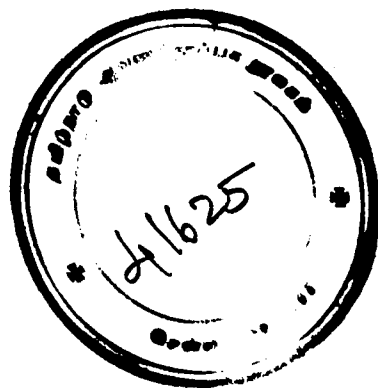


Cochin — Malabar
Palms and Pageants

BY

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V212



PROLOGUE.

Julius Valentyn Stein Van Gollenesse, in 1748, Governor of Cochin, protested that much reading was a weariness of the flesh and that more than enough had been written concerning Malabar. Since his time much more has been committed to manuscript and to print, yet there is little accessible today regarding the settlement itself. Though it is not proposed to recapitulate all the highlights of the Portuguese and Dutch occupations, some outline is necessary upon which to extend the further happenings of the place up to the present day, which, as it has transpired, coincides with the closure of British Rule in India. Soon there may be gathered at Cochin a coterie of Europeans who will be wondering what the town was like in the days of the Pax Britannica.

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Chapter I.

**See the result of his going to Cochin and of
one who betrayed his Guroo.**

(A proverb warning the Tamil to stay at home)

Written records of Cochin begin about 1500 A. D. when, before the capture of Goa in 1510, it was the seat of Portuguese domination in the East and the residence of their viceroys and governors, among them the great Alfonso Albuquerque; but of the latter it is said that even when in harbour he preferred to live aboard his ship. That piece of foreshore between Volkarts and Aspinwalls is named after him and is the spot whereon tradition says he landed. From there, joined by the cortege of the 'King' of Cochin, he with a glittering retinue proceeded to the dedication of the new fortress—named Manoel after Manoel the Fortunate, King of Portugal and the Algraves. Commingling of the Portuguese with the local population soon assumed such proportions that orders were passed that none but Christians should live within the fort; and so the town has remained ever since with but the merest sprinkling of other communities. The maximum extent of the Portuguese ramparts was from the Calvetti canal (where it joins the harbour) to about three hundred yards beyond, say, the Bishop's palace on the other side of the city. Outside the ramparts in that direction was the large Jesuit establishment of St. John's. On the Calvetti frontage, for a hundred yards in depth on the far bank of the canal the terrain was kept clear so as to give a field of fire to the bastion at that apex of the defences; which is the reason why a small patch of Mattancherry is within the present town of Cochin.

It was to Cochin that Albuquerque returned, badly wounded, from his unsuccessful attack upon Calicut; and it was from here that he set out with his fleet for the Red Sea, but from which as a matter of history, he was diverted to the capture of Goa. It has been stated

that the Portuguese had jurisdiction for a mile beyond but the Dutch were unable to substantiate this claim when they supplanted the Portuguese at Cochin. Away to the immediate right at Calvetti was a morass through which the frontier was indeterminate until 1890, when the area was drained, the boundaries fixed, and the mouth of the creek constricted to the narrow width of a boat canal.

Duarte Pacheco—The Lusitanian Achilles—is the military hero of Cochin. Through his valour the Zamorin and his allies were checked and, incidentally, Lisbon superceded Venice as the mart for eastern spices. For this service Pacheco was granted an ostentatious coat of arms. On a shield azure five golden crowns (symbolical of the five kings he had overcome), embordered with eight double barbed arrows denoted the number of battles of which he was the victor. Camoens, the Portuguese poet, enshrines the hero of 'The Hundred Days' in verse.—

Shalt thou in Cochin see one so approved,
so stout,
Who such an Arr'gance of the sword hath
shewn,
No harp of mortal song a similar story,
Shall sing of e'erlasting name, eternal
glory.

On the spiritual side there was Francis Xavier, a Spaniard of Navarre, who, in old torn cassock, hatless and shoeless, with the call of his bell was wont to gather the fisherfolk around him. There will be no town or hamlet within many miles of Cochin but has heard the voice of this unquenchable evangelist—the one missionary of the Roman church whom all Christians honoured. Much false glamour, however, attaches to his name. He never, for instance, learnt an oriental language, and made Christians (*feci Christianes*) by baptizing heathen children and ignorant Tamil fishermen. To such was given a new name, scratched upon Palmyra leaf and treasured as if it were a passport to Heaven itself. Nonetheless, the results are there for all men to see, and when the vessel carrying his corpse called in at Cochin on its passage from Malacca to Goa, an intense expression of

devotion was spontaneously evoked from the entire population. It was not until 1623 that Francis Xavier was canonized, some 70 years after his martyrdom, and after enquiries had been made all along the track of his missionary labours. At Cochin the opening of the beatification process was most solemn. Houses were illuminated, the bells tolled and guns were fired. 64 witnesses belonging to all classes and professions were heard. Priests both secular and religious, captains, magistrates and pilots, of whom 19 testified to the truth of the miracles performed with a medal. One Domingos Caldeira asserted that he saw the pagans fall on their knees before the Saint calling him God on earth. Other witnesses were a Malayalam man who was present at the teaching of the catechism, a Portuguese widow 120 years old, and a barber who had served the Saint. To those who believe in thaumaturgy the difficulty of language as between apostle and convert would not arise.

Any one reading "The Woman on the Beast" (Helen Simpson) may see what an extraordinary story can be written around the death of such an one as Saint Francis Xavier. Though he influenced the inception of the Inquisition in India, it did not function quite as he had expected; and he himself, it seems, delated no one to the Holy Office. Nonetheless many from Cochin, including Jews, were sent to Goa charged with blasphemy or heresy.

A zealot of different temperament and method was Archbishop Dom Frey Aleixo Menesses who came from Goa to Cochin, in 1599, armed with the papal Bull of the Crusades and commissioned to bring the Syrian Church within the fold of Rome. A scene of magnificence greeted the prelate at a new jetty especially constructed for his reception which was spread with rich carpets. He stepped ashore to the thunder of artillery mingled with martial music and the shouts of the populace. Flags and banners, palm fronds and flowers were everywhere. Ready to be presented stood the Syrian bishops themselves, respectful but watchful; but who, it was observed, were attended by their own escort of armed mountaineers. It is suggested that the landing was made at or near the present pilot stage, which would not only be adjacent to the old cathedral but also convenient for the episcopal palace. Those ancient pedestals, capitals and ashlars

embedded in the revetment at that point are, however, from the cathedral itself. Portraits on panels of the first three bishops appointed to the See of Cochin—Jorge Themudo, Joannique de Tavora, Joao de Wrangel—hang in the present 'palace,'—where also are some thirty or so wax seals of other holders of that office. With the coming of the Dutch the See fell banished from Cochin, and the next mention of it is in 1806 when Dr. Buchanan called upon the bishop newly arrived from Goa, whom he describes as a 'bon vivant' of some rotundity. In 1846 a proposal of the Roman Catholics to rebuild their cathedral inside the fort was objected to by the Protestants of the town, though the erection of a chapel—Saint Francis Xavier's—was permitted on the site of the former Dominican convent. Roman Catholic aspirations were fulfilled in 1888 when the present building, incorporating the chapel, was commenced. When completed in 1905 it was consecrated with much pomp; and to give reason for its name, 'Santa Cruz,' the cathedral was presented by Rome with an alleged piece of the True Cross. The Bishop is appointed from Portugal and hitherto has always been a European—a lonely individual surrounded by so predominantly indigenous a clergy.

How Cochin was absorbed into the colonial system of Holland is well documented, and the capture of the place has been pictorially rendered by more than one artist. Phillipus Baldeus etched a number of views as it was in the time of the Portuguese, including one of Rijckloff van Goens mounted on a richly caparisoned charger, with trumpeter ahead lustily blowing a fanfare to announce that the Dutch conqueror is just about to pass through the main gate into the city. Wouter Schouten, another artist, depicts the fight at Mattancherry palace, a bloody affair of men armed with spears, swords, bows and arrows massed around the Rajah's temple struggling futilely, with a heap of their own dead between them, to break the front rank of Dutch pikemen, over whose shoulders the musketeers pour in their deadly fire. A mounted officer in rear of this platoon discharges his horse pistols into the living wall of Cochinese from a distance of not more than twenty-five feet. In the background is the palace itself, a five storey building with many windows, out of most of which brown bodies are flinging themselves to earth, whether from a frenzy or from fear of a slaughtering foe within the house, the artist perhaps would

know. By Joan Nieuhoff is a representation of the bombardment by the Dutch fleet of over twenty ships on the 31st December, 1662. Here is a line of ships with mainsails only set, sufficient for steerage way with the tide, filing slowly past the defences of the harbour entrance. The leading frigate has been roughly handled and appears to be on fire amidships. Not far from her is a ship's boat taking soundings, the bow rower resting whilst he lights his pipe. This old print* reveals that the Portuguese ramparts were not continuous along the harbour entrance; between the three main embrasured batteries on this frontage were sandy bays, and in that opposite to what appears to be St. Francis' church small vessels are shown drawn up on the beach or riding very close inshore. Yet it was not here but at Calvetti where the walls were carried by assault, despite a valiant resistance by the garrison. The Portuguese governor, Ignacio Serminto e Carvalho was described as a truculent puffed up individual, but he had, nonetheless, borne himself so remarkably well in the defence of the city and in the service of his king that he was afterwards rewarded with the governorship of Chaul. In the old time ceremony of surrender, with the keys of the fortress carried on a cushion before him, Serminto and his officers in mourning apparel went in procession to the main gate and there formally made their submission to Rijckloff van Goens, who, during the siege, had made his headquarters in the bishop's country villa at Vypeen, an island thereafter shewn in maps as 'Orange Baypin.'

Throughout these operations the Jews had overtly assisted the invaders, for which partisanship they were made to suffer during a temporary set-back to the Dutch. It was not many years after the latter were in possession that the Jews of Holland sent out Moses* Pereya de Pajva, an influential member of their guild, to report regarding their co-religionists at Cochin, when the welcome extended to him was well nigh ecstatic. With the entire Yiddish population behind him, de Paiva made it his first duty to call at the residence of Governor Vosbrugh and tender thanks for the protection the Jews of Cochin had always received from him and his predecessors. This European Jew attended many gatherings of the local Hebrews, noting their customs, cataloguing their literature, and jotting down the pedigrees of the more important among them—some of whose families

* This print, by Coenraade Decker is dated 1670. A rare copy is in the possession of Messrs. Peirce, Leslie & Co. Another old print by Piet Schenk, dated 1703, is almost identical in background with that of Decker, though the scene is of more peaceful times—An incoming merchantman saluting the fort, and being replied to from the most seawardly bastion.

* A copy of Moses Pereya's report, a rare document, is in the possession of Mr. S. S. Koder, Cochin.

could be traced back to great, great, great grandfathers from Baghdad, Damascus, Castille, Germany and other far regions, confirming that the 'White' Jews of Cochin (who say they are of the Tribe of Benjamin) had been infused from time to time with fresh blood and energy. It is stated as a fact that Jews do not increase in numbers in countries other than Christian and Mohamedan.

Obsolescence had overtaken the fortifications of the city of Cochin when Governor Moens was compelled to put something more substantial between himself and the threatening stream of Hyder Ali's conquests. In 1778 therefore the Holland bastion was rebuilt on piles and surrounded by a double ditch and was almost a citadel in itself, with a double tier of heavy guns like a ship-o-the-line. At right angles to it a 'fleche' or arrow headed defence wall was thrown out across the sands to low water mark. Perhaps it is the ruins of this work, as viewed from the lighthouse when heavy erosion has uncovered them, that have been assumed to be those of a Hindu temple. Other additions were also made to the fortress, for which labour three thousand coolies were lent by the Cochin Sirkar. Commodore's Bulwark is traditionally the handiwork of negro slaves who, when on one occasion they attacked their guards, were themselves ruthlessly cut down. Their disembogued spirits, with wide rolling eyes, still haunt the place of killing, or so it is said. In the India Office * is a complete set of plans of the restoration of the fort with the principal features streets and edifices of the town marked and named.

Holland, in 1794, was still the great banking republic of the Continent, whose overseas possessions were too large to be entirely protected and governed by her own subjects, wherefore Dutchmen proper went mainly into the sea services, whilst the land forces were to a large extent composed of mercenaries. In their Ceylon garrison was the famous Neuchatel Regiment de Meuron and the Luxemburg Regt. At the Cape of Good Hope and at the Malabar settlements was the Wurtemberg Regiment, though there seems also to have been a detachment of de Meuron's at Cochin. Adrian Van Moens had also reported to the Batavian Government that he was endeavouring to make use of local Christians, or 'Toepassers', by training them on the British model, who, so he said, "were pretty successful with them".

* Now the Commonwealth Relations Office, King Charles Street, Whitehall.

Perhaps the experiment fell below expectations, for when the British entered Cochin the colonial troops were Malays, upon whom was imposed a discipline far more severe than anything thought necessary with Indian sepoys. Dutch records often refer to these 'Toepassers' and the sister corps of 'Lascorijns' (native seamen), whose combatant role latterly receded into the background, and whose leaders tended to become hereditary, retaining their rank more as representatives of their community rather than as part of the armed forces of the settlement. Captain Ignacio Rodrigues (1789) and his forebears of the toepassers lived in a house half way up 'Der Prins Straat', a thoroughfare which was formerly a residential and not, as it is now, a shopping quarter. When this house was recently renovated many carved beams and corbels were discovered which the landlord was convinced must have come from some dismantled ship. There is no doubt, however, that they are of the ordinary Dutch domestic woodwork, replacing that of the earlier Portuguese fabric. Francisco Pereira of the lascorijns was ensconced in a house in der Kalver Straat,* on the site of which the Koder family built their residence when they moved up from Jewtown, for although Hebrews owned property inside the fort, none had hitherto lived there.

The British enter Cochin.

By seeking an asylum in Great Britain during World War 1939-45, the Nederlands Government were but following a precedent of Napoleonic times, when France over-ran Holland and the Statholder was forced to flee the country. It was from England therefore that a decree was issued in regard to the Dutch settlement at Cochin.—

"We have thought it necessary to write to you to order to admit as well in the Fort as in the Colony under your orders the troops of His Britannic Majesty that shall be sent thither, and to count them as troops of a power benign in friendship and in alliance with their High Mightinesses, and who come to prevent that the country shall not be invaded by the French."

Under orders of Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, Colonel Petrie of the 77th Foot left Calicut in July 1795 to occupy Cochin. The Madras Courier thus describes the departure of the British force.—

"Yesterday morning Colonel Petrie with the Light Company of the 77th and Grenadier Battalion of Sepoys marched for Cochin with orders to summon the garrison to surrender and to storm the

* Der Kalver (Calf) Straat is the lane at the back of Mr. Koder's house.

fort if refused. The place is strong and full of military stores. But to wait for artillery is too much hazard. Our lads are all in the highest health and spirits, and the Bombay Grenadiers sepoys are animated with equal ardour."

Following the land route, Petrie left his men in camp six miles north of Cochin whilst he went on by himself to Vypeen Point, from there a message was sent across the river advising Governor Van Spall of his presence there and its purport. After some delay a reply came back to say that as the Batavian Government in Holland * had made peace with the French, they of Cochin were neutrals also. When this argument was refuted Van Spall countered with another. It was very doubtful, he said, whether the French ever would attempt to invade India, and unless the threat were more imminent there was no necessity for the British to enter the city; they could, if they wished, take station a few miles north and south of it. On the 9th September Colonel Petrie and Mr. Stevens, a Madras civilian, were admitted into Cochin for a conference at which Van Spall was informed that should the British be permitted to enter the place without opposition there would be no interference with local administration; but no progress was made with the negotiations. On the 13th Petrie was advised that a ship had called at Alleppey with Mr. Cleghorn, a British Agent, accompanied by Le Compte de Meuron and Captain Bolle, one of his officers, bringing intimation that an agreement had been arrived at with the British Government to transfer the entire Swiss regiment to British pay, and Captain Bolle was deputed to make contact with the detachment of his corps inside Cochin and to convince them that they were no longer under the Batavian Republic, but that they were to take orders from the British commander investing the fortress of Cochin. That they were able to break off their employment before the siege commenced is not stated, though nothing is said of them being among the Dutch garrison when it surrendered. Nor was the hope realized that with Captain Bolle's intervention it might not be necessary to open the batteries at all. On the same date, 13th September, Petrie made another attempt to avoid a conflict; but Van Spall declared he would defend the place to the last extremity, a decision which had been anticipated by the British who, on the 1st of that month, had marched from Parur to Trevany, there crossed over the backwater to Cochin Island and had also taken up positions

* Batavian republic was the designation applied by the French on their occupation of the Netherlands 1795-1806. It was derived from the ancient tribe of the Batavi inhabiting the Low Country in the Roman conquest. Confusion sometimes arises as the Dutch Government of the East India colony of Batavia exercised almost despotic rule over all their settlements in the East.



A DECAYED PORTUGUESE MANSION.
AN OLD MANSION OF COCHIN.

A very fine example of a residence of a better class Portuguese settler, but now utterly decayed. Note the roof over each of the two back rooms, and the small glazing of the windows. The people now living in it are probably 'squatters', for the whole place is dank and unhealthy, the home of mosquitos and vermin.



ONE OF THE OLD HOUSES FACING COCHIN GREEN.

Actually this is the rear doorway of the house, the front opens on to de Quieros Straat, formerly Breede Straat. It at one time belonged to Gerrard Van Anglebeck and then to Jan Lambertus Van Spall. The plaque over the lintel bears the monogram of the Dutch East India Company (V. O. C.) but it was not their 'Government House', which was on the other side of the maidan but has now entirely disappeared.

at Vypeen in readiness to invest the fortress. On the 18th the force before Cochin comprised:—H. M. 'S. 77th Foot, Two companies of the Bombay European Regiment, the Grenadier Battalion of Sepoys, the 5th battalion of Sepoys, and a complement of artillery. The Dutch garrison, so reported Petrie, had already struck 'The Orange Cockade'* and hoisted in its place the Tricolour of France. Nonetheless it was supposed that 'Mynheer Van Spall' would presently surrender when he realized that no succour could reach him from his Jacobin friends in the Isle de France. The Dutchman, however, put up some show of a fight, and the operations that ensued are described in Petrie's despatch of the 30th October, 1795.—

“ From.—

George Petrie, major 77th Regt:

Commanding at Cochin.

Earliest information of the surrender of that fort on terms of capitulations on night of the 19th instant and of having taken possession at noon on 20th. Negotiations having failed, commenced operations against the place on night of the 16th and by the morning of the 18th we had carried our approaches within 450 yards of the south-west angle of the fort and erected a battery of six 18-pounders against the north face. Early in the night of the 17th, enemy commenced a very heavy fire and continued it with little intermission till the time of surrender, and though it proceeded from nearly 200 pieces of ordnance we had the good fortune to lose only one man. We opened from two mortars and early the next morning from the six 18-pounders, which fired with such good effect that at 3 o'clock that same afternoon flags of truce were displayed from different parts of the fort, and the terms settled in the course of the night.

I have also taken possession of and placed garrisons in the Dutch forts of Coylan (Quilon) and the factories of Porcad and Coilcolan.

The enemy had three killed and two officers and twentythree men wounded.

It would be the height of ingratitude in me if I did not avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my perfect approbation of the gallantry, zeal, and good conduct of the officers and men under my command.

I do myself the honour of transmitting the Articles of Capitulation together with return of the detachment and of the Dutch garrison prisoners of war, with a list of ordnance and stores, and a plan of the fort.

I have the honour etc.—

To.—The Rt: Hon: Henry Dundas.

The Dutch adopted 'der prinsvlag', the colours of the Prince of Orange—white-blue * orange, (for some reason changed to red). Dutch consuls at Cochin, for example, still fly a long orange pennant over their national flag on special o

The Articles of Capitulation, which had been submitted by Colonel Petrie in the Dutch language, were replied to in French. It is said that a mortar shell dropping through the roof of Government House expedited the business of acceptance of the terms and the signing of the document by Van Spall and his civil and military advisers, as named below.—

Jan Lambertus Van Spall, Governor.	
Major Josef Decan, Commandant.	
Johan Adam Cellarius.	} Councillors.
Johan Andrew Scheidz.	
Arnoldus Lunel.	
Cornelius Van Spall.	

The state of the garrison laying down their arms was approximately.—

Artillery—Officers and other ranks	...	55
Infantry— do. do.	...	125
Native Artillery	...	118
Native Infantry	...	850
Staff-Lieut. & Adjutant 1.		
Surgeon-Major 1. Drill sergeants 7	...	9
		<u>1157</u>

Ammunition for the siege, brought by the "Royal Charlotte" from Calicut, comprised 14,260 18 lb. shot, 13,000 for the 12 pounders, and 2929 shells for the mortars.

At noon of the 20th October, 1795, with all the gates secured by our troops, the enemy marched out and piled arms by the Bay or West Gate. The European soldiery were allowed to re-enter the town unarmed and without restriction; but the native troops were kept close prisoners. During the night a turbulent and inebriated mob was guilty of several excesses, in one of which Governor Van Spall received some injury.

Had the British not been opposed, the question of prize money would not have arisen. But as it was, all public property, which included the fort cannon, some 200 pieces mostly brass, 400 stand of arms, six months stores and much else besides became amenable to the Prize Court. The final computation was not ready until July 1805, when the sum available was to have been paid in two equal instalments. The second dividend was distributed through the Bombay banking house of Forbes & Co., in August 1807. The amounts then disbursed to individuals were as follows.—Captains and

surgeons Rs. 1,925.0.31, Lieuts. Rs. 531.3.66, Conductors, subedars and sergeants Rs. 67.1.0, Gunners, corporals and havildars Rs. 33.0.0. As delays in payment of this prize money became more and more prolonged so did tales of the amounts due to participants become more and more exaggerated. When therefore a consolidated payment of £ 5.16.6 was notified as available for each European soldier * or his heirs, it was discovered by many poor people that they had spent almost the whole of this 'trifling sum' in travelling expenses to and from London to make enquiries as to when they might expect their small fortunes.

An old custom was followed "agreeably to the usage of the service," in allocating to the officer commanding the artillery all the church bells found within the conquered territory. In this instance there were four only, including one at Quilon, the aggregate value of which was Rs. 1,680. Petrie got no specific proportion in right of commanding the force, but shared one-eighth of the whole with Lieut: Colonels, majors, and those ranking as field officers. Another eighth went to the Commander-in-chief and the two generals within whose command Petrie was operating, though, of course, they were not themselves in the field at all.

Van Spall afterwards complained that a valuable slice of his private estate was wrongly sequestered by the Prize Court agents, a dispute that was long continued by his heirs.

A cartel for the exchange of prisoners of war and the repatriation of covenanted Dutch administrative officials was arranged for November, 1797, when the Danish ship "Helsingoer," with released enemy personnel from Bombay also called at Cochin. But many elected to take the oath of allegiance and remain on in the settlement, without obligation on the part of the British Government for their subsistence; for it was not then known how much longer they, the British, would retain possession of the place—a position only stabilized by the Treaty of Paris, 1814. Under this convention the British were to keep Cochin in exchange for territorial concessions made elsewhere, and Banca, in the Eastern Archipelago, was the quid pro quo. The exiled Government of Holland was not restored to its own country until a counter revolution of the citizens of Amsterdam, who rose in a

* The 77th Foot (Middlesex Regt.) went home in 1807 and thence to the Peninsular War.

body on the 15th November 1813, and paved the way for the return of the Prince of Orange, as Willem, Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands. So ended, on the 28th November of that year the short lived Batavian Republic.

Incidental to Petrie's siege was a meeting convened by the vicar of Our Lady of Hope, Vypeen, to discuss the raising of funds for the repair of damage to that church by stray shot from the walls of Cochin. The British mortar battery was among the trees to the right rear of the church, and except for heavy clouds of smoke would be invisible to the Dutch gunners. Petrie's heavy breaching guns were on the very foreshore, a little more to the right still, as looking from Vypeen towards the city. The six 18-pounders were some 800 yards away at the west tip of the island, on a site believed to have been since washed away by the sea. The only guns on the same side of the river as Cochin fort itself was a battery of four 12-pounders sited on the sand dunes, about 800 yards south of the Holland bastion, intended to cut off supplies from the Velli direction and to contain the Dutch within their own walls.

The uniform for British troops was the thwartwise cocked hat, hair powdered and knotted in a queue, red coat without buttons and cut away over the flanks into short tails, waistcoat, white breeches and long knee gaiters. Heavy cross belts supported side arms and cartouche box. Captain Gold's "Oriental Drawings" depicts the exact uniform of the Bombay Grenadiers in 1795. Coat and waistcoat of the same cut as for British infantry, but tight fitting cotton drawers half way up the thighs, and bound with braid of the same colour as the regimental facings. Bare legs and sandals completed the nether man. The turban was one of cloth stretched over a bucket like frame, worn as if with the rim uppermost, but being grenadiers there was a conglomeration of fur and feathers on the top of it.

De Meuron's corps (which was at the taking of Seringapatam) remained in the British service until 1816, when it was disbanded. The British Resident at Cochin exerted himself on behalf of one wayward youngster who had deserted from it. His name was Johannes Hindrich Constantine Doriot, but he was not a Frenchman though born at Montbullard, for his father was an officer in the Swiss regiment

in the service of France, whilst his mother was a lady of the eminent German house of Koningsek. Doriot had been sent to India in the hope that de Meuron could reform him, but he had been 'debauched' by a Frenchman in the service of Travancore and enticed to run away to that country. More than once the Resident had demanded his return from the Rajah, but the reply ever was that he was not to be found, though Doriot was known to be at Trivandrum.

Men of the Wurtemberg Regiment were readily transferred to the Hon. Company's military establishment but wastage soon made the unit inefficient, and such men as wished were allowed to join the Hon'ble Company's European corps.

TRANSITION.

Agreeable to the Law of Nations, individuals of the late Dutch naval, military and civil services were treated as prisoners of war, entitled to draw the pay of their rank or appointment without obligation to perform duties in return. In the case of the senior officials the basic salary was so much below their customary emoluments that Jan Lambertus Van Spall, Arnoldus Lunel, Councillor Bos and others refused to accept the amounts offered them or continue in their civil posts; but when the British Commissioner, John Hutchinson, took over in supercession of the temporary military control and called upon Dutch government employees to produce their formal contracts, few could do so—most of them had been engaged locally on a basis whereby the Governor could hire or fire at will. On its then being announced that the uncovenanted personnel were not to be considered as prisoners of war for purposes of pay, there was a general application for reinstatement and permission to resume duty. The first appointment by Hutchinson was that of Johan Adam Cellarius to the offices of revenue collector (Fiscal) and the chief of police (Politie), though it was feared that should the Dutch return to Cochin, he would suffer for it. Francis Wrede and Johan Scheidz also accepted office, with which gentlemen and certain of the subordinate servants of the Dutch Company, supplemented by nominees from the burgher community, all of whom were

N. B. The uniform of the Bombay Europeans of 1796 is depicted in 'Crown and Company' by Major Arthur Mainwaring. It is much as described for the Royal troops except that a tall beaver hat with curled side brims was the headgear of the Company's Europeans.

required to take a qualified oath of allegiance, the main departments of government were thus set going.—

Fiscal and Politie.
Civil & Criminal Courts of Justice.
Matrimonial College.
College of Scavengers (conservancy).
College of Guardianship of Orphans & Minors.
College of Indigent Orphans & the Protestant Church.

Those who had been in the service of the V. O. C. and who took the new oath were.—

Jan Pauswijn, an invalid ensign.	Carel Julius Sprenger.
Hendrik Jacob Verduijn, surgeon.	Johan Andreas Daimichen.
Jonas Van der Poel.	Johan Caspar Kautz, writer.
Cornelius Van Spall *	Johan Hendrik Vogt.
Johan de Lange, master carpenter.	Louis Verkruijsen, bailiff & gaoler.
Joachim Marques de Quieros.	

Burghers who took the oath —

Johannes Traats.	Mathias Jacob van Leuwen.
August Fredrik Willem Meyer.	Kornelis Dirk Swabe.
Philip Kuhn.	Abraham Martinsz.
Hendrik Dirksz.	Johan Hendriks.
Charles Groenroode.	Louis Christian Koster.
Hendrik Fredrik Stettnitz.	Abraham Gerritt Vandersloot.
Willem Groenroode.	Charles Bartholomew Groenroode.
Johannes Martinsz.	Philip Philips.
Johan Hendrik Berger.	Hendrik Sluijter.
Lambert Sebastian Nasse.	Pieter Dan Van Wullen.
Johan Hendrik Hardegen.	Andreas Gerritt Vandersloot.

On the medical side old Daniel Van der Sloot, who joined the service in 1751 but would not claim status as a prisoner of war lest he might be sent away from Cochin, gladly consented to continue his job at the hospital, then located in that rectangle bounded by the narrow thoroughfares leading down to the beach by the Club wall compound and Cemetery Lane. Previously it had been in Der Goist Huis Straat (Hospital Street), on the site of the present convent. So, too, the Ecclesiastical Department agreed to continue spiritual ministrations, which in fact they had never ceased to do.

Business had to be conducted in the Dutch taal and subsequently translated into English, which, because of the lack of qualified interpreters, was of a very 'broken' variety. Thirty-five years later there were but Twenty-four people remaining in Cochin who could converse

* Described elsewhere as Cornelius Van Spall van Utrecht, and probably a brother of Jan Lambertus Van Spall.

in Dutch, so long had it been the custom for children to be committed to the care of domestic slaves, so that if they heard their mother tongue at all, it was only in the most debased form.

Be that as it may, when Richard Parsons, a British soldier married to a local girl, put up in English a petition on a personal matter, he was told to go away and resubmit it in the official language of the Court. Nor did things always run smoothly with these scratch bureaucratic teams. Jan Pauswijn, the invalid ensign (a person of independent means and one who rode in on horseback from Velli every day) for one, gave so much trouble that he was dismissed from the committee of the College of Guardianship of Orphans and fined one hundred rupees for contumacy and undutiful conduct. Mr. Trueyens, too, was dismissed for taking bribes. De Quieros, too, complained at length that in complying with his duty for the benefit of the public service, as secretary of the Civil & Criminal Courts, Public Notary and Auctioneer, he had been obliged for the two and a half months since the British came to write day and night without intermission, as much as in Dutch times for six months, through which he had lost half clearness of his sight. His clerk too, Mr. Van der Poel, suffering from dropsy, had been so spasmodic in his attendance that unless he, De Quieros, was given more help, he would resign. As an auctioneer he seems to have been kept pretty busy, and the fact that he acquired sufficient property for Breede Street to be renamed De Quieros Street is not without significance. Jan Adam Cellarius ('tax-gatherer and an honest man') who from the rank of corporal had been transferred to a civil appointment in the Dutch service, had worked with Hutchinson a few months only when he was stricken with the palsy, whereafter his one idea was to be sent back to Ulm, his home in Germany, where his two younger children were being educated. Maria Helena, his eldest, alone being with him, when he gradually sank and died at Cochin, in 1796. Nor did Juffrouw Helena Cellarius leave the town at his death, as in 1801, at St. Francis Church, she married 'Der Heer Kapitan Hugh Massey Fitzgerald'. In the same year departed this life Johan Andreas Scheidz, a senior merchant of the Dutch Company, who had agreed to serve under Hutchinson as second member of the Court of Appeal.

The military force at Cochin in 1799 was a small one composed of Bombay sepoys only. Commanding the station was Lieut. Colonel Dunlop. Lieut. Archibald Campbell was his Town Major and Lieut. Broomball, 'The Keeper of the Fire-engines.' Two surgeons, James Short M. D. and John Twiss, completed the headquarters staff. Though fear of a full scale invasion of India by the French was removed for the time being by the Battle of the Nile (1798), the garrison was kept on the qui vive by recurrent rumours of intended raids upon the Malabar and Travancore coasts by the French from the island of Mauritius, with whom there is little doubt that the strong Francophile party among the Dutch of Cochin were in communication. These people had even endeavoured to intrigue with the Rajah of Cochin, to whom they had presented a portrait of Napoleon, the First Consul. But as news of British successes came through the Commissioner caused it to be disseminated throughout the settlement and adjacent Indian States. Thus each step in the disintegration of Dutch naval power was quickly made known to Jan Lambertus Van Spall and his jacobin friends. The first blow to be intimated was that the Netherlands fleet at Batavia had been eliminated. Then arrived intelligence of the defeat of Admiral Lucaasz in Saldanha Bay. Admiral Duncan's victory off the coast of Holland (1797) was next; and finally, the surrender of the Dutch fleet in the Texel to Admiral Mitchell on his taking of the Helder. So, too, Copenhagen, Cadiz and Trafalgar brought it home to the Dutch republicans at Cochin that no relief from other sources was to be hoped for. The Peace of Amiens in 1802 had brought a fleeting expectation of rendition of the settlement, but the renewal of the war in 1803 soon extinguished it.

As Hutchinson found his substantive position as Chief of the English factory at Anjengo interfered with by the additional charge of Cochin, he was relieved in 1799 by John Hope Oliphant, appointed because of his knowledge of the Dutch tongue. The induction of the new commissioner was not without ceremony. Two members of the council conducted him from his residence to the city hall, where he was met on the threshold by two more who preceded him into the council chamber and formally introduced him to the remaining members assembled there. He then took his seat at the head of the table. From the very outset Oliphant was impeded by the republican party,

who let fall dark hints that the French, when victorious, would hold to strict account any Dutchmen who had assisted their enemies. Under such pressure Johan Groenrood and Joachim Marques de Quieros did their best to rid themselves of their offices, whereas Oliphant insisted that it was in the interests of their own compatriots that they should remain. Mynheer Woolf, another prominent citizen, also declined to sit on the Court of Justitie, but for him a substitute was found in Jan Gerrard La Personne. Oliphant wrote to Bombay that "he was pained to observe the ungrateful attitude of Messrs. Van Spall and Lunel in return for the very favourable treatment they had received," and he suggested that their pay and allowances should be withheld unless they took their part in the civil governance of the city. Van Spall too, had levelled insinuations against British officers of despoiling the Orphan Home—a charge so much resented that the Bombay Government pressed him to explain exactly what he meant by it. This institution, as a matter of fact, was closed down in 1812 largely by reason of a defalcating secretary, one Jean Gerrard Van der Slood. The fortunes of both Van Spall and Lunel were locked up in Cochin and the outlying settlements. Moreover they had an eye to the ultimate result of the gigantic struggle proceeding in Europe, which seemed to them, at least, must end in the triumph of Bonaparte. In the end Van Spall was removed to Bombay and Lunel suffered a period of confinement for 'Contumacy.'

One senior prisoner of war, very weary of the contest, was Major Decan (a Belgian) who had commanded the garrison of Cochin when that fortress capitulated. On the 12th of February, 1797, he begs permission to remain at Cochin six months longer rather than be repatriated by the next cartel ship. "My business," he says, "increases in proportion as I wish to end it." His health also was poor, and his physician had advised him to take a course of the hot baths at Veedalves, fifteen miles from Cochin. He was accorded an extension of four months only, but at the end of that period he submits another petition and to an entirely different authority. It is to the vicar of Vypeen requesting the same dispensation for himself as had been granted to his predecessor, Major Medeler, that he might be buried within the altar rails of the church. De Can died * at Cochin shortly afterwards, but it would appear that his last wish was not

* Correctly spelt the name is De Can, but British records run it into one—Decan..

gratified, for whilst the grave of Major Medeler is still in tolerably good order, there is nothing to indicate the spot where the other lies.

In a round up of French subjects on the West Coast of India, the bag was neither large nor consequential, a mere trio in fact, each of whom was declared harmless—Philip Arnaut, a shipwrecked sailor who had earned a little money making sails at Alleppey; Jacques Valois of Pondicherry, a hairdresser who made wigs for the amusement of the Rajah of Cochin, but never received the small stipend promised him; and Alexis Bandit, an ex-soldier, who had fought under one of Hyder Ali's generals. Yet another, Monsieur Esteve, was established at Cochin as an innkeeper—"And was very useful in his present situation." But when he became involved with the Customs manager in an affair of 100 cases of gin landed at Alleppey from the brig "Betsy" which was known to have come from enemy sources, it brought him over prominently to official notice. This "Betsy" incident was an instance of illegal trading by Augustus Meyer, a burgher of Cochin, in collaboration with a Doctor Seytris, long resident at Alleppey, and 'body surgeon' to the Dewan of Travancore. Louis Beaugeard, a Frenchman sailing under Tuscan colours and naturalisation papers granted him by the Genoese consul at the Mauritius, was in command of the vessel for which clearance was taken at Cochin for Colombo whereas the real destination was Mauritius. There Beaugeard discharged his lading of rice, returning to Alleppey with a general cargo which through underground channels found its way to adjacent territory. Meyer lied wholeheartedly to convince the British authorities that he had neither lot nor parcel in this clandestine business. His protestations however, were not altogether believed, and Oliphant was enjoined to keep an eye upon him and Esteve also who, it was believed, had been the intermediary. Whereafter no Dutchman was permitted to trade either with his own countrymen or with Frenchmen in Travancore State. Moreover passports were now declared necessary for any journey of more than three miles beyond Cochin. Esteve lived for many years in the town, and acquired some property, but the last mention of the name, possibly a granddaughter, was as a pensioner of the Friend in Need Society.

Madame Mariana Tessier, widow of M. Chalamonde and wife of Captain Tessier, French Infantry, did not sail with her husband when

he was evacuated from Mahe (on the capture of that place in 1793) but retired to Cochin, where she owned a house which later she rented to Dr. Carver, the surgeon of the British hospital, who had experienced much difficulty in obtaining billets for himself. Mr. Lunel and others, who had been applied to and had empty houses, would not let them for any consideration whatever. Indeed—"They had been most unaccommodating to the gentlemen of the garrison." When the Doctor applied himself to digging up the garden of the bungalow, he uncovered a cache of 3 lakhs of musket flints. Madame immediately claimed these on behalf of her husband who had, she said, paid Rs. 3,000 for them. They had obviously been buried to escape the claws of the Prize Court Agents, when gathering the spoils of war for the benefit of the captors everything that could possibly be brought within the classification of Dutch Government property. Even the impounded goods of suitors in the law courts had been siezed because they happened to be stored in Governor Van Spall's cellars. A knotty 'prize' problem that took much straightening out was the case of Lieut: Brandt, Royal Netherlands Navy (a blend of port officer and trader) who affirmed that a considerable quantity of stores founded in the Dutch naval yard were his own private materials, therefore not liable to seizure by the Prize Court; and as such bodies, in the old days, would rather make a mistake than risk losing a trifle, Brandt had no easy job to prove his title.

In the light of the Von Ochssee incident the British Commissioner may appear as an autocrat. Perhaps he was and had to be, for the officers of the late Dutch garrison living in the town on parole were a contumacious lot; and of them all, Von Ochssee of the Wurtemberg Regiment was the most factious. He was indebted for 300 lbs. of beeswax candles supplied by the Armenian shopkeeper, d'Issa, who by his persistent demands for payment at Von Ochssee's door, so wore out the soldier's patience that he was run down the steps of the house with more violence than ceremony. On d'Issa's lodging a complaint with the Magistrate, a verbal message was sent by peon to the assailant that he should appear in court forthwith. But the Wurtemberger refused to come, returning for answer that "Mr. Oliphant might send for his own servants in that manner, but that he, Von Ochssee, was an officer." Whereupon a military escort was sent to enforce obedience

to the court's summons; and so the refractory gentleman was marched through the streets of the bazaar into the magisterial presence, where he was called to three times, "in the most haughty manner—'Come here, Sir!'" The reply must have been equally lofty, for the upshot was committal to the common jail. That summary treatment of this nature should be meted out to one of their number, raised the indignation of Von Ochssee's brother officers to white heat; and without loss of time they sent remonstrances to the Governor of Bombay. Even so he was in custody for four weeks, and then released only on his bond to pay the debt within a stipulated period. From this source is obtained a list of some, at least, of the military officers in the Dutch service at the time Cochin was surrendered to the British. They are:—

Major De Can.
Captains Elstendorp, Bamelle, Bischoof,
Dallinger, Meyer and Daudeen.
Lieutenants Von Ochssee, Muller, Waller
and Awager.

In a recontre between Jacob Wendilin Van der Sloot and his brother with Lieut: George Cauty of Lieut: Colonel Malcolm Grant's battalion (2-8th Bo: N. I.) Cauty paid dearly. Expressions used by the Van der Sloots to a servant of the officer led to personal assault upon Jacob, an aggravation of which offence was the deliberate setting fire to a bungalow from which the complainants were removing the materials. Hearing of the case had come before the magistrate at Cochin, who was dealing with it in a regular and temperate manner; but disregarding the court's order, Cauty with the backing of his commanding officer endeavoured to confine the Dutchmen within their house by placing a guard around it. This brought things to the pass that the case was transferred to Bombay, where the Court awarded the Dutchmen 4,000 rupees compensation and sentenced the officer to a term of imprisonment, a punishment further enhanced by his dismissal from the Army by sentence of court martial. A curious sequel was that Cauty along with another young officer in gaol at the same time jointly presented to the marshal of the prison a piece of plate to mark their appreciation of his 'uncommon humanity' towards them whilst in his custody.

British authorities on the Malabar Coast having received warning in 1803 of a possible French descent on the coast, the garrison engineer of Cochin came into conflict with Arnoldus Lunel, "a restless and troublesome individual," by using materials from his hedge to fill in a ditch. Out of this action arose the further mischance that Mr. Phineas Grant, out shooting small birds, trespassed unwittingly over the frontiers of Mynheer Lunel's domestic stronghold, surprising his three daughters in their bath, "and Mama just about to enter." To most of the jungvrouw of Cochin, under normal circumstances, there was nothing repellant about an eligible young Englishman if presenting himself at the right time and place.

A military wedding at St. Francis' church, concerning two corps that had been much together and lay at Cochin at the same time, was that of Lieut: Alexander Lawrence, H. M. 77th Foot, and Miss Knox, sister of Tomkins Knox of the Bombay Grenadier Battalion. The latter were of the Knox family of Prehen, a name intimately associated with the siege of Derry. Irishmen know the story of Larry McNaughton, the young gamester who, when visiting at her father's house, tried to trick a Miss Knox of that day into a form of marriage by repeating in simulated raillery the marriage service. But the young lady was very careful after each response to add—"And if my father wills it." Thus frustrated, McNaughton, one day, held up the family coach, and shot dead the father, the daughter, and a servant. For this crime he was hanged at Londonderry, all so long ago as 1761; but an Irishman's memory, too, is a long one. Still more noteworthy is the fact that this officer of the 77th Foot was the 'Father of the Lawrences'—Sir George, Sir Henry (He who at Lucknow 'Tried to do his duty') and John, first Lord Lawrence, Governor-General of India 1864-69.

An insight into an officer's literary beguilements is to be had from the library list of Captain Falconar (1816), who was also of the Bombay Grenadiers. Quite enough, perhaps, for an Infantry soldier to carry about with him.—

Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.
The Plays of Shakespeare.
Traveller's Guide through Scotland.
Literary Miscellany and Forget me not.
Map of India, Bible and Prayer book.
The Province of money.

N. B. Dutch baths were chunam lined tanks sunk in the garden, roofed overhead and with low walls, with a covered approach from the rear of the house. A good example is that of the Vernede's bungalow at Pallipor.

Many a young son of Mars at that time would have no affinity with the realm of letters at all, and if questioned on the subject might have replied in the words of one of his own kind:—

My only books were woman's looks
And folly's all they taught me.

So, too, one wonders at Falconar's study of money, remembering that of his profession it is written:—

"When a soldier's coin is spent,
He has but to fight for more.
He pays neither tax nor rent.
He's but where he was before.
If he conquer! If he fall!
Fortune de la guerre—That's all."

As an heirloom from the Dutch, Oliphant succeeded to a substantial and commodious gaol in which, so he reported to headquarters, he could find 'apartments' for any number. His open invitation was accepted from the Calicut side, who sent him a batch of criminals which included one Cherya Ram Corpoo, a notorious character whom he was advised to have carefully watched. This warning and a guard of British and sepoy troops mounted over the prison, notwithstanding, Corpoo and two companions rid themselves of 8 lb. leg irons, burrowed through a five foot wall, tunnelled several yards underground, and made a complete escape over the seaward ramparts whereon no sentries were posted. From thence a short swim through the moat, out on to the sands, and left turn for the six mile long deserted beach and—Freedom. This was a time in Malabar when old firearms and weapons were being called in and used, not for conversion into ploughshares but to be forged into manacles and fetters. A public gallows on a piece of open ground towards the seaward end of de Kalver Straat, was a permanent part of the Law's equipment at Cochin. During the early part of the British occupation it was to have been brought into use for a case in which one Karemben, paramour of a married woman, murdered Barrido, her husband. Evidence not coming in quickly enough for the Court, composed of Cochin burghers, they gave orders for more rigorous methods to be used. On hearing of which, Hutchinson, British Commissioner at the time, fearing that torture would be resorted to, hastened expressly to forbid it, knowing that as the Dutch law then stood and was administered, the rack and other instruments of cruciation were legal means of extracting confessions. Karemben

was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged, and his head was to be severed with a hatchet and the body buried beneath the gallows, the two accessories to witness the execution, and both to be whipped before banishment from the country. But the murderer himself escaped just before the sentence was due to be put into effect.

