left surveying, though I have done every thing in my power to conciliate him." \footnote{2}

An account of his later surveys, and a reference to his distinguished career as engineer, will be given in another volume.

In his will he left "to his son James, the house and lands purchased by me of Capt. Duncan Macleod of the Corps of Engineers, and situate in Camac St. in Chowringhee", and to his son Robert "the adjoining estate, now occupied by him [352]." \footnote{3}. From these estates the present Wood Street derived its name, making it a most appropriate situation for the headquarter offices of the Survey of India.

WOODINGTON, Charles. Born. Engrs. b. 10-3-70. d. 27-1-93, probably in Malabar.

Ens. 27-1-91.

1792-3, on survey in Malabar [131].

\footnote{1} D. Dn. 15 (119), 24-5-1800. \footnote{2} D. Dn. 76, 27-8-1806.

\footnote{3} Ren. Wills 1834.
INDEX

Froudualt documents or surveys, 103, 139, 140-47.  
Frederick, Colonel Charles (1748-91); H.M.'s. Engrs  
1763; tr. to Bom. Inf. 1771; 128, 177, 335, 341.  
Free Merchants, 359, 372.  
French:—Capture by, 313, 321, 391, 383, 393—in  
Carnatic, 1, 86, 271, 339, 343:—in Chander nagore,  
372, 388:—Company under Martin, 354:—East  
India Company, I, 210, 239, 302, 303:—Geographers,  
310, 331, 385:—in Hyderabad, 91, 117, 175, 320,  
339, 385;—Jesuits, To ns. 3, 9, 314;—Language, 334,  
393;—Maps, I, 129, 309-11, 229, 299:—with Maha  
thas, 386, 397;—Merchants, 387:—Survey, 87,  
93:—Surveys, I, 221-2, 268, 336, 344, 345-4, 345,  
388;—Wars with, I, 50, 86, 91, 93, 320, 321, 336,  
343 n.10.  
Freyre, Father, 68 n.15.  
Frasias, Gemma (c. 1550), astronomer, 202.  
Fryer, Dr. John (d. 1733); F.R.S.; DNB.; 139.  
Fulcher, Robert Page (1800-84); Ben. Inf., Hodson:  
349.  
Fullarton:—Colonel John, 395:—Colonel Wm. (1754-  
1808); DNB.; DIB.; 231, 340, 385;—Marches of  
4, 98, 170, 176, 185, 213, 214, 321, 343, 387.  
Furlough rules, 267.  
Gabelsberger, Father (d. c. 1740), 150.  
Gandik R., 17 n.5, 26, 27, 75, 221, 333; pl. 13, Kandooe.  
Ganga R., 45, 299, 210, 212: pl. 3 n., 11, 12, 13.  
Ganges E., 1, 21 n.12, 167, 211, 229, 255; pl. 10 n.  
—Changes of; 21, 64-5, 229:—Rennell’s memoir  
79 n.6, 213, 375:—Sources of, 88, 70, 71-3, 80, 209,  
365; plis. 1, 6 n., 7 n., 8 n. 21;—Surveys by;—Jesuit  
imonasaries, 11, 151, 314, 215; pl. 6 n.;—Rennell,  
2, 17-9, 21, 23, 222, 294, 297, 371;—Colebrooke, 8,  
64-5, 327, 329;—other surveys, 21, 26-7, 37, 58,  
105 n.8, 209, 210, 255, 310, 333, 340, 390.  
Ganges-Houghly passage, 2, 17-9, 35-9, 229, 239, 396.  
Gangotri, Cw’s Month, 71, 72; 363; pl. 6.  
Gardner, Robert (1781-98), asst. revenue surveyor,  
284, 285.  
Garkhal, 338; pl. 6; v. Sinigar.  
Garo Hills, 2, 18-20, 20 n.1, 34, 83; pl. 14, Garrows.  
Garrow, Edward (1750-1820); Mad. Civ. 1769; 173, 390.  
Garstain, John (1766-1802); Ben. Engrs.; Hodson, 52, 53,  
101, 294, 328, 347.  
Gastaldi, Gineo di, cartographer, 70, 208; pl. 16.  
Gaulüni, Assam, 8, 80, 81 n.3, 308.  
Gazalattli Fass, Mysore, 111 n.5, 273; pl. 9, Gazle  
Hatty.  
Gent, Wm. (d. 1811); Mad. Engrs. 1772-1802; 244 n.4.  
Gentil, Jasparr, cartographer, 238.  
Gentil, d. Le Gentil.  
Geodecy, 376-7, 380.  
Geographer to the,—Company, 5, 97-8, 251, 263, 343,  
375:—King, 211 n.7, 239, 233 n.11.  
Geographical,—or nautical, Miles, 151, 297, 277 n.4, 247,  
248:—v. Miles:—Positions, lists of, 148, 149, 160, 162,  
169, 208, 232, 357.  
Geography:—Comparative, 208, 211, 378, 397;—Father  
of India, 375.  
Geometrical Survey, 196; v. Trigonometrical Survey.  
George Ill. of England (1738-1820); DNB.; Ency.  
Brjt. 243, 352, 368.  
Gerard, Alexander (1792-1839); Ben. Inf., Hodson:  
DIB.; DNB.; 337.  
Gersopp Falls, N. Canara, 130 n.4.  
Ghasper R., Punjab, 219; pl. 40 n.1.  
Ghidis (Hobson-Jobson, Ghanta), v. Western.  
Gilgit, Kashmir, 343, 397.  
Giles, James, draughtsman, 245 n.1.  
Giorgi, Father Antonio (d. 1711), 75.  
Globes, 294.  
Glossary, revenue survey, 135.  
Goa, 9, 12, 129, 335, 341, 387; plis. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 12,  
16;—Jesuit hopes, 4, 365, 387, 388;—position; 129,  
149, 150, 176, 177; pl. 10 n.
INDEX