The administration of Malabar and Cochin had hitherto come within the Presidency of Bombay, but late in 1801, Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, was convinced, so he said, that the province required the application of more extensive knowledge and more practical experience than was possessed by the gentlemen entrusted with authority (The Commission for the affairs of Malabar). Wherefore the Bombay officials, of whom Oliphant was one, were replaced by those of Madras. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, was highly indignant at this slight upon his officers, as he regarded it; but for good or ill, the transfer was confirmed and never subsequently reversed.

THE MACAULAY INCIDENT.

1808—1809.

An insurrection of the Nairs in 1808—1809 is often referred to as 'The Macaulay Incident,' though there had been disaffection in 1804 when that same officer was the avowed object of assassination by the Nair sepoy battalions in the service of Travancore State. On the first occasion, the Carnatic Brigade, also in the pay of the State but recruited from outside it, was stationed at Alleppey under the command of Colonel Daly, a military adventurer. At the commencement of the trouble this corps was so ineffectively armed that it was ordered to Cochin to be re-equipped, after which, with a stiffening of British troops, a return march was made upon Alleppey. The ring-leaders of the contumacious Nairs were seized without bloodshed and lodged in Cochin goal, when the situation for the time being was restored. Of Colonel Daly's antecedents little is known but Colonel Macaulay's despatches make this mention of the Carnatic Brigade.—"Led as it is by a steady British subject who had formerly served his King and Country with the approbation of his superior officers would have laudably aimed at emulating the conduct of British troops." From this it would appear that Daly had been an N. C. O. in the King's or the Hon'ble East India Company's service, from whence he

had offered his sword to the Travancore Sirkar. His associations with Cochin town were close. His daughter Eliza was married in St. Francis Church to Captain Alexander Macleod of the Madras Army—"With Colonel Daly's consent," and a daughter, Catherine, aged 13, is buried in the old cemetery. Henry, the eldest son, a lieutenant in the Madras Army, married, in 1846, Miss S. Paul—"daughter of the late R. Paul of H. M.'s 84th Regiment. The Colonel died in 1836, aged 78, at, it is believed, Trivandrum. His will shows him to have been possessed of a very moderate fortune to pass on to his children.—

Henry Wolfe Daly	...	Rs. 12,000/-
Eliza Sarah (Mrs. Watson) and two children, Flora & Eliza Macleod	...	" 12,000/-
Charles Michael Daly	...	" 3,500/-
Mrs. Marriott (daughter)	...	" 3,500/-
Mrs. Rae & Mrs. Ross (daughters)	...	" 12,000/-

Affairs in Travancore had hardly quietened down when H. M. S. "La Concord" arrived off Alleppey with intelligence of another proposed descent upon the Travancore Coast by a force of regular troops and 2,000 conscripts from the French Islands. Said the commander of the frigate, such an operation was not to be expected whilst the Royal Navy was anywhere about but in their present state of rancour and hatred, the French were capable of attempting any enterprise, no matter how risky. Cochin itself had come to be regarded as indefensible, there being no troops available to protect it. Hence, if it were attacked, it was to be completely evacuated; and this possible occupation of the place by an enemy would be the reason, or perhaps the excuse, for blowing up the fortifications and public buildings in 1804 or so.

Colonel Macaulay, whose rule as Resident was absolute, is said to have lived when at Cochin, in what was later the cutcherry,* since rebuilt but still within the square wherein the Government, port and municipal buildings are now contained. It would be here, a little after midnight of the 23rd December, 1808 that he was attacked by about one thousand Nairs directed by the Rajah of Cochin's minister and by Palpanah Pillay, confidential friend of the Dewan of Travancore. To prevent Macaulay's escape the Residency was surrounded. His military guard of 25 sepoy was killed or disarmed; and

before breaking down the doors, every window and opening was brought under musketry fire. The mob then burst into the house to kill the British Resident. Chests and cupboards were broken into, and the whole place pillaged of its contents; but Macaulay, in his own words, was providentially and somewhat miraculously saved. Cherished by the de Mello family of Cochin is a collection of letters testifying to their ancestor's share in preserving the Resident's life. His faithful clerk, it seems, in some manner not divulged, got his master through the hostile mob and hid him in the ruins of the old cathedral close by. As there are several subterranean passages radiating out towards this ancient site, may be it was by that means the escape was made by one who happened to know of their existence. From his first hide-out, probably via Jew Town, he was smuggled on board a native craft, and so out to sea. Most opportunely H. M. S. "Piemontaise" then hove in sight and took Macaulay off; but it is strange that nothing is mentioned in this warship's log of the Resident of Travancore and Cochin being in the ship, though from it he sent his report of the rising and directed the subsequent military operations to suppress it. Beginning with January the fifth, 1809, events as seen from the decks of the frigate and as blended with the routine of one of His Majesty's ships of war were somewhat as follows.—

It being Sunday, the Articles of War were read to the crew, Divine Service being dispensed with that day; but in any case the code of the 'cat' rather than Christian expostulation was the rule in H. M. S. "Piemontaise". In the evening she anchored in Cochin roads, H. M. S. "Drake" also standing in. For fourteen days there is no reference to happenings ashore but a land account tells us that the presence of the man of war scared the insurgents away for a time. On the 16th of January the sound of the lash is heard on the bare backs of John Tayler, purser's steward, and eight seamen with a varying number of stripes for various offences. Three soldiers of the 56th Regt. (serving as marines) also figure in the crimes sheet.—Edward Jones for insubordination, 36 lashes; Thomas Holmes for disrespect, 12; James Barwick, for striking the acting corporal of marines, 48. On the 18th, cruising was resumed, with the H. E. I. C.'s schooner "lively" in company. A pattimar from Alleppey, bound for

* As the Dutch Government House was demolished in 1806, it would not have been available for the Resident.

Bombay, was met with and boarded. Her intelligence must have been of an urgent character, for the entry in the log is.—

"Lay to for the "Lively" schooner. Took her in tow. Made all sail for Alleppey. Put a Lieutenant, the Marine Officer, 30 seamen and 12 marines on board "Lively". Anchored and opened fire on the shore. Boats employed boarding vessels in the roads."

- 2-5 p. m. Fire opened on schooner from shore from three different batteries.
- 3-0 p. m. Observed several vessels on fire.
- 4-0 p. m. Schooner weighed and stood to southward to a brig and a large botelha on fire, and the schooner grounded and signalled for assistance.
- 5-0 p. m. The boats being away from Alleppey, bore up and beat to quarters and fired larboard and starboard broadsides.
- 6-0 p. m. Came to in four fathoms $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 miles off shore. Sent launch to aid "Lively", got her off and having destroyed 8 botelhas and a brig. Wounded Henry Burdon, Captain of Marines, and a native in the Hon. Company's service.
- 10-0 p. m. In all boats.

On the 19th, "La Piemontaise" made all sail for Quilon, where the situation had been got under control by the commander of the British troops on shore. Hence salutes instead of broadsides were exchanged. On the 23rd fire was opened on a party of Travancoreans on the beach at Anjengo. Later that same day the frigate arrived back at Cochin.—

- 24th p. m. At 2 sent the launch, barge, spare cutter and jolly boat under command of Lieut: Lewis with Lieutenants Turner, Walker, and the Marine Officer, and an officer of the 56th Regt. to the "Lively" schooner to attack the palace at Mattancherry.
- 5-15 p. m. Observe the schooner cannonading, and since which a brisk cannonading has been kept up on both sides.
- 6-0 p. m. Arrived three pattimars with one company of the 17th Regt. N. I.
- 7-30 p. m. Saw a large fire on shore and the cannonading ceased.
- 9-30 p. m. The boats returned under the command of Lieut: Lewis with the report of the loss of the "Lively" schooner. She having grounded almost under the batteries of the enemy. Every effort to get her off having proved ineffectual and having the whole ebb tide before them, and after a consultation of the officers it was found necessary to set fire to her, which was done at $\frac{3}{4}$ past 7.
- 25th— Saw several pattimars putting out to sea which the schooner had released at Mattancherry.

N. B. Cochin Jews point to the crystal candlebra in the synagogue as gifts of Colonel Macaulay for protection given him during the 1908/9 rebellion; but a visitor of 1807 refers to the 16 massive chandeliers then there.

At Daylight—Armed the launch and sent Lieut: Rooney to row guard in the entrance of the harbour.

- P. M. Sent one of the bow chasers on shore for the use of the army with 30 roundshot; 3 cannister and 10 rounds powder.
- 26th P. M. Rowing guard exchanged crew.
2 companies of 18th N. I. in pattimars from Calicut.
- P. M. 27th Enemy fired several shot on the fort. Returned by our 12-pounders on shore.
- 28th—
3-30 a. m. Cannonading and musketry on shore.*
- 8-30 a. m. Put springs out and fired several of our main deck guns at a battery on the north side of the river, where the enemy had opened two guns on the town.
- 10-0 a. m. Finding our shot would only just reach, ceased firing.
- 5-40 p. m. Departed this life Thomas Waight, seaman, wounded on 24th at attack on Mattancherry. Sent the body of the deceased on shore.
- 31st Jan. H. M. S. "Physche" arrived with troops, also the ships "Lord Nelson" and "Parl St. Vincent", armed Indiamen of the Hon'ble Company.

1st February was just a routine day, but the 2nd was another Day of Wrath.—George Williams, for drunkenness on duty, 60 lashes David Jenkins, drunkenness, insolence and theft, 76. William Watkins, uncleanness at musters, 18.

For yet another week the frigate was standing by at Cochin. On the 10th of February, 1809, she left for the southward, and the Macaulay incident, as far as H. M. S. "La Piemontaise" is concerned, was closed.

On the land side, during the lull following the arrival of "La Piemontaise," troops had been rushed down from Cannanore, of which one company of H. Ms. 12th Foot, under Lieut: Thomas Thompson, and 6 companies of the 1—17th Madras N. I., under Major Hewitt, were dropped at Cochin, whilst a larger number was carried on to Quilon where the disorders had assumed serious proportions. When therefore the rebels renewed their assaults on Cochin (19th Jan. 1809), they were everywhere repulsed, losing 300 men and their two guns, the which were garlanded with the scarlet shoe flower, or Hibiscus, the blossom sacred to Shiva, God of Blood. Heavy fighting took

* It was the boats of "La Piemontaise" trying to cut out a brig, but shore musketry and great guns prevented it. David Alford, a seaman, was wounded.

place at the Calvetti bridge. There were then no houses along Calvetti lane, and the bridge (which was destroyed at this time) took off from a narrow spit of land and, at the same level crossed about 150 feet of water. At this spot, as the regimental history of the 12th Foot (1 Bn. Suffolk Regt.) states, the whole weight of the enemy attack was sustained by fifty men of the regiment for the short time during which the native corps was somewhat unsteady. Be that as it may, the 1st—17th lost Captain Read, mortally wounded, 10 sepoys killed and 45 wounded. In the 12th the casualties were 1 man killed and 14 wounded. For this action the battle honour 'COCHIN' was accorded the Madras unit, which however was declined when that battalion became the 93rd Burmah Infantry. The 12th Foot embarked at Cannanore in native craft, four of which, having three-and-a-half companies in them, arrived at Quilon without incident. Of others, dispersed by a gale of wind, some were wrecked, fortunately without loss of life. In one boat, sad to relate, the soldiers were preserved afloat only to meet a terrible fate on land. This craft contained Sergeant-Major Tilsey and thirty-three rank and file who, when they arrived off Alleppey, were met by canoes; and believing they had fetched their destination, transferred unsuspectingly into them, two or three men at a time, and so were ferried to the beach. Only when they were ashore and among the palm trees were they undeceived and overpowered in detail. Wrists were broken by an iron bar and in that state tied behind each hapless soldier's back. All were cast into dungeons, where they lay several days without food; and when scarcely able to stand they were conducted to high ground near the sea and precipitated into a watery grave. Sergeant-Major Tilsey was reserved until the last, and as he witnessed his comrades in arms successively hurled into the waves, he struggled to release himself, tore pieces of flesh from his shoulders with his teeth, and exclaimed—"Let me die like a soldier!" But the barbarians derided him, and by and by put an end to his torments in the same way as the others. A native youth, who had accompanied this detail of the regiment as cook, was a spectator of the scene and was threatened with the same fate; but effecting his escape, he thus made known the doom that had overtaken his party. One could hardly accept this uncorroborated testimony in all its horrible minutiae. Yet another similar incident

N. B. "La Piemontaise" as a commerce raider under a dashing commander, had become known as the Scourge of the Seas. She was captured in March, 1808, in the Arabian Sea by H. M. S. "San Fiorenzo", Captain Hardinge, who died in the hour of victory. On the marble monument to him in Bombay cathedral "La Piemontaise" is depicted by the sculptor as a noble vessel. Her figure-head was a full length female form rising as if out of the waves themselves. She made Bombay under jury rig, and on arrival there was towed into the harbour by the boats of every British warship then in port.

in this campaign involved a party comprising Surgeon Hume and twelve men of H. Ms. 12th Foot, escorting Mrs. Chalmers, the sick wife of the officer commanding at Quilon, by the backwater to Cochin. It appears their canoes were pulled into the bank for the evening meal to be prepared; and whilst this was in progress the soldiers, whose arms had been left unguarded, were surprised and pinioned. All were massacred and, whether dead or alive, were sewn up in sacks and thrown into the river. The lady alone was spared to proceed on her journey to Cochin, where she had a horrifying tale to tell. Another pattimar, much battered by the storm, carrying Adjutant Hayes and Lieut: George Blanchard Gray with nearly a company of the same regiment, approached near the shore a few miles from Quilon, and the officers were discussing the propriety of landing, when a volley from the land made them aware of the hostility of the natives. They therefore decided to turn back for Cochin, having bound tents around their crazy craft to prevent it splitting in two, in which state they reached safety just before it disintegrated.

Throughout these disturbances it was not thought expedient to call out the Dutch militia of Cochin, nor do the burghers appear to have been molested by the mob. Somewhere it is stated that the Travancore forces were commanded by a Captain Hoogwerf of Dutch extraction whose family afterwards settled in Trichinopoly, but the name does not appear in any of the Cochin records so far perused. Like the Fallons of Gwalior, the Hoogwerfs took military service with Indian princes, one at least with the Gaewar of Baroda.

As a reward for his attachment to British interests, Macaulay's clerk, de Mello (he does not appear to have been a domestic, as sometimes stated), was provided with a post in Cochin State, where he was for a time in the Commerce Department under Jean Scipion Vernede, ultimately succeeding Henry White as Second Judge at Trichur. When he died, his widow was awarded a pension and her son given a good start in life in the Public Works Department. This de Mello the younger was a protege of Arthur Forbes Sealy, by whom he was presented with a compass engraved with the donor's name and the abbreviation 'D. D.' (Domus Didit=Has presented as a gift).

Colonel Colin Macaulay received the sum of 11,000 pagodas (equivalent to £4,500) for the loss of his personal belongings in the sack of the residency. He was appointed Resident of Cochin and Travancore in January 1800, and resigned that post in 1811. He is often referred to by writers as the author of his own troubles, and one who by his unskilful handling of affairs set the country in a ferment; but after his recall, the Court of Directors, with all the facts at their disposal, reinstated him, satisfied that he had conducted himself with great integrity in difficult circumstances and a variety of trying conjunctions. All the same the Court added a qualification as to his want of a conciliatory temper. His disposition may have been affected by his imprisonment under Tipu Sultan, at Seringapatam at the same time as Sir David Baird, of whom his old mother said, whom told that her son had been taken prisoner and that the captives had been led away manacled two and two—'God help the man who's chained to my Davie!'

N. B. On Dr. Buchanan's second stay in Cochin, January 1803, he stayed with Colonel Macaulay and addresses his letters from Cochin. It is presumed therefore that the Resident was living at that place and not at Balghatty.

Chapter II.

OLD COCHIN.

Cochin—That Cockayne—That Land of
Idleness where endlong Days of Ease
follow unfailing Nights of Gladness.

(Our city walls never merited grandiose word-picturing. Had here been anything standing of the twenty or so Portuguese bastions something more might be said, but the entire circumvallation has sunk into the earth. Very little, too, now remains of the Dutch fortress, designed on the Vauban principle, 'with walls high and strong and moat wide and deep.' Charts of 1867 show that on leaving the Fort rea for Velli or Commodore's Gardens, by either Elphinstone Road or Beach Road, one passed through gaps in the overturned rampart walls. There were also blobs of the moat which followed the curvature of the old chain of landward defences and in which sizeable fish of the Gobie species had their habitat. Excluding Commodore's Bulwerke there were seven bastions in all, each named after a province of the Netherlands; and of these we will make a circuit, commencing with the Elderland, named after that province of Holland which is a Dutchman's earthly paradise. It had embrasures for 11 cannon, and lower down, by the side of it, was the orphanage, which gave the name of Vuishuys Straat to what is now Cemetery Road. This institution must have been removed to the S. W. corner of Heere Straat when the new (now the old) Dutch cemetery was opened in 1724. On the ELDERLAND bastion is the house built for the Agents of the National Bank of India. HOLLANDIA, after it had been rebuilt by Governor Moens on ground consolidated with heavy piles, was a citadel of itself; and the whole enceinte was powerfully defended by a double row of big guns, designed to beat off Tipu Sultan should he fight his way so far south. In later times the lighthouse was built upon it, and now the pilots' bungalows crown the little that is left of it. The

Bishop's Palace (No. 19 Ridsdale Road) is on ZEELANDIA. Its lefthand neighbour was UTRECHT, completely levelled for the building of the Protestant Church school. FRIESLANT can be traced by a slight hump at the junction of Fosse and Rampart Roads, the latter thoroughfare being laid on foundations of walls which for some length combine the Dutch and Portuguese alignments. In Peirce Leslie's yard is GRONIGEN, of which the present height is unimposing, but the level of the ground around it has undoubtedly risen with the passage of the years. It was castellated for twenty cannon, some of which could be brought to bear upon any attack from the land against the New Gate. We now swing around to the north-east angle of the Dutch fortress, abutting on the harbour front, an area that was replete with cannon of every calibre, where not only had the battery at the Boomporte, or entrance of the Overessel Canal, to be supported but 'der Nieuporte'—the New Gate—had also to be defended. Instead of a bastion at this point there was a long narrow double battery in the "Trenaille Galjeon," so designated because of its similarity to a man o war's gun-deck, with broadsides and two more heavy pieces in what might be the bows, trained directly on Vypeen. The outer gateway of the New Gate was on a hammershaped ravelin with a bailey of its own, pushed out into the moat and well flanked with guns. A drawbridge completed the link with the Calvetti causeway. Anyone trying to reach the main gate, some forty yards down from the Gronigen bastion, needs must traverse three sides of a square over open ground which could be swept by musketry and artillery fire. Turning left-handed, Commodore's Bulwerke was the next military feature, lightly armed with at most four cannon. Adjoining it was the residence of the Second in Council; beyond that Government House, flanked by the Stromberg bastion which crossed fire with 'Gelderland' to protect the Baia Porte, the gateway which lay between them and which debouched on to the western sands. All these were blown up by the British and the ruins since covered by the sands. And so we have encompassed the fort—some 1100 yards at its longest and 460 in breadth, interior measurements. On the landward side of the fortifications two sally portes were cut through the curtain walls to give access to the moat, ruins of one of which can be seen in the Bishop's gardens. This one may have some connection with the Taverna

Booti,—or Boat Inn,—which was at the corner of Lily Street opposite to this ferry; the other was between GRONIGEN and FRIESLANT bastions. In peaceful times these were exits by which pedestrians crossed the moat in wherries or perhaps waded to the far bank, clambered up the counterscrap, down the glacis and into the open country, which around this front was soft and marshy. Fosse (moat) Road would commemorate the lane inside the town leading to the Sally Porte near the GRONIGEN. For palanquins or equestrians—and no European or well to do Burgher would walk more than the length of the street—there were the main gates. The Baia Porte would have been approached almost as if entering the Cochin Club grounds by the western entrance, when, passing through the gateway and crossing the drawbridge, and then bearing left along the foreshore by the Holland bastion, well trodden tracks tended towards Commodore's Gardens beyond the present dhobi tanks.

Mention has been made of a small canal within the fort which by Dutch whimsicality was named Overessel, after the great waterway in Holland. Its inlet from the sea was at the sluice or boomporte, about where Luttmann Johnson built the concrete jetty for Peirce, Leslie, or perhaps a bit nearer Brunton's yard. The canal ran laterally with the harbour frontage and just outside the uncastellated wall,* hardly proof against artillery fire, which linked the Boomporte with Commodore's Bulwerke. Although wall and water would have been a military obstacle to an enemy attempting a landing on this sector, the real purpose of the latter was to enable laden boats to ply between vessels at the anchorage and the warehouses inside the fortress. Half way up its length was the water-gate, through which was a short and convenient lead into the V. O. C's commercial 'pakhuis' (the Portuguese cathedral of other days), and to the 'Provisie' Magazine (victualling stores) which lay in that space almost at the apex of Tower with River Road, say opposite to where the Harbour Hotel now is. In some way, (not clear in Johnston's plan) the 'slotandyke' entered the fortress proper at Commodore's Bulwerke, and carried on a couple of hundred yards or so to serve the arsenal and the engineer's stores depots. This canal has since been converted into a roadway, and the wall, too, has been completely eliminated; but Peirce, Leslie's jetty shed is on a paved

* Plans of the siege operations seem to indicate that Petrie's breaching cannon were trained on this point, probably the weakest in the fortifications.

platform, no doubt the site of the Boomporte battery. Further still, but mention it not to General Franco, spread roundabout here is genuine Spanish soil, 100 tons of it, which came as steamer ballast all the way from Gibraltar. Napoleon laid claim to Holland on the grounds that that country just accrued out of French territory washed down from the Alps, and it is hoped that this deposit outside Peirce Leslie's will not lead to an international dispute at some future date.^(A)

Of the two religious houses of the Portuguese not destroyed by the Nederlanders one, the cathedral of Santa Cruz, was transformed into their pakhuis or godown for merchandize. One writer also refers to the fine offices of the V. O. C. established in it. But what escaped the Orange iconoclast fell to the gunpowder of the British military engineers 1804—1806—upon its being reported as one of the public buildings that was 'unprofitable.' But though the main fabric was reduced to ruins the tower continued as before to be used as a look-out and signal station, the master-attendant or port officer having a lean-to office against the lower wall. When, in 1863, it was struck by lightning and one lascar was killed and two injured, it left the walls cracked and bulged. Further deterioration ensued so that in 1874, it was blown up. Because it occupied so prominent a position and was so much in keeping with the place the destruction of the tower of Santa Cruz was a real misfortune to the town, so said one gentleman who knew it well. Previous writers had referred to it as a feature of this old city. Alexander Hamilton writing of it nearly two and a half centuries ago said.—"Their flagstaff is placed on a steeple of the old cathedral, on a mast 75 feet high and a staff on the top of it of about 60 feet, which is the highest I ever saw; and the flag may be seen 17 leagues off." A water-colour sketch by an artist named James, painted over a hundred years ago, shows portions of the facade of the cathedral on either flank, which in Amann's photographs of 1864 or thereabouts have disappeared; but in the final clearing up of these venerable relics, except for a few handsome stones retrieved from the debris and worked into the mound left for the erection of a flagstaff at ground level, the whole was carted away and either rolled into our roads or used for groynes along the sea shore. Some years later the signal station was shifted to the lighthouse when, during its erection, Peirce Leslie's staff was

used for that duty. From the trigonometrical survey of 1917 can be measured out the exact spot whereon the cathedral tower once stood. It is fitting that this location should be marked with a permanent memorial; for even the mound has since been levelled and the stones mentioned are probably those to be seen in the embankment of the pilot jetty.

"Marina," the bungalow across the road from Pilot Jetty, is on part of the site of the first cathedral. Opposite the western porch of this bungalow, out on the maidan, Captain Winckler, as a memorial of the great fire of 1887, erected a granite column* recovered from the sea and believed to be from the sacred edifice mentioned. Somewhat later a few carved stone lintels and mullions were discovered in the town which, too, were thought to have belonged to the old cathedral. These therefore were grouped around the central pillar, which queer archeological collection was one of the pictorial postcard sights of Cochin.^(B)

These window mullions and transoms were sculptured in alternate tiger and elephant heads, with which design it is supposed the ecclesiastical builders had perforce to be content as the least objectionable to Christian sentiment the local Hindu masons could reproduce. It came to pass that a Collector, a vandal at heart, in getting Cochin cleaned up for a viceregal visit, desired to be informed by the municipality—"Whether the loss of the monument put up to commemorate the Fire would be a regret to the general public;" and the answer having been put into the Chairman's mouth, the pillar was brought into the Marina side garden, and the other pieces relegated to the municipal compound, where they were in April 1947 at least. Apart from these few historical fragments nothing survives but grave-stones of the Portuguese adventurers who sailed so long ago from the mouths of Tagus or Douro for these far climes, and who were fated never to see again the sunny slopes of Lisbon or Oporto. The most ancient slab yet noted, dated 1534, covered one Simeon Miranda. Another, unearthed when 'Marina' was being built, marked the remains of Manoel de Coimbra; and as he had been vicar-general of the See, his dusty bones were offered to the Roman Catholic bishop of Cochin,

* Father Aguiar states that the old cathedral pillars were octagonal, whereas Winckler's monument was round. Nonetheless it was actually found (under water) within fifty yards of where the cathedral nave would have been. An octagonal pillar now lies in the courtyard of the new Santa Cruz cathedral.

who, however, excused himself. So without fuss Manoel was re-interred where he had been found—under the porch. Yet another stone was dug up by the Port Officer when investigating why his newly planted mango tree was withering away, for which the reason is recorded in the official log.—“Discovered a black granite tombstone. Found and raised Lobo Gama.” Other gravestones were dredged up when the boat camber was excavated. These are presumed to have been dumped there with other debris from the cathedral to be rid of them. One of them perpetuates Luiz the Bellringer. Another, commemorating a knight of the Order of Avis, is odd because of its wide brimmed hat for crest and display of six leathern money bags on the shield. These stones are set against a wall in the cathedral yard; others dredged up at the same time were accepted by the the museum at Trichur. Two very large ones were in the bottom of the trench cut in 1947 for the new water mains; but as they did not interfere with the laying of the pipe-line they were not disturbed. These were about fifteen yards from the old port office gate, and there must be many more in the vicinity. The depth at which these gravestones lie is the measure of the rising of the ground level hereabouts.

If one example more than another of Portuguese domestic architecture should be preserved for all time, it is the many gabled mansion just short of St. Francis Church and having an entrance also in Lily Street, opposite the Liebschwager house. Unfortunately no title deeds are now available to confirm that it was here that the Rev: Pieter Corneliesz lived and died; but a plan of the fort in 1689 shows it to have been the official residence of the Predikant or chaplain. It is, of course, a Portuguese residencis, and tradition has it that St. Francis Xavier lodged there. Indeed, the very room he is supposed to have used is pointed out. Not only so but even today people sometimes beg its present occupant to permit them to bring their sick beneath its roof, for peradventure something of the Saint's healing spirit may still linger there. Doorway, hall, and staircase are more elaborate than any other in the settlement; and it may well have been the abode of the Portuguese governors and of the Dutch also until the latter built a new Government House almost opposite to it. The house now belongs to Mr. Shirgaokar, who, although a Hindu, is



THE PASTORIE (MANSE) OF THE DUTCH PREDIKANT. OR PASTOR OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMED RELIGION.

The finest example now remaining in Cochin of Portuguese colonial domestic architecture. The picture shows the rear entrance only, the front entrance faces the south side of St. Francis Church, from which it is but 50 feet distant. Tradition says that St. Francis Xavier once lodged in this house, though there is no historical support for the claim. It is however quite possible that it was here that Vasco de Gama died, as it is specifically stated that this event occurred within the residence of a Portuguese gentleman living within the courtyard of St. Francis Church.

keenly alive to the character. His grandfather was there when Dr. & Mrs. Murray Mitchell of Bombay, concerned with the Scottish Mission to the Jews at Cochin, were staying with Alfred F. Sealy, principal of the Rajah's college, who was then living in the Liebschwager's house. Mrs. Murray Mitchell—"In Southern India"—1882, says of Cochin that—"We have left the Indian type of bungalow for a Continental dwelling, which I immediately peopled with Albuquerque and Vasco de Gamas; and I believe it is older than the Dutch occupation of Cochin. It is upper storied with large rooms and small side ones going off at every corner, and quaint little narrow stone courts and balconies filled by the tasteful hands of its mistress with lovely flowers and crotons, and clambered over with creepers. The drawing room was filled with interesting things; and the whole house is a kind of museum; not the least singular being the memories that are piled up everywhere. The house opposite looks like a little fort with flying buttresses, and ever so many queer Dutch roofs, and a deep blue wall around. The only drawback is the heat which is worse than ever. The climate here is always moist and warm, somewhat like Bombay, but more trying; and it differs little all the year round." Some twenty years earlier a resident expressing himself on the amenities of Cochin writes.—"We are now living in a state of damp that few can realise unless at some period of their lives it has fallen to their lot to spend a very wet monsoon on the West Coast, more especially Cochin, where there are few comforts to counter-balance the mouldy conditions one is continuously getting into." In 1864, when cholera was raging therein, the place was described as a compact mediaeval town, built without the slightest regard to the preservation of health in the tropics. The following poetical effort, composed nearly eighty years ago, by a lady living at Ratnagiri, higher up the West Coast, is equally applicable to the Cochin of that period:—

They count our rainfall up
in grudging measure with
gauges all too shallow
for our woes.

They talk of inches of the
liquid treasure,
When we have yards with
every wind that blows.

I go from mildewed couch to
mouldy bed.
And in the morning shall
feel no surprise,
If on the reeking pillow
neath my head.
I find a crop of mushrooms
when I rise. (Times of India 1-8-1870)

Old plans of Cochin depict the Dutch Government House as on a site within the easterly half of what is now the Club compound; but Johan Gerard Van Anglebeck, Governor in 1781—95, in addition to his villa at Velli, also appears to have owned that house with its main entrance from de Linde Straat (Ridsdale Road) and its back opening on to Breede Straat (deQuieros Street), the one with the quasi-classic gateway over which is the V. O. C. monogram of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie with the date 1740 below it. Constantine Laffin bought the place in 1762, when the attestators were Anthony Van Der Wall and Anthony Becker,* whose seals were respectively a female head and a coronet. Another sale followed in 1781 to the order of the 'very gallant' Captain-Lieutenant Johan Van Asbeck and 'his separated huisvrouw' Aletta Van Den Berg; the purchaser being Governor Van Anglebeck, as before stated. In 1786 councillor Johan Adam Cellarius and Johan Hendrik Voght, went in person to the Governor's house to arrange transfer of this property to Jan Lambertus Van Spall, under merchant and godown-keeper; but destined to be the next and last Dutch chief at Cochin. Van Spall used as a seal the impression of a one-masted ship. In October 1795 when the British entered the town, the house on the right of Van Spall's was Lucis Groenroode's, daughter of the Inn-keeper and Lieutenant of the Civic Guard. That on the left was occupied by the commandant of the Dutch forces on the Malabar Coast—Major Joseph De Can. In 1900 or so this house was bought by that most unobtrusive of all Christian sects, the Plymouth Brethren, who opened a mission here with an evangelist named Nagel, who with solicitude for souls sometimes paraded the streets of Cochin sandwiched between biblical texts calculated to halt the sinner in his stride. The entrance to the meeting room is from de Quieros Street, under a large sign of—EBENEZER.)

* Anthony is often written Theunis for short "In English Tony."

Number 1 Heere or Napier Street belonged for some decades to the Winckler family, Piet, a Government pilot, having purchased it in 1807 from the 'wedewe' or widow of Pieter Schemering the Book-keeper, who had it from Sarah Harmensz, relict of Adriaan Polvliet who, though but a junior merchant in the V. O. C., had acquired much property in the town. Prior to this sale it was the abode of Elisabeth Bakkers, widow of Corporal Johan Daniel Loliquad. From this succession of the bereft, it could be argued that in Cochin town the dowager was paramount. Title deeds of this house commence with the year 1755; and the preamble is cited as an example of other documents of the same tenor.—"The Hon'ble Matheus Hendrik Beijts, merchant and fiscal of this place as well as cashier, who married Rachel Augustine Van Der Sloot, sells this house to Book-keeper and dispenser Jan Harman Claussing, previously belonging to Jacob Slighter, who purchased it from the late quarter-master Jan Claasz." etc. etc.

When, in 1884, the Government of India set up the Inam Commission to examine all titles to landed property, it was difficult to obtain translators for the Portuguese and Dutch documents tendered at Cochin; but the newspapers reported that one gentleman, "a rather battered branch of an ancient family" was hurrying up from Alleppey to earn an honest rupee or two by transcribing Dutch into English. In a room of No. 1 Napier Street is a tablet bearing a Portuguese coat of arms. Whether this belonged to a former owner of the house is not known; but it is believed that the five escallops quartered with the two serpents swallowing a bar, one at either end, leaving it to the imagination as to which, when they meet in the middle, will absorb the other, represents a conjunction of the Pimental with the Pithas e Castro families. The latter, it has been suggested, may be the root from which the present Pitters of Cochin have sprung. Since 1921 the house has been owned by Messrs Harrisons and Crosfield; but even before that date the Wincklers had moved into No. 2 Church Road, one of a row of three-storied houses which were demolished to make room for Volkarts bungalow, and which were much like those on the opposite side of Rose Street, at the back entrance. It was there Lord Kitchener visited Winckler to see his collection of china. In Winckler's will the elder son was left a McCabe watch and a photograph of his (the son's) great-great grandfather, Old Piet, who died

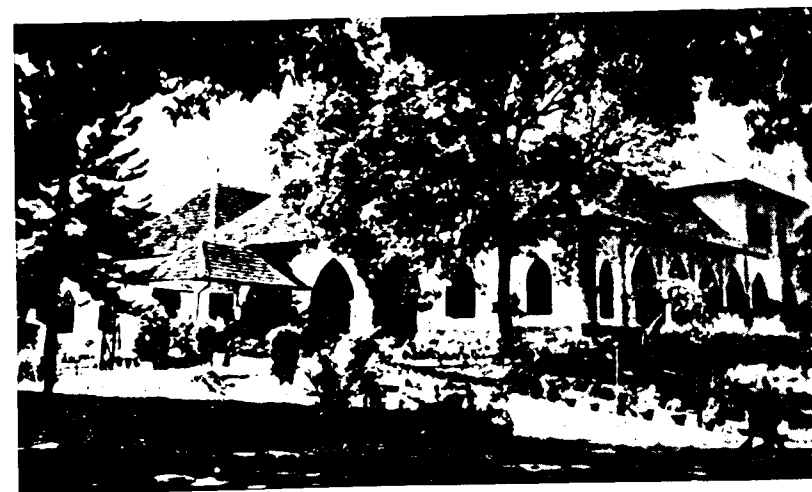
in 1841, aged 78. To his younger son was left a Waltham watch and oil paintings of the "Futtey Salam", the first ship commanded by Winckler, and of the "Prince of Wales," which he owned, also a portrait of the old skipper himself. Among bequests to his elder daughter was No. 7 Elphinstone Road, also known as Taverna Booti.

If curiosity exists as to the whereabouts of the XVIIth century Cochin Inn mentioned in travellers' tales, it is the ancient house, opposite 'Dutch Castle,' which, before the ramparts were demolished, was at the flight of steps leading to the Utrecht bastion. It links de Quieros with Petercelie Street; but though so old its earliest document goes back to 1773 only, in which year it was owned by one of its best known 'Herbergiers,' Carlo Groenroode. He was probably the immediate successor of the landlord portrayed by Du Perron in 1757—the man of gargantuan size and appetite, who lived for the pleasures of the table. One imagines it was a house well known for mountains of chicken pillau and prawn curry, for sucking pig and duckling.

Ridsdale Road (incorporating two old Dutch thoroughfares—De Linds Straat and De Wapen Straat) commemorates a C. M. S. missionary of that name. The former is contiguous with the parade ground, on the edge of which until a few years ago stood the magazine, itself the last vestige of the former artillery stores depot. Further along, in the de Wapen Straat section and bounded on the south by Napier Lane, is the compound within which was situated the government iron-foundry, smithies and workshops. There is now a bungalow there which, in 1947, was occupied by an assistant of Volkarts. At the end of this road, standing on a mound is the Bishop's Palace, formerly the Rev. Samuel Ridsdale's Bungalow. About the middle of 1826 this reverend gentleman was permanently transferred to Cochin from Kottayam, but was left to his own devices to find accommodation for himself, his wife* and family. They took the house belonging to the d'Albedhylls, Dutch Castle as we know it, which at that time was almost up against the city ramparts, shut off from all breeze, intolerably hot and sickly—In the missionary's words—"Unfit for an Englishman to live in."

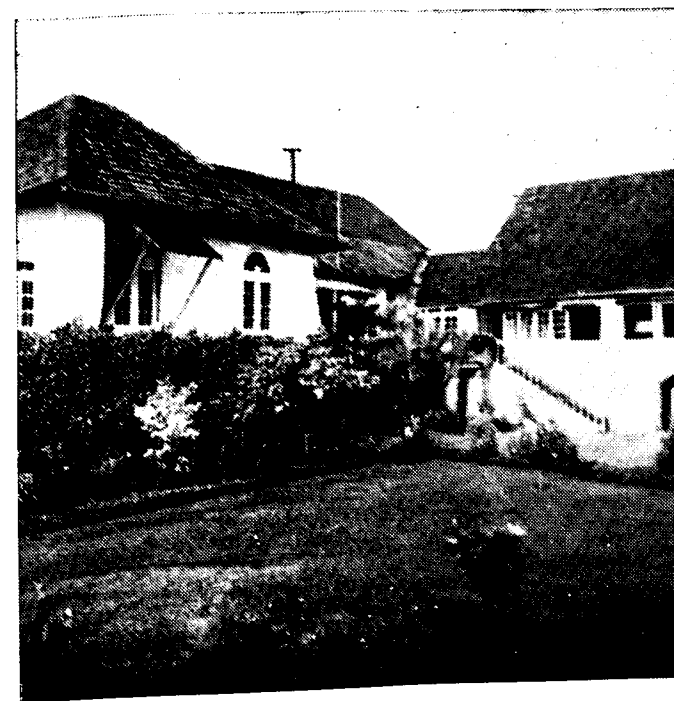
Ridsdale was a man fired by the spirit, who practically gave his life in furtherance of his work; but he also had the advantage of living

* Miss Juliana Marshall, sister of the Vicar of St. Brides, Fleet Street.



SAMUEL RIDSDALE'S BUNGALOW
(ON THE ZEALAND BASTION.)

After Ridsdale's departure it was the home of the Vernede family (The House of the five sisters), and from them was purchased for the residence of the Bishop of Cochin. His private chapel is said to have been part of the original structure, but this seems hardly probable. The seaward side of the 'Palace' overlooks the last depressions of the old fortress fosse or moat, on the inner edge of which can be seen the ruins of the south-western sallyport.



PEIRCE LESLIE NAPIER STREET
BUNGALOW.

The old name still sticks though the house has done a right-about turn. The front entrance is now from Cemetery Road (former Wuishuys Straat). Gravestones and remains of columns have been found in the grounds indicating the previous existence there of an R. C. church or chapel.

in a period when both civil and military officers were strongly evangelical. As petitions to his Society regarding his housing had no effect, Ridsdale took the matter into his own hands and succeeded in obtaining a personal grant from the Madras Government of a section of the obsolete fortifications upon which to build a school and a house for himself. On the subject of the gift of this site Captain Chauvel, commanding at Cochin, wrote in high dudgeon to his service chief complaining that "Mr. Ridsdale has secured the whole of one face of the Fort, the southern bastion, and that, too, the only promenade of the inhabitants of the place." This officer supposed that Government had not understood the implication of the concession. When, therefore, levelling operations were commenced, sepoy were sent to beat up the Padre's coolies. To arbitrate between Chauvel and the missionary another soldier was deputed, upon whom Ridsdale opened with all the weapons of the hot-gospeller, thus bringing the very referee to the penitent stool and, of course, to the desired way of thinking. When therefore Government issued their final orders it was to say that Captain Chauvel's representations were not founded on fact and that "the inhabitants are not opposed to the construction of a dwelling house and school by Mr. Ridsdale, they greatly favour it." Such peremptory instructions were then given that the mission building project should be molested no more, that Chauvel had no other recourse or solace than the tender breast of Anna Henrietta Zelig, his loving spouse. It was to introduce Lieutenant General Charles Brown, an adjutant-general of the Madras Army, who, as a more junior officer, was the arbitrator in question that this episode is recounted in its bare fact in the Life of Samuel Hebbich, that eccentric German missionary of Malabar whose influence was so remarkable that on an English vocabulary of 552 words he converted, with their wives, nearly every officer of the 36th Madras Native Infantry, this unfortunate battalion being thenceforth known as—Hebbich's Own.

On New Year's Day, 1828, the school foundation stone was laid by the Hon. J. J. Sparrow,* late Member of Council on the Bombay Establishment—"An exalted Christian and a zealous promoter of the Cause, now an inhabitant in the realms of blessedness." The house was erected entirely at Ridsdale's own expense; and, as he himself declared in defence of it, all of the best houses on the coast had been provided by the missionaries themselves. But its rather palatial appearance from

* Is there any connection with this gentleman, who died at Bombay in 1829, after 31 years in India, and Conrad Sparrow a merchant of this town, who died here in the 1890s, and whose name is still perpetuated in Cochin?

the road, and the cloistral style of its solid columns and arches in the verandah was regarded with great disfavour by others of his own denomination. Nor did Ridsdale's explanation that the place was constructed of stones taken from the demolished ramparts and costing nothing but the labour, and furthermore that it saved the purchase of expensive timber, do anything to mitigate the notion that the character of the residence was not in keeping with missionary status. Nor would the Society take the place over for Ridsdale's successor. Ultimately it was disposed of by his widow to the Vernede family. The story regarding this transaction is that Mrs. Ridsdale when quoting a price for the property inadvertently omitted a cypher, so that instead of £ 500, say, she wrote £ 50, but nonetheless adhered to her written offer.

Facing the gate of the Dutch cemetery is an attractive two-storied bungalow with a blend of Portuguese, Dutch and English features. On the ground floor are the usual crypt-like cellars, dungeons almost, communicating by low archways and doors. These apartments, it is believed, were used for lumber, poultry, firewood, and the "slaves who sleep in the straw." On the upper floor reached by an outside staircase, a modern addition,* is the dining room-cum-verandah lounge which on the latter aspect looks out over and beyond the Dutch graveyard to the sea, where the chain of buoys twinkles incessantly throughout the hours of darkness—red—green—white—picketing the water lane by which shipping finds Port Cochin. On the far side of the dining room the windows open upon 'Der Heere Straat' (as distinct from 'Der Burgher Straat') albeit removed from its former aristocratic status in that it is now our back entrance. These window openings have masonry seats on either side recessed into the thickness of the walls, which was the Portuguese custom. The windows themselves, except for a cross panel at the bottom of wooden tracery, used to be slatted with tiny squares of mother of pearl. In some houses there was no glazing at all, the appertures for light and air being filled with curiously interwoven cane or rosewood carving. The teak ceiling beams rest on fanciful corbels and the doorways have wooden cornices of Dutch design. There is in this house, too, as in all others of Portuguese origin, a Gothic niche for the patron saint—a nook which the Protestant memsahib usually fills with her pet objet d'art. The well, too, must not be forgotten; it will certainly be as old as the mansion. Its stones will be worn and

* When the front entrance was from Der Heere Straat the main staircase mounted direct from the road to the large living room.

weathered, and even in the dry season lichens, ferns and mosses will be flourishing in its cracks and crannies.

Forty years ago, this particular bungalow of which we are speaking was two separate residences—the northern had been that of Adriaan Polvliet from whose estate it was purchased in 1807 by an English surgeon on the Bombay Establishment—"For my little friend Papi."

Passing through various hands, always on the down grade, it was in a ruinous state when Peirce Leslies bought it and incorporated it with that next door, which even to-day is known by old local people as 'Platel House'—Mark Anthony Platel being the grandson of a French merchant of Calicut whose seed had taken root in Malabar. About 1864 Der Heere Straat was renamed in compliment to Napier of Merchistoun, Governor of Madras and a pioneer of municipal government in South India. Cochin, it may be said, was slow in civic development. As early as 1858 a resident wrote to the Madras Times.—"We have now passed from the Hon'ble Company's to the Government of the Queen, and we trust that many improvements will be made." One advance hoped for was that the town would inaugurate its own conduct of local affairs. But, so wrote the correspondent, there seem to be too many people unwilling to tax themselves for the sake of cleanliness. Wherefore it was some years later before public opinion was ripe for this initial step in the accomplishment of Home Rule.

On the Cemetery Road side Peirce Leslies bungalow was hemmed in by one-storeyed tenements, but when these were demolished the whole aspect of the property was changed; and whereas the front entrance had hitherto been in Napier Street, it was now reversed. On the floor of the old cookhouse had lain the gravestone of one Dom Coleco (1615)—Guardian Ghost of the kitchen; this, with another stone inscribed in abstruse abbreviations, but working out as Domingo Sousa, which had formerly bridged the gutter at the back entrance, was inset in the verandah when the cookhouse was converted into a guest chamber, and named the Dower House.

Further along Napier Street, towards St. Andrews Church, is the most spacious house in the road, now occupied by the Imperial Chemical Industries (India), just as a hundred years ago it is believed to have been the offices of Lawson Brothers, and the residence of their principals.

According to Capt. Johnson's plan it is the site of the Common Gaol (1795). By many it is known as Tragedy Hall, because of the murder there by a jealous lover, some eighty years ago, of Valema, a young East Indian lady. On the north side of Peirce Leslie's house is another of the same type, but less modernized, over the entrance of which is a stone shield bearing the arms of a Portuguese family. The quarterings display the bezants of the Macedos combined with the six pointed stars of the de Mellos. This house is in an uninhabitable state, and should it be renovated it is feared another link with the past will be broken; for it, too, has its quaint old windows, doorways, niches and beams.

On the opposite side of the road is a colonnaded one storey mansion with wide stoep, and an air of former grandeur. Sale deeds show it to have been purchased in 1764 by Johan Andries Daimichen from Anthony Sweers de Landas, senior merchant and Second in Council of the Dutch East India Company on the Malabar Coast, who about this time acquired what is now The Towers. Johan Daimichen had died in 1784, but his widow Pasquella Lucaasz with more than one presentable daughter was at home when the British marched in. It may be certain that throughout the occupation the house was maintained in a style worthy of the Street of the gentlemen, for the family were soon on good social terms with the officers of the new garrison. Its glamour has long since taken flight, but the old mansion is as substantial as ever; but it is now horse-boxed for three families, and a jerry-built house has sprung up behind it.

When the Dutch planned their new fort they at first proposed to restrict it to a citadel only. An overruling objection to this was that it cut right through the Portuguese town, the masonry of which was so thickset that immense labour would be required to pull it down. Hence an easier alignment was followed. One feature of Portuguese architecture, noticeable in some Cochin houses, was the separate roofing over each large room which, so it was thought, tended for coolness; but the Dutch preferred the long single ridge, and many houses were converted accordingly. The Portuguese, too, favoured the half-round tile whereas the Dutch used narrow flat clay shingles, some examples of which still remain. But one does not see the 'curb' roof so distinctive of Holland, and introduced from that country into the eastern counties of England; nor is there a vestige anywhere of interior decorative tiles.

When the ramparts were sold for building sites, from 1821 onwards, doubtless the Gelderland bastion was immediately snapped up. The first bungalow thereon changed hands in 1836. Daniel Lloyd (married to a daughter of Monsieur Tessier, Chef de Logie, of Mahe) an indigo merchant, was living there in 1860, and when he died in 1869 he also owned much of Mackenzie Gardens. The bungalow then became the Dubash Hotel, and Elizabeth Virginia Pereira was its proprietress. Her establishment was much resorted to by ships' captains, who would be rowed in their gigs to the beach below and spend their convivial evenings where every creature comfort, so t'was said, was provided. Capt. Gahan, Port Officer, took it as a dwelling after it was relinquished as a municipal school, at which time he stipulated that the place should be re-roofed with a foundation of palmyra leaves and thatched with cadjans. It was in this state when the National Bank purchased the property; and a photograph of that time shows it as a pretty low dive. When digging foundations for the modern building, a few cannon-balls, bones, coins and a deep well were uncovered. One is also told of a 'prehistoric' animal dislodged from its hide-out. Actually it was an armadillo which when caught and released on Balghatty Island immediately went to ground and was seen no more. When the Gelderland bastion was in full commission, a casern for the accommodation of its gun crews was contained within the thickness of the work, but of this no trace now remains. It is difficult, too, to visualize that it was inside the moat, and not directly on the foreshore as the mound now is. Early 18th century plans show a freshwater well beyond the moat at this point, and a spring oozing from the sea sands still marks the position.

At the far end of Tower Road is a spacious bungalow dubbed 'The Nest' by three lively bachelors who lived therein some 25 years ago. In 1872 it was in the occupation of Captain Maiden, the Port Officer, who had the place from Mr. Arnold John Jones, collocated as a gentleman, which is all that one knows of his antecedents and quality. In some documents it is described as in De Kalver Straat (a well-known thoroughfare in Amsterdam); but strictly speaking this is incorrect, for De Kalver Straat is that narrow lane which connects Rose Street with Princes Street.

From the characteristic imitation of half-round tiles under the eaves of the oldest part of this house it can be accepted as a genuine

Portuguese building. Goodacres yard adjoining was the garden of the early Portuguese bishops and it is quite possible therefore that this bungalow is a portion of their palace. The tradition may also be true that in the first period of British occupation it was the officers mess, for when British troops entered the town they certainly encamped inside it. A fine avenue of trees ran along the whole length of this road as far as the ramparts at the far end, where a turn to the right, under the walls, brought one to the powder mills. Further along was the botanical gardens in what is now the compound of the new cathedral and originally the grounds of the Dominican convent destroyed by the Dutch. The square of land opposite to 'The Nest' was not enclosed and much of it unbuilt upon; half of this space was taken up by the British civilian administration, the rest was appropriated for military purposes; and in this locality is most probably where the 77th Foot and Grenadier Battalion of Sepoys went into bivouac until the force embarked, in January 1796, for the capture of Colombo. Abram Parsons, 1775, states that there was in the fort a commodious and handsome building with barracks* on the ground floor for 300 men. It had a shaded walk in front with arches over which were convenient lodgings for officers. This, it is thought, must include that ancient house overlooking the former parade ground now in use as the Netherlands Consulate, for one old plan marks the whole block as public buildings, though since much sub-divided for residential purposes.

It is amusing to read the description, completed in 1847, of the rebuilding of the Sudr Ameen Court, that is the present Magistrate's Court and government offices—"Which surpassed in magnificence every other building in the place. Constructed under the direct supervision of the Fiscal, who was commended inasmuch as it was not his duty to do it." One plan of the interior of the fort shows the Overessel canal as leading past the church. On the bank nearest the sea, standing back some distance behind an avenue of large trees (which continued in single rank up to Der Heere Straat) was Government House, a noble building, with a long and spacious terrace facing the sea, and next to it the official quarters of the Second in Council. On the other bank was a single line of trees in rear of which was the Predikant's house and the Governor's stables. In the length of this delightful boulevard—designated Der Heere Graatz—the waterway was lightly bridged at two places;

and to the exile from the Low Countries, one imagines this vignette was the nearest approach to the homeland of anything he was likely to see outside of it. Parsons tells us that on either side of the streets were water channels, narrow and deep and lined with clay tiles 16 inches square. The roads and squares, too, were covered with gravel and sloped from the centre towards the drains, so that even in the rainy season there was neither mud nor dirt, nor throughout the fort were there any holes in which puddles could be formed. "In short," says our English visitor, "this is an epitome of the neat towns in Holland."

Government House is said to have been the only building in the town purely Dutch in architecture; but it is believed that at some time the facade of the church was altered, for that too is Dutch in appearance. This was possibly refaced when the edifice was converted for use as 'Der Hereformed Kerk.' Government House, Batavia may perhaps be taken as an example of a colonial Dutch residence. It, too, was on the banks of a canal. A picture of it shows a long, tall rectangular building with steeply pitched roof, a finial of sorts at either end. The walls of its two storeys were plain, embellished neither with balcony nor verandah; and with square unadorned windows, the ground floor row of which was just a little too high to be gazed directly into by passing pedestrians. The main entrance was without a portico, just such a door, with a couple of outside steps, as one may see to many Georgian residences of the minor gentry type in England.

Much attention was paid by the Dutch to the cultivation of the coconut tree, which was illustrated and described from seed to maturity by Van Rhee, Governor of Cochin, 1677, and himself an ardent botanist, in his 'Horta Malabaricus,' a copy of the Amsterdam Edition* of which, woefully grub-eaten, is in the Anjarakandi library. Cochin should be proud that such a distinguished work emanated from this town; and one would like to know in just which house, if still standing, it was compiled by the three collaborators—Father Mathews the Carmelite, as illustrator with his paints and brushes, Ceasarius the Dutch Protestant pastor, with quill and parchment drafting out the text in Latin, and Van Rhee with specimen under the magnifying glass, knife and tweezer at elbow. In the flamboyant epilogue the author (who died at Surat before his work was in print) is eulogized as the first to dissect and study the structure of plant life. It was also claimed for him that

*In later British times (say 1830—1864) the cantonment is said to have been at Velli: the officers residences in Eastern Gardens and the Mess in the bungalow at the ruined gateway into Commodore's Gardens. The latter house was again so-used in 1944—45 by the officers of adjacently sited anti-aircraft batteries.

* The London edition, dated 1774, also in Latin but without the epilogue, is in the library of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

he was beloved by 'Brahmins, Yogees, and Banias—People ignorant of the Light.' The botanical gardens maintained by the Dutch within the fort have already been mentioned, but Johan Gerard Van Anglebeek lavished much care upon the grounds of his villa about a mile south of the town—Commodore's Gardens, as they were called—in which, in 1786, he entertained the Rajah of Travancore. House and gardens were destroyed by the Travancore insurgents in 1808, Jan Lambertus Van Spall suffering heavy loss by this havoc. He had purchased the estate for 40,000 rupees, conditional upon his not disposing of it to any private party. He fully expected to pass it on to his successor at current value, but, as it turned out, he was the last governor of Cochin. In any case there was little left but the ground itself to sell. The ruined gateway into this estate is still to be seen at Velli, but the land is given over to the plantain and the coconut. Enquires into the origin of Mackenzie Gardens has elicited little information: but a chart of 1835 places 'Mackens House' as on the Elphinstone Road side of the estate. It seems to have belonged to a Mr. John Mackenzie who sold parcels of it from time to time along Beach Road, including, in 1856, a house to Oughterson, which is probably that now belonging to Aspinwalls. What was left of the estate was sold in 1883 to Hajee Moosa Hajee Ahmood, and which to-day is divided into small plots. In another chart of 1800 a clump of four banyan trees is shown as by the Ammankovil Temple, on the Amaravathi Road. These are yet there.

Trees umbrageous and beneficent have none the less stirred up angry passions in our midst. When Lord Connemara was here in 1887 some contentious persons needs must appeal to him regarding the cutting down of a favourite tree, a dispute then convulsing the inhabitants. The Governor, as peace-maker, could only suggest that the party which consented to give way in such a trivial matter was right; but the incident was supposed to be an index to the prevailing atmosphere of the town. About the same time one of our European citizens wishing to conserve the fruit on his mango tree flew on the top of it a Union Jack which kept the birds off in the day time: at night a line with a bell at the end led from his bed to a branch of it, created a jingle whenever he turned over. Another rumpus occurred in 1910 over the wild almond tree standing at the corner of the roads opposite the old port office. 'Port', whose name was Bassett, was in the R. N. R.—not that that had

anything to do with it—but he wanted to lop off four arms of its growth because it obscured his view to the outer roadstead, where the large vessels had then to lie. Lawyer Locke, as chairman of the municipality demurred, saying that this was one of their finest specimens. On being denied Bassett tried another line, one which thoroughly enraged our City Fathers. He now said that, perhaps after all, there was no need to ask their permission as the tree was on the maidan and under the jurisdiction of the revenue officer. It might even be, he said, that it was inside his own boundaries, inasmuch as anything within fifty yards of the sea could be construed as inside port limits. This started a whole series of hares; but the old tree is still there though it looks as if it had suffered much ill-treatment in its days, so that possibly the amputations were effected. A finely proportioned tree is the banyan (*Ficus Indicus*) at the corner of the maidan next the church. It was planted there at the beginning of the century by the Brahmin head clerk of the Bank of Madras, which was then in the old Portuguese house across the road from it. If the man who put that sapling in the earth may be judged by the results thereof, that individual was a stalwart of his day and an upright citizen. Young Richard Meadows was born in that house, perhaps unwitting of the exemplar under whose shade he was sinking his own roots into this changing world that belongs so much to the new generation. Whitehorn of Aspinwalls was instrumental in replenishing our boulevards but he raised a hubbub in the process when the rumour got around that all the trees in Cochin Town were to be felled, whereas only the decayed and warped were to be thinned out.

An article by Eileen Farquharson, Emma Cole Fellow in Botany, written for the Indian Botanical Society, debunked the idea that rare and exotic plants had sprung to life on Willingdon Island, derived from seeds brought down ages ago by the great rivers of the Western Ghats, which, it was theorized, had lain dormant on the harbour bed until dredged up for the reclamation upon which they germinated. Traversing every foot of this newly made land, this lady classified several hundred dried specimens and determined 86 differing flowering plants and all the common weeds; but there was every reason to suppose that these seeds were wind blown, dropped by birds, or accidentally so by man; and that nothing was discovered but what might be expected in this region. Drift-borne vegetation had obtained no lodgement on the island because

of the high sea walls, the coconut, for instance is missing. Nonetheless it is widely believed that particular soils are capable of evolving particular vegetable forms without the intervention of seeds. Still speaking of Willingdon Island, the Casuarinas of Dundreary aspect, and the beautiful *Largostroemia Flos Regina*, or *Pride of India*, are not of fortuitous growth, but are there of pre-determined horticultural planning.

It may not be generally known that as early as 1845 it was proposed to improve the lay-out of Muttancherry so that, like Ernakulam, it would be fronted with good stone houses with a road between them and the backwater; but the claims of Mammon prevailed then as they did later when it was proposed, in the course of harbour development, to fill up the holes and hollows of that pestiferous quarter with the spoil from the dredgers. Property owners it seemed expected to be paid for permitting their premises to be made sanitary and healthy. On the British side of Calvetti bridge something was done as a sequel to the great fire of 1887, when it was proposed to entirely rebuild Calvetti, and money was borrowed from Government for the acquisition of land in the contiguous Pathythode ward upon which to accommodate the temporarily displaced population until their own quarter was ready to receive them again. The marshy waste in rear of Calvetti Road was to be reclaimed and drained as an offshoot of the main canal. Boat basins along its length, and blocks of warehouses in which to store the expanding trade of Cochin are all delineated in the blue prints of this scheme, a corollary of which was the development of Commodore's Gardens as a European suburb. The proposed reclamation, canal and boat basin in Dispensary Road is an accomplished fact. But the building phase was held up on the assumption that an automatic migration of the inhabitants to Willingdon Island would follow when that work was completed. Such a transfer of population however has not taken place, and Calvetti, that dreadful incubator of tropical diseases, seems likely to be a permanent municipal sore.

Balghatty and the Backwaters.

(Macaulay was the last British Resident to live in Cochin Town, thereafter the supreme Government's representatives embowered themselves in the sylvan surroundings of Balghatty, a former picnic resort and 'biergarten' of the Dutch. Lord Connemara alludes to it as

'The Punchbowl.' On the architrave of one of the doorways is the date 1749, but the earliest papers seen concerning the place are of the year 1779, when Mynheer Larens Beijts bequeathed some part of the estate to his female servant Maltaly and her children Anthony and Wilhelmina. Jan Lambertus Van Spall, who acquired it, sold it to the Rajah of Cochin for Rs. 1,666/- — a transaction witnessed by C. Elstendorp and J. C. Frishbier, officers of the garrison and both acting as magistrates. How it came to be allocated to the British Resident is not known; but the earliest distinguished visitor was Stephen Lushington, 1830, the first Governor of Madras to tour this side of the Presidency. He progressed in great state with a cavalry escort of 180 sabres and over 1000 followers. These one can only presume were left on the bank at Ernakulam.)

In early Victorian days sustained efforts were made to establish silkworm culture as a cottage industry among the poorer Israelites of Jewtown, and the apparatus for spinning was installed in the homes of many. Portuguese Christians, likewise, seem to have been interested in the scheme; and one Fernandes, who had been trained at Cochin, offered his services to Brown of Anjarakandi, giving as his qualifications that he had a knowledge of the growing of the mulberry leaf, could wind off cocoons, and could dye raw silk. It was then that Balghatty was planted with mulberry trees in furtherance of this effort at social uplift. But the industry never took root; and, it is believed, no trace of the mulberry remains anywhere in the neighbourhood. For many years the Residency had the finest flagstaff in South India. It had main, top, and top-gallant masts, with cross-trees and 'lubbers' hole, stays, shrouds and ratlins; but in the cyclone of 1938 it came crashing to the ground. On the same day many of the best trees in this, the most park-like enclosure in Malabar, were also uprooted. It was but natural that the golf club should gravitate to this spot, though how long since it was first used as such is not on record. The present nine-hole course dates from 1930, when Knight, the engineer of the two fine bridges connecting Cochin with Ernakulam, relaid it. Bogie is 30, but Knight claims to have done it in 25; it was his misfortune that there were no witnesses to sign his card. A Cochin business man's Saturday afternoon recreation is a launch trip to Balghatty, a foursome, a bottle of beer on the spot, a slight

touch of nostalgia, and then homeward to a preprandial adjournment at the Club. One of the writer's pleasantest recollections of the latter institution is that of the 'Big Four' in the bar alcove (tacitly left vacant on Saturday nights by junior members) recounting their finest strokes of the afternoon and linking them with high policy: or, deploring their boss-shots, from which it was but a little switching of the chair to the follies of the Government or the gaucheries of professional statesmen.

Whilst a trip to Balghatty is worth while, much more so is an excursion by backwater to the Brahmin township of Palliam, on an indentation of a branch of the Periyar river. The near approach is through a glade of giant Wild Jack trees (the Angelica timber of the ship-builders) which interlace their branches overhead until a dilation of the stream opens out into a small still lagoon, when through a funnel of greenery another peep of the skies is uncovered. Here one steps out of the craft on to a verge of turf—the doorstep of Palliam. The village is in a setting of tropical luxuriance, but swept, garnished and controlled. Nothing rank of the vegetable kingdom nor of human creation is permitted therein; and one instinctively scans the very coconut palms to see if the priestly caste mark has been freshly applied, for their bearing is more self-confident and assured than that of other species in adjoining territory. Cochin connection with the Palliam Raj (Paliyat Achan—A Nayar) is that its ruler voluntarily placed himself under the protection of the Dutch, who in return built for the rajah of that day a modest palace—a dismal place it is, and now set aside as a museum. An exaggerated account of its collection of Dutch period treasures has got around; the display is, in fact, very disappointing. Indeed the most attractive exhibits are portraits in oil of Nayar ladies painted one supposes by a European artist, perhaps eighty years ago, and possibly by the Mr. Lewis mentioned elsewhere or, may be, by Ravi Varma, a well known European-trained artist of Travancore (circa 1880) some of whose portraits are in Government House, Madras. Fresh acquisitions however, are coming in, and if the tripper is still unsatisfied, there are always the temple elephants with which to gambol. As to open up tiffin baskets in this abode of the gods would create a riot forthwith, a saunter on to the close-by village of Chenamangalam is suggested, where in the porch of the 16th century



SYRIO-ROMAN CHURCH OF
CHENAMANGALAM.

The peculiar eaves (moulded as half-round tiles) mark this edifice as of the Portuguese period. The church has survived the departure of that nation, though the seminary buildings and fruit garden attached to it are now in ruins and overgrown with rank vegetation. In one corner of the court are a number of inscribed slabs (in old vernaculars) placed there by the archeological department of Cochin State.



THE OLD DUTCH PALACE AT PALLIAM.

Built for the Achan of Palliam, a small Brahmin village on the Periyar backwaters. Long since abandoned as a residence, and now intended to be used as a museum. It has nothing either in stone or wood that is typically Dutch.

Rome-Syrian church is a good 'pull up' for an alfresco lunch. One should then call upon Father Joseph Paniculam, the parish priest, who lives in an eyrie ascended to by a staircase as ancient as the church itself. The visitor will be accompanied by every child of the community, who will enter with him unbidden into the Padre's apartments—a single room partitioned into two chambers. Having shown you a few old copper coins and told you of his great adventure, a trip to Rome, he will lead you around the adjacent ruins of a Portuguese religious seminary, through a fruit garden that was once tended with care, but is today tangled and utterly neglected. Within hail of this church is a synagogue of the Black Jews, a Moslem mosque, and a Hindu temple; and it is the proud boast of this little Arcadia that bickering and discord amongst them is unknown. The uglier passions, if there, are for the night. Nature laughs throughout the day and the children smile aloud. Indeed, it is a fair countryside.

To Palliporte by backwater from Cochin is another enjoyable outing. Above the coconut heads the church roof and campanile can be seen a mile or two before the landing place itself is reached. Close by is the shell of a small octagonal redoubt which, according to a Cochin State archeological inscription, was built in 1503. If this is correct it is an older relic of the Portuguese than St. Francis' Church at Cochin. In 1810 (perhaps a year or two earlier) Palloporte was the private domain of a Mr. James Tate—"An opulent English merchant, formerly of Bombay." The quotation goes on to say that on the seaward side of the estate it enjoyed a roadstead of its own, only 15 miles from an English one (Cochin); and the advantages of this are assumed to be too apparent to need recitation. The still existing warehouses are confirmation that at one time it had considerable sea-borne traffic, though mostly of salt. But Tate's wealth took wings as the result, so he said, of three successive Nayar rebellions; at least, that is the reason he gave for non-payment of long standing debts owing to Brown of Anjarakandi.

Tate's lands were in Cochin State and with them went zemindary rights of seignorial power over his tenants and people living within the boundaries of his property. A few hundred yards to the south'ard is the British-Indian Palliporte, a small enclave of four or five acres surrounded on the land side by State territory. Herein is the Dutch

'Lassrhuis', dated 1728, to which all persons found within the town of Cochin infected with leprosy were consigned. The same institution was continued by the British until some years ago, when the buildings were soused in kerosene oil and scorched wholesome again. This done, the settlement was handed over to a Roman Catholic sisterhood as a home for orphan girls. Notwithstanding the date ascribed thereto by the Dutch, the building is Portuguese, and a stone altar in the largest compartment bears this out. Tate died in 1827, very old and infirm; and not long afterwards the estate was purchased by Samuel James Adriaan Vernede, son of Abraham Jean Scipion Vernede and Gertruijde Wilhelmina Beijts. In Lieut: Horsley's survey he is spoken of as a Dutch gentleman at "Manapad, more generally called Pallyporte or Pallipuram." Samuel Vernede died intestate in 1845 (though not without heirs), when the property, including 3,000 coffee plants at Alwaye, was sold by order of the Cochin Government. Members of the family may have remained there a few years longer, but the only vestige of this once baronial demesne are the battered piers of an ornamental gateway, standing by themselves, unflanked by walls and barring no one's progress, but just a rubbing block for tick-ridden cattle. The names of Vernem and of Meyne still survive in the village—the latter derived from a Dutch soldier who was posted there from the garrison of Cochin, and who seems never to have left it. His descendants live in their little cottage, a compromise between the purely Indian and the European. The ladies are true to type in that they are homely and well rounded. When asked if they inter-married with families of Portuguese origin, they replied good naturedly—"Oh no! We are all properly married."

DUTCH STUBBLE.

How did the residue of Dutch inhabitants of Cochin contrive to exist under the new sovereignty? As many as possible were absorbed into the civil administration of the settlement and of the adjoining states of Travancore and Cochin; and for those who followed the profession of arms a transfer of allegiance was easily arranged, for they were mostly mercenaries. Disbursements were continued to those on the late government's pension roll and others also were admitted to benefit. One of these was Andrew Henry Sloot who had

'listed in the Nederlands army in 1763,' had been promoted sergeant in 1774, and later transferred to the clerical establishment. He was awarded Rs. 24/- per mensem, but with this he was much dissatisfied, knowing, as he said, a drummer boy who was getting more. Sergeant Haeman Wathen batted on an invalid pension of 8 rupees a month, and the toepass gaoler, Francisco Livramento, was retired on a dole of 1½ pagodas (say 5 rupees) a month. Widow Corneliesz, relict of the Dutch parson, also applied for an annuity, but her request was put back for enquiry as it was commonly supposed that she was in quite comfortable circumstances. It transpired, however, that a bank smash had impoverished her, a fact which she had kept a strict secret from her friends. As far as the Hon'ble East India Company was concerned, these doles should have ceased in 1804; but when the time came it was so painfully apparent that many people would be left utterly destitute, that payments were continued, hoping that the Dutch East India Company or their Government would foot the bill. Macaulay, the Resident, was in favour of shipping them all away, so miserable and poverty-stricken had the most of them become; whilst the income of 75,000/- rupees derived from the settlement was insufficient even to pay the Dutch prisoners of war. Those of the freemariner class, and they were a numerous section, including Groenroode, de Lange, Dirksz, Winkler, Meyer, Liebschwager Stuber and others were at liberty to pursue their calling. Many obtained employment in British ships trading in eastern waters, among them William Vanspall, son of the late governor, and Henry Lunel, son of the late Chief Secretary, who, having lost the use of his right arm at sea, applied to the British authorities for a pension.

Up to 1806 the appearance of the town was much as the Netherlands had left it; but when, in this year, the British commenced their demolitions and brought down the roofs and walls of public buildings and toppled over the bastions and ramparts of the fortifications, but did not remove the rubble and debris, whereby the drains were choked and many roads blocked by fallen masonry. Nor was it until an epidemic threatened that the civil administration and the military authorities could compose their squabbles and get the town cleared up to some degree. Said a contemporary visitor, portraying the scene, "the place had taken on a look of ruin and desolation that

deepened the general depression. The people languished. There were no schools. No public buildings. No public worship. No trade." In this state, too, were the Jews, so greatly impoverished had they been by 'the late war'. St. Francis Church was left standing, but it was probably at this time that the old conventual buildings annexed thereto (a very considerable block in the form of a square with the usual Portuguese patio in the middle) were pulled down. This sacred edifice at one time had a tall tower, but whether this had already been levelled by the Dutch, cannot be known. The outcrop of foundations which spread well out into the present 'Cochin Green' show how extensive had been the establishment of the Greyfriars. After all, this picture of destruction was but history repeating itself, for Canter Visscher's letters tell us how widespread were the ruins of Cochin after the first spasm of Dutch spleen had been vented on religious and monastic properties of the ousted Roman Catholics.

Whilst British troops were in garrison many matrimonial alliances in all walks of life helped to knit the two countries together; and even when the red-faced British soldier was replaced by sepoy battalions, it was rare that such did its tour of duty without one or more of its officers taking a wife from the station. Thus when the unit marched away to some other cantonment there would surely be at least one family palanquin having aboard a fair representative of some of the best houses in Cochin, perhaps a Van Albedhyll or Van Haesten, Schuler, Souter, Trueyens Cellarius, Frishbier, Dirksz, de Graaf, Meyer, Van der Sloot, Groenbaart, Groenroode, and in one instance, it is believed, a daughter of the Sassoon family of the White Jews. Jan Lambertus Van Spall was father-in-law to three if not four British officers—there was Dardells of the Madras Engineers who married Petronella Margaretha, Lieut. Samuel Maunsell, 19th Madras N. I., who married another daughter, and Dr. Jonathan Thorpe who married Johanna Maria; and yet another is believed to have married a Dr. Maxwell of the Bombay medical establishment.

Speaking of the Van Spalls, there was a younger brother of Jan Lambertus, Pieter Van Spall van Utrecht, who had sailed from Amsterdam by the ship 'Landshorn' in the capacity of 'Constable's Mate,' and was at Cochin in 1772. In 1780 he went to Batavia, returning to Cochin in 1783, when he married Johanna Maria

Gossenson. At his next post, as resident of the Nederlands factory at Tuticorin he purchased from Francis Schuler the village of Devishanangoram—"In lasting fee by the pagoda of Melore, in the vicinity of Tuticorin." Here he was living up to 1799 when, because of French sympathies, he was removed to Madras for the 'duration.' It was but one of his misfortunes that on returning to his house his stocks of merchandise were found to have been tampered with: bricks and stones had been substituted for the goods the packages had contained when shipped from Cochin. Of the death of Jan Lambertus in 1816, no details are available, notwithstanding the fact that it was an event of some social importance; it was possibly for the settling up of this estate that Pieter journeyed to Cochin in 1818. Pieter's will, a long rambling document (made no more concise by its translation into English) is dated 1811. He died in 1821, by which time the Dutch settlements in India had been united with British India. A long preamble to the document is devoted to enjoining upon his children that, come what may, they are in no wise to cross the 'Hon'ble Jan,' who one surmises had not looked after his younger brother's interests or Vrouw Gossenson's little estate at Cochin in the manner expected of him. Throughout all the long provisions in the will the wife is obediently submissive until it comes to choice of burial ground. Then she goes on strike. He can be buried among the dandelions in the garden if he likes; as for her she is going to their own proper vault in the 'graave-platz.' If Pieter's wishes have been carried out there will be an obelisk within the grounds of their old house at Tuticorin. Included in the estate was an expected legacy from Mathys Van Lobberecht van Batavis, all to be divided between his six sons.

Henricus Petrus Lambertus.	Simon Dederick.
Elisa Ruddolph Lobberecht.	Jan Wilhelminus.
Pieter Gosenson.	Johannes Carolus.

"Together with those to be procreated."

Alone of the foregoing (of any aftermath there is no information) Pieter Gosenson Vanspall, described as a 'gentleman' of Tanganacherry, near Quilon, left a will in detail. To his sons Peter George and James Septimus he left 800 rupees each; to Charles William 500 rupees; and to his daughters, Mrs. Eleanore Angelicina Gompertz and Mrs. Amelia

Juliana Mackay, 1000 rupees each. Lastly—"To my writer, Thomas Vanspall Rs. 250."

Of the sons of Jan Lambertus Van Spall, Cornelius, one of the signatories to the Capitulations, received a pension from the British Government which, upon his death, devolved upon a younger brother. Henry Van Spall was granted a direct commission into H. M's 86th Regt. of Foot at the express orders of the War Office. This young man's grave is at Hurnai on the Konkan coast, whither he had gone on a visit to Surgeon Thorpe*, who had married his sister Johanna Maria Van Spall. Pieter Andrew, another son, elected to go to Batavia along with other officers or officials of the late Dutch republic. He was however constrained to return to Cochin in pursuit of an old love, Juffrouw Sophia Wilhelmina Brussels, to whom he was married in St. Francis Church by the Rev: Samuel Ridsdale. The name of 'Vanspall' was current in Travancore until a few years ago; and even later, enquiries were received at Cochin regarding the supposed wealth of the Van Spalls and the alleged sale of their property for harbour developments, computed at thirty lakhs. If there be anything in the town today belonging to a Van Spall it can be little more than the family vault, still traceable in the Dutch burial ground now in dissuetude. The last of the name to reside at Cochin was George Christian Vanspall who died in 1898.

Allied with the house of Van Spall were the Von Geyers, a noble family of German origin. Baron Carel Von Geyer married Wilhelmina Van Spall (daughter of Jan Lambertus), whose son, also Baron Carel, died at Tellicherry in 1822. Christian Von Geyer, described as formerly Commercial Agent in the service of the Hon'ble Dutch East India Company at Arrogame, Ceylon, married Miss Groenroode, daughter of the wealthy 'herbergier' of the Cochin Tavern, a lady who died at Quilon in 1810, at the age of 23. These two families are difficult to segregate, but both had run into the third generation when there passed away at Vypeen, in 1854, Miss Juanna Napoleana Von Geyer, possessed of considerable property through her maternal grandmother—Vrouw Wilhelmina Hardegen. The Dewan of Cochin was assailed from both sides to assume custody of the estate lest one or the other should get his finger into the pie too soon. Nephew Charles and his married sister Charlotte Lambertina Almeyda of Tellicherry, having

* The obituary notice says Dr. Maxwell. Either there must be a mistake or Johanna Maria married twice.

been born into the Roman Catholic faith had, the better to support their pretensions, obtained from Vypeen church a certificate to the effect that they were children born in wedlock to Carel, Baron Von Geyer. They might have saved themselves the trouble. Apart from a small legacy to half-brother Sam Von Geyer, and the deceased lady's jewellery, 'mantilla, hats and bonnets, new and old,' left to niece Maria Berger, the residue was bequeathed to the Church for masses for the repose of the soul of the said Napoleana. The implication of this middle name is that her father, Baron Carel, was of the Republican party which, whilst Great Britain was at death's grip with Napoleon Bonaparte, did what it could to embarrass the British administration of Cochin. In 1841 there was a Thomas Theobald Von Geyer who was an assistant in the Secret & Political Department of Bombay, and another of the name in the Commissariat Department in Scind during the Afghan War of 1881—82. So, too, about 1873, there was a reference in Notes and Queries asking what truth there might be in the flying rumour that descendants of our Royal Family had settled in India. The reply, if any, could not be traced; but there is little doubt that the question revolved around the importunities of an old man named Von Geyer* who, when the Prince of Wales was in India, 1875, declared that his Royal Highness would not respond to the call of blood, in that he, Von Geyer, was also of the House of Hanover, therefore kinsman of the heir to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland. The name was represented at Bombay in 1906, though it does not now appear in the larger directories of India.

Almost the last baptismal entry in the Dutch registers of St. Francis church relates to Carel Josef Nicolass, son of Cornelia Vogt of Cochin, wife of Baron Carel Von Ochssee von Oxheim, an officer of the Wurtemberg Regiment in the service of the Netherlands. As the infant was born whilst Predikant Corneliesz was too old and infirm to officiate, he was christened (with that Reformed pastor's permission) by "der Roomsche Pater Van Vypeen." In 1808, mother having gone to her long rest, father and son left for Batavia by cartel ship for exchanged prisoners of war, leaving their affairs, mostly mortgages on house property, in the hands of Daniel LeMoine. Von Ochssee the younger spent most of his minority in Holland, later choosing the profession of arms; and in due course he was posted to Batavia, where

* Malabar District Records Vol: 4889, pages 429—438 is said to have an interesting account of this family. Owing to war time safe storage it was not available for reference when required.

his father had died 'long ago'. Not until 1830 could the son obtain leave of absence from his regiment to make the voyage to Cochin for the unravelment of his patrimony, upon which interest now far exceeded the initial loan. His re-appearance at Cochin confounded the mortgagee, or rather his heir, who had come to regard himself as the de facto owner of the estate. Von Ochssee improved the occasion of his return to the town of his birth by a rapid wooing of Jufvrouw Louiss Charlotte Muller, and they were made man and wife by Samuel Ridsdale. In the vestry records the bridegroom has discarded his title and is inscribed in his rank of lieutenant alone. Very soon afterwards the couple left for Batavia where, no doubt, the baronial blood trickles on in unsuspected quarters.

Carel Ludovic, Baron Van Albedhyll, a Dutch denizen though a natural born Swede, is said to have been at one time adjutant-general to the King of Prussia. How he came to be in the employ of the Dutch East India Company does not transpire, but in 1782 he married Maria Amelia de Croese of Cochin, which settlement thereafter was his domicile. Then came the war with revolutionary France and the installation of republican government in Holland; and as Van Albedhyll had not compromised himself with the British, he was selected by the Batavian Government, shortly before peace was expected (1802) to assume charge of their factory at Surat when it should be handed back to the Dutch. The informality of the authority possessed by Van Albedhyll, however was such that the Government of Bombay, though having no personal objection to the Baron, regretted they could take no action thereon. An extract from the letter tendered by him as his credentials betrays the political bias which actuated the ruling clique in the Nederlands colonial administration:—

"You have not been employed in the English service, which we heard with indignation that some of our servants entered into, we therefore have thought that we might address this to you as a person who we trust is devoted to his country with that firm love which we expected from him as a True Dutchman."

On the 20th March, 1799, his resources at Surat expended, Baron Carel asks permission of the Bombay Government to return to Cochin. Maybe he did so; but a gravestone in the Sonapore cemetery, Bombay, states that he died in that city as a prisoner of war in the

year 1804. His wife and children remained on at Cochin, where not only the eldest son but the other two used the title when they came to maturity. It was, however, Conrad Josef Gustav, the leading citizen of Cochin by reason of his local activities, who is indicated when reference is made to "The Baron." He lived at No. 1 Petercellie Street, that quaint old house vulgarly called Dutch Castle, but for many years better known as 'The Baron's House.' (During the war of 1939—45 it was occupied by the paid personnel of the A. R. P. and later by firemen of the N. F. S.). On the Dutch leaving Cochin the 'van' was dropped and the name became d'Albedhyll. Conrad was born in this town on the 15th October, 1786, and as a young man married Amelia Ernestinea Van der Sloot, of which marriage there were at least 8 children. One daughter, Caroline Amelia Rudolphina Van Albedhyll, was wedded at Cochin to Captain John Carter, H. Ms. 84th Regiment, then with the British force occupying Goa. Through another daughter, Louisa Anne Dorothea, a trail is laid for a West Country rectory. This young lady became the wife of the Rev: Charles Hubbard, chaplain of Cochin round about 1843, whose daughter married the Rev: F. Bowers of the C. M. S. at Trichur who, arriving in India in 1867, retired in 1920 to the benefice of Mudford, a village in Somersetshire. An old servant's recollection of Mrs. Bowers was of the amount of jewellery she sometimes wore—"Quite ten thousand rupees worth," exclaimed the old man with obvious pride. Baron Conrad also was with the Dutch East India Company in Batavia, from which service he retired to Cochin in 1831 on a pension of 200 Dutch florins a month, paid to him by arrangements with the British-Indian treasury. Three years later he proposed to the Church Missionary Society at Kottayam that they should lay out a plantation upon which their converts could be employed. He had, he said, resigned the Dutch service on purpose to engage in such a venture in Malabar, and offered his supervision if this proposal were accepted. For, he added, "on my return from Batavia I found that all the little property I had was entirely lost." In 1838 the Baron had another scheme. This time it was that the Society should purchase the children of agrestic slaves, bring them up as Protestants, and settle them on the land. As it transpired, the Baron was given the appointment of Conservator of Forests, Cochin State, a post he relinquished to his

brother in law, Lieut: Christopher Lethbridge, 26th Madras N. I.; which officer spent the whole of his subsequent service, up to the rank of Lieut: Colonel, in that department, merely exchanging the axe for the sword, and the felling of trees for the laying low of the King's enemies, as and when a campaign drew upon this reserve of officers in civil employ.

The d'Albedhylls purchased their house from the merchant Geraldus Lafontaine, when it was described as opposite the inn. It had previously belonged (1775) to Hendrik Anthony Medeler, the fortress commandant. By inheritance from their mother, the dowager baroness, it came to the sisters Amelia and Frederica d'Albedhyll. The old lady's will is very precise. Son Charles, alias Carel, was to have the silver teapot. Conrad the silver salver, Gustaff and Colonel Lethbridge each a pair of bottle stands, whilst Louisa Hubbard was remembered with a silver fish knife. The family maintained a modest establishment and the open ground adjoining the residence was where their stable used to be. This land was bequeathed to the town in perpetuity on the understanding that it would not be built upon. Gustavus Morewood d'Albedhyll became an assistant engineer in Cochin State, dying in 1879. In his early manhood he too used the title, but probably found it embarrassing in an English society with its insular disdain of foreign peerages. Carl Christer, who assisted Dr. Day in his translation of Dutch documents, found employment in the judicial department of the State and died a bachelor. Some other members of the family are believed to have emigrated to Australia, whilst one or two must have retained their nationality as Dutchmen. Baronees d'Albedhyll, the former Amelia Ernestina Van der Sloot, died in 1870, having expressed a wish to be buried in the family vault along with her husband; but despite their social position the place of their grave cannot now be determined. Her eldest daughter, also Amelia Ernestina, lived on in the town, and faded out only in 1902, at the ripe age of four score years and two.

Jean Scipion Vernede (son of Abram Jean Scipion Vernede) of the local aristocracy, and perhaps the third generation settled at Cochin, was given the post of Commercial Agent of the Cochin State, for which the pay was but 70/- rupees a month. It was to be increased, however, as it was not adequate to his character and ability.

In the preface to "Letters to his Wife," a record of the daily happenings on the Western Front, up to the day of his death, (1917), of Lieut: R. B. Vernede, 5th batt. Rifle Brigade, it is stated that his progenitors were Huguenots who left France at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and emigrated to Holland. From the latter country they ultimately crossed over to England, and, with the difference that Abram Jean Scipion retained his Dutch nationality, the origin of the family is possibly the same. R. E. Vernede was the author of 'Mr. Flaviel,' 'Meriel of the Moors,' 'The Fair Dominion,' and 'An Ignorant in India.' The last named was written following a visit to a brother in the Bengal Presidency, but neither had had any previous connection with this country. Adverting to Jean Scipion, it seems that he had been living in a bungalow on the site of the old dockyard, but in spite of his protestations that he had been there for many years past and had, indeed, turned the land from swamp into hard ground, he was obliged to leave the place in 1821, as the revenue officials refused to assess the plot on any other basis than the depth of water alongside it, which made it very valuable. His emoluments rose by steady degrees, and by 1859 he had not only acquired Samuel Ridsdale's house on the Zeeland bastion, but could afford to go to England on sick leave, landing at Liverpool, of which place he writes—"I cannot say much good, the people seem only interested in the making of money." After the death of Jean Scipion, the Zeeland bungalow remained the home of the Misses Amelia Dorothea, Caroline Cornelia, Pauline Jane, Mina Helen and Henrietta Vernede, thereby acquiring the name of The House of the five Sisters. Henrietta, who passed on in 1911 aged 74 is believed to have been the last to reside in this town. Conrad Vernede had been appointed Conservator of Forests, Travancore State, in 1864, having been in the timber trade for some years. His treatise on the ringing of trees, or 'Taldom', as it was called, is said to be an expert contribution to our knowledge of forestry. Conrad is probably the 'Old Vernede' mentioned by G. H. Davey as being Master Attendant at Alleppey, many years ago.

Godfried Liebschwager, a worthy man, introduced a name into Cochin society which rose to some esteem. His vrouw was Maria Van der Sloot, and for three or four generations the family was of consequence in the town. Willem, the eldest son, first saw the light

in 1788, and took to the sea for his career, as did his son Charles. The latter commanded three different ships of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's China fleet—'Kasraby', built at Damaun, 1804; 'Charlotte', constructed at Bombay, 1808; and 'Hamudy', a genuine Cochin ship, launched at that place in 1805. The first two were still ploughing the eastern seas up to 1852; possibly the last named also, but she is lost sight of after 1843, the year Charles Liebschwager left her. They were certainly old crocks, but built on the right lines and in a lucrative trade both ways, wherefore the Liebschwagers flourished. In the natural order of things the daughter of the house, Wilhelmina, married Captain Gollich of the same fleet. 'Tante' Johanna Maria, through whose obituary notice it is learnt that Godfried Liebschwager was a military officer, lived her long unfruitful days in spouseless solitude, brought to a close in 1870 at the age of 76 years 8 months 6 days. Her sister, Wilhelmina Dorothea had married Captain Sydenham Clark, Madras Army, who died at Goa in 1815. Whereupon Mina retired to Cochin and a very long widowhood, dying at one year over the four score. She was one of a quartette of ancient Dutch ladies, relicts of British officers who had taken their brides from this town. Mrs. Sarah Johanna Macleod nee Dirksz was another. This lady must have died childless, for her estate fell to eight nephews and nieces of the Dirksz and Waldeck families, with the exception of fifty rupees specifically set aside for the beggars of Cochin. Maria Wilhelmina Souter, who died at 75, was the widow of Lieut: Colonel Ives, 2—14th Madras N. I., which battalion had been stationed for some years at Quilon and Cochin. The fourth old dame was Mrs. Captain Beadle, also a former Juffrouw Dirksz, her soldier husband having died at Cochin some years before her.