Ujjain (Hobson-Jobson, Oojyne), 6, 56, 126, 150; pl. 1.
Oagin: pl. 10, Usen; pl. 11, Oagal: position, 151.
Ulugh-beg (d. 1449), astronomer, 148.
Uddhul Nala, Battle of, 229, 345, 353; pl. 14, Ouda-
nula.
Uniform, 392.
United Service Club, Calcutta, 347.
Units of Measure, 134, 135; v. bigas; Geographical
miles; dhāt; kos.
Upper Provinces of Bengal, 230, 232.
Upton, Colonel John, 335: his Mission to Poona, v.
Poona.

Valencia, Lord, George Anneley (1770-1841); visited
India, 1803; DIB., 347.
Valency, François, cartographer c. 1700, 201.
van Bleisw, cartographer, 221.

Vansittart, Henry (1733-97): DNB.; DIB.;
17 n.11, 30, 351, 309, 339, 371; v. Governor of
Bengal: collection of Maps, 211, 222, 223, 250 n.5.
339, 345.
Variation of Compass, 26, 59, 66, 81, 151, 152, 156, 168,
175, 177, 178, 182, 184, 185, 186, 188, 192, 200,
201, 209, 392.
Veretian Geographers, 208 n.6: v. Italians.
Venus, transit of: J.O. Tract #1, 3-4-1769; 163-4, 169,
179, 200, 332, 364.
Vereist, Henry (d. 1786): DNB.; DIB.; 22, 26, 27,
33 n.1, 137, 372: expedition to Cachar, 23, 82, 131,
394; v. Cachar.
Verniers, 199, 201.
Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, 308 n.10, 324, 354,
371, 377.
Villages, 141, 142, 145, 153, 158, 226; statistics of, 146.
Vineet-Maria, Father, 86.
Viascher, Nicolaum, cartographer, 209.
12, Viraigopan: position, 155: Survey & Maps,
52-3, 145, 246, 322, 393.
Voleanos, 30, 47, 327.

Wade, James: Hooghly Pilot; pension Rs. 120 p.m.
from 1831; 85.
Wadgson, disaster of, 121, 386.
Wagangas, R., 8, 30 n.12, 69.
Wales, John (d. 1810), Born Marine, 49 n.7, 124, 313.
Walker: James, map-engraver, 104 n.6: Maj. Gen.
James Thomas (1826-66), C.B., F.R.S.; Born.
Engrs. 1844; 8 G, & S T.S. 1874-84; vii. ix.
Wandiwash, Carnatic, 86, 99, 311, 320, 329; pl. 9, Vargi-
vash.