Johanna Frederica Liebschwager's fortune descended to her niece Emily, who thereby became owner of considerable house property and, so one would suppose, a most eligible parti; but she too was a spinster and on her death the name of Liebschwager was known no more in this town. For some years the Liebschwagers had resided in that house across the road from the east end of the Protestant church, the deeds of which go back to 1759, when Hendrik Mathys Beijts, merchant and cashier of the Dutch Company sold it to the Jew Levi Barles for 1700 Reich dollars. Via Danile Cohen and a Deed of Sale

attested by Abram Jean Scipion Vernede and Huijbert Simon Correnzollés (1777) it passed to Johan Andreas Scheidz, book-keeper of the V. O. C. and a signatory to the Articles of Capitulation in 1795. Like other habitations of the better kind in this town, the living apartments are on the upper floor, for which the practical reason was the bad drainage of the streets which, with the basements of many houses in the town, became flooded in time of heavy rains. Access to the first floor of this house is by an outside balustraded double stairway, with treads of narrow yellow bricks * as used by the Dutch; but what marks these old houses more strongly still as being of earlier erection than the Dutch period are the fragments of stucco archways in the basement. In 1947 the owner of the Liebschwager mansion was an Indian dentist whose vanity was less tickled by the fact that he was living in one of Cochin's more fashionable houses of bygone days, than by possession of the wooden screens which once divided up the barn-like halls of Cochin Club, but were now partitions in these finely proportioned rooms, entirely robbing them of the dignity for which the architect had designed them. That the gutter of the street entrance is spanned by an ancient inscribed stone is but one of the vandalisms of a like kind to be met with in other wards of the town.

Whilst, in 1798, the Dutch garrison of Cochin were still held in the town as prisoners of war the wife of one of them, Jan Caspar Kautz, died suddenly leaving five small children motherless. She was the daughter of Jan Pieter Rottler of the Royal Danish Missionary Society at Tranquebar, who from time to time had officiated at Cochin. To him the distracted widower turned with his small brood, and he took them in. Forty years later Dr. Rottler, feeling that his time has nearly come, makes his will.—

"Yea. In the name of my dear Lord and Saviour in whom alone I seek and hope to find mercy in the hour of death, which I apprehend is not very far off, as I am nearing my 85th year; and being in sound mind write the following."—

The testament was to the effect that he left his small estate to his adopted daughter, Clara Elisabeth Brussels (formerly of Cochin), "Having no relatives near or far." He died in 1836 having, apparently, outlived all the children of his own daughter, the five sent him from Cochin by Jan Caspar Kautz.

* These Dutch or Flemish bricks, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches were largely imported into England at 2 shillings per 100. It would appear they were also shipped to India, possibly as ballast for the outward voyage.

Charles Marques de Quieros, judged by his name, should have been a Portuguese, nonetheless he is always recorded as if he were a pure blooded Dutchman. In the first instance he married Lanslot Dina Henrietta Parsons, daughter of Richard Parsons and Jacoba Elisabeth Verduin, a Cochin girl, when he was a conductor in charge of the ordnance stores collected at Cochin for the British armies campaigning against Tipu Sultan, facilities for which both the Dutch and the Rajah of Cochin, in their own interests, had granted. Lanslot Dina's matrimonial affairs had not flourished, and in the end she accepted a settlement of Rs. 2,500/- and agreed to the bonds between her and her husband being dissolved. De Quieros thereupon married Ann Krantz. As a wealthy man with property of considerable extent De Quieros had nominated Jean Scipion Vernede as his executor. Under the provisions of his will a bequest of Rs. 1,000/- was made to Vypeen church, and the residue of the estate, after other legacies had been met, was applied to the benefit of his soul and that of his 'dearly beloved wife, Ann.' Sarah Jacomina Roberts, his sister, was pensioned with five rupees a month. Constance, the female servant and her son Josuiho, were the richer by 1,200/- and 200/- rupees respectively; and de Quieros' two Polea slaves, Tuidy and Matri, were emancipated. Everything had to be sold, but whether de Quieros street was so named in his lifetime or because he predominantly owned it, there is nothing to show; but the thoroughfare is now a very mean street in which nearly every house, at some time or other, has been in pawn.

Among others in whom the Dutch strain was present were Danile Verduijn and Peter Lunel who plied their trade of sailmakers regardless of changing realms. Leibrecht Verduijn, Paul Lunel and Thomas Guizelaar followed the sea. The latter, mate of a brig, solved the difficulty of family remittances when about to proceed on a long voyage by mortgaging his house for assured monthly payments to his wife, no doubt making full allowance for its uncertain duration or too sudden termination. William Daniel Meyer was a bachelor when he launched his new brig 'Louisa,' but the sailor's subtle flattery had its reward when he led Louisa Edwin up the aisle of St. Francis' Church in 1824. The bride, herself, was the daughter of a skipper whose small barque the 'Fanny' coasted between Cochin and Bombay. It was on returning

from one of these voyages that he brought news of the loss of the Cochin vessel 'Alert,' a one-time French privateering vessel. She belonged to Captain Benson of this town, "he who was master of the 'Diamond'." Peter Martain, one of our local tradesmen, was a maker of gentlemen's hats in the latest regency style of beaver bell topper; but his fame was not as that of our more modern Peter Rodrigues who, within 12 hours, rigged out in summer togs Lord Kitchener and suite. Someone on the staff had not reckoned with Cochin climate at its proper worst!

In the year 1830 Daniel Van Wullen, sexton of the Protestant church but 'mental' and for a long period a sore trial to the Reverend Samuel Ridsdale, descended into the grave for the last time. It is surmised that his obituary notice in the 'Bombay Courier' was inserted by his brother David Van Wullen, who had emigrated to Bombay for the better exercise of his artistic talent as a decorator of palanquins and carriages. A less enterprising brother, Christian Sebastian, eked out a precarious living in Cochin as a 'domestic teacher,' but hoped against hope for the job of schoolmaster at Trichur, from whence Frederick Roosemeyer, yet another Cochin burgher, for the sake of his nine children was scheming to get a transfer. As his eldest daughter was recently married, the father had also applied to the Dewan of Cochin for 8 days leave that he might accompany the bride to her new home—"According to custom." Daniel Gunther and Pieter Notermans, both of very respectable parentage, held subordinata posts in Ernakulam jail (1840). At the same time a grandson of Arnoldus Lunel was a dresser in the British-Cochin hospital. Baptized by the Rev: Samuel Whitehouse in 1857 was one John Mac-Naughton Lunel, son of Octavious Lunel, a mariner. Ancestry notwithstanding, John was mali (gardener) at the parsonage earning six rupees a month. In the fulness of time and labour this great-great grandson of the one-time Chief Secretary to the Dutch East India Company at Cochin and the Malabar Coast was laid aside on a pension of one rupee a month. A respectable clerk in one of the mercantile houses of the town is, so one is told, the last male holder of the name left in the neighbourhood. Jan de Lange was a master carpenter in the Dutch dockyard in 1791 when he bought his house in Lily Street from Anthony Bruel, and four years later he was one of those who took the oath of allegiance to King

George III when that monarch embraced Cochin within his dominions. De Lange passed on something of his craft to a grandson of his own name, one who thrived none too badly as a timber contractor: and the story of the golden monstrance of the parish church of Muttancherry (Our Lady of Life) concerns de Lange the younger. He had a most important delivery of timber to make within a specified period, but due date was almost upon him and yet the logs lay high and dry on the bank of the river by which they were to be floated down to the depot. It looked as if nothing but a miracle could save the contractor from default, as in a long drought the stream had shrunk to a mere trickle. He took his problem to the shrine of Our Lady of Life, vowing, for her intercession in this most urgent matter, to present to her altar a monstrance made of 100 sovereigns. Lo and behold! The rains came. Waters rose. Logs swam. De Lange was saved; and the monstrance of full weight and fineness of gold is in the church to this day.

Joseph Arnold Wegwermer, a true Dutchman, became a prop of Cochin State in the year 1819, and in 1867 was still functioning as Second Judge, Trichur. A young lady of the same cognomen was nursing at a hospital wherein the present writer was a patient. On the subject of her ancestor, for there was little doubt from what she said that he was so, her practical mind at once put the question—What was his pay? Speaking to the fact, I replied a hundred rupees a month. Oh! was that all, she said; and regret has been gnawing at my vitals ever since, for she was a presentable lassie and it would have been quite safe to have endowed Joseph Arnold Wegwermer with a stipend of, shall we say, Rs. 2,500?

Any ties of loyalty there may have been between burgher Dutch and the Netherlands vanished on transfer of Cochin to the British. Among the 'Phangis' (as the descendants of the Portuguese are known) however, the link of sentimental allegiance lasted, at least, down to 1888. In this year, to mark the death of Dom Luis I, King of Portugal, the banner of the Braganzas was flown at half-mast in the forecourt of Vypeen church; and within that edifice a catafalque was erected which was draped in crepe and overlaid with a sable pall bearing the name of the deceased prince. A solemn dirge was sung by the vicar, for his melancholy intonation of which he was congratulated by the local newspaper.

Chapter III.

COCHIN SHIPPING.

Vasco and his Portingals sailed a sea uncharted.
Trusting in his timbere and the guidance of the Lord;
Rounding up his caravels, derelict and parted
In weeks of storm about the Cape with mutiny aboard.
Yet Vasco's was a lucky star;
The woeful voyage ended in rapture of the splendid
Vision of Mount Delly and the palms of Malabar.

(Sir John Thorne).

Portuguese archives preserve the names of Portuguese ships which adventured to the coast of Malabar in the days of that nation's ascendancy, but which is too far back in the mists of time for purposes of this chapter; except it may be mentioned in passing that the English ship "Falcon" was at Cochin in 1647, and the "Welcome," with merchant Edmund Percival, in 1658. So, too, did the Dutch maintain records of all shipping entering this port whilst it was one of their settlements; but Indiamen of the Hon'ble East India Company of London, if they called at all, called only for provisions, for which the place had a reputation. Travellers remark that any chance ship anchoring there was soon surrounded by a fleet of bumboats peddling their pigmy cattle along with country vegetables, poultry and fruit. Out of this purveying has evolved a distinct human species—the Dubash. Their businesses descend from father to son, or by matrimonial loop to a lucky son-in-law. One such, during the last great war, combined the practice of dentistry with that of dubashing, merely spelling his name backwards when acting in the latter capacity; and it is belived that he made as much profit in selling an orange as in pulling a tooth.

Captain Kidd our famous filibuster has walked the streets of Cochin in his own proper person, having purchased the freedom of the city with presents to the Dutch governor and his daughter: and it is said the pirates spent upwards of £7,000 in the town. Of this respectable sum, depend upon it, the Dubash got a large share. One can imagine the

scanning of the victualling bill in "ye bigge cabbin," the thigh-booted arch-pirate handing over the cash with a side-long glance of involuntary admiration and recognition of a brother in the 'trade.' Whilst coasting down to Cochin, Kidd hit his gunner over the head with an iron-bound bucket, from which blow the man died; and it was for this crime rather than for piracy that a verdict was secured against him. The incident is related in.—

Ye lamentable ballad and ye true
 Historie of Captain Robert Kidd
 who was hanged in Chains at Execution
 Docke, May. 1731, for Piracy and Murder
 on Ye High Seas.

Of the 25 verses composing the ballad those applicable to the coast of Cochin are.—

"I murdered William Moore, as I sailed, as I sailed,
 I murdered william Moore as I sailed.
 I murdered William Moore and left him in his gore
 Not many leagues from shore when I sailed.

"And being cruel still, as I sailed, as I sailed,
 And being cruel still, as I sailed.
 And being cruel still, my gunner I did kill,
 And his precious blood did spill, as I sailed.

"My mate was sick and died, as I sailed, as I sailed,
 My mate was sick and died as I sailed.
 My mate was sick and died, which me much terrified
 When he called me to his bedside, as I sailed.

"And on to me he did say, see me die, see me die,
 And on to me he did say, see me die.
 And on to me he did say, take warning now by me,
 There comes a day of reckoning, you must die."

Nor was Kidd the only English rover to bring excitement and ill-gotten gain to this settlement, for in 1720 Captains England and Taylor (both more advanced in the craft than Kidd), having run the gauntlet of a naval squadron of the East India Company off the Konkun coast, brought their ships "Cassandra" and "Victory" into Cochin. Here they were received as old friends, and the 'brethren' having much money to spend, the burghers, it is said, reaped a rich harvest. Nor was the good old custom of tendering buksheesh to the Dutch governor overlooked; his daughter likewise was not above accepting a nice gold watch, without too close enquiry as to the de jure owner of it.

Captain Thomas Green, the ship "Worcester," was at Cochin in the years 1703-04. Hill Burton in his account of this vessel says how singular it is that an event of so much importance as the seizure of the "Worcester," since it was this crisis that rendered the union of England and Scotland* necessary, should have been so little noticed by historians. Almost at its last gasp, the Darien Company had hoped to recoup its fortunes by a venture to the East Indies with the "Speedy Returne," which ship, however, was captured by the Anglo-American pirate Bowen. Nonetheless the Scots insisted upon attributing their loss to Captain Green. When, therefore, on returning from the East he, in all good faith, put in at a Scottish port to await a naval escort down the North Sea (we were at war with a continental power), his ship was seized, and, after the travesty of a trial, Green and other members of his crew were hanged for piracy, robbery and murder which they had never committed. Green had left England for the East Indies in 1703 with instructions "to set up his sloop at Cochine". Here he arrived towards the end of the year, and "sold sum great guns and bought sum quantity of pepper." Calicut** was his next call and then back again to Cochin on the 27th February, 1704, continuing to trade in a normal and inoffensive manner. When he sailed homewards from the Malabar Coast, it was to the fate awaiting him on Burntisland sands.

The Hon'ble Company's ship 'Queen' slipped into the port of Cochin to evade the attentions of a 26-gun frigate, believed to be a French privateer. Prudence had prompted this diversion, as explained in the commander's log—"My people being very much down with modishness, wch ye doctor imputes to ye fishiness of ye water at Anjengo". On "Queen" saluting the Dutch fort, it was returned, gun for gun, as etiquette demanded between equals. The ship ran up to Tellicherry to land a factor, a writer, and six soldiers for the new fort completed there; but she was back again at Cochin on the 27th February, 1716; which being a Sunday he "could do little business". Capt: John Edwards, 'Sussanah', last from Mocha, made Cochin on the 9th of October, 1719. Polite intentions in regard to an exchange of courtesies in this instance were not reciprocated. "Hoisted colours," he says, "and designed to salute but did not do so as the Dutch did not hoist theirs." Captain Edwards did not allow pique to interfere with business, and so went ashore—"where is good store of hogges, ducks, fowles, and reasonable."

* There was one king but two entirely separate kingdoms.

** Forbes, who was at Calicut in the first quarter of the 18th century refers to it as "This humble fishing town is all that remains of the grand emporium of Calicut!!"

'Drake,' (Captain Westerbane) another of the H. E. I. C's ships, left Bombay in September, 1725, to take in provisions at Tellicherry, but finding none obtainable there, he came on to Cochin. From thence to Anjengo for pepper, at which place Westerbane protested to the factor that he was getting 2 lbs. too little at each turn of the scale. To which the latter replied that it was the 'dustoor,' and that he, the captain, must take it or leave it, for that is how it was purchased from the local official through whom it was supplied. When 'Drake' returned to Cochin the 'Devonshire'* and 'Windham' were both there; and as for once the Dutch had pepper to sell, Captain Price of 'Windham' had gone ashore to negotiate for it. When this same ship was again at Cochin, in 1736, she was described as an old vessel. Richard Hunter who had succeeded to the command, went ashore to wait upon the Governor with a list of the provisions he required, which were forthwith civilly arranged for. Indeed, no supplies could be sold to shipping without the Chief's permission, commission thereon being one of his perquisites. Later that same year the English ship "Lynn" came in to load arrack. She brought with her the news that the 'Bombay Merchant' had been driven ashore two leagues south of Mangalore, after a sharp resistance against 'ye gallivats'—meaning the Angrain pirates of Gheria. These same sea rogues, in 1737, had attacked three Dutch vessels, the largest of which, 'Noordwolfsbergen' escaped, but the two smaller craft—'Zeelands Welveren' and 'Magdalena' were taken and their crews made captives.

Short of force everything possible was done by the Nederlanders to obtain restitution of their property and the release of their countrymen; but though their polite requests were forwarded to Sambajee Angria in red velvet bags, the robber chief's only reply was a fantastic bill for feeding the prisoners. Thereupon the Governor-General of Batavia left with Gustaf Willem, Baron van Imhoff, Governor of Ceylon, the option of either chastizing the pirates or making a peace with them. In consultation therefore with Julius Valentine Steen van Gollennesse, Commandeur of Cochin, it was decided to fit out an expedition against Sambajee Angria. This force was secretly assembled at Cochin, where Baron van Imhoff himself arrived on the 30th January, 1738. Landing the next day, he first attended Divine Service at the Dutch kerk, and then discussed with van Gollennesse plans for the conduct of operations. He

* 'Devonshire', later the 'Freemason'.

would have gone in command himself, he said, had that not been doing the pirates too much honour. Moreover he could not risk, in his position, being associated with an abortive attack—in which decision he showed much foresight. Renicus Siersma was therefore chosen for the leadership; and on the 10th of February, having embarked 1440 European and Javanese troops, the expedition sailed, each vessel taking up its pre-arranged position in a diamond formation—'Pantsjallang' in the van and 'De Ketel' in the rear, 'Soetelgkerk' and 'Ridderskerk' on either flank, and the less heavily armed ships within that framework. Frigates of the Hon'able Company's Bombay Marine were permanently on patrol off this pirate coast; Siersma was told to behave well towards these, the English, but not to co-operate too much—"Because in the Indies the Dutch had never found they had gained anything from that Nation".

We need not sail with the Hollanders; it is sufficient to say that the demonstration was a fiasco. No damage to the walls of the sea-girt fortress of Gheria could be inflicted by the ships' cannon; nor could they be stormed by the soldiery. So the fleet came away in full view of the Dutch prisoners who, among themselves, were never, sanguine of release by any show of force. On the 14th of April Siersma again dropped anchor in Cochin Harbour, but there were no banquets, no bouquets, no victory salutes, nor any thanksgiving in the old Kerk in celebration of his inglorious retreat.

An insult for a compliment was returned when the English India-man 'Prince George' called at Cochin in 1754. Having saluted the fort with 11 guns, it was acknowledged by 9 only.* Profuse apologies were tendered ashore for the mistake, they having taken, so they said, the incoming vessel for one in the Country Trade, not knowing that it was from Europe. This explanation did little to soothe the English skipper's wounded pride, but it was promised that a full return would be made when 'Prince George' left port.

Hyder Ali's short lived naval power caused Cochin one or two alarums. So did the Mahratta fleet, to which country power Gheria had been handed over on Clive and Watson rooting out the Angrian pirates. Though not at war with the Dutch, the Mahrattas hung around the entrance to Cochin harbour for seventeen days (1770); virtually imposing a blockade, for no merchantman would trust herself

* Salutes by cannon were always in odd numbers.

within range of ships manned by exactly the same class of people as formerly harried the coast. In time both these local navies, whose chief occupation was to levy blackmail on shipping merely passing their coastline, were eliminated by the rising might, on land and sea, of the British in India.

There were peaceful occasions even in those days, and the Madras Courier 10th March, 1795, tells us of the leisurely tour of three ships belonging to the Nawab of the Carnatic—'Surprise,' 'Generous Friends,' and 'Success' from Madras to Jeddah, in the course of which a call was made at Cochin. Up to that point the correspondent said, it had been a most pleasant voyage. Almost every day the three commanders had dined together, rowing from one ship to another in turn. The old 'Success' was very leaky—"Which was not to be wondered at," said the report, "as she is past her climacture, and part of her cargo is to be discharged to give her a parliament heel." Escort to these old sea waggons was the Hon'ble Company's cruiser 'Swift,' one of whose officers wrote his account of the trip.* For this special duty the frigate was presented by Admiral Rainier with the Nawab's colours (white silk with grey borders and grey ball in the centre) in place of the Hon'ble Company's own ensign, at which exchange the seamen grumbled much.

The vessels were carrying pilgrims for the Haj; but homewards the 'Success' was to provide accommodation for a bevy of Circassian beauties who were to grace the Nawab's harem. It so happened that when they got back to Madras, the old nobleman had died and was then, no doubt, fully engrossed by the superior charms of the houris of Paradise, whilst the son and heir was made contented with the earthly substitutes.

At Cochin the officers of 'Swift' went ashore and after wandering around for a while they discovered 'a table d'hote inn.' Here they fell to at the board, their appetites made ravenous by a week or two on ship's fare. Even the Dutch laid down knife and fork to watch the Englishmen beat them at their own game. Perhaps our countrymen were not forgetting that whereas local people paid one rupee per diem only, the stranger paid double. "No one," said the writer, "but those who have been half starved or have been fed upon salt beef and biscuit can know the satisfaction with which we devoured our dinner." This

* Gentlemen's Magazine 1795. Original Journal of a voyage into the Red Sea by an Officer of the H. C. Cruiser 'Swift'.



THE OLD COCHIN TAVERN.

Mentioned by Forbes, the Orientalist, Murdoch Brown of Anjarakandi, and other merchants and travellers.



THE LIEBSCHWAGER MANSION.

Originally Portuguese. Once lived in by Forbes Sealy when he was the first Principal of the Maharajah's College. The crypt-like appearance of the cellars is typically Portuguese. It faces the east end of St. Francis Church.

'Success,'* one of the three vessels of the convoy, is believed to have been a very highly ornamented vessel whose deadworks were covered with wreaths, scrolls and escutcheons from stem to stern, and having a beautiful figurehead of a woman smiling ecstatically at nothing in particular. Her timber bilges were 2 foot 6 inches in thickness.**

The loss of the 'Generous Friends,' Captain Porter, is sometimes quoted in stories of notable shipwrecks. She left Macao one day in 1801 and the next stranded on a sandbank many miles from land. Everyone waded ashore to a waterless island; but the Indian seacunnies conspired to return first to the wreck, and arming themselves tried to prevent anyone else coming aboard. These mutinous spirits were, however, overpowered, and 14 days after the vessel struck, the captain and a number of people on two rafts and in the jolly boat left the place, but were never heard of again. About forty people, including a number of Bengal sepoy, elected to stay on the wreck, where they were found by hostile Chinese junks. After a fight in which several of the Indian soldiers were killed, the remainder were secured and taken away. Of these but three survived, one of whom, Joseph Pinto, related the story.

Scattered throughout these pages are allusions to the Brown family of Anjarakandi. They, too, at one time owned many sailing vessels of the smaller kind, of which they are said to have lost eleven to French privateers operating off the Malabar Coast during the Napoleonic wars. For the better conduct of their maritime affairs William Brown applied for permission to take up residence at Cochin, which was allowed upon his assurance being accepted that no subversive actions (under the guise of Danish consul), would be attempted. In this direction a lot of trouble had only recently arisen out of false papers obtainable from 'Denser' sources, whereby vessels sailing on the concerns of the Batavian Government had been able to announce themselves as under the protection of Denmark if and when it suited them. Principals in this nefarious traffic, so reported the British ambassador, were gentlemen of the Royal College of Commerce, Copenhagen; and the man at the Indian end of the ramp was one Lichtenstein. He operated from Tranquebar—a Danish settlement on the Coromandel Coast subsequently annexed to British India by Captain Caulfield, H. M. S. 'Russel,' 13th February 1803. The fact was that the Browns were not above suspicion inasmuch as

* Gentlemen's Magazine 1795. Original Journal of a voyage into the Red Sea by an officer of the H. C. Cruizer 'Swift.'

** Days of the Tall Ships—Fletcher.

they had lived at Mahe (Malabar Coast), under the French flag, for many years; but had in some manner persuaded the English factor at Tellicherry to grant them British passes. One of their vessels, the schooner *Eliza*, was captured in Alleppey roads by a strange vessel which came in flying the American ensign; but this was lowered as a gun was fired and the French national colours run up. Capture was then but a matter of placing a prize crew on board, by whom the schooner was worked to the Mauritius. The next year arose the peculiar case of the '*Rachminy*,' owned by William Meyer of Cochin and part loaded at that place for Colombo. Whilst completing at Alleppey she was surprised and captured by a French privateer which left four men aboard to navigate her to the Mauritius. Against this small number the Indian crew turned the tables, massacred their captors and brought their vessel back to Alleppey. Barely had they anchored, when for the second time a strange sail came bearing down upon them, and believing it to be again French (from whom they could now expect no mercy) they jumped overboard and swam for the shore. As it so happened it was not an enemy but the sloop of war '*Swift*,' Captain Billamore, who sent a party to take possession of the deserted craft and sail her to Cochin. Billamore's claim that '*Rachminy*' was a recapture from the French was contested in the Court of Admiralty by Meyer, who declared that his crew had released the vessel by their own efforts, and that by no argument could she be adjudicated a prize to the '*Swift*'. The suit dragged on and on until even Billamore was very glad to drop it. The privateer of this episode was the '*Apollen*'. Another marauder taken on this coast was '*La Bat*', a vessel having no guns on carriages, manned by French infantry officers and their servants, about 25 in all, who designed to employ their time more profitably on this cruise than in redundant garrison duties in the Isle de France. They attacked only small coastal merchant vessels, which they designed to carry by surprise rather than by fighting, but their run was a short one, as they were quickly accounted for by a patrol ship of the Indian Navy. A gallant little action came to light when the ketch '*Ardiseer*' with sick and wounded of the Bombay Grenadier Battalion, fresh from the capture of Colombo, reached Cochin on the 18th Nov. 1796, having encountered and successfully driven off a French privateer en route; The enemy ranged alongside the ketch and summoned her to surrender, but in reply received a sharp volley of

musketry. The winning point was scored when the Grenadier jemadar of the escort shot the helmsman of the privateer through the head, whereupon the disillusioned Frenchman drew away.

Independence of the United States of America was recognized by Great Britain in 1783. Eleven years later, in a Treaty of Amity between the two countries—"His Majesty consents that the vessels belonging to the Citizens of the United States of America shall be admitted and hospitably received in all the seaports and harbours of the British Territories in the East Indies." An early breach of this privilege appears to have arisen when the American ship '*Westchapel*', on being searched by a British Frigate, was found to be carrying dollars and diamonds secreted away from the Dutch possessions in India and Ceylon recently captured by the British. On the 9th of May, 1798, the ship '*Commerce*' landed at Cochin the commanders of the Government transports '*Woodcot*' and '*Princess Amelia*' (taken in Tellicherry Roads by the French frigate '*La Preneuse*,' Capt. L'Hermite), who, with certain officers of a Bombay battalion of sepoys and their colours captured at the same time and place, had been released on parole. At first it had been assumed that information of these Indiamen being at Tellicherry had been passed on by enemy agents at Mahe, near Tellicherry, wherefore a general round up of foreigners and suspicious characters was made throughout the Malabar District and States of Cochin and Travancore; but L'Hermite, when he himself was taken some time later, said that he got his news from a native craft out at sea. Moreover the French captain had as an officer one Monsieur de Buc, who had been Master Attendant at Mahe before the British took it, so that he carried with him an expert on the coastal ports and local shipping matters. About this time also the Resident of Cochin and Travancore was advised that a French gentleman, a son of Le Duc de L'Orge, having quitted Mauritius, had landed on Travancore territory, but enquiries revealed that he had almost immediately re-embarked on a native vessel bound for Cutch, with whose ruler he took service.

One day in November, 1806, the sound of heavy gun-fire was heard in Cochin town which it was learnt was from the French frigate '*La Piemontaise*' in chase of the Bombay ship '*Rahimshaw*', with much treasure aboard. To escape certain capture the "*Rahimshaw*" was run ashore close to Cochin. Before the French raider herself was taken,

some eighteen months later, she had earned the name among Bombay and Calcutta underwriters of "The Scourge of the Indian Seas". When next 'La Piemontaise' was on the Malabar Coast she was under the British flag, assisting in quelling the Travancore rising of 1808—1809.

'H. M. S. Hesper' came into Cochin on the 20th April 1815 to land her commander for burial. The log entry recording the event reads:— "Departed this life at 7.50 Chas; Biddulph Esq., Commander. At 8 bore in for Cochin. Anchored in 7½ fathoms". Just that and no more. The log closes thus abruptly and is not resumed until 'Hesper' is alongside the Bombay guardship 'Arrogant', when Michael Mathews Esq., stepped aboard and read his commission on assuming command. In the so-called Dutch cemetery at Cochin is an inconspicuous grave, embrangled in lantana canes, the deeply inscribed slate tablet of which sets forth in brief Capt. Biddulph's career: that he was the son of Sir Theophilus Biddulph of Burberry in Warwickshire, and a protege of Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, also that he died of consumption. There is a mistake, however, in the inscription, he was not in 'Volage' but in 'Hesper'. Close by is another grave recalling a tragedy of 1836, when Cochin's most dreaded and frequent visitation, Le Mort de Chien or Cholera Morbus, seized the young life of James Charles Sayer, son of Stalker Sayer and his wife Matilda of Palghatcherry. The boy, aged 13, was being sent home by the ship 'George,' in which he had already embarked and was to sail next day, when he was taken by the fell disease and brought ashore for burial.

When Egypt, Arabia and Mesopotamia were within the governance of the Sublime Porte, Ottoman colours were quite a commonplace in havens along the Indian Ocean. Thus it came to pass that a Turkish ship was at anchor off Mattancherry (1824) when the master murdered one of his crew. As the Dewan of Cochin did not wish to risk an international incident by arresting the homicide under the folds of his own flag, the vessel was placed under an interdict—no one being allowed to leave or board it. Hunger, thirst and the expostulations of the other people under restraint at last induced the skipper to surrender himself to the State authorities, whose officers were expressly commanded to treat the Turk with every consideration due to his rank; but how the matter was adjudicated is not on record.



ANCIENT HOUSE (1947) THE NETHERLANDS CONSULATE.

This is believed to be the Dutch Barracks mentioned by Abram Parsons (1775). In the early days of the Malabar Volunteer Rifles it was their armoury. The building faces the parade ground, designated in Dutch times Der Utrecht Kwadraat; but during the late world war became known to the forces stationed in the neighbourhood as—Cochin Green.



THE DOLLS' HOUSE.

At the junction of der Kalver Straat (now Church Lane) and Der Heere Gratz (Church Road). This house belonged to a lady of the domiciled community who was one of those overtaken in the tide of war in Burmah. It is said the title deeds of the house were lost during her trek over the mountains from Burmah into India. It was occupied for some years by 'Bill' Bailey of Bruntons.

The Right Reverend Daniel Wilson, Metropolitan of India, the son of a wealthy silk manufacturer and himself a man of princely liberality, was at Cochin on one of his many visitation tours in the year 1838. He arrived by sea in the government brig 'Hattrass,' a vessel of the Hooghly pilot service which old sailors averred were the finest models of their kind in the world. H. S. Brown, at one time port officer of Cochin, has an illustration of one in his Nautical Directory of the Indian Coast, which alone makes his book worthy of a place in our libraries.

Shipping records of this port for the first half of the last century were scant; but statistics for the period January 1st, 1852 to December 31st 1854 show that there entered this harbour 152 sailing vessels of over 1000 tons, 128 of 500 tons and over, and 87 of 300 and over. War with Russia, declared in June 1854, boosted shipping so that it was even felt at Cochin; but it also gave a great impetus to the construction of steam-propelled vessels. As in other places throughout the British dominions a patriotic fund was opened at Cochin for the widows and orphans of the Crimea and the amount subscribed by Indian merchants and landowners was extraordinary—almost as if it were a popular jihad.

H. M. S. Australian anchored in our roadstead on the 21st February, 1859; and a few days later H. M. S. 'Sydney' arrived, having in tow the sailing transport 'Tubal Cain', carrying the 45th Madras N. I., a battalion relieving the 2nd M. N. I. then stationed at Quilon with 2 companies at Cochin. 'Tubal Cain' was one of the best known ships of her day, and her appearance under all sail has been preserved by marine artists. "Sydney" and "Australian" were built in 1852 for the Australian Royal Mail Company. Later they were brought into the service of the Indian Government as armed troopships and designated H. M. Ships.

The Port of Cochin.

Where Cochin harbour has been likened to the Tay, Montrose, or Yarmouth, the similitude stops short of that topographical feature of the Travancore and Cochin seaboard known as 'False Shores'. What from a ship at sea appears to be the Continent is but a strip of land from four miles to a mere 200 yards or so in depth, between which and the mainland proper is a maze of islands and lagoons. From the air the

prospect below is as a carpet of palms intersected by reaches, channels and creeks, differing in the three dimensions from tributary armlets floating a one-man canoe to those navigable for craft carrying ten tons or so of produce. All the main waterways are traversed by shallow draft passenger launches also adapted in size to their duties and the minimum depth of water in which they can ply. Hereabouts, in speaking of a millionaire, would be meant a zemindar whose estates yielded that number of coconuts per annum, though a landlord whose income was but 10,000 nuts would be considered well off. Gilbert Slater ('Southern India'-1936) refers to Baker of Komoran, in Travancore State, as the largest European planter in India, if not in the world. He must mean in the cokernut of commerce; but the gentleman referred to (third in descent from the first C. M. S. missionary in this district) used to declare that 'rubber was for the European; coconuts for the Indian.' Nonetheless, during his lifetime he was known as 'Coconut Baker.'

On the outer side these false shores are by no means an impregnable barrier to the sea, whose assaults have sometimes been dynamic. Commencing about 1857 heavy erosion ate into the coast from Vypeen to five miles north of that point until, in 1868, it broke through and made junction with the backwater at Cruz Milagres. It was whispered at the time that the Cochin Sirkar was complacent regarding the matter, for peradventure the outlet might develop into a port within his own undisputed territory, though it must certainly have been at the expense of British Cochin; and for a while, indeed, laden cargo boats from the Narrakal anchorage were using the gap as a short cut to the inner harbour. At the northern extremity the waves encroached on the land to a depth of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, tapering off to a couple of hundred yards at the southern end of Vypeen island. Within that area were submerged the original Milagres church and village with many thousands of coconut trees; and the gap remained a headache of the Port of Cochin and the Public Works Department for four or five years until the inrush was at last stemmed and dammed. It is recorded that when this was effected the general level of water in Cochin harbour was raised by at least a foot. The present church of Cruz Milagres, some two miles upstream of Cochin Town, is that edifice which so prettily closes the vista of the north-western backwater. Campbell's bund has since been built, a stone

wall that runs on the seaward side of Vypeen Island for a distance of nearly two miles along the foreshore. This will, it is hoped, keep the sea at bay for another century at least. Nor should Alan Campbell's contribution to the solution of the problem of deepening the approaches to the inner harbour be overlooked, for it is said that it was he who put his finger on the crucial spot. He declared that as the sand that formed the bar rested on a base of static alluvial mud, it could be dredged down to 'the angle of repose,' when the natural action of the tides and freshets would do most of the work of keeping the channel clear.

Though Cochin is so near nodal point of the tidal system of the West Coast of India, and its rise and fall is not much over 2 feet (it is zero at the Laccadive Islands), periods of suspense in regard to our harbour entrance were recurrent. In 1861, when Captain Castor was Master Attendant, where there had been a beach 250 yards in depth the sea swallowed it all up, and came on as if intending to engulf the Holland bastion, lighthouse and all. To fight this attack every moveable stone from the old ramparts, even the obsolete cannon and the very portia trees from the parade ground, were requisitioned and thrown into the devouring maw. Castor* was the Canute of his day, he had saved Cochin, so it was sung; though that, sad to relate, did not save him from an official reprimand for felling government trees without permission. Searing remarks were also hurled around anent the training works along the foreshore and the professional abilities of the assistant engineer "who had tried to control the ocean waves with bamboos and tatties." Once again in Winckler's time as Port Officer the lighthouse was in danger, when the stones of "the old temple were uncovered, which rarely happened." Winckler was then moved to enter in the official log—"That the vagaries of sand, both in deposit and erosion, are past comprehension." The remark was ill-timed, for a day or two later the Presidency Port Officer arrived on a visit of inspection, after which the interlineation is noticeable "At least, in my comprehension." So was ignorance rebuked by one to whom such things held no mystery.

Lord Willingdon applied the final stroke of the pen which made of Cochin a major port. But many people have a just claim to say they helped to bring the scheme to fruition. Francis Carnac Brown (1832) made a strong appeal for the development of this harbour, though

* Captain Castor joined the Madras Port Dept. about 1853, and was appointed to Mangalore. He had been master of the ship 'Lady Sale' when she was lost at Calliapatam, 25th Sept. 1849, in a furious gale which also claimed the 'Princess Royal' and the 'Industry'. Castor was exonerated from all blame. He is believed to have hailed from the West Indies and to have possessed, to some degree, negro ancestry.

it was then the official mind through which he essayed to dredge a channel rather than any physical obstacles to be overcome, for the water on the bar at that time was 17 feet, sufficient for most vessels of that day. General Cullen from 1846 onwards urged upon Government to divert Cambodia cotton from Ponnani to Cochin, which as a port was superior. James Oughterson, as a merchant and ship-owner, was asked his opinion of the port and the scheme of 1853 for improving it, which then centered around the acquisition of a tug 'to rake the bar.'

Lord Harris, Governor of Madras, conferred with members of the Cochin Chamber of Commerce in 1858 regarding port improvements and railway communications, a meeting which at least resulted in Lieut. Taylor, Indian Navy, making a survey of the harbour and its approaches. It was then established that the ridge of sand which formed the bar was no more than the third of a ship's length across. Nothing more however accrued from the visit, and a couple of years later a senior Madras Civilian declared that all they knew of the Malabar Province was that there the crops never failed and timber was abundant. At the same time as these improvements were being insistently called for, there was a mild boosting of the Narrakal anchorage where, under the lee of the 'mudbank', ships could always ride in safety.

Narrakal was opened as a Cochin State port in 1846 and Mr. Eugene de la Selle was appointed as master attendant. This gentleman was a Frenchman and brother of the administrator of Mahe, into whose family the Hon. Mr. Chamier of Madras had married, and by whom this little job was engineered. Not that the recipient showed over-flowing gratitude for favours received, for he lost no opportunity of referring to his salary of Rs. 130/- a month as 'that trifling sum.' On the other hand there were but half a dozen square-rigged vessels and a few country craft calling there in his time in any twelve-months. Most of this tonnage was French with wines and spirits as cargo, for which no doubt a port in a Native State offered advantages over one administered by British Customs. After a year or two de la Selle was carried to the Vypeen cemetery and his job taken over by one of the Vernem family. Other events, too, were shaping the future of Malabar. The Madras Railway was nearing Beypore and the P. & O.

were inaugurating their Australia and Far East services, which events between them raised the rivalry between Beypore and Cochin to fever heat for the privilege of handling passengers, mails and bunkers. Cochin, or rather Narrakal, won, the timely investment by His Highness the Rajah in a 500/- Rupee share in the steamship company perhaps being the feather in the balance that turned the scale. It was suggested that at small expense the upper reaches of the back-water could be deepened and a canal made to enable shallow draft steamers to ply from Cochin and connect with the railway at Shoranur. It was also pointed out that steamers which could cross the bar could go to a jetty in the inner harbour, (this wharf being Aspinwalls own property, the only place where a ship could tie up). Writing a three column report to a Madras newspaper, Castor waxed almost poetical over Narrakal*—"Anyone arriving at the spot and witnessing the quiescent state of the sea, without a murmur, without a ripple, would scarcely realize the fact that he was standing on the shores of the Indian Ocean in the height of the S. W. Monsoon". The instance of the 'John Cobbold' Capt. Rennells was widely exploited. This large vessel, to Peirce Leslie's agency, was at the open roadstead just north of the bar when overtaken by bad weather which stopped all work; but on shifting up to Narrakal everything was calm and smooth. Fishing boats were at work 1½ miles from the shore, and on the beach the Jews of Ernakulam were bargaining for catches just landed; and, needless to say, 'John Cobbold' completed her discharge without further trouble or delay. But Castor's advocacy led to a lawsuit with John Martin Bass, publisher and proprietor of the Malabar Mail, who had printed an article in which it was declared that the master attendant was stating that Narrakal was a safe port when de facto it was on a lee shore; and, moreover, that the master attendant was actuated by improper motives in recommending it to shipping. Bass was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment, reduced on appeal to 5 months. A risk attached to this anchorage was that though sea-going vessels passed through the mudbank without impediment, deeply laden harbour lighters becoming involved in a thick patch of it had been known to sink, as it was far less buoyant than clean salt water. No fish could live in it for long, and when (as happened on the 3rd September, 1944) clots of this Narrakal mixture drift into the harbour, it so fouls the water that thousands of

* Mudbank was really a misnomer. It was such a thickening of the water that waves would not break on it, but finally flattened themselves out altogether.

fish, their gills clogged up, float about on the surface, dead, dying and comatose. The stillness of the boat camber and the piles of the numerous jetties along the river front trap them in vast numbers, and the stench then becomes abominable. The more indigent of the Christian, Mohamedan and low caste peoples bale them out with their hands, all and more than they can possibly eat; and that no serious epidemic of cholera follows is very remarkable. When this phenomenon occurs it is said by the local people that—'The sea is sick'.

'Tom Cringle' (Jottings of an Invalid in search of health), a self constituted expert on the characteristics of the West Coast of India, could hardly avoid giving Cochin a look-up and applying his pet theory thereto. This was that all the sands that trim the strand of Ind had trickled down southwards from the vast arid shores far north of Karachi. Knowing so positively where it came from, he, of course, knew how to dispose of it, and, to his own satisfaction, at least, with a few strokes of the pen removed the bar at our harbour's mouth and made of Cochin overnight the finest port south of Bombay. Our local 'rag' announced Tom's presence at Cochin on the 19th November, 1864.—'Tom,' it was said, "is very hearty, and looks anything but the Invalid in search of Health."

A steam dredger, appropriately named the 'Albuquerque', arrived for the port in 1876 with a Mr. James Smellie in charge of it: the combination achieved but little. Yet Smellie as the man who cut the first underwater 'sod' on the bar deserves to be commemorated by a plaque on the house which he bought and in which he lived in Ridsdale Road. At a meeting in the offices of Peirce Leslie's convened by James Oughterson, in 1878, to discuss port improvements with Colonel Thompson R. E., the members of the Chamber of Commerce were told forthright in that distinguished officer's preamble that he himself was quite indifferent which place might be ultimately selected by Government, Cochin or Beypore, though his own preference was for Beypore. But again, two years later, the veteran Oughterson, writing to the Madras Marine Department, complains that nothing had been done for Cochin since the days of Vasco de Gama. This spasm of bitter levity was blandly repudiated by the named authority producing a statement showing that between 1866 and 1880 the sum of

Rs. 1,46,431—11—3 had been disbursed on Cochin harbour works. Of this, no doubt, Smellie and his dredger had absorbed the greater part.

At the Port Administrative offices is a collection of charts as complete as can be made of the approaches to Cochin and of its outer and inner anchorages. Some of these have eyedrafts of the entrance as it appears to a navigator making this place, and in the later ones the lighthouse is a prominent landmark. The first one erected was blown down in 1856. The foundation stone of the second was laid in November 1861, but the tower was again blown down in 1866, when, to replace it, it was proposed to use materials then lying at Colombo for the Great Basses light; but other plans prevailed. Alleppey lighthouse, when completed in 1862, was inaugurated by Mrs. Hugh Crawford and the first lamp lit by Mr. Maltby, the Resident. Crawford at that time was Commercial Agent to the State of Travancore, Chief of Police and Master Attendant at Alleppey, which, so a correspondent wrote to the Madras Times, was a versatile performance even for one who had been a ship's captain. The Alleppey column still stands and is, indeed, a noble piece of construction, whereas that next erected at Cochin was a dumpy specimen of its kind. In 1890 the shaft oscillated with the tremors of an earthquake; and in 1897 it was struck by lightning four times in quick succession, when the conductors were raised to a white heat. The masonry tower has since been replaced by a lattice girder pylon with an unattended light and the materials have been used in the building of quarters for the pilots. But though the gateway to the harbour has gained something in efficiency and economy, it has lost much in charm.

Oil was first struck in the United States in the year 1859. The Standard Oil Company of New York was founded by Rockefeller in 1881, and in 1884, perhaps a little earlier, kerosene was arriving by country craft at Cochin for the use of the lighthouse. In 1890 the American sailing ship "Normanby" discharged a quantity of the famous 'Snowflake' brand in cases at this port itself, and others of the many U. S. A. vessels to come here may also have brought supplies. It is said, too, that James Darragh's ship, which went to the States with his products, returned to Alleppey with case oil. There was also the small tanker 'El Guisr,' of about 150 tons, which used

to coast down from Bombay with illuminant oils in bulk. This writer remembers her being broken up in Bombay about 1906.

On the 23rd of February, 1893, a small boy armed with a deadly catapult put all the port meteorological instruments out of action; and on the 27th June, 1897, the log records.—“The 60th year of the reign of Queen Victoria. Flagstaff dressed but had to be taken down, except ensign, because of a gale.” To celebrate the earlier jubilee of 1887 a jetty was erected in the then unreclaimed piece of foreshore now incorporated in the Boat Camber. At that time the Port Officer's boats were housed in the shed leaning against Bruntons wall, from the door of which a ramp enabled craft to be run down into the water. There was litigation with a Mohamedan squatter over this site, and a court order was necessary to dislodge him. The man declared he had reclaimed the ground with his own hands and had lived for many years thereon undisturbed. There was also a Victoria Clock somewhere, though of no use to the Port Officer, who appealed, to the Presidency Port Officer, for one of his own—“As the gong of the Madras Bank is both irregular and sometimes inaudible.” On the 22nd January 1898 there was a total eclipse of the sun, when the Port Officer records that the birds have gone to roost and the cattle all gone home. On the 8th October the port jetty flag was at half mast for the Queen of Denmark; and on the 20th February 1901, the flag is lowered and all work suspended for the death of the Queen Empress. Step by step the South African war is ticked off—Entry into Bloemfontein, Relief of Mafeking, Relief of Ladysmith etc. So, too, the log tells us of the acquisition of Candle Island as a quarantine station and of other steps taken to ward off the dreaded bubonic plague, then raging in Bombay and Poona. We are told of Lord Curzon being met at the Jubilee Jetty by Lawyer Locke and members of the municipality. It was also an event when George Leverette, as Port Officer, escorted by the Nair Brigade, read the proclamation of the accession to the throne of His Majesty King Edward the Seventh.

References have been made to Joseph Ethelbert Winckler “a notable Port Officer”, who, it is believed, was a son of John Frederick Winckler, schoolmaster of the C. M. S. school at Cochin, who married the converted Jewess Hanna Mizrai. Joseph was often

heard to boast of the Jewish blood in his veins. Due possibly to this and his sailor training, he would reprove anyone throwing away the merest trifle, say an empty cigarette tin. He would pick it up, take it home, and fashion it into a trinket which would be returned to the offender. In later years he propelled himself around the town on an antediluvian tricycle, his white beard resting on his lap, and an umbrella overhead large enough to cover the whole outfit. His grandfather, Piet Winkler, departed this life at Cochin in the year 1841, aged 78. Joseph when he died was 81 years, 2 months and 21 days old, so that between them they spanned a large slice of Cochin history. Piet Winkler had also been a port pilot, a contemporary of Captain Schuler, who died at Cochin in 1833 at the age of 88. It was Joseph who added the ‘C’ to the surname and who endowed his two sons with the prefix ‘Von’—Von Ercombert and Von Adelbert. The last named was master of the Yusen Kaisha passenger steamer ‘Kumara Maru,’ plying to the Antipodes, when we taught the Japanese how to creep up on our mercantile marine. He finished up as a Torres Straits pilot. That Old Jo’Winckler had a soul is apparent from many entries in his official log—“4th April, 1891, Beautiful full moonlight night”. And again, the same year—“A perfect bow of great width in all the prismatic colours, beautifully intensified”. And yet again—“Thus ends the year 1891. It has been a good one for the port and has passed out without any casualties”.

One would like to say more regarding the working of vessels when the anchorage was outside the bar. When fleet of forty or fifty manjies* would sail out together on the ebb tide and would return in like mass on the flood it was, one is told, a sight to beat the band and Torbay regatta. During the monsoon the cargo was boated up the backwater and then carried across the narrow strip of land to the jetty at Narrakal, on the seaward side. Here it was reloaded into boats, which could then sail to the roadstead in waters lying still and quiet under protection of the mudbank. It was ‘infra dig’ for a merchant to venture out himself, but old office files reveal some of the difficulties experienced in lightering cargo. Close contact could not be maintained with vessels at that distance, and either too much or too little, but more often too much cargo would be sent out for the space available. Thus we see ‘Jimmy’ Dell of Peirce Leslies complaining to Roth of Volkarts (mentioning a steamer for which the latter were agents) that

* Sailing lighters of from 40 to 60 tons.

he had had to send his cargo out three times before it was lifted. To which Roth retorted (quoting a vessel that Peirce Leslie had worked) that he had sent his boats out four times and the cargo was not taken after all. Imports were less material, the steamer had to wait until she had discharged everything. In those days beer in the wood was a considerable item of imports, and on the occasion of the discharge of a leaky lot of casks, the gyrations of some of the boats coming in caused palpitations in those on shore most concerned with the safe arrival of the craft.

Off and on the Royal Navy has used the port of Cochin since 1795; but the earliest record of a foreign warship to do so is that of 'Leipsic', Admiral Dienhart, which, in 1890 shewed the flag of His Royal and Imperial Majesty Frederick Wilhelm III; and so that the Port Officer should make no mistake the Government of Madras sent him a print in its proper colours of the ensign he might expect to see. The Austro-Hungarian gunboat 'Albatross', Captain Mander von Elsinau, called here in 1896, when, doubtless, civilities were exchanged with the residents ashore. Almost at the beginning of World War 1 the British s. s. 'St. Egbert', Captain Barr, Yokohama to New York, was spared when encountered by the German cruiser 'Emden' because her cargo was owned in the U. S. A., then still neutral; but Captain Barr was ordered to accept the crews of five other vessels sunk by the raider and take them into Cochin. F. A. Cox remembers this occasion and being told by his butler that hundreds of sailors were being landed from a steamer. A ship's engineer who thus made his unpremeditated acquaintance with Cochin was a man named Gibson. He found a shore job with William Burns Wilson who had set up a saw-mill near Cannanore, but when that concern closed down and Wilson went to Shaw Wallaces, Gibson was taken on as an assistant to Cox at George Bruntons. He was a racy raconteur but so tactful withal that he drew his listeners into the conversation and was therefore an acquisition to convivial parties. In other respects, however, he did not fit in very well to life ashore. In 1927, when friendly relations were restored, the new 'Emden' visited this port. Her officers though an elderly set of men were treated like cadets in the matter of money and were allowed five rupees only to spend ashore: but they threw a party on their own quarterdeck, and were entertained in return at the Club.

In the trough of the two great wars the sight of a British cruiser of the East Indies fleet in Cochin harbour was an annual event—'Colombo', 'Comus', 'Caroline', 'Emerald', 'Enterprise', 'Effingham', all came in turn. Perhaps the last named is best remembered, not only because Admiral Thessiger himself was an outstanding man but in the warship was also a midshipman—Don Juan, Infante of Spain, but plain John to his shipmates. The officers were a good deal at the Club, where one late session developed into an impromptu rugger match. In the course of this rough and tumble Don Juan was heaved through a window into the flower-bed. It was raining at the time, so when he returned to the fray he had shed all outward semblance of royalty. On another night the prince was to have been entertained along with other junior officers by two of the younger members of Cochin's mercantile community, but for some reason not unconnected with the quality of the gin aperitifs, the hosts passed out prematurely, and it was another of the *junesse doree*, but also a guest, who did the honours. However, just to show that this contretemps was quite an accident, the same party met again the next night when the affair went off correctly and with as much decorum as young naval officers and budding merchant princes have a use for.

Nothing is remembered of the French submarine 'Conquerant' which looked in here before the last war on her way to Indo-China, though her officers presented the Club with an oaken shield bearing their ship's crest device—a Roman legionary or something like that.

The officers of 'Conquerant' were more sociably inclined than Pierre Loti, another French naval officer who came to South India about 1890 in a private capacity to absorb the mysteries of Brahminism. It seems that he was unable to become sufficiently well acquainted with any of those priestly gentlemen to get the correct dope; but it is not to be wondered at that such an exotic should avoid the company of the banal Englishman. Whilst in this neighbourhood he was a guest at Balghatty, from whence he set out to explore Jew Town and the palace built by the Dutch for the Rajah of Cochin. In regard to the latter he refers to its mural paintings of the 'intermingled thighs', which we nowadays are not permitted to view. A little fatigued, as he says, he came on to rest at British Cochin; and this is what he saw there.—

"The little house which gives me shelter overlooks the shore and the boundless ocean. The great blue of Arabia stretches before me and its sands glitter with a rose and white splendour under the vertical rays of the sun; crows and fishing eagles fly around uttering joyous cries, whilst a calm swell throws its breakers on shore with peaceful monotony. Further out, where the sea is blue and polished, the fins and backs of sharks that are watching for their prey are visible from time to time. But amidst all this dazzling magnificence the horizon is no longer to be seen.

"Behind the hut which shelters me, and which is open on every side, the wood of coconut palms commences at once, and I can see the green light that filters through them; from my windows long branches and feathered tufts of palm droop towards the ground. Now a young Indian climbs noiselessly up a trunk as smooth as a column, ascending by aid of toes with the ease and rapidity of a monkey in order to obtain the juice that comes from the veins of the leaves, and which is used as a drink; and this climbing man who seems half animal in this silent swift ascent is the last impression that permeated through my half closed eyes. How I love to feel the deep and shining sea so near me and to hear its mighty throbbing. It is where one can breathe and see far around, and it is the road I have always known."

Just where the author took his siesta he does not say; but he mentions nothing of the town or of passing through it.

The last peace-time visit of one of His Majesty's ships—'Manchester' in 1938—was overshadowed by tragedy. An officer of the Fleet Air Arm, flying on Christmas Eve with a brother officer as passenger, crashed into the telegraph wires which then stretched across from Muttancherry to Willingdon Island; and both were killed. A memorial in the church marks the melancholy occasion.

Chapter IV.

THE WOODEN WALLS OF COCHIN.

"Man's creature fashioned from the forest tree
Into a shapely form, eager, content,
To leave the ways and gain her element."

It is known that in the Portuguese period light swift craft, capable of meeting the navy of the Zamorin on equal terms in regard to speed, were ordered by Vasco de Gama to be built at Cochin. These were almost certainly of Jaca or Jac plank, also known as Angelica. During the governorship of Steen van Gollenesse an expert was deputed from Batavia to report on timbers grown in our neighbourhood, who declared 'Angeli' as unsuitable for shipbuilding. Van Gollenesse, however, stoutly defended it, and spoke of "the various neat little ships, yachts and sloops built here for many years". In a plan drawn in 1677 the symbols for timber baulks, anchors, guns and a hull on the stocks show the dockyard or 'timmerwarft' to have been just outside the nieuporte, where Brunton's yard is today. A vessel was being constructed by the Dutch in 1795 for English buyers, which, when ready, was to take a cargo of rice to Ceylon; also one of 300 tons was being completed for the Rajah of Cochin himself, and the master had been appointed—one de Cruz, of Cochin. Later it was sold to the Danes and named "Copenhagen". In 1797 we see the British Commissioner writing to the Rajah saying that the "Captain-Major" is busy building ships for him; and one launched a few years later was passed on to Parry & Co., Madras, for disposal, which was advertised by them in the Madras Courier, 10th March, 1806:—

"To be sold by private treaty the Grab Ship built by the late Rajah of Cochin. Of choice Teak timber and plank. Sheathed and coppered; and has not yet been out of the River of Cochin. Length 120 feet. Breadth of the Gun Deck 28 feet 3 inches. 9 ports on a side of the Gun Deck. Well found in everything."

There was an outcry in England in 1797 against the H. E. I. C's monopoly in ships in the India trade, which prohibition had to be

relaxed after the first year or two of the Napoleonic wars. This monopoly, however, did not apply to vessels constructed in the East Indies for the 'Country Trade,' or traffic between ports or settlements east of the Cape of Good Hope. John Phipps of Calcutta published in 1840 a list of such tonnage launched in India, of which an abstract of Cochin's contribution is here taken.

Built.	Name.	Tons.	Employment or Disposal.	Year.
1800	Futtay Alvadaud	400	Sailing out of Bombay	1821
1803	Lord Castlereagh	785	Do. do.	1838
1806	Bombay Castle	599	Owned by Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy.	1839
do.	Pembroke (grab ship)	314	Lost off Ceylon	1817
do.	Elizah	165	Sold at Mauritius, Lost	1822
do.	Fanny	150		
1812	Durable	220	Lost Persian Gulf, Owner J. B. Fearon, Madras	1817
do.	Amelia (Capt. Shaw)	80	Owner Capt. Shaw	
do.	Hayston (Capt. Cox)	225	Lost westward of Maldives	1819
1813	Cochin	293	Sold to the Dutch	
1814	Egenia	357	Owners; Crittenden & Mackollop.	
do.	Jessy	338		
do.	Fattay Salam	250		
do.	Despatch (Capt. Crozier)	156	Sold at Amboyna	
1816	Bombay Castle	571	Sailing out of Bombay	1838
do.	Helen (Capt. Setford)	576	Do. do.	1839
do.	Jane (Capt. Beig)	160	Sold at Batavia	
1817	Carron (J. L. Wilson)	484	Sailing out of Bombay	1838
do.	Glenelg (Lungley)	867	Owned by Remington Crawford	1839
do.	Upton Castle	596	Do. do.	1839
do.	Indian Oak (Penberthy)	445	Owner J. B. Fearon, Calcutta	1839
1818	Diana	506	Lost, Isle of Curia, Red Sea	1820
1819	Faze Robany	465	Belonging to the Arabs.	
do.	Catherine (brig)	130		
1822	Commerce (schooner)	65		
1823	Lovely Sophia	65	Sold to Colombo	
1825	Elizabeth (then Caroline)	329		
do.	Bucephalus	180		
do.	Fazerobany	567		
1828	Princep barque	227		
1830	Oriental	700	Sent to Liverpool	

N. B.—Malabar District records, Vo. 2181 pages 9—14 contains a list of ships built at Cochin during the administration of Mr. Thomas Flower, a period ending in 1807. These papers, however, were not available for reference when this work was compiled.

Built.	Name.	Tons.	Employment or Disposal.	Year.
1831	Allavie	760	Sailing out of Bombay	1838
1832	Adelaide	338	Calcutta Docking Company	1838
1833	Sultana (Evans)	600	Sailing out of Bombay	1836
1835	Hamoody	880	Lost in the China Sea	...
1836	Fathel Barry	720		...

Both 'Oriental' and 'Glenelg' are in Lloyds Register for 1849, the former owned by R. Berry of London and commanded by Capt. C. Taylor; the latter commanded by Capt. S. Banatyne and owned by McKechnie of London.

There is said to have been a 'Eugenia,' built at Cochin in 1807, owned by Hormusjee Bomanjee, John Blayde, master. Likewise the 'Dadabhoy,' 400 tons, launched 1803, owned at one time by Muncherji Jamsetji. The 'Tay,' 110 tons, built in 1804 and 'Crescent,' 450 tons, in the year 1807, were built on the Malabar Coast, and might also be Cochin.

At Bepore too a few good ships were turned out

1803	Duncan, then Francis Warden	419	Sailing out of Bombay	1839
1809	Malabar	362	Frigate for Bombay Marine	
1813	Edmonstone	450	Afloat in	1825
do.	Sir Thomas Monro	..		...

'Duncan' was the first ship completed on the Malabar Coast from teak produced in the Hon. Company's territory. Not only so but the whole of the tar used was extracted from chips and sawdust accrued from the building materials. More remarkable still, it was thought a considerable quantity of the iron used was mined and smelted in the province of Malabar. And, as a good omen, her port of launching gave her a full load of pepper for her maiden voyage to the U. K.

The small port of Alleppey also made its effort in 1811 with the brig 'Robert McCally,' 302 tons, owned by Robt. McCally, the Second Judge of Alleppey, who had married Elizabeth Labouchardier of the same place. To prove that the first launch was not one of those great events without a sequel, the brig 'Soobrow,' 244 tons, followed in 1832; but she has also been claimed by Cochin.

A Cochin-built vessel came under the auctioneer's hammer at Bombay in December 1813:—

"To be sold under the Tamarind Tree in Bombay Green, the good ship 'Pembroke,' 315 tons, built at Cochin in 1807. Well found in stores and ready to proceed to sea."

Another of our locally created Leviathans—the 'Hayston'—was lost on the Maldives in 1819, on which occasion the Sultan of those islands received the thanks of the Indian Government for the ready succour extended to the shipwrecked crew. 'Indian Oak,' yet another Cochin vessel, was lost on the Greater Loo Choo Island when bound for China with war materials for that theatre of operations. As it happened she was at the time under convoy of the Cochin constructed H. M. S. Alligator, from which she became parted and was driven ashore in a storm. Here again the Islanders showed great humanity towards the strangers cast away on their shores; and their honesty was such that although gold and silver articles lay about on the strand, nothing was touched. They also assisted in building a very serviceable junk from the timbers of the wreck, so that when a frigate of the Royal Navy came to take the people of the late 'Indian Oak' away, their offer was refused. All that the Loo Chuans would take in return for their services were a telescope, a looking glass and a dozen copies of the Saturday Magazine. However, when the circumstances were reported to our Government, liberal rewards were distributed among them.

Lord Castlereagh, the statesman, was keenly interested in employing the resources of India in making good the ravages of war upon British tonnage, hence the compliment paid that nobleman by Bruce Fawcett & Co., Bombay in naming one of their fine new ships after him. The builder was Paul Tate, a shipwright who left England in 1798 to assist a Mr. Mackonochie in a plan for improving the Malabar timber trade. Later, to better his fortune, so it is said, he commenced building ships at Cochin. Having advanced views on naval construction he had devised a system of ventilation of ship's holds by which foul air could be expelled or, as occasion required, a ship's interior could be hermetically sealed so that fire, denied air for combustion, could get no real grip below deck. Presumably the 'Lord Castlereagh' was built on this plan. She was of teak, and two-thirds of her knees were crooks of the well known and comparatively scarce 'Thambam' or iron-wood. Four hundred artizans were employed in putting her together, and speaking of the prospects of further building it was said that four hundred more were available if coached in the European way of working. In what precise part of Cochin the keel of 'Lord

'Castlereagh' was laid is not stated, but Tate said the yard was in the midst of a jungle and that the foundations for the slipway were very expensive, from which it is surmised that it was in the neighbourhood of Palluruthi. He also made an envious comparison with the ship 'Travancore' launched six or seven years earlier from ground that was firm and hard, and at a spot on the river where the water was sufficient for the largest vessels, whereas Vypeen, for example, was suitable for the building of lighter craft only.

When 'Lord Castlereagh' was ready for sea there was trouble with the Dutch pilot, who objected that as there was only 14 feet of water on the bar it was insufficient to float the new ship over it. Captain Macfarlane, the master appointed to her, therefore took her out himself; and found, so he asserted, 18½ to 19 feet, proving thereby that ships up to 1200 tons could be built at Cochin. It was believed that the Dutch were decrying their own port with the object of damping any desire on the part of the British to acquire it permanently.

Both the Cochin-built ships 'Lord Castlereagh' and 'Bombay Castle' were in the fleet of East Indiamen commanded by Commodore Dance when the French squadron under Admiral de Linois was deceived into believing that a fleet of British ships of the line had been encountered, wherefore they made off without attacking what were merely armed merchantmen. The 'Lord Castlereagh' was lost under the most tragic circumstances on the South West Prongs, Bombay. She was returning (1840) with troops to that port from the war in Sind when she ran on the rocks and was wrecked with fearful loss of life, Captain Tonks, her commander, being among the drowned.

The question of shipping home timber from India had been discussed by the higher authorities and it had been agreed that this was impracticable, wherefore construction if done at all must be near the source of supply. It may, therefore, in some part be due to the fine qualities of the ship 'Lord Castlereagh' that it was suggested that the Court of Directors in London should interview Mr. Paul Tate, who was then in that city, on the very important subject of procuring vessels of war from India. It was stated that at Bombay there was the means of building ships of the line at least equal to a rate of 64 guns, and at Cochin "we may build frigates of 44 guns to any

amount." It could have been added that two-thirds of the timber used in Bombay shipbuilding yards was loaded at Cochin.

Tate's memorandum is in much detail. He mentions a visit to Tadri, a small port in N. Canara, to examine timber collected in Hyder Ali's time for the building of ships of war under French supervision. There he had seen the keels intended for two frigates and a 60-gun ship which even after twenty years of exposure to the weather were in good condition. He further mentions that in section these were twice as heavy as would have been used in vessels of similar size built for the Royal Navy. Of the methods of working timber he had seen in Travancore and Cochin he had the poorest opinion since a whole tree was split up with wedges to get one plank. He offered to set up a saw-mill, wind propelled, which would be handed over as a going concern only after approved trial.* Cochin was not considered likely to revert to the Dutch at the conclusion of the war then in progress, and so it has every advantage as a mart for teak and many other useful woods; and because of its accessibility, cost would be at least 60% less than at Bombay. It seems that an Indian contractor had offered Tate one lakh of rupees to construct for him a machine for hauling logs over mountainous country; and it was argued that if such an extravagant price could be offered for so simple a contrivance, this was proof that Cochin was a good spot for the shipbuilder. The 'Diana' was one of Tate's ships, launched (according to Phipps) in 1818; but nothing for the Royal Navy was ordered from Cochin in his time.

Between 1808 and 1812 is a blank period at Cochin, partly accounted for by the fact that as the French were offering inducements to Arabs to purchase vessels in India and then run them over to the Mauritius for sale, where they were often fitted out as privateers, there was a ban on shipbuilding in Indian private yards. One Frenchman caught on this coast in the tide of war (1803) was Monsieur Courpallais, who had had a sloop built at Quilon. He was allowed to reside at Cochin but was not to navigate any vessel whilst hostilities were in progress. Another outcry was raised in 1814 by the craftsmen engaged in shipbuilding in Great Britain by whom it was represented to Sir Samuel Romilly, First Lord of the Admiralty, that of 41 shipyards in the country in one only was a vessel being built. This evil,

* A saw mill which had been erected at Calicut had proved a failure since the wind drove it either too fast or too slow; moreover the saws were badly tempered and would not cut straight.

as it was termed, was ascribed to the encouragement given to Indian shipbuilding which caused British workmen to emigrate to other countries in search of a livelihood. Their prayer was that no further Indian-built ships should be admitted to British register—a rule that had perforce been relaxed since the war year of 1801.

Mr. Frederick Schuler, master attendant at Alleppey, where he also held the farms (sale monopoly) of tobacco and betel nut, first appeared as a builder of ships in the year 1817, when he had a vessel ready for launching at Cochin. As this was an event of local importance the Rajah and his family were invited to be present, "and, if he will graciously consent to do so, a bungalow will be ready for his reception." A similar function occurred in 1818, when Mr. Williams put a ship into the water. He also "begs that His Highness, the Rajah of Cochin, will grace the occasion with his presence."

Relative superiority in workmanship in turning out a ship was rated in this order.—1st-Bombay, 2nd-Surat, 3rd-Cochin, 4th-Calcutta; then Rangoon and certain other places.

Cochin Builds for the Royal Navy.

"It was hoped that the English sailor would soon get to like Indian teak as much as he already did the English oak." Launching of H. M. S. 'Minden' at Bombay.

Although Napoleon was now safely tucked away in St. Helena the Admiralty had not forgotten Cochin's potentialities for the production of ships of war. In 1819 a Mr. Edge arrived here from the Admiralty and was introduced by the Resident to various gentlemen of Cochin who were better acquainted, as he said, with the subject than he. Admiral Sir Richard King, H. M. S. 'Minden,' was also shortly due; and out of these visits emerged an order for three 28-gun frigates, 1 tank ship, and 1 schooner. Captain Schuler with whom the contract was placed*, was given a lease of land upon which were the coach-houses and stables of the Dutch governors—"Long since unoccupied." This would include the ground in line with the old Portuguese house next the church, previously the Dutch parsonage, and in depth right down to the sea shore.

The fact that Cochin was to become a 'King's Dockyard' created some excitement. An assistant magistrate was asked for as the expected increase of European inhabitants necessitated the

* Parry & Dare, Madras, as agents for the Royal Naval dock yard at Trincomalee are believed to have had some interest in this contract, though their names appear in no papers available to this author.

appointment of a European officer. Additional military guards were also required to protect the stores assembled for the ships to be built.

In due course 'Alligator', 'Samarang' and 'Termagent', were added to the King's service. The other two vessels are not identified, but at Madras in 1846 was a tank vessel belonging to the Royal Navy named 'Cochin', and this may be one of the craft mentioned. All five, we are told, were completed to the satisfaction of the Admiralty, which is saying a good deal, for that authority was ever mistrustful of contract-built vessels. Madam Schuler made her contribution to the general result, for inasmuch as timber was a material factor in shipbuilding, so was the Dewan of Cochin an essential party to the supply of it. When therefore the dear old soul "presents her compliments to His Excellency the Dewan, and begs his acceptance of a pair of spectacles since she has no immediate use for them," one feels she has as good as laid the keels of the entire flotilla. Colonel Digby Mackworth who, in 1822, was shown over Schuler's yard, says there were but two other Europeans employed there—an Englishman named Crockenden and a Portuguese sailor. Schuler, then somewhat wheezy with asthma, wrote to his friend Murdoch Brown of Anjarakandi to say that for this complaint he was smoking the leaves of the Stramonium, a plant none other than the dhatura.

No further information can be given of these vessels until they are about to be taken over by the Royal Navy, and their logs begin the story of their individual lives. Nor were they admitted to the honorable company of His Majesty's ships until the naval ensign had been hoisted and the warrant of command read at the foremast by the officer appointed to take the ship on her first commission.

'Alligator' was begun in November, 1819, and was the foremost to take the water, previous to which H. M. S. 'Curlew,' Captain J. N. Campbell, had been despatched to Cochin with stores and personnel to set up the new frigate, for Schuler was concerned with the hull only. H. M. S. 'Liverpool', 50-guns, Captain Francis Augustus Collier, also remained in the outer roads to lend whatever further assistance was necessary. Her log, 29th March, 1821, A. M.

records that H. M. Ship 'Alligator' was launched at 11.40; on which same day the log of the Royal Navy's latest acquisition also begins.

"Got hawsers out. Launched and immediately commissioned by me (J. N. Campbell) in obedience to orders issued by Rear Admiral Sir H. Blackwood, C in C of the East Indian Seas."

On the 30th March her crew was made up with 15 men from 'Liverpool' and 25 from 'Leander,' also at Cochin on that date. Campbell of 'Alligator' was under no delusions as to the character of these drafts; they were, according to him—"A select band of ruffians." All the same when his ship got to sea he derived much satisfaction from her speed. "Found," he says, "our sailing nearly equal to 'Liverpool'." But as the Commissioners to the Admiralty at Trincomalee had omitted the supply of booms in the specifications—"A most egregious error"—their voyage was prolonged 14 days. None-the-less the Cochin builders had some encouragement to draw upon. The new frigate made good time to Trincomalee from whence, after a while, she sailed for Woolwich to be fitted with her armament as a 6th rate of 28 guns.

H. M. S. 'Liverpool' was again at Cochin, December, 1821, rather ahead of time to act as midwife for 'Samarang'; and for some days lay at anchor in the outer roadstead pursuing normal navy routine. On the 27th of December a fresh supply of arrack was received from the shore, and in the natural order of events two seamen, William Griffiths and Thomas Windel, got twenty lashes each for drunkenness. Launching of this second frigate was fixed for New Year's Day, 1822, with Captain J. N. Campbell again deputed to take charge. His log begins.—

Cochin, Tuesday, 1st January, 1822. His Majesty's Ship 'Samarang' launched. Joined Lieut: C. Gibbs and hoisted the pennant. Came on board and took command Captain J. N. Campbell.

H. M. S. 'Liverpool' continued to send working parties. Lieut. Sommerville, 5 seamen and 20 dockyard hands from Trincomalee also arrived to push on with the rigging and fitting out. On the 3rd January the ensign of the parent ship is at half mast.—

"Departed this life Mr. Alexander Blair, surgeon. Body sent ashore for burial."

Thus hard work, lashes, and death were as much a part of navy routine in Indian backwaters as on the high seas or at a home port. Such progress was made with 'Samarang' that on the 5th of January the entry in her log is.—

"Made all sail out of Cochin harbour, boats towing ahead."

Another casualty impended, which throws a side-light on the manning of the fleet at that period.—

"9th. Mustered ship's company and found John Adams missing, supposed fallen overboard and drowned, being subject to apoplectic fits."

'Samarang' lay at Cochin titivating and loading timber for Trincomalee dockyard, for which port, on the 12th of January, she stretched her newly fledged wings, her larger consort keeping a watchful eye upon her. She left Indian waters soon afterwards for Portsmouth, reaching that place on 22nd July, 1822. But it was not until 1824 that she took her place as a fighting unit of the Royal Navy.

'Termagent,' the last of the three frigates to be built at Cochin, although begun by Schuler in March 1820, was not ready for launching until November 1822, in which month Commodore Grant, H. M. S. Liffey arrived to take her over. An anchor in the margin of 'Liffey's' log, against date 12th November 1822, denotes that on that day she was riding easily in our inner harbour; but tragedy in bare outline opens the narrative of her stay here.—

"Fell from the top yard and was drowned, John Cannon(s)."

Nothing further eventful occurs until the 18th, on which day the log states.—

"Saw 'Termagent' afloat and pennant flying."

As a matter of fact the programme had been upset, for appropriately to her name, 'Termagent' had given a display of the tantrums by refusing to enter the water at the time fixed; and it was not until the following day that she slid into her native element. This was the more vexatious as the Rajah of Cochin and a numerous retinue had assembled to witness the launching. On the 18th she was amenable to reason, and with every boat of 'Liffey' hitched on to her she was towed to the outer roadstead, having been commissioned at daylight by Captain Robert Graham Dunlop.

During his stay at Cochin Commodore Grant seems to have made a good impression on the Rajah and his Dewan, the latter, on his parting visit to H. M. S. Liffey, presenting him with a couple of tiger skins as souvenirs. This distinguished naval officer was a guest at Balghatty for most of the time he was here, and one can be certain that all the delicacies available in the place found their way to the Residency table. In his ship, however, things were not quite so good. Among other victualling items was 'cattle on the hoof,' of which livestock 'Termagent' was delivered one prime bullock which when killed and dressed for issue weighed 88 lbs. 'Liffey' about the same time killed three, the collective weight of which was 330 lbs. obviously super prime. On Xmas Eve the entry runs.—

"Killed two oxen, found unfit to eat, slaughtered another."

Presumably third time was lucky, and that to the strains of the Roast Beef of Old England the sirloin was ushered into the wardroom. Many a provincial butcher's shop in Great Britain is presided over by the stuffed head of some fattened beast, but anything under half a ton in weight would be classified with Pharoah's lean kine.

'Alligator' (the successor of a 6th rate built at Plymouth and sold out of the service in 1814) spent almost all her career out East. Under the command of Captain Thomas Alexander she was actively employed at the taking of Rangoon, and her boats formed part of the flotilla for the advance up river to Ava. 1837 saw her in the China troubles; and in 1846 she was still part of the East Indies fleet, based on Madras and used as a troopship. From 1848 to 1859 she was at Hong Kong as hospital ship of the China station, for which duty she would be well suited. Since she was built in India, she seems to have been modelled on the frigates of the Indian Navy. These were well known to be higher and more roomy between decks, enjoying more light and more air. In a comparison between the European ratings in the pay of the East India Company and those of the royal service, the healthier appearance of the former was most marked.

'Samarang' as a name appears in the Navy List in 1808, when the 18-gun corvette Scipio, which fell into our hands at the taking of Samarang from the Dutch, was renamed in honour of that event. She was at the capture of Java in 1811, but was subsequently brought

to Bombay and sold to private buyers who plied her in the 'Country Trade.' 'Samarang', the second, 28 guns and 503 tons register, was launched at Cochin in January, 1822, at a cost for hull alone of £ 10,999/—the same as for her sister ships. Her longevity was remarkable, for she faded out only in October 1883, at Gibraltar, where she had been coastguard vessel since 1847. At the last she fetched £ 674/- for breaking up purposes. She, too, was in the China Seas for many years; and in the suppression of piracy in Malaya. Her best work, however, was done as a surveying ship, both in the Eastern Mediterranean and North Borneo, in which latter region Sir Edward Belcher, who was in command of her, endeavoured to ascertain the truth or otherwise regarding a European lady said to have been captured and carried away into the interior. Sir Edward's book, "Voyage of the 'Samarang'," is an interesting record of the doings of this tough little frigate of which Cochin has no reason to be ashamed.

'Samarang' as a name was never repeated, not even in the prolific production of naval vessels in the last two wars; but at Gibraltar it had been the custom to apply it to one of the port small craft, and it is believed the name is borne to day by a harbour launch.

'Termagent' bore her original name until 1824 only, when she became the admiralty yacht 'Herald'. She had been cut down and re-armed with ten 3-pounder brass cannon for the express purpose of conveying His Grace the Duke of Devonshire to St. Petersburg as ambassador to the Court of Russia. She also carried to India Mr. Stephen Rumbold Lushington, governor-designate of Madras, and returned with the Earl Amherst. On another occasion it was the Bishops of Barbadoes and Bermuda going to their respective sees who were her passengers, when, on the back voyage, she was routed via Havana to lift upwards of one million dollars. But in 1831, though she could now mount fewer guns, she was recommissioned as a fighting ship for the China coast. In the Canton River, she must often have been in company with 'Alligator' and 'Samarang', whose original armament, like hers, had been twenty 32-pounder cannon, six 18-pdrs. and two 6-pdrs. and a crew of 160 men. Her accommodation, handy size and strength (able to stand a bump or two) made her very suitable for surveying work, in which she was employed on the Pacific coast

under Capt: Henry Kellett; and again, in 1852-61, among the Fiji and Pacific Islands, under Captain Henry M. Denham. Her last duty was as chapel ship at Shoreham, from which she was sold out of the service in 1862 to the well known shipbreakers, Castle & Son.

Following up the matter of figureheads at the Marine Museum, Greenwich, it was thought that that of 'Samarang', though not on show, was in store. This necessitated a visit through a booby hatch, down a foc'sle ladder and into a holdlike cellar where lay at random all sorts of ships' furniture and junk surplus to exhibition requirements. Turning over a number of prostrate pieces one was found thought to be the object of our search. It was, however, the figure of a Mysorean garbed as in Tipu Sultan's time and might have been intended for that potentate only that it carried a large open umbrella, whereas one imagines the Tiger of Mysore with nothing less pacific in his hand than a glittering scimitar; but whoever the figure was intended to represent, it came from the Bombay built frigate 'Seringapatam.' Better luck attended a call at the United Service Museum, Whitehall, for here was a rigged model of 'Samarang' herself, painted black as she was at Gibraltar; but whether it was executed by the builders or, perhaps, by the dockyard at Gibraltar there is nothing to indicate.

'Samarang' is depicted as a tall three-masted ship, with flush deck and hardly an obstruction, except her guns, from stem to stern. As her steering wheel is placed just for'ard of the mizzen mast and the companion ways down to the commander's and officers' quarters are right against either bulwark, the quarterdeck is entirely clear. Instead of square ports below deck, the ship was encircled with glass scuttles and the stern works were finely decorated. The model is large enough for the figurehead to be carved in some detail, which is that of a Malay, on his head a green turban wrapped around a red kullah. The body is clothed in what is meant to be a garment of white maddappollam, of a cut termed in India a chupkhan.

To find an emblem for 'Alligator' would have been simple enough, since animated specimens for imitation by the artist in wood were to be seen within half a mile of Schuler's yard. 'Termagent' might be a little more difficult, though here, too, models from the life, Indian or Creole, could no doubt be studied at first hand in the purlieus of the Petersellie quarter of Cochin or the slums of Calveti.

Commercial Shipbuilding (Resumed.)

In Schuler's next contract the Dewan of Cochin required deliveries of salt against timber to be supplied, a method of adjusting accounts often resorted to by the Sirkar. Schuler, in this instance being short of funds, casts around for a loan to bear interest at 9% of sufficient amount to enable him to lay down two or three keels simultaneously; and to pay his workmen he had to send Spanish dollars to the mint at Ernakulam for coining into small money. There was on the stocks, in 1825, a ship for Syfullum Shah, a Persian; and another was to follow—The Malay rajah's ship 'Arjuna'. In connection with the 'Arjuna' there was an allusion to a master ship-wright who may have been the Portuguese referred to by Colonel Digby Mackworth, and who may even have been Poney Guizelaar, whose memorial in Vypeen church declares that for 42 years he was 'the' shipbuilder of Cochin. Guizelaar died in 1852. There is yet another gravestone, outside the church, which covers the remains of a man who died in 1841, the inscription upon which reads.— "A. Guerre, for many years a shipbuilder of this place." Yet whereas Guizelaar was mentioned in contemporary print, the work which the other did is unspecified.

When Captain Francis Schuler had driven his last nail (he died in 1833, aged 85), the good work did not stop; and one ship at least could usually be seen somewhere or other against a background of Cochin palms rising plank by plank into a corporate existence. Jean Scipion Vernede in partnership with Captain Harris, formerly of the Country Trade, produced a ship in 1827. Shapoorjee Hirjee, a Parsee merchant of the town, was constructing a large vessel in 1828, and was still engaged in such enterprises up to 1842. Zoroastrians are not credited with being a seafaring class; but about this decade the ship 'Robert Spankie' of Bombay was officered throughout by Parsees, one Cowasjee Shapoorjee being master thereof: whose family thereafter adopted the surname of 'Captain'.

Owen and Caldecott, both retired master mariners, combined to launch "Captain Caldecott's ship" in 1830. The latter afterwards accepted the post of Master Attendant at Alleppey with which was combined the office of Astronomer Royal to the Rajah of Travancore. Caldecott's wife, Sophia, died at Cochin in 1836 at the age of 19. Whether he married again is not known, but when he himself died, in

N. B. Schuler's family became anglicized. His son was in the Bombay Horse Artillery, and transferred later to the Queen's service. A magnificent silver centerpiece presented by him now adorns the Officers' Mess at Woolwich.

1850, he had collected a prodigious quantity of furniture and household effects, poultry and livestock. One might suppose that having spent so many years of his life cribbed, cabined, and confined aboard ship, he just spread himself when he came ashore.

John Crockenden, already mentioned, had been a foreman at the Beypore Saw Mills, where, in 1808, he was given an honorarium for supervising the construction of the frigate 'Malabar'. He was to have assisted the person commissioned to build a ship at Cochin in the year 1814, had not a man been sent from Bengal. Crockenden must have come to Cochin shortly afterwards, and continued at his calling until his death in 1845. In his will, which shows him to have been a native of Rotherhithe, he directed that his house at Vypeen should be sold and that two-thirds of his estate should go to a youth known as Joseph Rozario, who was to come into the legacy "when he shall be of years able to conduct himself." Included with the bequest was a mysterious box, only to be opened when the main provisions of the will had been complied with. It was further desired by Crockenden that the Protestant minister at Cochin would take Joseph into his service—"His spiritual welfare having been more on my mind of late."

Captain Anthony Steele made a ship for himself and sailed her away in 1832, the same year in which a corvette was launched for the Imaum of Muscat, a function at which the Dewan was present. What amounted to a constructive rebuilding was that of the 'Drongan', Cap: Mackenzie, a China ship that was under repairs in the port for many months. One wonders whether this vessel was the subject of Francis Carnac Brown's complaint that when an English barque, having stranded on the Laccadives, came to Cochin as the nearest haven for repairs, her captain was robbed and defeated in every respect, a plot being formed for the purpose as if he had been cast upon a shore of wreckers. When Captain James Mackenzie, Bengal Cavalry, voyaging from Calcutta to the Red Sea, called in at Cochin, in December 1835, there was building one ship of 600 tons and several smaller ones. The usual life of such vessels he says was from 30 to 40 years; but those owned by Indians (unless they encountered earlier some other peril of the sea) were employed until actually worn out; in fact until they foundered, "which was their usual fate."

Commenting upon Cochin, the Madras Hurkarrah of 26th. January, 1836, remarks that though trade in general had declined, shipbuilding was quite active. One vessel of 500 tons was being built for a Muscat merchant and four or five buggalows for Arabs; whilst "a pretty little barque of between 200 and 300 tons, belonging to the Bhaonuggar rajah, lately launched, is now ready for sea. The 500 ton craft will not cost more than Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 70,000. Mr. Powney Guizelaar* is the chief if not the only builder." A Jewish rabbi, however, on a visit to Jew Town in 1838 states that he met there Yesoonie, a Black Jew, who was a leading shipwright. Not only had he made much wealth therefrom but he was a man of considerable repute, respectable in every aspect of that word. Many vessels were built at Jew Town, and the 'Yahoudi' himself was no mean craftsman in the fashioning of wood.

The 'Futtey Moombarak' (Success and Good Luck) 1090 tons, must have been the heaviest ship built at Cochin up to the 19th September, 1841, the date she entered the water. Her progress had been watched in every detail by her owner and captain, Mr. William B. Weeks. After the ceremony he writes to thank the Dewan, who had presided at the function, "for the kindly and gentlemanly bearing towards him on that occasion, and therefore presumes to recommend to his attention Mr. Henry Coenraadsz." No augmentation of the Cochin Civil List, however, followed on the request.

The 'Ameer', a vessel built with a sham gallery and the figure-head of an oriental potentate, was launched at Cochin in 1847. In 1857 she was owned by George Birnie of Melbourne. In consulting the Mercantile Navy List of 1947 it is astonishing to note the number of old sailing ships that still exist in one form or another—barges, pontoons, hulks, and even as cargo carriers—in Antipodean ports. At Melbourne alone there appear to be over twenty of them.

Cochin built Ships on the Bombay Register in the Year 1842.

Name.	Tons.	Built.	Commander.	Owners.
Hamudy (grab)	267	1805	A. Nacodah *	Myaram Dayaram
Bombay Castle	609	1806	D. Baxter	Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy
Helen	621	1816	P. Tonks	Nusserwanjee Eduljee
Hydros	461	1823	A. Nacodah	...
Fazel Currim	459	1828	Hajee Moosa	Hajee Ebram bin Abdul

* Powney Guizelaar lived in the single storey house at the corner of Napier Street and Cemetery Road. Usually referred to as 'Poney', but probably named after George Powney, Commercial Agent, Travancore & Cochin, for the H. E. I. C., about 1790—1800.

* Nacodah, an Indian shipmaster

ame.	Tons.	Built.	Commander.	Owners.
Tauz (brig)	125	1829	G. F. Poulier	Bhawan Dewraj
Futtay Salam	485	1829	J. L. Gillet	Hajee Jackariya Noor
Fazel Currim	292	1829	Abdul Rahiman	Hajee Sullia Mohamed
Futtay Rahimon	319	1830	A. Nacodah	Hajee Jackariya Noor Mohamed
Fazel Karim	440	1831	Moosa Abdulta	Hajee Ebram bin Abdul
Allalevie	760	1832	A. Clark	Hajee Dossal bin Canseer
Soobrow **	224	1832	J. P. Biale	Jessoob Alladin
Julla	285	1835	W. Evans	Veerjee Coverjee
Fazrabany	477	1838	Thomas Stewart	Metta Saya
Adeb	196	1840	...	Skinner & Company
Adelaide	344	1832	J. Peirce	...

A large ship, the 'Atiel Rahiman', 677 tons, built at Cochin in 1838 for Bombay owners, is omitted from the foregoing list. As it is specifically stated that she was constructed with teak frames, her other timbers, presumably, were of less expensive species. There are several other vessels of this name, but this particular one was wrecked on the 26th November, 1867, on Sandy Island (Madagascar?).

Messrs. Gerrard and Boomgaardt introduce themselves in May 1843, with an ingratiating letter written to the Dewan advising him of the inauguration of their firm at Cochin, of which Monsieur T. deRountanay was a sleeping partner. Their business was to deal in the produce of India and in the building and repair of ships. Their name, however, never appears as shipbuilders. Brown of Anjarakandi is enquiring at Cochin, in 1844, for a vessel of 250 tons, which must be of teak—Angli wood will not do. He is quoted Rs. 80 per ton for the hull alone. Masts and rigging were a separate contract, and nails and copper sheathing were to be supplied by the purchaser. It was not only large vessels that went to European buyers, there were others round about the same size as the 'Fortitude', 191 tons, built in 1845, which was bought by Hilbery of London. Her master bore the same name as the biblical character of old, the one who took a cabin de luxe in the whale's belly.