Warangal, Nizān's Dominions, 92, 115, 116, 170, 337:
pl. 1, Warangole.
Ward, Benjamin Swain (1786-1835), Mad. Inf., 350.
Warren, John (1769-1839), H M's. 33rd Foot, 215 n.2,
375, 376.
Watches, v. Chronometers; Timekeepers.
Water, fresh, 390.
Watercourses, Survey of, 142, 143, 146.
Watson, Admiral Charles (1714-97), DNB.; 12, 388.
Waugh, Andrew Scott (c. 1807-77); K C B.; Ben. Engrs.
1827; S G. & S T.S. 1843-62; vii, ix, 36.
Webbe: Charles (1762-98), asst. revenue surveyor, 204,
285; Josiah (1788-1804), Mad. Civ., DIB.;
286; Wm. (b. 1784.), asst. revenue surveyor,
286, 296, 375.
Wellesley: Richard Cowley (1760-1842); 2nd Earl of
Mornington 1781; 1st Baron Wellesley 1797; 1st
Marques 1799; DNB.; 347, 371; v. Governor-General; Mornington: the Hon.: Arthur
(1769-1852): future Duke of Wellington; DNB.;
118, 264, 308, 314, 351, 357, 376; Henry (1773-
1847) DNB., 284.
Welsh: James (1775-1861), Mad. Inf., 219, 350, 380:
Thomas (d. 1822), Ben. Cav., 8, 80-2, 398, 399;
V. Assam.
West Coast, 6, 123-5, 176, 178, 205, 310, 349, 355,
359; v. Malabar.
Western: Ghats, 98, 125, 129, 367; pls. 12, 21: India,
Westminster Abbey, 101 n.9, 377.
White, Professor Joseph, DNB., 333: a Journey from
Nagpur, 39.
Whitehill, John (b. 1735); Mad. Civ. 1752; M.P. Govt.
of Madras 1777, 1780; diem. 1780; 309.
Williams, Monier (1777-1824); Born. Inf. 59; Bombay.
1807-15; 7, 132.
Witt., de. cartographer. 299.
Wood Street, Calcutta, 352, 400.
Wounded Officers, 23, 392, 333, 338, 242, 355, 358, 367,
371, 378, 381, 395.
Writer (Hobson-Jobson): Clerk, 280, 301: junior grade
of civil service, 296.
Wynd, Malabar, 131, 132 n.3, 357.
Wyld's Map of Peninsula, 98, 113 n.3.

Yarkand, 68.
Yule: Sir Henry (1820-95), DNB., 168 n.4, 377:
Udny (c. 1766-1839), Ben. Inf., 168 n.4.

Zannân Shâh, of Kâbul (c. 1800), 55, 57-8, 218, 232, 396.
zamindar (Hobson-Jobson, Zemindar), 105, 193-5, 357-41,
144, 291.
Zenith Sections, 165, 166, 316.
Zephyr, Johann (1739-1810), artist of Ratisbon, 366.
INDEX to SURVEYS
18th Century.

Plate 21

A General View of the principal Roads and Divisions of HINDOOSTAN. 1792.

DELIBERATE SURVEYS
- Bonaparte, etc. [51] 1764-74
- Wilford [41] 1769-94
- Coultana [45] 1772-74
- Pittman & Johnston [92] 1773-76
- Wodehouse [93] 1774-80
- Stevens & Dugdale [93] 1775-85
- Bannow [85] 1775-76
- Maclean [114] 1778-80
- Topping & Girdlestone [104] 1778-83
- Tabor, etc. [122] 1778-80

MILITARY SKETCHES
- Reynolds [115] 1792
- Emery, Johnson, etc. [115] 1792
- Beaton [116] 1798
- Mackenzie [116] 1798
- Thomas Wood [116] 1798

ROUTE SURVEYS
- Smith [31] 1773-81
- Godwin's march [34] 1775-79
- Wodehouse's march [35] 1778-81
- Pearson's marches [36] 1781-83
- Cuvier [37] 1785-89
- Kelly [38] 1792
- Thomas Wood [38] 1792

Areas covered with military route surveys:
- 1773-81
- 1775-79
- 1778-81
- 1781-83
- 1785-89

From Rennell's map facing p. 315 of his Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, 1793.

Compare area of Punjab and sources of the Ganges with Plates 1, 6 and 8.
Compare Western Ghats with Plates 3 and 12.