The Agent for the Imaum of Muscat also commenced collecting materials for another ship (1848). Amongst these was a purchase of 34 'taldoms'—that is a tree as it grows in the forest that has been ring-barked and left standing for a season for the sap to drain away

** Soobrow, said to have been built at Alleppey

before the trunk is felled. A hull referred to as the Hon' Company's steam dredger was built at Cochin, but left so long at its moorings that it was thought to be abandoned. Three years later, however, a plant of 20 H. P, arriving in parts from England and being installed, the Indian Navy steamer 'Hugh Lindsay' towed it away to Pambam, where it was used in deepening a channel through the Palk Straits. The 'Hugh Lindsay', though not the first steam vessel to ply the Arabian Sea, was the pioneer in the Bombay-Suez link of the overland route from India to England, and as such was a much written of little vessel.

Early in 1847 Hajee Jakoob Noormohamed and sons of Muttancherry issued invitations to Cochin residents to view the launching of their new ship, one of 250 tons, from their Calvetti yard. This was but one of the many 'Sait' or Mohamedan trading firms, with branches at Bombay and along the West Coast of India, which were directed by the head of the house from headquarters in Kathiawar, often from within the Moslem state of Junagadh. Many of their resident managers or partners are of families that have been away from their place of origin for some generations, yet still consider themselves natives of the provinces from which they sprang. The same thing applies to many Gujerathi merchants of Cochin, who retain their communal characteristics, but who may see their ancestral homes once or twice in a lifetime, if at all. Both classes, coming from maritime cantons as they do, have centuries of sea trafficking behind them; and as food grains were mostly handled by them, they often owned their own ships in which to transport it.

Newspapers of 1847 record the sale of the 'Rajasthan'* owned by a Parsee merchant of Cochin. She was a beautiful craft and was immediately put on the Bombay—U. K. run: but she was not Cochin built. In that same year, however, a tall ship of 450 tons, constructed of picked teak timber and named the 'Ameer', was launched by Oughteson and Campbell—only one of many to come from their yard. Campbell is shown as her original owner and Captain Turnbull as her first master. A somewhat remarkable fact about this vessel was that it was stipulated that she should be ready to load a cargo in November of that year, which allowed only five months and a few days in which to complete the task. Yet she was delivered with four or five days to

* In 1846 "Rajasthan" was commanded by Captain Harris, doubtless the same who had become domiciled at Cochin. A previous ship of this name was wrecked at Tuticorin in 1845, when on a voyage from Cochin to Colombo.

spare, whereas from 10 to 12 months would have been required for a similar job in England, and what is more she was said to have been a credit "to her carpenter," who however was not named. Being a teak built vessel 'Ameer' was entered at Lloyds as a 12-year ship. On one occasion only, that of the 'Rajah of Cochin', classed for 14 years, is a better vessel known to have been launched from a Cochin yard, though craft like the 'Vittoria', intended for Duncan Dunbar's fleet, are all said to have been given three layers of plank in their hull. 'Childe Harold', another example of Cochin construction, was in the 9-year category only. No doubt she would have outlived her allotted span had she not, when under the command of Captain Prynne, been wrecked within five years of leaving the builders' yard.

In 1849 disaster overtook the 'Futtey Rahimon'*, Captain Martin, a vessel of 600 tons recently constructed at Cochin. She had just come from Calcutta to Bombay, and had almost completed loading for Jeddah when she took fire. Her cargo of silks, rice, ginger etc., valued at over one lakh of rupees, was entirely consumed, and the vessel burnt to below the copper edge. Newspapers said she presented a magnificent spectacle. As the fire broke out simultaneously in five different places, incendiarism was suspected, with the usual motive—the crew had drawn three months wages in advance, which would not be forfeited notwithstanding the destruction of the vessel. In this same year, 1849, was turned out the 'Nasree', 366 tons, with a demi-woman as figurehead. This name is another of those much favoured by Indian owners, for which reason deliberate differentiations in spelling were made by the registering authorities.

Exactly when James R. Oughterson came to India is in doubt, but on marrying Jeannie, daughter of Hugh Crawford, Commercial Agent at Alleppey, he settled down on this coast. He was classed as a merchant, but it was not long before he started in the industry by which he is best known, and in 1846 he launched the 'Lahore', which sailed almost immediately for England with C. J. Corphin as master. His 'Travancore' (3rd or 4th so named) a teak ship of 582 tons, took the water in 1848. In 1860 she was owned by Thomson & Co., in the Australian & West India trade. She was broken up in 1885—86. As the number and size of vessels laid down at Cochin was on the increase, General Cullen, the Resident, proposed

* 'Futtey Rahimon'—Success from the Merciful (God).

to the Government of India that Muttancherry though not in British India should be considered so for purposes of registry. Government would not agree to this, but prompted the Resident to try persuasion with the Rajah of Cochin to cede the necessary territory. This motion found no favour whatever with that prince, though in the end the difficulty was overcome in some other manner.

'Seitha' (C. W. Richards, master), a fine ship of 509 tons, built at Cochin in 1848 and owned by an Arab of Bombay, was burnt out in Madras Harbour on the 4th of May, 1850. The vessel alone was valued at 80,000/- rupees and the cargo at a further 40,000/-. Parties from other ships which had gone to the assistance of 'Seitha' had had to leave her rather hurriedly to return to their own craft which were endangered by falling sparks and wisps of flaming debris carried by the wind. Here again incendiarism was suspected, and the crew was taken into custody by the police; but it was rare indeed that anything definitely incriminating could be brought home against such people.

The Bombay Almanac of 1851 names the Cochin-built ships on the Bombay register for that year.—

Name.	Tons.	Built.	Commanders.
Atiel Rahiman	812	1835	J. T. Burns
Fatel Karim	376	1831	...
Fanny (Brig)	117	1834	Edwin
Fazel Carim	459	1828	E. J. Ballantyne
Fazel Currim	237	1828	...
Fatey Rahimon	...	1840	
Fatey Salam	500	1839 (? 1829)	J. McClure
Fatey Moombarak	1090	1841	W. B. Lugin
Hamudy	201	1805	
Hydros (Grab)	461	1828	
Nassry	278	1840	
Pitamber Savoy	148	1832	
Regina	800	1841	
Seffnutullahi	141	1840	
Sultana	1181	1842	T. Wadge
Shaw Allum	...	1839	T. Dumerage

The foregoing list omits the 'Bushire Merchant' of 534 tons, built in 1843 but not broken up until 1884. The list also makes no mention of the 'Phatte Allum', 605 tons, built at Cochin in 1846 and

lost at Galle in 1873. Though she was of Bombay registry her owners were Hajee Jacob Hajee Joosub of Cochin. As Mohamedans have religious scruples against a representation in art or crafts of any living creature, the figurehead in this instance was a bouquet of flowers; in the case of the Fazel Currim, another Cochin vessel, broken up in 1875, it was a coronet surmounting the fiddle-head.

In 1852 the schooner 'Blue Bell' and ship 'Kerata Rooden', both Cochin built, came on the Bombay register; but whilst, in 1853, some names came off none fresh were added.

The precise connection is not disclosed, but about the year 1854 Duncan Dunbar, the Limehouse shipowner and shipbuilder, who had a yard at Moulmein, was also collaborating with A. C. Brice in carrying on the same line of business at Kochangady, a suburb of Cochin. Captain Cheyne was in charge of the building operations, which work had its exciting moments with unruly labour. One fracas started with a blacksmith who had defaulted on a small sub-contract, but out of which dispute riots were expected; and much anxiety was felt for the large quantity of stores assembled for the vessel then on the stocks, since threats of setting it on fire had been heard. But in due course, 5th of May, 1854, to be precise, a gallant barque was ready to ride the waves; and such tremendous crowds gathered to watch the tamasha of launching that a strong posse of peons—the forerunners of the uniformed police—were necessary to control the multitude. Yet another episode concerned one Markar Cooty who forced his way into Cheyne's presence to present a bill at the point of an Eighteen inch dagger, to which piece of playfulness the captain's reaction was to dive into an adjoining room and come forth armed with a brace of pistols and a life-preserver. Yet here again something was accomplished, and the 'Alliance', built for J. R. Oughterson, made her debut to the Indian ocean.

Captain Cheyne, who lived at No. 2 Parade Street, overlooking Cochin Green, went about his duties on horseback. His stable boy was one C. H. Meyne who, though of Dutch descent, earned his living as a syce. A diligent student after 'things antient' can never foretell what gem of old time lore will be his reward for the abnegation of a Saturday afternoon's siesta. The fixing of C. H. Meyne was this author's reward, his sole reward, for full four hours work of ploughing through old files.

Craftsmen in the shipbuilding industry of Cochin in the year 1855 mustered three Shipwrights; fortyfour Assist: Shipwrights; 981 Carpenters; 61 Caulkers; 154 Drillers; 2000 Coolies and Sawyers. The shipping they constructed from April 1850 to end of March 1855 aggregated 8399 tons, which total included the following named ships and a few un-named of below 100 tons each.—

Name.		Tons.	Built by or for.	Owned by.
Childe Harold	built 1851	505	Ballard & Bryce	
Sky Rocket		88	...	...
Dewan		118	J. R. Oughterson	
Bride		172	do. do.	
Blue Bell		65	do. do.	
Roseneath	built 1853	252	do. do.	(for London)
Francis		101	do. do.	
Colgrain	built 1853	655	do. do.	(1860 Some Bros:)
Minx		164	do. do.	
Eliza		44	L. S. d'Souza	
Jemina		154	Mathew Fremer	
Goldseeker		...	J. Dicey	
Marie		...	Thos. Raffin	
Shah Jehan		825	Hajee Abdul Satter	
Ariel		48	A. C. Bryce & Co.	
Catherine		45	Francis Raffin	
Punjab (a large ship)		...	Tar Mohamed	
Fatel Rahimon (a large ship)		...	Abdulla bin Nusser	
Shah Allum (do.)		...	...	...
Isabella		...	Thos: d'Cruz.	
Pauline		95	A. C. Brice and Henry Brook	

Although Oughterson is given the status of a shipbuilder, the vessels we credit to his enterprise are left blank in that column of Lloyds Register of Shipping where the builder's name should be. Though a part of the yard known as Oughterson's became the property of Duncan Dunbar, the connection between them is not well established; but four or five years before the latter's death in 1862, the out-put of new ships was sharply on the decline. Duncan Dunbar was a bachelor, and he made no provision for the carrying on of his business. Therefore, after his decease, his fleet was dispersed amongst many owners, and his house flag—the Scottish lion rampant beneath the motto Sub Spe* (In Hope) was not destined to be carried on to any present-day line of steamers.

* Sub Spe—The motto of the Dunbars of Cairns, whose crest, however, is the key and sword in saltire.

His residence, however, at Limehouse, has escaped the heavy bombing to which the East End of London was subjected. His vessels were mostly named after British military victories, and Oughterson's contribution thereto was 'Vittoria', 849 tons, with the figure-head of a lion. In 1859 she was commanded by Capt: J. Lea, and was in the East Indies trade. 'Travancore', may have been for Duncan Dunbar, but in 1859 she was owned by Thompson & Co. of London and then on a voyage to India where she was built. 'Thracian', built 1855, is believed to have been for Duncan Dunbar; though she passed into the hands of A. Robinson of London—and was in the London-Australian trade under the command of Captain Luckes. From 1863—1870 she was running between the United Kingdom and India, and is further traceable up to 1879, when she was owned by G. F. Pitman of London. Her end is yet to be discovered.

Another of his jobs, the little 'Roseneath', Captain Telfer, was shown as belonging to A. Finlay & Co. of Liverpool, and another the 'Colgrain', London to Galle (1857) foundered at sea with the loss of all hands. Oughterson's finest ship, 'Rajah of Cochin', 970 tons, was built at Kochangady and her full-length figurehead of the ruling Rajah was a resplendent bit of work. She was sold for £24,000 and despatched to Francis Shand, shipbroker, Liverpool, but in 1859 she is shown as owned by Oughterson, also of Liverpool. J. H. Finlay then owned her until, in 1861, she passed to J. H. Allan. When, under the command of Capt: Homan, she returned to Cochin in the ordinary way of business, she was chartered for the U. K. by Aspinwalls. Her existence is not traceable beyond Lloyds Register of 1887/88. This vessel is noteworthy in that Cornelius Guizelaar, either son or nephew of the redoubtable Poney, is named in the register as the builder, demonstrating that the art of creating great ships had been conscientiously passed on from one generation to the other. At the other end of the scale in point of size, also from Oughterson's yard, was the tiny 'Eaglet' which, when fitted with engines, plied coastwise with passengers and cargo between Cochin and Bombay.

Time has not permitted of a full investigation into the naming and careers of the last production of Cochin yards; but with the completion of those on the stocks in 1858, the industry was almost brought to a conclusion. Causes contributing to this were the scarcity of timber,

increasing costs, and the facility with which Indian subjects of the Crown could obtain British Registry for vessels acquired from foreign countries. An important reason for the enhanced price of timber was the entirely new demand for railway construction, now creeping mile by mile into the Malabar country. It is said that shipbuilders who had contracts with the Forest Departments were unable to get their supplies owing to the priority conceded to the railway. James Oughterson, for one, became involved in lawsuits on this account, and since he was unsuccessful he became well nigh bankrupt.

Vessels on the Stocks at Cochin in May, 1858.

Builder.	Rig.	Tons.	Building at
James Oughterson	Ship	1100	Cochin Yard
do.	do.	800	do.
do.	do.	300	do.
Hajee Jakoob	do.	800	do.
Wilson Ritchie	Brig	177	do.
Abdur Rahiman	Barque	300	Vypeen Yard
Syed Hussain	do.	300	do.
Francis Raffin	Schooner	60	do.
Duncan Dunbar	Ship	900	Kochangady
do.	Schooner	100	do.
Hadjee Ismail	Ship	545	Jew Town
Apocro Coocho Kooty	Brig	144	do.
Miskin	do.	60	do.

The smallest of the three ships listed to Oughterson is possibly 'Sabrina' (Severn), a small vessel that was passed on to Michael Hugh Scott of Bombay for disposal. She ended a short life in 1861, or thereabouts, on Househill Point, some twenty miles south of Amoy. Of this same year's launchings was the 'Two Cousins', ordered by Charles Henry Roosmale Cocq and Robert Charles Roosmale Cocq of Tuticorin, the cousins referred to. For quality the top-sail schooners 'Emily' and 'Edith', built 1859 for the government pearl fisheries patrol, were of the finest examples of Cochin workmanship.—"Prettily modelled, fast and safe"; a combination of virtues not easily attained.

Lloyds Register for 1859 enshrines seven only of Cochin's ships, five of which have already been mentioned. There remain the 'Caesar', Capt: C. Myers, 493 tons, built in 1842 and owned by C. Caesar of Bremen; and a barque called 'Navarino', Capt: Morgan, 493 tons, built

in 1808 and rebuilt in 1835 which appears under no Cochin building list as such, but it is possible that at the time of her re-construction she was re-named, though the Battle of Navarino took place in 1827. It is a coincidence that two vessels, one of them 'Vittoria' the other 'Navarino', were wrecked at the same time and place on the New Zealand coast in the year 1840.

We have not quite come to the end of our tale, but the fact that in 1859 only eight vessels were launched, points to a rapid decline. These aggregated only 779 tons in all, of a value of Rs. 1,27,172. In 1860 there was still life in the industry, for on the 19th of October, so we read, "Our little town was enlivened by the stirring scene of the launch of the 'Shapoorjee Hirjee', the property of the well-known merchant Cowasjee Eduljee. It was successfully accomplished before a vast crowd. She is a handsome specimen of naval architecture, reflecting great credit upon Mr. Cornelius Guizelaar of this town. The bark was afloat in a few seconds, under a salute of eleven guns from the British ship 'Thebes', which vessel with some others was gaily decorated for the event." And all this was for a small vessel of 88 feet in length x 19 beam x 10½ in depth. Moreover, it is to be noted that the prince of timbers, Teak, was set aside for the more easily worked but less durable Angelica.

Another ship to be turned out at Cochin was the 'Allumghir', 900 tons, the property of a syndicate of 'Sait' merchants of whom Hajee Abdul Sattar was the chief shareholder. The launch took place from the yard of Oughterson & Co. on Thursday morning, the 4th of April, 1861. As usual an immense concourse of people was present, and the scene had, as the Cochin Courier said, all the effect of novelty, though once it had been so frequent in the port. At 8 a. m. precisely, amid the hearty cheers of the multitude and the booming of cannon, the noble ship, whose proportions were most stately and whose hull presented 'a fine bold side', glided gracefully into the water. The poop accommodation, too, was declared to be all that could be desired, which feature of luxury suggests that her Muslim owners had their own comfort in view and that 'Allumghir' was earmarked for an early trip to Jeddah. Mrs. Hugh Crawford sent the vessel on her way with the salutation—"Success to this good ship and her commander, Captain Henderson." Here again Cornelius Guizelaar was commended for his

skill. What was very gratifying was that on her first voyage, Cochin to Calcutta, she covered the distance in eight days only, almost equal to the performance of the P. & O. mail steamers. Henderson was succeeded by Watkins Williams, a celebrity among the country skippers of his generation. It may be added that about this same time J. H. Aspinwall is shown as the owner of the schooner 'Rival'.

A correspondent tells us what excitement there was in the neighbourhood in anticipation of the launch of a ship from a yard in Cochin State territory, and how for days afterwards it was the subject of conversation in 'Sleepy Hollow', as Cochin Town was referred to. The event concerned the 'Futtay Sawadh', 870 tons burden, described as a fine specimen of the art of Cornelius Guizelaar. She was made of the best Cochin teak; and by Cochin shipwrights labour and capital. All Cochin and his wife were present when, at 11 a. m. to the tick, on the 28th October, 1864, Miss E. Cullin, daughter of the Resident Magistrate, broke a bottle of rosewater across the bows of 'Futtay Sawadh' and sent her receding into that element which was to be her field of usefulness for many years to come. Captain Castor, Master Attendant, was the master of ceremonies also, and he saw to it that the new bride of the ocean was decked out in nuptial array—the flag locker of the port office having been emptied for the occasion. After this successful launching, the builder, according to custom, was presented with a fine Kashmere shawl; as were others who had worked under him. The guests were then garlanded and an adjournment made to the refreshment tent where, although rosewater had been used at the christening, there was no lack of champagne in which to drink the health of 'Futtay Sawadh'. The attar flagon was in the hands of a determined looking young Mohamedan who spared no one. So copious were his deluges that one pretty young lady had to cry for mercy—saying that she had had her bath for the day. Many toasts were honoured,—'The Empress of India!'^{*} and then 'The Emperor Napoleon the Third!' the latter toast being responded to by Monsieur Regnaud (pere), the French consul. Somewhat later in the year the 'Mohidur Bhote', a smaller vessel of 150 tons but also a fine piece of work left the stocks. In this instance the ceremony was performed by Mr. H. Chatelier of Pagel & Co., but without the popping of corks. This was considered by many

a wasted opportunity, as the firm were importers of some of the very best produce of French vineyards.

Two brigs, the 'Rival' and 'Alert', the latter from the yard of Scott Bros: and of which vessel J. H. Aspinwall is shown as owner and William Lafrenais as master, was Cochin's shipbuilding output for 1865. Two other Cochin men, Loderica de Padua and Anthony Raberts commanded the brigs 'Ranee' and 'Randolph' respectively. One peculiar job undertaken in the port was the rebuilding of the 'Bullion', launched at Kennybunk, Maine U. S. A. in 1858. This vessel was purchased in 1871 by Hormusjee Pestonjee of Cochin, by whom she was dismantled and re-assembled as the 'Nicobar', 629 tons, port of registry, Cochin. Hormusjee hoped to get half her prime cost back in her first voyage. In any event the bank was soon paid off and the 'Nicobar' was sold, no doubt at a profit, to Moosa Hajee Hamooddeen, also of Cochin. Hormusjee Pestonjee also built in 1871 the brig 'Sapoorjee' of 148 tons, the figure head of which was a male bust, probably of the builder-owner himself. The vessel later came into the possession of John Rohde, with Anthony Raberts as master. In 1875 she was sold to Marcar of Colombo.

Yet another 'Fazel Careem' was completed at Calvetti in 1872. Then in 1883 the barque Amananth, 324 tons, owned by Kassim Hadjee Ahmed, was launched at Muttancherry. The command of this vessel was given to Anthony Raberts, whose former brig, no doubt, had succumbed to some peril of the sea or perhaps to anno domini. Two or three interesting jobs effected in the port concerned the lengthening of wooden vessels; as for instance in 1876 the brig 'Ameenur Rahiman', which was increased in burthen from 135 to 203 tons. The present writer remembers boarding a 3-masted barque in Akyab harbour which never would have been recognized by her original builders as the brig 'Hallia' launched at Sunderland in 1877. She was now the 'Nittyakalyani' (Everpresent Well-being) of Coconada where she had been altered into a tall double-topsail ship, spreading 38 sails. Her accommodation aft was entered at the break of the poop, through delightful old-fashioned glazed doorways; and the work, partly pannelled and partly glazed, stretched right across the deck from bulwark to bulwark.

^{*} The title Empress of India was not assumed by Queen Victoria until 1877, but appears to have been in popular use long before that date.

It is believed that from 1876 nothing more in ship construction was attempted at Cochin until the launching, broadside on of an 185 foot motor vessel. She was to ply between Aden and Jibouti had not the prospective buyer become bankrupt. It was therefore as the 'Howard' that she slid down the ways for the Anglo-India S. N. Co., Ltd. Even so, the craft was foredoomed never to feel deep water under her keel. She remained unwanted and was therefore cut up and her timbers used in the erection of an oil mill at Alleppey, where her Beardsmore engines provided motive power for the crushers.

Nor was there any further shipbuilding, other than motor launches, until World War 1939-45, when three auxiliary schooners, each of about 200 tons, were built by Cox at Alleppey for the Travancore Government. At Cochin the only building was that of a number of large sailing lighters by Peirce Leslies for employment by the Admiralty at Trincomalee and for the Ministry of War Transport at Bombay. All of these went under their own canvas to their respective destinations, two only failing to report at the other end. Both, which were for the south, stranded on the coast; but fortunately without loss of life. The first of this flotilla was the 'Mary', 90 tons burthen, launched by Mrs. Pitcairn in the presence of the Archbishop of Veropoly and a number of European and Indian ladies and gentlemen. This was a representative ceremony, for though one of these little craft might not have been of much importance, the total tonnage, some 3,500 (including those built under the same contract at outports) was not an altogether negligible addition to the war effort. The Madura Company likewise completed a numerous flotilla of dump barges for war purposes.

In conclusion of this chapter is a quotation from 'The old Country Trade', by Capt: W. H. Coates, for many years on the Indian Coast, and who, writing in 1911, says of Cochin-built ships.—

"Cochin, on the other hand, was better situated for the building of larger ships, and her reputation ranked very high; the term 'Cochin-built' carried a very considerable value in a ship's assessment. Some years ago, through the courtesy of a descendant of one of the old builders, I was taken over Cochin and shown what was formerly the site of Guizelaar's famous yard. The strength and durability of these Cochin vessels were extraordinary; last year the 'Shah Jehan', built in 1857, was in Aden

loading cargo. The 'Rajah of Cochin' was built in this historic port (1,008 tons, launched 1856) After 32 years of useful work she had become hopelessly outclassed by the modern steel sailing vessel and the inevitable steamer, and, though her pristine strength remained, she had become valueless as a money-making machine. For the sake of her materials she was broken up, and doubtless proved a 'hard nut to crack'."

The 'Phuttel Barry' built at Cochin in 1833, for 71 years to the writer's knowledge carried perishable goods. She is still on the list, but whether effective or not is doubtful. The writer has a vivid recollection of this old vessel in Calcutta. She sported with evident pride an enormous quarter-boat, the bottom white, the top-sides painted a conspicuous bright blue. The 'Allum Ghier' built there in 1861 was considered one of the finest models ever produced in the East. A year or two ago she was still trading in the Persian Gulf. The 'Castlereagh' built in Cochin in 1803, was judged of sufficient standard to carry government troops in 1840.

The only square-rigged vessel of Cochin's shipbuilding era still afloat (1947) is believed to be the small brig 'Nelayathatchy', 95 tons only, built in 1873 and now owned at Jaffna, Ceylon.

Chapter V.
COCHIN SHIPPING
The Days of Sail.

A start for this chapter is made with the fair weather season of 1836-37 inasmuch as direct overseas trading between Cochin and the western world was literally at zero for all the sea-borne commerce of the place was with transshipment at Bombay or other major port. The only vessels to ply upon the Malabar Coast (excepting Arab dhows and Indian native craft) were engaged in the 'Country Trade', and even these were few in number, and the short list given below is believed to be almost complete for the period mentioned.—

Ship.	Master.	Ship.	Master.
Lady Wilmot Horton	Jacobs	Cavendish Bentinct	...
Royal Family	Fernandes	Allison	J. Bhatta
Sussannah	Incornacao	Ruby	J. C. Bhatta
Ernaad	Thos: Hill	Ayr.	Nicol
Rangoon	Fernando	Regia	Rundle
Hamoody	Roedert	Caudry	Hoys.
Adelaide	...	Kasrovy	...
Prinsep	G. Taylor	Clarissa	P. I. Phillips

Of the foregoing 'Allison', 'Ruby', 'Regia', and 'Adelaide', all small coasting brigs or schooners, belonged to the port of Cochin. The 'Kasrovy', was carrying pilgrims to Jeddah, and the 'Ernaad' was a vessel constructed for stowage of timber. Capt: Phillips of 'Clarissa' was requested to accept for freight as trophies for Madras two old Dutch brass 18-pounder cannon. He refused them owing to their great weight, and when another vessel made the attempt to lift one, the piece fell into the sea and was lost. For the skipper of the 'Prinsep' Cochin was his last port of call: he was buried ashore. Three vessels—'Lonach,' 'Hydroose,' and 'Cashmere Merchant,' having in different storms been dismantled at sea put into Cochin for repairs. This period was a time of stress, too, in the South Canara district, where the Coorg rebels had swept down upon Mangalore; and it was from that place

that two frigates of the Royal Navy came on to Cochin after landing troops for the restoration of order. These warships were H. M. S. 'Winchester,' Capt: Sparshot, (wearing the flag of Admiral Sir Bladen Capel, C-in-C of the East Indies Station) and H. M. S. 'Rattlesnake.'

The great events of 1857 literally and figuratively left Cochin in the backwaters, though a few more deep-sea ships were then calling to handle the slowly increasing trade of the port. Among these were.—

Ship.	Master.	Ship.	Master.
Bussorah Merchant	...	Typhoon	Steinelly
Vasco de Gama	Peirce	Johanna	Johnson
Indian Ocean	Pollock	Acoteles	Jantzen
Glenbervie	Anderson	Peru	Sonne
Amaranthe	Proust		

'Typhoon' was well known because of her race from New York to San Francisco in 1851, around the Horn, when she made the voyage in 106 days; and 'Bussorah Merchant' must have been one of the oldest sailing ships afloat at that time.

Of the generation of sailing ships whose names are inscribed in the visitors' book of the Port of Cochin for the year 1861 and of the merchants who freighted them there will surely be no survivors in this year of grace 1948; for both traders and argosy must have gone to their appointed places. The list given below includes most of the seafarers who 'blew in' upon us during 1861. Some of these, either by direct report or hearsay channels have left word of the time and manner of their dissolution.

Pestonjee Bomanjee	Two Brothers	Eglantine	Glenaln
Maid of the Tyne	Golden Eagle	Nonpariel	Kirkham
Alfred the Great	Wild Flower	Daybreak	Kildare
George Kendall	Nrothumbria	Daylight	Albion
Northern Light	Westminster	Conflict	Myrtle
Grand Trianon	Eddystone	Porusins	Minden
Heather Belle	Blackwall	Jehangir	Uncoma
Coeur de Lion (2)	Rajasthan	Chalmers	Teazer
Lizzie Scott	Brilliant.	Ennomia	Avery

Avalanche (Fr:).

Of the foregoing vessels the 'George Kendall' and 'Pestonjee Bomanjee' loaded cotton baled in the Cochin screw presses: and it may be further observed in regard to both British and American shipyards

that it was not uncommon to build and name ships in compliment to prominent Indian businessmen. 'Westminster,' which probably came in for fresh water, was a sailing trooper from China bound for Vengurla with a wing of the 44th Foot (1st Bn. Essex Regt.). Another fine ship was the 'Coeur De Lion' which came in to Wilson Pitchie's agency by whom she was advertised in the Madras newspapers as fitted with first class passenger accommodation. Among the better known figurehead artists was a Mr. R. Lee of Liverpool, in whose book of designs is one of Richard the First of England wearing chain mail with the red cross of the crusader emblazoned on shield and surcoat, doubtless the very model for this ship, one in the front rank when she was built in 1850, though perhaps a little outdated when she was at Cochin in 1861. The 'Blackwall' was one of R. & H. Green's Blackwall frigates. Her end came by stranding in Morecombe Bay in 1884, where the wreck was abandoned to the underwriters, who sold her to the shipbreakers; but so strongly constructed was she that the contractors lost heavily in demolishing her. Prints of this beautiful ship fetch twenty guineas or so, and are usually only obtainable on the breaking up of private collections.

'Conflict,' a large iron ship of 1171 tons (commanded for many years by Captain Kelso of Irvine), was built on the Mersey by Cato & Miller for J. Smith & Co. of Liverpool. She is listed with the great company of missing ships: last spoken on the 25th of November 1878, when on a voyage Calcutta to Hull, no further news ever reached her owners or the relatives of her crew of thirtythree. 'Golden Eagle' (Captain Fabers) was one of a coterie of 'Eagle' clippers of which the best known was 'Bald Eagle,' described by one writer as "A lady of the deep sea." The last named carried as her figurehead a large gilt eagle on the wing, an emblem which, with slight differences, no doubt distinguished her sisters of the same fleet. Two smaller craft, euphoni-ously named 'Daylight' and 'Daybreak' also entered the port of Cochin in 1861. As the latter, 332 tons only, was built in 1861 this must have been her maiden voyage, when she was owned by Coxon of North Shields. After she went to the Germans in 1899, she dropped out of the records. A successor to 'Daylight' was a beautiful vessel built in 1901 for the Standard Oil Co. of New York. The present author remembers her and 'Brilliant,' of the same ownership, coming

to Bombay with case oil in the first three or four years of this century. As might be assumed of such owners, these ships were manned and maintained in a faultless manner. If they ever came to Cochin, the fact has escaped notice.

Ten years elapsed after her call at Cochin in 1861 before 'Nonpareil,' a large wooden ship of over a thousand tons and owned by the Globe Navigation Company, went to her doom. She was homeward bound from India with a cargo of cotton and linseed when she foundered 600 miles from New York, and twenty-four of her crew were drowned. 'Alfred The Great' suffered a similar fate when sailing from Quebec for the Tyne in September 1886. As she was built in 1850 her owners were possibly tempting fate in keeping her at sea so long. It is a peculiar name to be borne by two vessels at the same time, yet there was another, built in 1852 and wrecked in 1863. The short history of yet five more sailing ships that made the acquaintance of our port in 1861 is given below.

'Chalmers,' 594 tons, built at Sunderland by J. Laing, 1851. Abandoned at sea 1873-74.

'Kirkham'—1128 tons. Iron ship built 1856 by John Laird. Owners Jacobs of Liverpool up to '69. Sold to Germany and renamed 'Ceres.' Foundered 1888.

'Minden.' Built 1848. Put into Mauritius in a leaky condition, 1869, and did not leave that port.

'Night Watch'—Built 1859. Wrecked by stranding, 1890.

'Teazer'—401 tons. Built 1856 by Kelly of Dartmouth. Owned by Cummings of Plymouth. Condemned as unseaworthy at Fayal, 1880.

We now continue into the year 1862 during which time another galaxy of comely matrons and fair daughters of 'Sail' left our haven laden with the spices and produce of Ind. A few only of these can be selected for mention.—'Castle Eden' 930 tons, built in 1842, flew the house flag of James Somes—the golden anchor upon St. George's cross; the command of any of this owner's ships gave her skipper a very assured place amongst his compeers, though it was seldom that one of this illustrious fleet came to Cochin. 'Diligentia' was a Sunderland craft, 605 tons burthen, built by Byers and owned by T. Parker. For thirty years she rode the waves, until the day came when they rolled

over her, abandoned when on a voyage from Belfast to Mattane River in ballast. 'Holyrood,' 552 tons, another Sunderland vessel of the vintage 1851, by Pile & Son, was owned by Park & Company, who later sold her to the Norwegians by whom she was re-named 'Sarah Humphreys.' She was afloat in 1892 though not in 1895; but in any event a life of forty years for a wooden ship is no bad testimony to her builders or the officers in whose care she had been.

Though Queen Victoria was not proclaimed Empress of India in this country until 1st Jan., 1877, there were no less than three 'Queens of India,' besides others anticipating the title of empress, all built within a year or two of India being taken over by the Crown from the East India Company in the year 1858. Which 'Empress of India' it was that entered Cochin in 1862 cannot, however, be identified. The 'Royal Bride,' another Sunderland creation, was built by Hodgson in 1858. She had a life of thirty years, being broken up in Germany. 'Sarah Sands' was an iron ship built at Liverpool in 1854, owned in that same port by Edward Bates & Co. Ships of this line were painted green, masts and spars were white, and the house flag was a red swallow-tail burgee with a black ball. It was best known in the East though not often seen at Cochin. She is the same vessel in which, when on fire in mid-ocean, the heroic conduct of three hundred men of the 54th Foot (2nd Dorsets) rivalled that of the 'Warren Hastings' episode. The conflagration was subdued, and the women and children were taken back from the boats into the ship. The 'Sarah Sands' was spared for some years longer until, on the 17th of April, 1869, whilst from the U. K. to Bombay with coals, she was cast away on the Laccadive Islands. 'Silistria,' built in 1854 by Carleton of New Brunswick, never pretended to be a clipper but was, in point of fact, very fast; and her 69 day run from Newport, Monmouthshire, with coals for Valparaiso constituted a record for a sailing ship. Some confusion prevails concerning her end, for after loading at Cochin in 1862 with cargo of Wilson Ritche & Co., Brice & Co., and Lawson Brothers, she was reported by Indian papers as having been burnt out when nearing Cape Town, whereas it is elsewhere stated that she wound up her career as a hulk in 1894. It is possible, of course, that her burnt-out shell was thus made use of. 'Snowdrop' is an earlier

namesake of a well-known Antarctic whaler, built in 1884 and sunk by submarine 19th September, 1917.

'Excelsior,' 479 tons, had, like several other vessels, come to Cochin on more than one occasion. On her 1864 voyage thither Captain Morshead was obliged on account of bad weather to land his passengers at Narrakal and to wait there some days before the breakers on Cochin bar subsided sufficiently to enable him to enter the inner harbour. Peirce Leslies were her agents. 'Excelsior' brought bridging girders and metals for the new Beypore-Madras line which were to be despatched (so it was said) by backwater to Beypore, though it is more likely that these materials were for the Shoranur section. 'Excelsior' exemplified the remarkable resiliency of some of these wooden ships. She drove ashore on the Isle of Moen and was sold as she lay, to all appearances a total wreck. Nonetheless she was salvaged by her Danish purchasers, repaired and refloated, and continued to sail under the Danish ensign until 13th October, 1896, when she was lost by collision. 'Fiery Cross' (the second) built by Walter Hood of Dundee, in 1860, and famous among clipper ships, was at Cochin in 1864 loading copra for Calcutta, in which year she would have been under the command of "Carry-on-and-go-ahead" Robinson of Maryport, who had succeeded Captain Dallas. In South Kensington museum is a fine model of this vessel which displays her shapely clipper bows, adorned with a figure-head of gilt ormolu surrounding a red shield upon which, no doubt, in the full size original was the emblazoned emblem from which the ship took her name. Bifurcating around the loof of the bows from the main motif the trail boards, picked out in gold, white and colours, show up brilliantly against the background of a black painted hull. Also entered the fine new ship 'Dholera' of the Bombay Iron Ship Company, a vessel of 1005 tons; and the 'John Brewster,' 'Eliza Laing,' 'Strata Florida,' 'Syren,' 'Wings of the Wind,' and 'The Gallant Neill,' whose master, R. K. Gahan, bore the same name and initials as a subsequently appointed Port Officer of Cochin, and who may be one and the same man.

After it had disappeared, the present writer was told of a file that had been in the Cochin port office relating to the episode of the 'Alabama' and the ship 'Emma Jane,' but as this source of information

was no longer available, this narrative of that event is made up from "The Voyage of the Alabama and Sumpter," by Semmes and from contemporary Indian newspapers.

'Alabama' was a steam frigate commerce raider which flew the device of the Southern Cross—the battle flag of the Confederates in the American Civil War—but built by Lairds of Liverpool, at which place she had been secretly fitted out, manned and taken over by Captain Semmes. The latter was an officer of the United States Navy, a Southerner by birth and, when the break came, a rebel. The Northerners (dubbed Yankees by their opponents) had not anticipated having to meet opposition on the sea; yet Semmes, before he himself was sunk by 'Kearsage,' had destroyed sixty-five United States merchantmen. But as 'Alabama' had been permitted to leave the shores of England, it was the British Government to whom the bill for damage done was presented and by whom £13,000,000 was paid in satisfaction of claims made. 'Alabama,' it may be remembered, made an incursion into the Indian Ocean where she encountered several ships sailing under the Stars & Stripes. Among her victims was the 'Emma Jane' of Bath, Maine, U. S. A., owned and commanded by Captain Jordan, then engaged in the Burmah-Bombay rice traffic. That the Confederate cruiser was in the Indian Ocean was known. News of it had reached Moulmein, at which port one American ship was hurriedly transferred from United States registry to British, and re-named. This subterfuge was adopted by other Yankee vessels. But Semmes had refused to recognize the legality of this last-minute change of flag, so that when he fell in with the 'Martaban,' the vessel referred to, she was consigned to the flames. The Confederate warship had also stopped and boarded on the high seas the British ship 'The Gallant Neill,' bound for Cochin, whose commander was under no bond of secrecy in the matter; and it was considered largely due to his information, passed on through the Port Officer of Cochin regarding the movements of the 'Alabama,' that the large American ship 'Renown' owed her immunity from capture. Writing to the Madras Times a correspondent from Cochin says—"The poor captain of the 'Emma Jane,' with a fair breeze filling his sails, was working his way merrily down the sea when he met a man o war coming in the opposite direction flying the Federal flag. On being hailed he stopped, thinking it was just for an exchange of civilities; only

to be disillusioned that he was a capture of the confederate cruiser 'Alabama'." Looking at the incident as from the deck of the frigate, one reads that on the 14th of January, 1863, as she was lazily drifting in a northeasterly direction, a ship was discovered running down towards them. Semmes hoisted 'that useful decoy, the United States flag,' and by this deception trapped the 'Emma Jane.' That same night her people were taken aboard the cruiser and the prize set on fire. On the 16th, at meridian, they made the town of Quilon but bore up for the open roadstead of Anjengo, a small British-Indian enclave on the Travancore coast a few miles further south. Here a lieutenant, who was sent ashore to make arrangements for the landing of the prisoners, returned to the ship with the magistrate's son, with whom it was agreed that if provisions from the 'Alabama' were supplied, the people of the 'Emma Jane' might be disembarked at Anjengo and from thence forwarded by backwater to Cochin, and so eventually to Bombay. The 2nd lieutenant and the magistrate's son again returned to the town for confirmation of the proposal at the hands of the magistrate himself. Darkness, however, set in, and the officer had not returned and as there were sounds as of musketry from the direction of the town, Semmes sent his 1st Lieutenant ashore to find out what was happening. It proved to be only a discharge of rockets at the church which had caused the alarm. On the 17th (Sunday) the 'Emma Jane' party landed at daylight, but even so not too early for the entire population to congregate on the beach to watch them come ashore. This done, 'Alabama' turned her head towards Minicoy.

In due course the little band of Southerners reached Cochin, where they received from the residents all the kindness their misfortune called for; but this failed to mollify them—for, said they, it was all England's fault that the 'Alabama' had been allowed to range the seas. They may have been prejudiced when they spoke of the filthy conditions and disabled state of the raider and that Captain Semmes himself was a foul mouthed man, small and mean, "just the type of a Southern slave driver!" Mrs. Jordan's murmurings centred around the fact that the despicable enemy had amused themselves by tearing up her silk dresses with which to make pocket handkerchiefs. They were at Cochin no more than four or five days when the coasting steamer 'Maharaj' oncarried them to Bombay, with the Archbishop of Goa for company.

'The Gallant Neill,' mentioned above, had a curious start upon her ocean career. She was sold off the stocks at Quebec to J. H. Watt of Glasgow; but certain small debts had accrued against the ship in respect of which court attachment orders had been issued before her new owner could make the necessary financial arrangements. It followed that in Quebec, a city of oldworld laws, a £5,000 vessel was sold outright for £100. Her Scottish owner was having none of this, and so sent one of his masters across the Atlantic to retrieve his ship, legally or no. This was effected one foggy day by Captain Black and the crew he had collected, who cut out 'The Gallant Neill' and crowded all sail for Glasgow. Judicial repercussions on this mettlesome action there may have been, but possession proved to be tentenths of the Law.

As at a Royal Court a few only, and they perhaps not all the creme of the constellation of beauties assembled there, attract the eye of the social columnist so, too, but a minority from among the press of sail can be singled out from our guests of 1865-66. Their names do read something like the announcements at a reception.—'Alice Ritson,' 'Strathallan,' 'Queen of Avon,' 'Adelaide,' 'Duke,' 'Janet Cowan,' 'Isle of Man,' 'Nor'wester,' 'Mercara,' 'New Great Britain,' 'Viscount Sandon,' 'Melecite.' 'Linda,' Capt: Von Betha, was presumably Prussian or Austrian.

The 'Viscount Sandon' had been purchased by an Indian firm of Bombay and was now employed 'coastwise.' 'Mercara,' 394 tons, was owned by J. M. Gladstone of Liverpool. Though built only in 1863, she was posted missing as from 10th October, 1870. 'Tyburnia' was the belle of this party. Built in 1857 on the Clyde by Stephen & Son, she belonged to James Somes when Cochin was honoured with her presence, but in 1884 she was bought in Australia, and whilst in those waters was chartered to the Phoenix Yacht Company. Later still she was a hulk at Townsville, Queensland, but was broken up in 1901. 'Captain Cook,' 1174 tons, built at Quebec in 1854 by Drolet & Leblond, was owned by Saunders of Liverpool. 'Eglantine,' unless there is some mistake in the date of her arrival at Cochin, can hardly be the ship built by Donald McKay in 1866. If she is the identical vessel, she had a full life and worthy conclusion to it, having been sunk by enemy action in the North Sea, 20th June, 1918. 'East Lothian,' 'Erin,' 'Juliana,' 'Clarendon,' 'Augusta,' were also in our harbour (1866), so, too, the

ill-fated 'John Bright,' 493 tons, built 1857, and owned in Swansea, which was lost with all hands in Nootka Sound, British Columbia, 1870.

In government advices to the Port Officer, 3rd April, 1866, British neutrality as affecting Spain and her recalcitrant colonies, Chile and Peru, is announced. Four months later the same procedure declares neutrality between the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the King of Italy, and the German Confederation. Both these are forgotten historical passages, having but minute reaction, if any, on the far-away port of Cochin.

About this same period occurred a reversal in the flow of the rice trade. Instead of this staple being exported from the backwaters of Travancore and Cochin (as it had been for centuries), it began to come inwards from Eastern Bengal by a fleet of Chittagong's brigs, which for a quarter of a century were a decorative feature of the Port of Cochin—the first of them to arrive and the last to leave being logged in the port diary. As the Sait Mohamedans, Moplahs and Baniya merchants conversant with rice and other staple foodgrains consumed in this country were firmly established here, the market remained. When later on in the century the brigs were ousted by ocean-going vessels, both sail and steam, the European firms also took a hand in the trade, much to the indignation of the Indian mercantile community. The firm of Aspinwall & Co. claim, in conjunction with Delmage Forsythe of Colombo, to have been the pioneers at Cochin in a chartering business of vessels that had come out from the U. K. or U. S. A. to Burma ports with manufactured goods etc. These filled up in Burma with paddy for Cochin and Malabar, and on completing discharge on this side were placed on the berth for homeward loading with West Coast produce. On one occasion a charter of Aspinwalls took fifty days coming up from Colombo; but so important did the outward traffic of Cochin become that American underwriters stationed a representative here to superintend the loading of American insured ships and cargoes. At one period this was a Mr. Getshow, who located himself in John Grieve's office. These interworkings brought craft to the port ranging in size from the dainty 'Lorna Doone,' 362 tons, to the queenly 'Khyber.' The former, as remembered by old Captain Richards (Ericson & Richards, Bombay), was a beautiful little barque, built at Dundee by the Tay Shipbuilding Company and owned in the same port by Robertson & Son. It is believed she was afterwards

N. B. The author's deep obligation is acknowledged to the Librarian of Poplar General Library, not only for access to a special section of nautical works but also for references made to the late Captain Bolt's card indexed particulars of numerous sailing ships.

bought by the Hudson Bay Company. 'Khyber' was a large iron ship of 2,026 tons, bearing in everything about her the 'Crop mark' of her builders, W. H. Potter & Son. Her owners were J. & T. Borcklebank, whose steamers now frequently call at the port of Cochin. 'Khyber's' dissolution was tragic. With all anchors gone, she was driven ashore in Portlooe Cove, Cornwall, on such a dark tempestuous night that her distress signals were unobserved from the shore, and of her crew of twenty-six only three were saved. 'Hereward,' an iron ship built by A. Duncan & Co. of Glasgow, made this circular voyage more than once. Her figurehead, a work of art, was an effigy of the East Anglian hero Hereward the Wake. Fine strong vessel though she was, she was but as a toy in the blast of the fierce hurricane in which she was blown bodily ashore and totally wrecked; but it was freely admitted that her loss was due to no default or lack of effort on the part of her master or of those who manned her. 'Eurus,' another of this group, was a petite dame of 327 tons only, an ideal size for opium running, built in 1870 by May of Shoreham, on the south coast of England. She steered clear of trouble for some years and was then lost through sheer misadventure, for she was just about to anchor when she stranded on the island of Ichabue and there laid her bones. 'Freeman,' launched at Boston in 1878 where she was also owned by R. R. Freeman, was another of these charters. She had served the full period for a soft wood ship when she was wrecked on 9th June 1909, on Hicacos island, off Porto Rico. From the succession of Salcombe registered ships that entered this port it would seem that the Salcombe Shipping Association were in close touch with the Cochin Chartering Association, of which Peirce Leslies were the secretaries. Such names as Alvington, Netherton, Marlborough, Avon, South Milton and Churchstow, all villages adjacent to Kingsbridge or Salcombe, proclaimed their West Country connection. From the same port also came to us.—'Hesperia,' 'Phantom,' 'Western Belle,' 'Ocean Belle,' 'Island Maid,' 'Creole,' 'Cyrene,' 'Sabrina,' 'Soteria,' 'Frances,' and 'Lady Agnes,' (one of three ships named after daughters of the Earl of Devon). 'Churchstow,' performed six voyages at least out of London or New York to Akyab and Chittagong, thence to Cochin and along the Malabar Coast, and homeward again, often via La Havre. These ships were between

250 and 350 tons, but fast sailers, having been built for the West Indies fruit trade, from which they were driven by the advent of steamers.

Small tramp steamers also edged in on rice carrying between Burmah/Arracan and the west coast ports of India, of which those that came most often to Cochin were—'Highlander,' 1,596 tons; 'La Serena,' 1,447; 'Falloden Hall,' 2,206, also 'Moidart,' 'Swiftsure,' 'Nicosian' and 'Vespasian,' all of which made their discharge at a Calvetti or Muttancherry berth. But before the might of the British India Steam Navgn. Co. these freelance competitors were eliminated except for a pirate or two which might creep in between the cracks.

The 'Cochin Argus' way back in 1869—70 gave a list of the vessels (all sailing ships) riding at the inner anchorage on a named date. They were—the 'J. L. Hall,' 'Thomas Blythe,' (387 tons, loading at Aspinwall's wharf) 'Robert Jones,' 'Jane Avery,' 'Eleutheria,' 'Thomas Snow,' 'Exonian,' and 'Pauliac.' Of these vessels a few particulars are available. 'J. L. Hall' was an iron ship built in 1859 by Marshall Bros. of S. Shields and owned by them up to the year 1877 when she became the property of Simpson of Adelaide, and was a hulk of the Adelaide Steamship Company up to 1895. 'Thomas Blythe,' 369 tons, was built at Preston in 1859 by Smith & Hodgson, and owned by Blythe Brothers of Sunderland up to 1875, when she was sold to J. H. Trevithick. Later, leaking in squally weather and high cross seas, with pumps broken down and crew exhausted with their labour to keep the vessel afloat, she was abandoned on the 6th August, 1881, and thus her last voyage Peru to Liverpool with sugar was never completed. As for the 'Robert Jones,' 'Thomas Snow,' and the French vessel 'Pauliac,' they appear to have no history; but 'Exonian,' as her name might imply, was built at Exmouth, Devon, by Redway. He retained his ownership of the vessel until 1869, when he sold her to Captain Whitburn, who also commanded her and sold her again in 1870, when she became the 'Mercedes' of Bilbao. She was out of the register in 1873. 'Eleutheria' (Festival of Liberty), built at Quebec by Rosa and owned by Stoddart of Liverpool, had a short career. She was wrecked ten miles south of the Eddystone after having been in collision, 15th January, 1871. She was a show vessel

because of the ornateness of her wood carving. Her stern especially, was handsomely adorned with scroll work supporting the arms of Quebec and the motto—"Natura fortis industria crescit."

It would be a mistake to suppose that all ships built in the North Americas were of soft timbers. At Quebec, at least, many hardwood vessels were launched which proved of great durability.

Sailors' Corner, in the new Cochin cemetery, received steady increase. It was where John Tyson of the 'Magna Bona' (1868) left his wife, and where for four consecutive years a master of a ship was interred.

1869—Richard Hughes, master of the ship 'Defiance,' age 47

1870—John Graham Dalbie, Master, barque 'Amiens' of Jersey.

1871—Captain Summerfield, age 46, of the ship 'Macedon.'

1872—Mathew James Roe, 55, master mariner, ship 'Futley Allum.'

As far as Cochin figures are concerned, the decline of 'Sail' is clearly marked in the returns of 1880—81. Of 250 vessels of the larger sort, 98 only were dependant upon the breezes of heaven to move them from one port to another. But another significant fact was that of 153 steamers passing through Cochin, one only was a foreigner. Nonetheless many fine argosies, some of them real peeresses of the past, still gave us a look-up, their masts tall as before, sails as white as ever, spars shapely and widely spread as in the ship's prime. With chequer-painted ports as for old-time frigates, or with coats of colour breaking tradition that a merchantman must look as if still able to take up the gage of war.

In 1881 we see again that curious sight of 'Sail' in tow of 'Steam.' In this instance the sailing trooper 'Czarwitch' was pulled around by the Indian Government steam frigate 'Tennaserim.' She had for disembarkation two companies of the 41st Madras Native Infy: for the cantonment of Trichur; Cochin for many years having ceased to be a garrison town. In this same year, 1881, a stir was caused by the arrival in this port of the 'Rajah of Cochin,' a ship built here in 1856. Captain Homan, her then master, no doubt had numerous visitors amongst those who had contributed to her construction and were naturally inquisitive to know how their work had stood the test of time and tempest. Among other vessels of

that year were—'Margaret Falconar,' 392 tons, a Dumbarton job of 1866. Donaldson Bros: of Glasgow were her first owners, but she ultimately went to Amsterdam where she was known as the 'Slingvecht.' 'Lady Octavia,' 1,182 tons, launched in 1854 from the yards of Tayleur & Co. of Warrington, when the blush of her youth had passed also went to foreign buyers and became the 'Fortuna' of Rosbeck; but she was flying Norwegian colours when wrecked in 1903, having for half a century fetched and carried the merchandize of three different nations.

'Trossachs,' 568 tons, by Harvey of Littlehampton, was another long stayer, which, when sold to the French in 1895, was renamed the 'Desirade' of Havre. She Later took on Greek nationality and was still afloat in 1922. 'Chagford,' another of Cochin's 1881 visitors, was a Sunderland ship of the 1869 launchings. In 1886 she sailed from Santa Anna, Mexico, With a cargo of mahogany and was heard of no more. 'Windermere,' another of W. H. Potter & Son's work, buried her master, Captain Dunkin, during her stay at Cochin. Nor did the vessel long survive him, for she was lost on her next voyage near Timber Cove, California. 'Windhover' from the yard of Ker & Co., Greenock, was a vessel which came to her end on the beach at Bramble Bay, Torres Straits, in 1889. The French ship 'Creole' was also in the port of Cochin in 1881; she would not however have been the same vessel so notoriously known for her activities in the slave trade. 'Natal,' 459 tons, built at Aberdeen, 1876, was posted missing as from 16th November, 1888, when from Calcutta to Natal with a cargo of rice. Owned by T. Rennie & Son, which firm and the vessel itself had, it is thought, some connection with Bullard King & Co., whose little barque 'Zulu,' 296 tons, was at Cochin about the same time. Other wind ships entered here in 1881 were.

West Australian.	Vere.	Shadwan.
Giovani Moglea.	Kassa.	Illovo.
S. B. Atkinson.	Choice.	Trieme.
G. T. Ray.	Dartford.	Nasedale.
E: Morley.		Wm: Phillips.

There were also an 'Adelaide,' 'Charlotte' and 'Catherine,' all names so favoured of women and therefore of ships, that it is difficult to distinguish one namesake from another. 'Choice,' originally English

owned, had passed to Vizram Ebrahim of Bombay who also owned the famous 'Sir Launcelot' which, in her racing days could spread 45,000 square feet of canvas.

One of the 1882 entries at Cochin, on what must have been her maiden voyage, was the well known ship 'Bay of Bengal,' Clydeside built by J. Elder & Company. Her end came in 1905, how it is not quite known, but she left Cardiff on the 4th of June for a South American port, and could not have gone very far. Wreckage from her was washed up on the Irish coast, and a bucket or two and a bottle message from her captain were picked up on one of the Scilly islands.

On the 5th January, 1882, the tall ship 'Lalla Rooke,' totally dismasted, was towed into Cochin for repairs, which were probably effected by John Bent Farquharson, at one time in command of the Cochin brig 'Alert,' the only European then practising as a shipwright in this port. This was not the famous occasion when, owned by Lever Bros: she was posted missing; that was in 1905, when, having left Brisbane with wheat for the U. K., she met with storms and adverse winds which at one stretch kept her close reefed for 145 days. So hopelessly overdue did she become that her insurance advanced to 95 guineas, (equivalent to being written off as a total loss). When, lo and behold! she sailed into Falmouth harbour. Captain Crawley her master was very reticent about the voyage but twelve months later another member of the crew sent an account all too short, to the Wide World magazine. After this episode 'Lalla Rooke' entered upon a fresh lease of life, and became in turn the 'Effendi' of Skein, 'Bellona' of Karhu, and back again to 'Lalla Rooke' of Mariehamn. Built in 1876 by R. & J. Evans of Liverpool, she was sold for breaking up in the year 1928.

Queer pockets of humanity got together in these old-time ships, and perhaps the American barquentine 'William Healy' would not have been more queerly manned than many others. Her master was Abraham Healy; J. H. Potter and Wm. Campbell were mates. Patrick Driscoll and Stan Ericson were A. Bs., Ah Cow and Ah Com, carpenter and cook respectively. A. H. Wye, probably another Chink, was a passenger.

Adverting to the Port Office log, the portentous news is noted that our armies had recovered the Gates of Somnath from the tomb of Sultan Mohamed of Ghuzni, and that they had been restored to their original setting. The author, having seen said portals, thinks they might as well have been left in Afghanistan. However this may be, this intelligence was transmitted to those who habitually received the port shipping notices, to wit.—

Aspinwalls	Volkart Bros.	Hadjee Moosa Hajee Ahmed
Sparrow & Co.	George Brunton	Hajee Isabally Mohamed
Peirce Leslies	Danjee Ookes	Mooljee Jetha & Co.
James Darragh	D. Ketsi	D. Merwanjee & Co.

Looking out of a Cochin riverside office window on the 7th of May, 1885, one would have beheld a little clique of sailing ships, the centerpiece in a scene of perfect tranquility—'Alvington,' John Harding, master; 'Tamerlane,' W. Boston; 'Gratitude,' Edw. Sanders; 'Isabel,' H. P. Jarvis; 'Wm. Patterson,' Henry Bracter; 'Sam Weller,' John C. Murray; 'Esmeralda' (Fr.) Captain Victor Jarnion. The last named was loaded down to 19 feet, whereas 14 was considered the safe limit for a sailing craft, she therefore came in at her own risk. One imagines her cargo to have been the wines, the brandies, and the liqueurs of sunny France. The first of the bevy was of 313 tons only, built at Palleon, Sunderland, but belonging to Salcombe, Devon. She was then transferred to Ceylon ownership, though she finished her race in 1889, under the tricolour and the name of 'St. Jean'. The second was American built, owned by Germans in '75, but by Norwegians in 1896 when her crew had to abandon her at sea. 'Gratitude' was a weakling—Constructed only in 1876, she was broken up in 1886. At the outer roadstead at the same time, but of too deep draft to come inside, was the tall ship 'Macallum More,' and not far away George Thompson's White Star clipper 'Jerusalem,' built by Hood of Aberdeen in 1867. Thompson's ships were painted the 'Aberdeen' green; and his house flag, a six-pointed white star on a red ground was known in every port of the world. He had other vessels with Semitic cognomens, of which 'Maid of Judah' and 'Ascalon' are but two: and it is said that Jewish merchants made it a point of honour to consign their cargo by them. The 'Jerusalem,' in 1891, went to the Norwegian shipowner C. A. E. Carlsen of Lilliesand.

But a purview of the shipping in the harbour on that glad May morning is not quite completed; for over at Vypeen, hove down for repairs, was the iron barque 'Warrior,' 500 tons, built at Stockton by M. Pearse & Co., in 1858, and now, 30 years later, unusually leaky for an iron hull. When heeled over from one side to the other, she had filled with water, and before her reconditioning could be effected she had to be sealed and pumped out. Nominally a Brunton's repair job, the actual work was entrusted to Dominic Lobo and his brothers (descended from an old family of shipwrights of the port), whose posterity are proud of the certificates granted by Captain David Evans for work satisfactorily accomplished. In '87 this vessel was the 'Nautique' of Havre; in '88 'Columbus' of Hamburg, under which name she was marked missing since 6th of May, 1892, when homeward bound with wheat. She was possibly lost through that prolific source of evil to grain carriers—the criminal lack of shifting boards. Dominic Lobo also repaired the 'Star of China' in 1889 when, from Colombo to London with a lading of plumbago, she sprang a leak and put into Cochin, where her cargo was discharged at Peirce Leslie's jetty, that firm being her owner's agents.

'Suffolk,' a full-rigged ship of nearly a thousand tons, built at Northam in 1857, is a full page illustration in Keble Chatterton's book, 'Seamen All,' in which she is depicted under all sail, with painted ports and a three-quarter length figurehead of a young woman, maybe Miss Suffolk of her year. At the last it is believed she belonged to James Darragh who bought her in 1889, though in Lloyds Register of Shipping for 1890 her owner is shown as Albert Immanuel Isaacks of Alleppey. First mention of her at Cochin was in 1887, when she was sold by order of the Cochin state authorities and bought by natives of that place. Apparently she was even then ripe for breaking up, but she was given a corpse-reviver refit and again sent out on ocean errands; and it was not until 1893 that she finally went to the knackers yard, but whether that was at Cochin or elsewhere is not known. The story is that when Darragh was in urgent need of a master for her, an entire stranger blew into his office who said that he was a planter but had been to sea. So, without further ado, the planter-cum-sailor was put in command for a voyage Alleppey to South Africa, thence Calcutta and again to Cochin/Alleppey; and

from every point of view the venture was most successful. In 1887 her captain was Henry Hayward Card, perhaps too early to be the man referred to in the story. Money Wigram, who built 'Suffolk,' was aptly named. He begot twenty children and left the equivalent of £ 20,000 to each one of them.

A practice becoming more and more the exception was for the master of a vessel, unable to get a return lading at his port of discharge, to set out on his own initiative to a place where he thought he might fill up. Thus, in 1888, the barque 'Elliot,' 1,119 tons, 'called seeking' at the port of Cochin. Among other ships of that year was 'Ardgowan,' Captain Kerr, an iron ship launched from the yard of R. S. Steele, Greenock, and owned by Adam Hamilton & Co. Yet another was the Nova Scotia built 'Mohur,' owned at that time by A. Gibson of London and Liverpool. What the trouble was is not revealed, but the Port Officer refers to the deplorable conditions on board her; and apparently in the same connection, Geo. Brunton blows his own trumpet in declaring that he was the only man in Cochin competent to act as a marine surveyor. Whatever her faults might have been, 'Mohur' survived them until 1922, when she was broken up. 'Faiz Rabban' (Capt. Millington), a sizeable craft named after her owner in the Muttancherry bazaar, returned to Cochin totally dismantled. She could not have come to a better place under those circumstances, for Cochin was the one spot on the coast where fine straight poles could be had at reasonable rates.

'Holyrood,' Capt: Crossbie, was one of a batch of old clippers to pick up a cargo at Cochin in 1889. There were always ready buyers for any product of W. H. Potter & Son's yard, hence this vessel, exclusive of her original owners, was bought and sold three times since her launching; and it was as the 'Henry Smidt,' Danish owners, that she was broken up in 1922. 'Ivanhoe,' Capt: 7. Gorge, was another ship with a reputation, and one would like to know more details of her business in our port. Two representatives of J. P. Corry's 'Irish Star' line were also of the 1889 batch—'Star of Russia' (under charter to Aspinwalls) and 'Star of China.' The last named was of wood, and though built in 1862 it was in 1907, as the 'Holmenkollen' of Denmark, that she was broken up. It is said that most of these 'Stars' were sold to the Alaska Packers Assn: for the canned salmon

trade. When belonging to J. P. Corry they flew the ubiquitous houseflag of the red heart on a white ground, 'Veronica,' 'Solid' and 'Stalwart' were of the same year, also 'British Sceptre,' 1443 tons, Capt. Melville: 'Walter D. Wollett,' 1,413 tons; 'Fort James,' (chartered by Volkart Brothers.) 1,687; 'Eurus,' 327, Captain Howes; and also the 'Freeman,' the last two being well acquainted with the Malabar Coast. To these are added names of a few ships which anchored at Cochin during the ensuing five years.—

Sailing Ships at Cochin 1890—91.

Ship	Tons	Master.	Ship	Tons	Master.
Meridian (Fr.)	549	Healy	Maritzburg	442	...
Hippolyta	798	Kerr	Normanby	1,166	...
Quathlamba	...	Early	Cambria	1,297	...
Star of Germany	1,284	Read	Emvote	442	...
Onaway	420	Anderson	Rembrandt (Amer.)	...	...
Mary Elizabeth	750	Barstroom	Tumandia	...	...
Glencaladh	494	Lamont	George Gordon	662	...
City of Hankow	1,194	...	Venturosa (Port.)	...	...

'Star of Germany,' built by Harland & Wolf, Belfast, for J. P. Corry, became the 'Grid' in 1904, and in 1906 was a hulk at Bermuda. A sedentary job was also found for 'City of Hankow' at Gladstone, Queensland, where she was used as a pontoon up to 1935 (?), which circumstance is commented upon in an issue of the 'Blue Peter.' 'Ophelia' a vessel with many quick passages to her account went to the shipbreakers at Boulogne in 1914.

1892.

Ship	Tons	Master.	Ship	Tons	Master.
Nordby ex Glenearn	576	Holston	John D. Brewer	926	Josse
Equator	1,233	Crosslie	Austad	329	...
Dunbritton	1,471	Chapman	Staut	...	...
Prince Frederick	1,456	Overgaard	Helena (Dan.)	484	...
Prince Victor	1,015	Hanson	Miako	516	Ellis
Salsette	1,613	Panton	Osaka	517	Jones
Avon	1,590	Brady	Hereward	...	Inglis
Ribbleton	375	Davies	Margaretha	747	...
Adolf	633	Peterson			

'Prince Frederick' if not 'Prince Victor' belonged for some years to Moran Galloway & Co., whose house flag was the Norwegian

national ensign with a white ball or, as facetious seamen dubbed it—'The empty plate.' 'Dunbritton' was a forerunner of Andrew Weir's great fleet, before they changed from Sail to Steam. 'John D. Brewer' and 'Martha Davies' (at Cochin 1893) were both from American yards and both owned by Charles Brewer of Boston, U. S. A. The former was wrecked on Bugawan Island, whilst from New York for Zanzibar; the latter was burnt out on the 13th of May, 1905, at Hilo, Hawaii. 'Miako,' by Pile of Sunderland and owned by T. Roberts of Lanelly, Wales, was commanded by Captain John Ellis, just one of many instances in which 'Bluenose' skippers were masters of vessels owned in the U. K. 'Adolf,' as will be seen elsewhere in these pages, came to this port but never left it.

'Sail' was now rapidly receding from the seas, which march of events is reflected in the entries of square-rigged vessels at Cochin. The lists now shown are still only selections, though they are beginning to approximate to the totals for the years quoted.—

1893.

Ship	Tons	Master.	Ship	Tons	Master.
Celestial Empire	...	...	Diamond	...	...
Martha Davies	747	...	Monsoon	...	...
Tocopilla	498	...	Eme	774	...
Fritzo (Norwgn.)	1,128	...	Pascq	1,357	...
Famenoth	945	...	Esperin	...	...
Amambi	1,085	...	Minden	...	...
Seawitch	1,127	...			

1894.

Jeanne Magdaleine	808	Le Breton	Western Belle	1,083	Mathews
Seawitch	1,127	Tibbetts	Pactolus	1,145	Hall
W. W. Flint	793	Parsons	Overdale	847	...

1895.

W. H. Starbuck	1,272	Reynolds	Glenfalloch	...	...
Mexico	477	Moncrieff	Norden	724	...
Nova Scotia	...	Krabbe	Edmonton	1,298	...
Norwood ex Cargill	1,595	...	Saranac	1,027	...

'Norwood' and 'Strathmore' (which called at Cochin 1896) are both taken for illustrations by a writer on 'Sail.' He mentions the incident of Captain Dougall of the 'Strathmore' having to attend his wife in childbirth on the outward voyage; but so that he should not feel too uppish at being the proud father of a bouncing boy baby, Fate

ordained that his ship should catch fire when loading in Cochin harbour. It was doubly fortunate that the fire was got under control for 'Strathmore' was not insured.

By the kindness of the Marine Research Society of Salem, Massachusetts, the present author was supplied with a photograph of 'Seawitch,' a vessel that had made four or five consecutive voyages to and from the United States and Cochin; but the picture was taken in some dingy dock with all sails clewed up, and under, apparently, a sombre sky. Even so, by looking at her lofty masts and the span of her double yards, one can visualize the pageantry of her entry into our lagoon-like harbour. All work along the water-front would surely cease until this fair creature had found her berth. Sailing ships were created to be admired and one imagines that they, knowing it, minced and pranced, curtsied and preened themselves accordingly. 'Seawitch' made her first acquaintance with the waves from an East Boston yard in 1872: but on the 17th December 1906 when her structure was enfeebled by age she buried herself in mid-ocean.

Out-rivalling all ships previously mentioned in these pages was the famous 'Sir Launcelot,' which, it is believed, first loaded at Cochin in 1895, before proceeding on to Alleppey, which place she left for Calcutta but never reached that port, foundering off the Sandheads in a gale possibly of half the intensity of others she had previously weathered, though fortunately most of her crew were saved. Latterly she was in the drudgery of the Mauritius mollasses trade; though to the credit of her last owner, Vizram Ebrahim of Bombay, he used her well. Coates (The Good Old Days of shipping) who saw her in 1895 says that even then she was looking very smart. Another author in speaking of her says that on one occasion she was put into mourning for a former owner, which took the form of painting the figurehead, hair lines and hull band blue. Prints of this magnificent clipper are to be had but at very stiff prices.

Vanishing point of 'Sail' in Cochin was almost reached in the year 1900 when but two representatives of the white winged navy dropped anchor there. 'Sam Skolfield,' a wooden ship of 1,593 tons built at New Brunswick, Maine, U. S. A. was one. She had been in this port before, and it will be remembered that a Liberty steamer of that name was in and out of Cochin during and after the last World War. It would

seem that there is always a 'Sam Skolfield' in the American mercantile marine. The other ship was the 'Unamina,' also from the other side of the Atlantic, having been built at St. Martins N. B. in 1868. From Cochin she was ordered to Bombay by her Indian purchaser, Wallebhoy Caderbhoy; but on setting sail she was forced to put back to Cochin where, upon examination, she was condemned as unseaworthy; and it is believed she was broken up in some quiet backwater of this port where, doubtless, in some riverside garden the full length effigy of the Lady Unamina reigned graciously for many years afterwards. She was a beautiful vessel of 747 tons, and as illustrated "In the Wake of the Wind Ships," with her chequered black and white squares, she was a lovely picture under full sail.

'Sail' took final leave of Cochin in the shapely form of the Welsh owned and manned 'Queen of Cambria,' Captain Hughes, owners W. T. Thomas & Son; the date of which very sad event was—17th April, 1903.

N. B. A Senior merchant (retired) states that he remembers the four-masted barque 'Diana' loading at Calicut in 1906. She was chartered by the Australian firm of Harrison & Ramsay, and when at Calicut she was to Peirce Lealies agency. She does not, however, appear to have come on to Cochin.

STEAM. Comes to Cochin.

'Semiramis,' an Indian Government paddle steamer, for her trial trip on the Thames had the honour of dining in her saloon the Directors of the East India Company. Toasts for the success of the ship and her commander, Captain Brucks, were sedately drunk, and shortly afterwards the little vessel left on her maiden voyage to Bombay via the Cape of Good Hope and then across the Indian Ocean to Cochin, where coal had been stored for her. On the 6th of April, 1838, she reached the latter port, took in 110 tons of bunkers and proceeded on. Squat, black hull, dumpy masts and spindle funnel were her outward features, and as such, even though she was the first powered craft to enter the port, her advent seems to have caused no excitement, nor was it then known that her gallant commander would one day wear around his neck the mayoral chain of the ancient city of Exeter. Next of the new era to call here was the war steamer 'Sesostris,' a wooden vessel built at Northam, armed with few but heavy guns and intended for the suppression of piracy in eastern seas; but on the 29th of

September 1843, the date she first dropped anchor at this port (Narrakal), it was on the prosaic duty of collecting government treasure. The arrival is succinctly recorded in her log.—“Sighted Cochin flagstaff, Engines working satisfactorily. Fired a gun. Report boat came alongside.” It is odd to note that whenever the engines were re-started, the entry in the deck log was—“Brought the fires forward.” *

The first commercial steamship to call at Cochin was the s. s. ‘Victoria’ of the Bombay Steam Navigation Company (the original concern of that name), which was advertised to sail from Bombay on the 18th December 1845 to connect with the P. & O. mail service from Point de Galle towards China. At this juncture the Bombay-Suez link in the overland route to England was maintained by the Indian Navy, which had become more a steam transport service than a fighting force. Nor did the P. & O. as yet use the port of Bombay. At Cochin in the fourth week of 1846 was the ‘Archemides,’ a French vessel which, as her name suggests, was fitted with a screw propellor. She was carrying the French ambassador, Monsieur La Grene, with his wife and two daughters, to China.

‘Victoria’ was a wooden paddle vessel of 268 tons gross and 80 H. P., built on the Hunter River,** New South Wales. According to her sailing announcement she had “an excellent saloon, staterooms for ladies, and accommodation for gentlemen.” From the wording of the last paragraph it is surmised that the gents either slept on the saloon settees or the dining table. The fares were.—

		1st	2nd	3rd
Bombay/Point de Galle	Rs.	220	110	22
Bombay/Cochin	„	140	70	14

The first-class fare included messing and three trunks of baggage free; but the other classes had to make a picnic of it on the deck. Ballard & Brice were the steamship agents both at Cochin and Calicut. But the venture was not a success, and it was abandoned after a few months trial. Nor was it until 28th October 1859 that the service was resumed, when the s. s. ‘Bombay,’ Capt. Quilhampton, inaugurated a weekly call along the coast, with the terminus at Cochin. Mr. H. W. Brown of Calicut was appointed agent for the Malabar Coast.

* There had been trouble on the vessel, for the commander thought it his duty to include the engine-room in his round of inspection.

** Hunter River enters the sea at Newcastle, N. S. W.

As the officers and stewards of these small steamers indulged in petty private trade in Karachi grapes (at 12 annas a lb.) their arrival was eagerly awaited by the ladies of Cochin. On the other hand this regular service from Bombay put up the local cost of living very much by the great quantity of poultry and other provisions they carried away. Ducks for instance rocketed from three rupees a dozen to five; and the colony ceased to be the little Arcadis it had formerly been for the lower grades of government pensioners attracted to settle at Cochin because of the cheapness of subsistence there.

This second essay of the ‘Bombay Steam’ to get established on the Malabar Coast was likewise a failure, due largely now to competition in which the Bombay-Cochin fare fell to.—First class passengers Rupees 23; Second class Rs. 11; Third class Rs. 3. It therefore closed down finally in 1863.

The hiatus arising out of the ‘Bombay Steam’s’ first failure to maintain communications between Bombay and Ceylon was filled by the latter Government purchasing the s. s. ‘Seaforth’ to carry mails between Point de Galle to connect with the Suez link at Bombay. On the 14th April 1846 this vessel brought the intelligence that war was expected to be declared between England and the United States of America. It was by the ‘Seaforth’ that Jean Scipion Vernede, probably the first European to do it direct from Cochin, left on his first stage for England. But about 1847 the P. & O. extended their operations to Bombay, from whence thereafter the sailings for China and Australia started. This development brought Cochin into the orbit of things by its being made one of the coaling stations for these liners and, incidentally only, a few passengers were handled. It was thus that the port made the acquaintance of the pioneers of this great fleet—‘Penang,’ ‘China,’ ‘Achilles,’ ‘Malta,’ ‘Pottinger,’ ‘Pekin,’ ‘Braganza,’ ‘Lady Mary Wood’. The latter vessel in October 1847 landed from Bombay Mr. and the 3 Misses Bennet, and Captain Lugrin, the P. & O. Agent. She embarked for China, Lord Vane, Sir Thomas Munro, the Hon’ble Captain Jocelyn and Messrs. C. Abdy and Wm. Simpson. Unfortunately, the port was soon omitted from the P. & O. schedule; and in the second half of the year 1854, for instance, but three grubby steam chowkras entered it—‘Eaglet,’ ‘Sir J. R. Carnac,’ and ‘Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy,’ all but sprats of

their species. Indeed then and for some years later so infrequent was the visit of a steamship to Cochin that the Port Officer had standing instructions to report such events by the new electric telegraph direct to the Government of Madras.

When the 'Bombay Steam' finally collapsed many of their vessels were taken over by the Bombay Coast & River Steam Navigation Company, for which A. C. Brice & Co. had the agency until 1869 when Peirce Leslies took it over. The first call under the new house flag was made by the s. s. 'Tilly,' Capt: Kingcombe, which came into the inner harbour (1862) at midnight and at full moon. She lifted 300 hogsheads of coconut oil for Bombay where the price was higher than in London, so that European firms were selling their stocks to Indian shippers and deriving therefrom a bigger profit with less trouble than they could have done from overseas consignment.

These handy little steam vessels had often proved the deus ex machina to weather-bound sailing ships when, as for example in 1864, the morning land breeze failed for several consecutive days just as the break of the monsoon was imminent, threatening three or four foreign going wind-jammers with immurement within the inner harbour for as long as the foul season lasted, as had occurred in previous years. But the 'Tilly' put in an unexpected appearance and towed them one by one out to sea. For new ferry steamers arriving from the United Kingdom for employment on this side of India, Cochin was the usual landfall. For such small fry, unable to carry sufficient coal to take them over the wider ocean spaces and unable to spread sufficient sail to really drive them along, a voyage around the Cape of Good Hope was an adventurous and a protracted affair. No surprise therefore need be occasioned by the s. s. 'Taptee,' rigged as a schooner, taking 14 months on the voyage out. Another lengthy trip was that of the tug 'Mazagon,' of 50 tons only, which got within 250 miles of Cochin when her fuel became exhausted. In this predicament she was utterly becalmed for days, during which her fresh water and provisions almost gave out. The Chief Officer and four men therefore volunteered to row and sail the ship's boat to Cochin and apprise the authorities there of the situation; but they were ten days on the way and arrived a few hours only before 'Mazagon' herself came into

port, she having obtained a favourable slant of wind a day or two after the Chief Officer had left her.

That there should be four steam-propelled vessels in port at one and the same time was considered a remarkable occurrence. They were the 'Gogra,'* Captain Ramage, coasting for the B. I. S. N. Co. 'General Havelock,' 214 tons, 73 days out from Glasgow, and her sister ship 'General Outram,' already in commission on the coast as a ferry steamer, and both belonging to the Bombay Coast & River S. N. Co. The last named 'generals' possessed resplendent figureheads of the personages after whom they were named. Lastly there was the 'Mazagon,' belonging to the P. & O. Company, and sent to Cochin as tender for their mail steamers and to hire out for towing, thus filling a long felt want.

The China Merchants Steam Navgn: Company was one of the earliest indigenous concerns to come into existence on the Bombay side. Their first steamer was the 'Bombay Castle,' of 823 tons, built in 1857 and delivered to her Indian owners, a group of Cutchi Memons trading with Hong Kong, in the year 1858. She was barque rigged as a precaution, it is supposed, against engine failures. On two occasions indeed she came into Cochin in a disabled condition; once being towed up from Colombo by the 'Tilly', and again when, having broken her crank shaft off Cannanore, she fetched this port under her own sail, which was never sufficient in area to be relied upon to drive such a heavily built hull. The steamer 'John Bright,' 1023 tons, also belonged to them and may have been the vessel of that name entered at Cochin in 1866, although it is believed this was the sailing ship also so called.

Another Bombay venture of the seas was The Iron Ship Company, whose vessels were named after cotton growing districts of India and whose outwards freights were predominantly bales of that staple for Liverpool. At Cochin Peirce Leslies were their Agents, as Scott Bros./Aspinwalls must have been for the Bombay Shipping Company by virtue of Ritchie Stewart & Co: being secretaries and treasurers thereof at Bombay. As both lines were owned in India it is said they secured the pick of the market. It is also said of them that they were among the first English built vessels to have teakwood

* The name of this steamer is in doubt.

decks. It is however believed that the entire fleet were Sail, and that both companies were dissolved before they could pass into STEAM.

At this stage a slight diversion is necessary to make passing mention of the Raffins of Vypeen, whose ancestral home is St. Nazaire in Normandy. They seem to have come to Cochin via the Mauritius from whence Grandfather Raffin, it is supposed, made trips to this place to purchase newly built sailing craft of the smaller kind to take back with him for re-sale in the French Islands. His three sons, all of whom started in Sail, later transferred to old Zombie steamers of Indian ownership. Francis Raffin was often at Cochin in the 'Pearl,' late a government fisheries vessel bought into the coastal ferry service. George Raffin went to Hadjee Cassim's 'Tanjore;' and Celondiny Raffin was master of the 'King Arthur' when the s. s. 'Zuari' was rammed and sunk. Francis also commanded the s. s. 'Calder' and s. s. 'Bolchow.' In fact between them the three brothers, at one time or the other, must have held command of every steamer, screw or paddle, registered in the port of Bombay.

Mr. William MacKinnon's Calcutta & Burma Steam Navgn: Company was the beginning of the British India Steam Navgn: Company, though it was not until 1863 that the latter designation with its famous code word BISON was adopted. Port records are not clear as to the date they first used Cochin, but the 'Kurrachee,' 'Martaban,' 'Cashmere,' and 'Busheer,' built in 1862, '63, '64, '65, respectively, are among the earliest of which there is a record. A boat of the 'Cashmere' lost the mail, sometime in 1865, when it capsized crossing the bar. But the steamers themselves often came to the inner harbour, though at other times, without any ostensible reason, they stayed outside. This apparent inconsistency prompted George A. Jung of V. Bs to press the Port Officer for a hard and fast ruling as to when a steamer could or could not cross the bar; but though it was a guiding principle that with 17 foot of water in the channel a steamer drawing up to 15½ feet might enter under pilotage, the master was always the one to decide whether to come in or not. There the matter had to rest until the new harbour was made, when the difficulty was solved for, it is supposed, very many years to come.

Sometime in 1879 the steamer 'Mergui', which for many years had plied between Tavoy, Mergui and Singapore, called at Cochin when

bound for the United Kingdom and for delivery to the British India Steam Navigation Company, who had purchased her from "an enterprising Skipper who could not, however, carry on business so fully as a well organized company with agencies throughout the East." The vessel referred to was commanded by Captain Alexander Bowers, F. R. G. S., of Glasgow who on this occasion was accompanied by his wife (a Sidmouth lady) and two small daughters.* Captain Bowers was a man of some note in seafaring circles. As a rather youthful master he had taken his tea clipper further up the Yang-tsi-kiang than any other European ship had previously reached. He had been, likewise, a member of the Sladen expedition to the far back-country Shan States. Going over from Sail to Steam, by his unaided efforts he acquired and operated on his own account the three steam vessels 'Mergui', 'Pioquet,' and 'Annanda.' For some time he had clung to his independence, but at last had to sell out to the powerful interests mentioned.

Capt. Bowers was the father of 'Birdie' Bowers of Antarctic fame, an officer seconded from the Royal Indian Marine to the 'Terra Nova' of Scott's 1911 expedition. How this stout-hearted gentleman died in the ice-bound tent with his leader is a matter of Polar history. Lieut. Bowers may have been in Cochin more than once, but he was there in March 1909, when the R. I. M. S. 'Dufferin' entered the port.

In 1883 the 'Empress of India' made contact with Cochin on behalf of The Asiatic Steam Navigation Company. This call was followed a year or two later by the more distinctively Indian named steamers 'Pundit' and 'Nurjehan' (sister ships) of which a model is in Peirce Leslie's Cochin Office. Their house flag—navy blue, white, navy blue lateral stripes, with a central blue star—has for many years served ports of the Indian Ocean, without aggression and on a policy of live and let live.

Direct trading with Italy was opened up by the s. s. 'Medusa,' an Austro-Hungarian Lloyd steamship; and in 1890 the 'Siegmund,' a small steamer of 611 tons only, introduced the German mercantile marine to Cochin. About 1889 Jenkyns' Welsh Shire Line also commenced calling and maintained a frequent service with a rotation of 'Cardiganshire,' 'Glamorganshire,' 'Pembrokeshire' and one or

* One of these is now Lady Mary E. Maxwell of Rothsay, Bute.

two others. Contemporary with them was Alfred Holt's Blue Funnel Line—'Prometheus,' 'Nestor,' 'Sarpedon,' 'Telemachus' etc., etc., the third generation of which berthed at Cochin during and after the late war. Of this line it is said that they did more to drive the old sailing ship out of eastern waters than any other cause or agency.

Cayzer Irvine's pioneer on this run was 'Clan Monroe,'* 1147 tons, in the year 1890. In 1891 there was a chain of 'Glens'—'Glengarry,' 'Glenshiels,' 'Glencarg,' 'Glenfalloch,' 'Glencarn,' 'Glenartney,' and perhaps others. They plied to the Far East via Malaya, specializing in the pilgrim traffic, picking up Muslims of all races, as far afield as China, and taking them on the Hadj to Jeddah. 1892 brought two 'Clans' to Cochin. 1895 registered four of that line, but none above 1,500 tons. In the same period there were three 'Glens', two Blue Funnel, and two Welsh Shires. The latter steamship company have been since absorbed into the Glen Line, who recognize the amalgamation by retaining two or three Welsh Shire names—'Brecknockshire,' 'Denbighshire' (1948). Bullard King's were represented in 1895 by 'Umlote' and 'Umona.' As the steamers of this Company were constructed to enter African estuarial waters, they had no difficulty at Cochin in steaming right through to the Muttancherry anchorage. Their fare to London, in 1905 at least, being but three hundred rupees, they were a great comfort in the prospect to the impecunious exile.

Other outsiders entered in the port log were (1893) the Whitby steamer 'Roma.' Capt: Storm, and (1895) s. s. 'Sutherland,' a long ship brought into the inner harbour and "turned around carefully and with skill by Government pilot Raberts." Two visitors of 1896 were specially mentioned—'Diomed' because of her 22 derricks and 'Okla,' 3,486 tons, as the largest vessel ever at the port of Cochin. Cayzers still lagged behind in point of size, but they gave the 'West Coast' what it wanted—'Little but often'. In 1897 the largest to show their house flag, the Scottish lion red, within a white diamond on a red field (almost Duncan Dunbar's device), was the 'Clan Mackintosh' of 1,936 tons.

An invitation, how widely accepted was kept a secret, was extended to Cochin residents to attend Divine Service aboard the London steamer

'Claverly,' when the Port Officer, at least, set a good example. Those were peaceful days, when even on a merchantman operated for dividends, Sunday was a day of rest. In this age all days alike are dedicated to Mammon; and if the winches by any chance are silent on the Lord's Day, it will not be of set design, but merely that the advantages do not offset the penalty fees of the Customs and other authorities of the port at which they happen to be working.

By 1900 'Steam' is well advanced in linking Cochin with the major ports of the outside world, though as yet without direct communication with the United States, Canada, or Newfoundland.

And, to use an archaic legal phrase,

Beyond this we do not go.

* The model in P. Ls. Cochin office is of the 3rd steamer of this name, built in 1919, which struck a mine in 1941 when from London to Hull in convoy. She did not sink but was towed into shallow water, where the wreck lay until blown up after the cessation of hostilities.

Chapter VI.

THE COUNTRY CRAFT.

The Pattimar, the Buggalow, the Kotia, the Botelha and the Dhow.

Without the country craft—those lateen-rigged coasters—India's merchant navy would be shorn of its left arm, for in the aggregate the amount of rough merchandize they carry is immense. There was a time when the first of them to arrive at Cochin after the monsoon was supposed to have spent itself was entered by its name in the Port Officer's log; and for the length of the little vessel's stay here her crew could walk the bazaar of Muttancherry's sailor-town with the assurance of minor celebrities. By arriving on the 7th of August (1893) one pattimar established a record not since broken by this type of undecked craft. There was a time when the sight of the first assemblage of these small coasting traders betokened the opening of a fresh season of traffic and barter. The Cochin correspondent of the Madras Mail, for instance, writing on the 10th of September 1858 in reference to them says—"Our inner harbour once more begins to wear a business-like aspect." There have been other occasions when the excitement has been at the other end of the season, as when the kotia 'Kalyan Prasad,' against the advice of the Port Officer, insisted upon leaving on the 12th of July, or mid monsoon. Some sailors, it is said, are safe in a storm others have odds against them in a calm; and every year for no apparent reason one or more of these archaic argosies pile themselves up, wide of the channel, on those sands that so seldom release their deeply laden victims. But 'Kalyan Prasad,' aided by a spring tide and a slant of nor-east wind, crossed the bar with great éclat and went bravely homing to her back-of-the-world port in mediaeval Kathiawar.

Pattimars are homemade in every detail and are the crudest things afloat except the coracle and the dug-out. The plank is hand sawn, and the frames of natural crooks are roughly trimmed by the adze to some semblance of the curve required. Standing and running

gear is of coir yarn twisted on some sandy beach by age-old cartwheel process into ropes contemptuous of any system of standard gauges. The nails, straps, and grapnel anchors are forged at the bazaar smithy from scrap of any kind; and for paint, if any, the red ochre of the coast is used. Masts usually have a kink in their length somewhere, and the yards are three or four saplings lashed together. When the sail of hand-woven coarse cotton is bent to the yard (which may be almost twice as long as the mast is high) its weight may take half an hour to hoist. This laborious chore is done by all hands and the cook, the skipper only being excepted, to a vocal lead and chorus in which the soloist must not repeat himself in his extempore aria, the subject of which will be the adventures and mis-adventures ashore of the vessel's pet scapegrace; and all the while with each heave on the tackle the mast and pulley blocks will grumble like an overladen camel, which simile aptly applies to the Pattimar. At anchor with yards lowered and stowed, and with the pronounced forward rake of her masts, the appearance of the country craft in the half-light of evening is that of a giant locust grounded for the night.

Sometimes one of these small coasters arrives off the harbour mouth at a time when strength of ocean wind is balanced by pressure of outflowing tide, but there may yet be a chance of cleaving a way through the gut. On to the charge will come the pattimar or dhow, running before the wind with her lateen sails set on main and mizzen yards crossed inwards—that is 'a goose-wing' or *en orielles de lievre*. With the initial impetus the craft will gain a length or two, but as she gets closer under the lee of the Vypeen palms and the Sea Breeze's—"I will!" is met by the Tide Rip's—"You shan't!", the little gain made will be lost. On she will come again, praying that with this tilt will come a grace gust that will overcome the last patch of millrace, when, whilst the clustered coconuts titter, the bark glides on to drop anchor with those of her kith and kin already riding easily at the pool.

Lateen-rigged craft of the open deck type do not ply south of Cochin; and when the Government pattimar 'Pownah' was taken for temporary duty on the pearling banks, she foundered. Captain Robertson, Master Attendant of Tuticorin, with 24 lascars and divers, then perished. The newspapers hinted that the vessel was leaky and

unseaworthy, an allegation refuted by the Bombay dockyard authorities, who placed the blame for the accident on the unskilfulness of the Malabar crew in handling a type of vessel with which they were unfamiliar. But it is only in the best three or four months of the fair season that undecked vessels would be safe so far to the south.

Stricter regard is now had to the wearing of correct national colours by these indigenous coasters, those of Indian States being recognized. There was a time however, when any form of British or Colonial flag was considered *de rigueur*, not excepting the royal standard. Failing any of these a bit of bunting from the International Code of Signals would serve; but when the pattimar 'Sakria' came bowling into Cochin harbour flaunting the Stars & Stripes, Port Officer Winckler thought it time to intervene. A practice among the guild of country craft tindals (native skippers), too illiterate to sign their names in the vernacular, is to employ sign manuals. The most common form in use is the anchor denoting their calling, which is appended to documents in a variety of shapes and positions. Other emblems adopted may be the rough outline of a hull, a boat paddle, a triangle as representing a sail, a bucket, a rudder, or a one, two, three or four purchase pulley block; but there are some, perhaps of piratical antecedents, who affect a dagger, a tulwar, a matchlock or a cannon. Cochin port office records had samples of all of them on their papers of fifty years ago. Stowed on the top of the cargo of the Pattimar or kotia will be the dug-out canoe used by the crew in their visits to the shore or neighbours at the anchorage—quite rightly it is not regarded as a life-saving appliance. On the green lawn of a residence at Topsham, Devon, is one of these primitive canoes. An octogenarian master mariner long since retired, in one of his trips out East had come across it in the open sea, far from land, and in it were two dead Kanaka fishermen. He shipped the canoe and brought it home as a souvenir some forty years ago. It is now the plaything of bad boys whose chief delight it is to inveigle some other youngster into it, preferably one on his way to Sunday School. Seemingly quite accidentally the cranky tub is upset, throwing the guest into a foot of Exeter City bilge water and an equal depth of sedimentary ooze. But this is only by the way.

Government have more than once considered the imposition of a Plimsoll line upon the hulls of native craft; but have always been

divised by those who should know that the enforcement of it would be impracticable. The most that could be done was to introduce a system of registration (1901) which facilitated the tracing of the movements of these otherwise too inconspicuous seafarers. This did much to curb impractices then too common, for up to the end of the 19th century piratical elements were not altogether eradicated from the coast. A series of outrages in fact occurred in 1899 which created something like panic on the Malabar littoral, where a number of cargo carriers of the smaller kind had been plundered by armed men. The perpetrators proved to be operating from the shore, from villages around Palloport; and some 24 bad characters were rounded up and brought to Cochin town under guard of a detachment of the 19th Madras Native Infantry; when most of them were convicted of robbery on the High Seas. More difficult to track down were Arab vessels which, when homeward bound to the Red Sea or Persian Gulf, swooped upon and plundered any solitary Indian country craft they might happen to encounter. Not that an Arab, even of the rudest order, might not be trusted to defend his own employer's property. An instance illustrating this occurred many years ago when a British frigate was sailing northward, between Cochin and Calicut after a cyclone had swept over the Malabar coast, when the look-out sighted an object in the sea ahead. On coming up with it, it was found to be two Arabs, in the last stage of exhaustion, supported on a float of coconuts in a fishing net. To this was attached a rope the other end of which was secured to a box of treasure belonging to their master, which, as their vessel sank beneath them and in face of their own imminent peril, they had made lagan in this way. The chest was recovered by the frigate and landed at Bombay with its two faithful stodians.

On the 5th of May, 1944, Cochin was in a turmoil. With little or no warning dense black clouds rolled down from the High Range* and concentrated right above the town and harbour. A great and shing wind heralded a cloud-burst that within a few minutes made of the backwater a freshwater lake. In many of our stoutest roadside trees the gale found the weak spot and forced them to relax their grip on Mother Earth. Vypeen coconut palms shook and cowered before the blast; and as if they were mopheaded women with hair loose and streaming from the nape of the neck over their eyes, so were the fronds

strained and stretched straight as sword blades. Thunder and lightning, far too intimate, seemed to surround one; and one monstrous peal which rocked the ground ushered in a many-pronged fork of lightning that shattered the pilots' flagstaff and filled the air with sulphurous fumes. For the hundred or so country craft at the pool it was an ambushade. They were huddled together like frightened sheep. They trod, so to speak, on one another's toes. They butted indiscriminately with prow or stern—one could almost hear them bleating. So little apprehensive of danger were their people that the most of them were ashore in the bazaar taking their ease; nor could they get back aboard whilst the squall lasted. They could do nothing but watch, what time kotia and dhow, pattimar and buggalow tangled themselves together by rope, cable, yard and bowsprit, as if to say—Take one. Take all. Take all. Take none. Three of the largest, however, were torn away from the mass. Clutched by the wind and caught in the terrific flood they were carried remorselessly out to sea. Two of these vessels were entirely deserted, maybe anyone on board had clambered into another vessel during a momentary collision; but the third vessel had just one man in her, whose violent pantomimes from the poop as he was swept past the shore were almost ludicrous to watch. A brig dragged her anchors but was pulled up just as she was about to strike among the fishing nets at Vypeen. The wind dropped as suddenly as it had been conjured up, and the crews of the three runaways were soon frenziedly rowing after their fugitive homes, which by the very force of the current had been kept in midstream until they had debouched into open water. Opposite the Port Officer's residence on Willingdon Island a 'snake' boat upset with twenty women coolies rowing back to their water-side village homes after a day's work at the docks. Five of them, apparently drowned, were pulled out by the Port Officer's servants and laid in a row before the kitchen fire, when artificial respiration was successful in two cases.

Thus did tragedy come out of the Blue on the evening of May the 5th, 1944.—

During the second World War three Tuticorin brigs, under long charter to the Travancore Government, were based on Cochin port. They were fairly well maintained and trim, but never, as far as one could

see, used their top-gallant sails; and a sailor would have noticed that their rigging was without ratlins, that is the crew in going aloft would toe up the shrouds hand over hand, in the native fashion. On one occasion only were all three berthed at the Willingdon Island wharves, a sight which would never happen in peace time. It gave this most modern of Cochin's new works a curious Old World appearance, as if we were back in the 1870's. Another of the same rig came into port in 1946, which from her dowdy exterior one might suppose her to be the Cinderella of all brigs. Ropes and rigging, which might have been her locks, were frayed and scanty. With scarce a vestige of caulking, the hull of her was deeply seamed and furrowed; and she had a nasty eczema where the bolt heads in the side planking were red pimples and pustules with years of rust, for not a dowel remained in the whole length of her sides. On boarding her she was found to be the 'Perianatchee,' 145 tons burthen, port of registry Moulmein. She had just come in from the Kalpeni Islands with copra, and was to take Mangalore tiles for the return voyage. It transpired that the brig was lying in Moulmein River at the time the Japs swarmed into the town. Whereupon the crew skedaddled into the jungle to wait upon events; but the owner had remained in his house and was soon on working terms with the enemy. It was not long before the little craft was again in commission, but under the ensign of the Rising Sun. Their usual round had been Rangoon-Moulmein-Mergui; and they continued in the same routine except for a run to Penang. They had had, they said, no other excitement; nor were they interfered with. Moreover the captain's chronometer, his most precious possession, remained his own throughout. 'Perianatchee' was again at Moulmein when the British returned, and the crew just as easily resumed their former allegiance. One feels there must have been more in the story—Under Two Flags—but it was all that the skimpy wizened skipper said he could remember. He was not, apparently, committing himself, though the full narrative in his own vernacular probably went into many chapters.

During the late war two newly built Cutchi buggalows, based on Cochin, were employed by the Royal Navy as 'Q' boats of a sort; but so 'Hush Hush' were their activities that one never dared ask questions concerning them or display curiosity as to their comings and goings. Doubtless they have their own little tale to tell.

WRECKS AND CASUALTIES at the Port of Cochin and adjoining coasts.

Blow wind, Run sea.
Crack go ship 'fore day.

Compared with the holocausts that from time to time ravaged shipping in the narrow waters of Calcutta, or the recurrent disasters to sailing vessels in the open roadstead of Madras, the toll taken at Cochin and upon the shores adjoining the port is moderate indeed. Nor in any of them has there been any heavy loss of life, not even when H. M. S. 'Superb,' flagship of Admiral Hughes, was driven ashore on Tellicherry beach, in the year 1796. Sacrifice Rock, off Calicut, has also claimed its victims, the most important of which was the double loss, in 1792, of the storeships 'Prudence' and 'Union,' laden with war materials for the Mysore campaign. This storm, it is said, was fatal to almost every ship within reach of it between Tellicherry and Bombay. In 1799 there was a frightful hurricane off Calicut, and in 1805 an equally furious one off Mangalore. There were others, of which that of 1847, known as the 'Cleopatra' storm, is best remembered. When a steam frigate of the Indian Navy, conveying convicts to banishment, foundered off the West Coast of India without trace, and when the Cochin schooner 'Cochin,' though bound for Colombo, was blown northwards and wrecked on Mount Delli. In this cyclone many of the Maldivé Islands were inundated by the sea, with great loss of life, as a consequence of which boatloads of starving inhabitants from those islands descended on Cochin and other places north and south of it. Much has been written regarding the protection afforded by the mud-banks on this coast, to test and report upon which the sloop of war 'Morning Star' was ordered to remain at Mallipuram during the monsoon of 1793. Here, as a matter of fact, she foundered, the exceptional severity of the monsoon of that year having broken up the protective formation.

Next in the chapter of accidents was the H. E. I. C. sloop of war 'Coote,' which finished a useful career in Calicut Roads, where the obstruction she hit bears her name, and the sailing ship 'Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy' was wrecked at Quilon in 1836.

In 1846, Mr. Owen, a merchant of Cochin, purchased, as she lay, a wreck in the vicinity of the port. Part of her cargo was wool in bales

which had been immersed in the sea. To recondition this it was necessary to have it washed in fresh water, which Owen proposed to have done in the river at Alwaye. The authorities however, were apprehensive that the drinking water of Cochin Town might be contaminated; and anyone who has bathed downstream of camels being washed will appreciate the point. Also in 1846 and in her home port the brig 'Anna,' belonging to Adelard Pagel & Co. was lost. Oughterson & Campbell's schooner 'Nymph,' Cochin to Bombay with cargo and the Kroom family of Cochin as passengers, was driven ashore at Bamliapattam (Cannanore) on the 13th of May, 1847. As there had already been a heavy gale off the coast in April, it would appear that the master of the ship had gambled on there being a lull in the monsoon, but had lost his wager. Two years later (12th October 1849) the ship 'Orpheus,' Capt. Thos. Mann, drove ashore on the southern sand-bank of the harbour entrance, where she became a total wreck.

'Seaforth' is the first steam vessel to figure in our local casualty list. She was carrying mails for the Ceylon Government from Point de Galle to Bombay, but when near Quilon, 27th February 1852, fire broke out aboard and gutted her. She was brought into Cochin, where she appears to have been almost rebuilt. Exactly a month later the ship 'Wuzeer' drove ashore somewhere on the Malabar Coast and that was the last of her. The bell next tolled for the brig 'Shaannon,' which in 1856 struck on Vypeen Point and went to pieces.

Ritchie Stewart's Mangalore office netted a nice fat sum in respect of salvage services to the ship 'Alchymyst' which part loaded at Cochin but subsequently went ashore at Mangalore. The owners, Martin Young & Company admitted value at Rs. 75,000/-, but it was the proportion earned by salvors that was in dispute. In his award the judge considered the vessel to have been derelict, and therefore decreed a moiety to the claimants. What was done at the time with the hull does not transpire, but in 1887-88 it was in use at Cape town as a coal hulk.

When Lord Harris, in 1858, had completed his visit to Cochin he embarked in the Indian Navy steam frigate 'Ferooze' for Quilon, the next place in his tour. When nearing that destination early in the morning and whilst His Excellency was pacing the deck, 'Ferooze' came into collision with the s. s. 'Pearl,' steaming in the opposite direction,

which most unaccountably got right under the bows of the frigate and not only was cut into within a foot of her keel but had a mast knocked out by the other's bowsprit. Water-tight bulkheads kept the stricken vessel afloat, and after landing Lord Harris, 'Ferooze' returned and towed her into Cochin harbour. That such a thing could occur in broad daylight and a calm sea is hardly credible, but it did happen.

On the down voyage the 'Ferooze' had in tow the government pattimar 'Pownah,' carrying Captain Castor, the master Attendant of Cochin, and Captains Wickham and Tossachs, who were bound for the wreck of the 'Lady Hodgkinson,' a vessel of 1,000 tons, which had struck earlier in the year on Tanganacherry Reef, Quilon. The wreck was sold for Rs. 11,000/- as it lay on the rocks, with lower masts only standing, and 300 tons of rails and general cargo in her holds.

That pilgrims for Mecca were carried in sailing ships under the most scandalous conditions was brought home to the people of Cochin by the 'Alliance,' when that decrepit ark was forced to abandon her voyage and come into Cochin for repairs. Her legal carrying capacity for 425 persons (each entitled to a minimum of 9 sq. ft. of deck space—1859) was grossly overcrowded; and the hadjees, men, women and children so famished, debilitated, filthy and disease-ridden that the Master Attendant ordered them all ashore, to be cared for at government expense until a more seaworthy vessel could be procured in which to send them on to Singapore—their destination. In the meanwhile they were accommodated in a compound at Vypeen, much to the annoyance of the residents of that village, who feared the outbreak of a pestilence arising from the insanitary conditions which they believed would obtain in such cramped quarters. Fully concurring with the Master Attendant, the Madras Government addressed that of the Straits Settlements protesting against lack of supervision over pilgrim ships sailing from ports under their jurisdiction.

'Kohinoor,' of 437 tons, port of registry, Shields, although she is thought to have belonged to Lawson Bros. of Cochin, joined 'the great majority' of her kind on the 4th of January, 1859. Her lading of Coconut oil, hides, and "pressed bales of coir goods" was almost completed when she burst into flames and despite assistance from other vessels and of fire engines from the shore she could not be saved. It is said that 'Kohinoor' was burnt to a blackened mass so far down as

where fire met and was thwarted by water; and what was left of the ship sank and lay on her keel until the gales of 1862 wrenched off fragments, which floated to the surface. These bits and pieces were claimed by one Gunapathy of Muttancherry who many years before had purchased what remained of the wreck for Rs. 235/-. Captain H. J. Lee, in business as a stevedore at Cochin, and a foreman carpenter named Curtis, both of whom had attended on this vessel and knew her master, Capt. Tossachs, declared they were also aware that 'Kohinoor' had been built with frames of oak and plank of pine, which evidence confirmed to Gunapathy, still alive and flourishing, a deferred dividend in copper nails and sheathing to say nothing of a few baulks of good English oak. The peculiar thing about it all is that another account states that she was salvaged, sold to Norway and re-named 'Flora,' and finally wrecked in 1901, having been built at Perth, Scotland, in 1852. It looks as if Gunapathy seized on some other submerged wreckage as his own.

In September 1860 the 'Hopewell,' Capt. J. Barron, struck on the Maldiv Islands in such a manner as to heel over to windward in one motion. In this desperate situation it was most urgent that the crew should leave the doomed vessel forthwith, not delaying even to gather up their few personal belongings; for which reason when the master and 19 men reached Cochin in the ship's boats, they were quite destitute. Here their deficiencies were made up as far as possible before they left by the s. s. 'Tilly' for Bombay. Another casualty of 1860 was the burning of the sailing ship 'Pearl,' 346 tons, Captain Bowery, just before her intended departure for London. She was lying at the outer anchorage of this port when news was brought to the master, who was ashore on business, that his ship was on fire. Joined by the Master Attendant, he entered his gig and was hastening to the roadstead, at the same time as 'Pearl,' under one mast only, was being headed for the beach with the design of scuttling her in shallow water. The other two masts and the rigging, which had been newly tarred, had been cut away in the vain hope of limiting the scope of the fire. But though the rising tide did swamp the holds, the ship was too extensively damaged for further service. This was the third instance of its kind in four years at Cochin when vessels on the point of leaving, loading almost

completed, had left their charred timbers on the bottom of the harbour as mementos of their frustrated voyages.

Cochin merchants and port officials were congratulating themselves on so tidily winding the pre-monsoon season of 1861: no shipping casualties: all produce sold and shipped: godowns empty, locked and barred, and all snug for the 'winter'. Indeed, the winds and the rains could now do their worst and nobody would care. When at the last minute appeared a lone sail beyond the bar. It was the barque 'Shree Venkatswamiloo,' 283 tons, with hoop iron for the Cochin baling presses. Despite the advice of the Master Attendant to the nacodah (who had come ashore) not to attempt the passage of the bar, but to make for Narrakal or Alleppey, the mate, either on his own initiative or in compliance with the master's instructions, took the hazard of making for the inner harbour and in so doing struck heavily on the sands. It looked as if all the people on 'Shree Venkatswamiloo' must drown, and so they would have done had not some European gentlemen watching from the shore offered a large reward to a volunteer crew of fishermen to go to the rescue. This they did in a most gallant manner and returned as they thought with every living soul aboard. It was only as the saved crew were landing that any mention was made of one of their number who had been left sick in his bunk, a fact that was concealed when the rescuers and their boat was alongside, yet they had secured all their own goods and chattels. Further and enhanced rewards were offered, but this time there were no takers; and within a few hours the wreck had disappeared. There were no further total losses for the year 1861, but the ship 'Glenaln' grounded when outward bound and had to return, land all her cargo and be repaired before she could proceed, which event again raised the clamour for a steam tug to be attached to the port. So, too, the 'Angelina' was many months repairing at Cochin during which time her master, Captain Blandin, died and was buried ashore.

Very heavy losses were incurred when the almost new iron sailing ship 'Scinde,' built by Pile & Co., of Sunderland only in 1862 and owned by Holmes of London, after having been last reported in October, 1863, vanished from the face of the waters. She had left Cochin for London a week or two before to all appearances a staunch well found vessel, laden with a cargo (probably cotton) valued at £ 120,000. On the night of the 19th October, 1864, a violent hurricane struck the port, whereby

were totally lost an Indian barque and the Melbourne owned ship 'Wings of the Wind', (ex 'Flying Arrow') built at Frankfort, Maine, in 1852, whereof was master Hugh McEwen, who had also a 16/64ths, or quarter share in that vessel. Nor was this the only disaster to the shipping of the port, for another craft, of the mellifluous name of 'Wings of the Wind', was lost in Cochin outer roads also in October, 1863. Not only did people perish in the wreck itself, but a boat which went to the succour was upset, further adding to the list of the drowned, and casting the mantle of widowhood upon six women, for whom and their fatherless children a public subscription was opened at Cochin.

What was thought may have been a hoax was a message taken from a sealed bottle washed up on the beach at Quilandry, reading to the effect that anyone finding it would know that the American ship 'Eagle' had foundered with all hands 30 miles west of Calicut. It was declared, however, that the vessel had been spoken on a date subsequent to that contained in the missive. One of those queer happenings incidental to the sea concerned a wreck, a large black ship, piled up on one of the lonelier of the Maldiv Islands and sighted by a passing vessel, but whose boat, sent in to investigate, could not get close enough to identify what ship it had been. On reporting the matter at Cochin, a steamer of the British India was despatched to the place to find out all there was to know about it. Nearer inspection proved that the wreck was without masts, upperworks or decks, and was indeed nothing but a shell. On her quarter however were the letters 'Ana' of a name otherwise obliterated, and there dragged over her bleached sides a few frayed strands of coir rope rigging, which circumstance indicated that she was a Bombay vessel, for in a Europe ship the cordage would have been of hemp. It was then remembered that the ship 'Sultana' Captain Rice, Bombay for the Mauritius, had been struck by lightning, burnt out and abandoned in the Indian Ocean in the year 1862. It was felt certain that this was the derelict which had brought its wanderings to an end on the Maldiv Islands.

In the month of August 1865 the ship 'Fatel Razak,' Calcutta to Jeddah with pilgrims and salt, foundered in 3½ fathoms off Alleppey, but there was no loss of life. Nor were there any casualties to report when a ship's boat with the Chief Officer of the P. & O. liner 'Colombo' came into Cochin to report the loss of that steamer on Minicoy Island.

In a very heavy gale of wind in the monsoon of 1870, (which also blew down the bronze cross from the roof of St. Francis Church), the barque 'Shawool Amid' was capsized in the inner harbour, and lay on the bottom for some months before she was raised, not much the worse, as it proved, for her long immersion; but the barque 'Passover' of South Shields which struck "under a commanding breeze, just as she was closing the bar," was so badly strained that she became a total constructive loss. Nevertheless she was repaired (presumably at Cochin) and in 1880 was the 'Ginia' of Fiume, later 'Elpis' of Santorim, Corfu, and was still afloat in 1925.

Whether it was from fire or stranding or in storm that Captain Maiden, Port Officer of Cochin, saved the full-rigged ship 'Empire of India,' in 1874, is not on record; but that conscientious officer is said to have died as the result of his exertions on that occasion. On almost every square of the Mercator grid along the sea lanes of the two hemispheres can be pin pointed the loss of some collier of the old days, consumed by her own cargo. The instance for the offshore waters of Cochin is that of the big Quebec built ship 'British Empire,' 1,413 tons, from the United Kingdom to Bombay, which was abandoned on fire and sinking when passing this port. Two of her boats came in here, but another with the captain and five men aboard was not heard of again.

Two cargoes loaded at Cochin which failed to reach their destinations were in the ships 'Southport,' owned by Harrisons of S. Shields and bound for New York, which was wrecked (1872) in Port Natal bay; and the larger vessel 'Somerset,' 1,332 tons, owned by Bagehot & Co. of London, which, having left Cochin on the 21st of April, 1875, stranded on Coilpatan Point, the third day out, and became a total loss.

Anglesea as an incubator of seamen has for three centuries or so been represented in naval and mercantile shipping by handsome vessels. One of that name, a former Blackwall frigate, whose speed record was 3,397 miles in 13 days, ended her career not far from Cochin. (In its slow decadence her story is in corresponding steps with the tale of Black Beauty, the famous old horse over which we kids shed many a moist tear.) When her call came she was the Turkish ship 'Fazel Careem,' Jeddah to Calcutta with pilgrims and dates. Having sprung a leak on her course she was steered in towards Alleppey; but she had

shipped much water, and at the last became unmanageable, so that as the sport of the wind and current she drifted ashore broadside on, where the waves made a clean breach over her. In her prime, officers and crew had taken great pride in the figurehead, one of the Earl of Anglesea, which in port was always kept covered up except on special occasions; but this, no doubt, to the Turk would have been just another effigy of some dog of a Christian, a kaffir gisour. J. H. Aspinwall had been heard to declare that he doubted whether Lloyds Agency was worth having, as shipmasters in distress usually avoided them. Be that as it may, it was not Scott Brothers who took over the agency from Lawson Bros: but Peirce Leslies, who have held it ever since; and it was therefore they who attended to the business of—'Fazel Careem' ex 'Anglesea'—Built 1852, wrecked 1883.

Captain Anthony Raberts was asking for trouble when, on the 29th May, 1879, he went ashore leaving his ship 'Futtay Allum,' 562 tons, outside the bar in charge of an incompetent mate and just a few coolies. During his absence the vessel was caught in the burst of the monsoon and driven ashore below the lighthouse, where she went to pieces. 'Cyrene,' a 3-masted barque, Captain Luckham, built at S. Shields but Salcombe owned, did not actually strand when entering the port in 1886, but nevertheless bumped with such violence that her repairs were very extensive. These were effected at Cochin, and when completed she emerged almost a new vessel under the new name of 'Tababy,' and owned by Faiz Rabban of Cochin, for whom she sailed until she was broken up in the year 1902.

'Sir Henry Havelock,' a barque owned by W. Kennett & Co., Glasgow, had not completed taking in her cargo of coffee at Tellicherry when the monsoon of 1887 came tearing in from over the horizon. The master thought it advisable to up anchor and run for the harbour of refuge at Narrakal. But fire broke out before he could get there, and it was too late to save the ship when at last he fetched the shelter of the mudbank. She burnt to the water's edge; and the only thing salvaged out of her were the anchors and chain cables—the same that were purchased by a Cochin firm and used in the moorings of the ill-fated 'Chandrabhan'. The master of 'Sir Henry Havelock' had berthed in such a position that the wreck so interfered with the working of the port that Government had to purchase it so that it might be blown

up, for as the law stood, the owners of a sunken vessel retained the rights therein without liability or penalty for consequential damage that might be caused by the obstruction. 'Sir Henry Havelock,' however, was the last major loss to occur within the limits of the Port of Cochin.

With a single qualification steamships have found ours a friendly coast; the exception was the small diesel engined cargo vessel 'Shrivati,' bound for Singapore, where she had been purchased. Built to ply on the River Danube, she was so under-powered for the open sea as to be a standing hazard; and when the patience of the Fates was exhausted she was almost literally blown ashore south of Ponani, when her Chief Engineer, a man of over 70, was drowned in the surf. The wreck lay not far from the estate of a European gentleman who had settled on this palm-fringed strand, and who, under instructions from Lloyds Agents at Cochin, took charge of the dented old tin trunk that had been 'Shrivati.' Fragments of her are scattered throughout the villages of the district, fashioned by the local blacksmiths into all sorts of articles of utility.

Excitement tense and strong prevailed in the port of Cochin one day in 1926, when the s. s. 'City of Agra' stranded on the sands just outside the gut. Whilst standing on and off waiting for a pilot, she came too close in and grounded. The resident of a bungalow in Cemetery Road thought the big liner was coming up his garden path, so he said. With assistance the wanderer was got off undamaged, but the strain proved too much for her youngish master, whose first voyage in command it was; and before the inevitable official enquiry into the cause of the stranding could be made, he took his own life.

The Great Fire of Cochin.

In reporting a fire at Cochin in April of the year 1864 the Madras Times reminded its readers of the great fire which broke out at that place on the 31st of January, 1836, which burnt to the ground almost all the houses, shops and buildings in the place (Calvetti?) together with ships, pottimars and other craft building or under repair, all of which were reduced to cinders. It was a magnificent spectacle, so said the paper, watched from the neighbouring islands and for many miles around. But when The Great Fire of Cochin is referred to nowadays it is the conflagration of 1887.

'Chandrabhan' (Moonlight), a lateen-rigged vessel of 315 tons, built at Cochin in 1885, was under a Court attachment for nigh on two years, during which period she lay at anchor off Calvetti, dismantled and thatched with palm leaves like a barn, and left in charge of a night-watchman only. The hulk had come to be regarded as all a part of the landscape until, in the late afternoon of January the 4th, 1887, she was seen to be enveloped in smoke, and slinky flame was stabbing through her roofing. Volkarts, whose premises lay nearest, realized from the outset the potentialities for destruction contained in this fire-ship; and they quickly hustled carpenters with tools into a canoe with orders to scuttle the menace forthwith. But until the first blush of fierce heat had abated, no one could get near the ship; and even when that was possible the stout hull timbers, sheathed in cooper, defied the efforts of the workmen to bore into them—the very thrust of the augers on the surface fended the boat away from alongside. Indeed, it was said that nothing short of torpedo or cannon-shot could have put 'Chandrabhan' down under the water. Still held by her anchors, the craft burnt on; but when the cable ends around the bits were consumed, it left her free to drift on the tide.* With difficulty a rope was bent around the rudder post, and the most active exertions made to tow the floating brazier out of harm's way. Current and tide, however, were in alliance on that day, and the hulk bore irresistibly down upon Volkarts river-front sheds, all cadjan covered as 'Chandrabhan' herself. These sunbaked erections, where a fire-fly almost would have sufficed for ignition, responded immediately to the invitation to join in the fiery fun; and not many minutes elapsed ere the flames jumped the lane and linked up with the huts and shops on the far side. 'Chandrabhan' now fell away on the stream until again brought up by striking Aspinwall's jetty, by which impact a shower of fire rain was belched over the tinder dry materials on the adjacent barbecues. From thence the fire ranged over Brunton's yard.

Her dire mission fulfilled, skilfully as if under human direction, she sided still further along until, caught in the eddies around Peirce Leslie's jetty where there was nothing to burn, and there, at last, she was tethered by an iron chain and left to roast in her own embers. What was left of her then sank, leaving a charred bit of the stern showing above the rim of the tide.

* 'Chandrabhan' had been moored with the cables bought from the wreck of the barque "Sir Henry Havelock," but with constant swinging on the tides they had become strained and unserviceable, and had therefore at the order of the Port Officer been replaced, this time with coir rope.

Fanned by a breeze of unusual strength for the time of year, and fed by readily combustible goods—fibres, oils, copra, coir, nuts, leaves and seeds—all first cousins to touchwood, red ruin ramified throughout Calvetti, destroying the tenements of five or six European firms—Volkarts, Aspinwalls, Bruntons, John Grieve's, Adolf Pochont, and some 250 shops and huts of the Moplah quarter. All the fire-fighting appliances of British Cochin and Muttancherry, such as they were, exercised no instrumentality in holding up the enemy. At one point only, at the Markar mosque, opposite Volkarts, was any real stand made. Here Moplahs with the energy of dancing dervishes, regardless of personal considerations, combined to draw and carry water from their ablution tank to meet every advance of the fire upon their place of prayer. They were fortunate in having this reservoir to draw upon, for the surface of the harbour along by the warehouses was so thickly filmed with oil as to be almost useless as an extinguisher. Longshoremen could collect a month's wages in a matter of minutes, just for the skimming, an opportunity widely availed of; and one can hazard a safe guess as to why the Vypeen ferrymen forsook their appointed tasks without notice.

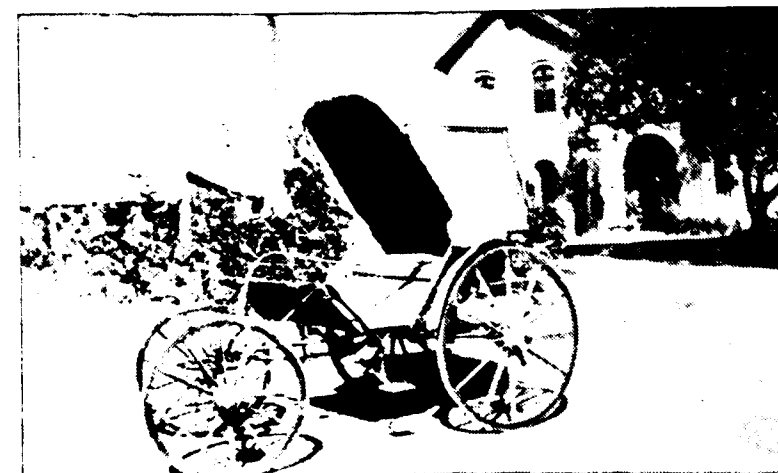
Writing to a now defunct Catholic magazine—"O Vinte Tres de Novembro"—a correspondent from one of the lowlier strata of Anglo-Indian society commented upon the presence of a number of Europeans "all idly watching the poorer classes fighting for their lives." But there could have been no resident Europeans there but had a very intimate stake in events; nor were there any casualties. Men, women, and children of the afflicted quarter camped out on the beach near the lighthouse until the crisis was over and they could return to the debris of their flimsy homes. It is said that the chief of one of the leading firms and his wife were on their way to a garden party at Balghatty when, on walking through his yard, the marchant noticed the considerable quantity of produce lying there and gave orders for additional cover to be taken out. But acceptance of the policy had not been completed ere Fortune frowned. Rumour avers that the flames were already tickling the soles of the head clerk's feet as he scratched away at filling in the insurance papers. In any event it seems the claim was disputed, so that the said gentleman was distraught and declared he was ruined. This dramatic detail is embroidered by the further trimming that he was only deterred from throwing himself into

the backwater by a number of his Indian business acquaintances dissuading him from that rash step by promising to stand by him; though that did not prevent one of them bringing a suit for Rs. 13,000/-, against him for the value of coconut oil stored in the yard which had also gone to feed the flames. George Brunton is said to have walked all the way from Cochin to Madras to seek an accommodation from the banks there; but Shoranur, on the Madras line, had been open for some years before the fire; and the distance between Cochin and Trichur could be performed by boat. Moreover the bridge over the Ponani, which was hailed as a great feat, completed the road link between backwater terminus and railway station. Many old people remember the fleet of horse tongas, sometimes a hundred of them in a long string, clattering over this thoroughfare to or from the station, raising billows of dust equalled only by the dense clouds of smoke that accompanied the great fire of Cochin.

Volkart's cash had been put away in a masonry strong room which, although not penetrated by the flames, was a good imitation of a blast furnace. The intense heat reduced every coin, copper, silver and gold to lumps of smelt. Their broker, too, is said to have lost his brig 'Mysore' moored at their jetty. Captain Winckler, Port Officer, saved the government boat shed, on the west side of Brunton's yard, by using the stock of Always drinking water stored therein, for which he awarded himself much kudos. This was but a small offset against devastation far surpassing anything within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. So that when Winckler commemorated 'The Great Fire' by erecting his famous monument, popular assessment of official help on that occasion was expressed by the derision heaped upon it. Stung by one particular gibe in the Cochin Argus, the old sailor relieved his indignation by an entry in the official log—"That lying paper spitting out venom as per usual—The virus of a degenerate heart". There is no mention of assistance rendered by other ships in harbour. Possibly they were too busy looking after themselves. One of these was the 3-masted barque 'Soteria' of Salcombe. It was a long shot writing to this small Devonshire haven in the slender hope that the ship's log might be in existence there and that an outsider's angle of the events now narrated might be available; but Captain Constantin, the

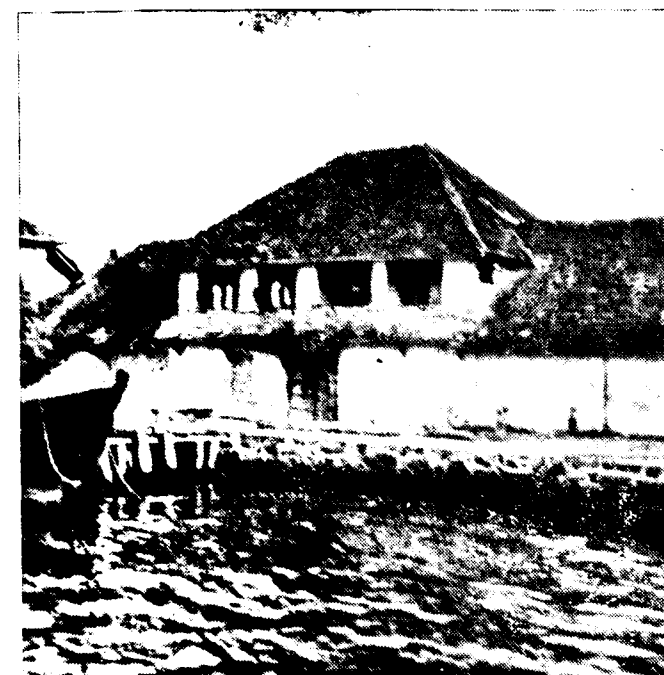
Port Officer, could only send particulars of the 'Soteria' herself, which was built in 1875 at Flushing, a suburb of Falmouth.

Consequent upon this disaster the country craft anchorage was pushed out nearer Vypeen; and a government order was issued that all vessels lying in the stream should henceforth anchor with iron cables, the end of which should be fixed to something below the water line. Further it was resolved that buildings within 200 yards of the harbour frontage should be roofed with tiles, a byelaw which evoked protests from the Calvetti slums that such a luxury could be ill afforded by the poor. But the lesson had been learnt the hard way, and to this day the native 'bustee' of palm-leaf cudjans or straw is taboo within the riverside areas of Cochin Town, Calvetti, or Muttancherry.



THE PUSH PUSH OF COCHIN.

The vehicle portrayed belonged to Grob of Volkart Brothers, and the picture is taken in V. B's. produce yard at Cochin. Note the steering handle operated by the passenger. As the name implies, the contraption was shoved from behind, with blind faith in Master's sense of direction and ability to keep it.



OLD MERCANTILE OFFICES ON THE HARBOUR FRONT.

A building of which the walls appear to have survived the great fire of Cochin (1888). It looks more ancient than it really is, but in 1813, at least, there were no houses alongside the tree-lined causeway leading to the Calvetti bridge. The building has been occupied by Adolf Pichon, Darragh Smail, John Grieve, Ripley Mackay & Co. and, in 1948, The Bantay Company were in possession.

Chapter VII.

Cochin Merchant.

The Planters' station is the first,
The Doctor's doubtful, Lawyer's worse.
The Merchant holds a central ground,
From which he views all classes round,
And meets each on its level.

He talks to planters of the crop
To doctors of the physic drop
To lawyers of the D.....l.

Direct commerce of Europe with India commenced when the annual fleet of the 'Portingall' made Cochin the target of their trading adventures; and though this place fell away in importance after the capture of Goa, the peppercorn alone continued to draw carrack and galleon to the port, with a train of merchants and travellers spying out the land. Ceasar Frederick, of Venice, was one of the first of these to leave on record his impressions of the place. Coming here from Goa (1563) he declared that it was second only in wealth and display to the Portuguese capital in the East. There was, he said, in Cochin great store of silks from China and sugar from Bengal on which the citizens paid no duty. On pepper there was an export cess but it was loaded at night to cheat the Customs of its revenue. Local historians have often quoted a letter dated 10th January, 1580, written from Cochin by a Genoese trader to a friend in Europe. It is a chatty screed in which it is emphasized that this was no longer the Eldorado it had been. The writer further endeavoured to explain to a man who had never seen one, just what a coconut was like—the most difficult task. Ralph Fitch, the English traveller, was at Cochin in 1589, marooned there for eight months, during which time no vessel either entered or left that place. On his return to London he was consulted in regard to Captain Lancaster's intended voyage, the first venture to be made to the Orient by the Merchant Adventurers of the Hon'ble East India Company.

Granting a concession in the year 1634, Portugal permitted English merchants to reside within her East India settlements, up to which date England held no territory in this country except as comptoirs or trading posts within the domain of some native prince, and on his suffrance alone. In the long view this was excellent training, for whereas the Portuguese had no need to be polite to chieftains or potentates or to solicit their protection, our merchants had to learn to study the idiosyncracies of their customers, in which process, according to one old chronicler—"They were urbane, being used to commerce". In 1663, however, when the Dutch triumphed over the Portuguese, the two Englishmen established at Porcaad, near Cochin, were expelled by the 'Honest Dutch,' who proved to be "our enemies to the utter ruin of our trade, as far as their power will give them leave".

Later the English Company opened up at Anjengo and Telli-cherry, both above and below the Dutch at Cochin. The latter, like ourselves, operated through a chartered company—Der Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (The United East India Coy., V. O. C. for short.)—composed of the Chambers of Amsterdam, Middleburg, Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn and Enkhuizen, whose council at Batavia (addressed as 'Their High Nobilities') ruled their possessions with sovereign power. Cochin was a secondary charge, of which its Chief was entitled to rank as Commodore only, though styled Governor by courtesy; and he held the post more by reason of his ability as a businessman rather than an administrator. On assuming control of Cochin the Dutch entered into commercial transactions through the Jew, Ezekiel Rabbi; but later they distributed their brokerage between two Jews, two Baniyas, and two Canarese—the last of whom were the subtlest. They also encouraged their employees, from the highest to the lowest, to dabble in trade; and from the senior grades, at any rate, expected that accounts would be reasonable rather than exact. As time passed there was more sociability between the rival merchant adventurers, the Dutch and the British; and when, in 1714, Mr. Strutt from Bombay called upon Governor Keitel at Cochin he was affably received. We are told that Mynheer 'Kettle' was of a jovial disposition though not exactly cultured, he having come East as a 'Centinell' or common soldier.

Forbes, the Orientalist, often came to this town from Anjengo; and in his *Memoirs* is a sketch of the fort as seen from the sea. Of contemporary Dutchmen he says they kept tables furnished with hospitality and graced with politeness. So, too, the English gentlemen and their wives at Tellicherry were no strangers to their Dutch neighbours; and from a remark in one of her letters it may be assumed that Mrs. Daniel Draper (Sterne's Eliza), when in residence with her husband at the latter settlement, visited Cochin round about 1769, and describes it as 'a sweet spot'. Fresh letters of Eliza's come to light from time to time, and one may yet be found, perhaps written from Cochin itself, more fully describing with her appraising glance the town and people as she viewed them. Abram Parsons arrived here on Christmas Day, 1775, at which time three Dutch Indiamen were loading pepper. Independent of the festive season, the market, said Parsons, was full of good things—tea from China, sugar and sugar-cane from Batavia. All sorts of wine from the Cape of Good Hope, French brandy from Holland; and many other articles much cheaper than anywhere else on the coast of Malabar, as it was the largest and best stocked magazine in this part of India. But, complained Parsons, the thermometer stood at 102 and the place was so intolerably hot that he had to sleep in an 'open gallery,' by which it is supposed he meant the verandah. He saw the 'King' of Cochin pass by in a handsome palanquin, escorted by a Dutch corporal and six European soldiers, which, he says was but an empty show, as the king was a mere puppet in the hands of the Dutch. He also refers to the famous Cochin Tavern at which all travellers were obliged to stay and, moreover, pay for all meals whether they dined in or not. Half the profits of the establishment went to the Governor who, to do him justice, himself kept open house. Indeed, Parsons and the commanders of the Bombay frigates 'Revenge' and 'Bombay Grab,' dined with him (Governor Moens) six days out of the twelve they were in port; and because Moens could speak no English, two Jewish gentlemen sat at the table with them to interpret the conversation. So, too, whenever there were ladies in the ships the Governor's wife invariably asked them to Government House.

Whilst Parsons was in the town an epidemic of sickness was abroad, the symptoms of which were headache and a trembling of the

limbs, which daily carried off many Europeans, but did not touch the natives. It baffled the doctors as it was their first experience of the disease. Like all other visitors to the place he notices the dreadful 'Cochin' or swollen leg, now known as Elephantiasis; but only Alexander Hamilton repeats the local tradition that it was imputed to a curse laid by St Thomas upon his murderers.

A list of the table silver supplied by the Dutch Company to their chief at Cochin included the following items.—

1 silver jug	1 pepper box	2 rosewater flagons
4 salt cellars	34 spoons	1 schotel or dish
4 mustard pots	34 spoons	1 water jug with cover
4 mustard spoons		and strainer.

Also provided were 8 cuspidors, 3 seals, and 1 silver chain for the town keys.

On the Hon'ble East India Company's taking possession of Cochin in October 1795, they followed the revenue system of their predecessors in the leasing of trade monopolies. Arrack, the spirituous liquor of the country, was 'farmed' to merchant Meyer, a Dutchman who held the contract under the old government. One proviso appertaining to it was that the bakers might bring in free "sufficient for their ovens," for it also served as yeast for bread. Under-declaration of values on imports was risky inasmuch as the Customs farmer could appropriate at the declared figure.

It was also to be expected that with the Dutch going out and the British coming in, the Cochin rajah would feint for all the privileges he hoped to extract from the newcomer; and in 1797 he is arguing his right of passing his trade through the port free of customs, and is further insisting that he should be exempted from taking Port Clearance from the British Cochin authorities. His mercantile navy at that time comprised 1 grab ship of 3 masts, 1 American built brig, 1 snow, 1 dinghy of 130 tons, 4 manjies of 35 tons, and 1 pattimar of 80 tons.

From the very beginning Hutchinson, (appointed as commissioner in 1795 in addition to his duties as chief of Anjengo) begged Government to follow a policy of expansion for the newly acquired port; but pointed out that it would only be at the expense of "their vigilant and enterprising neighbour Alleppi". Oliphant, who succeeded

Hutchinson, used stronger language when proposing a reduction of duties—"Not only to compete with Alleppi but also be the means of recovering the miserable inhabitants of Cochin from the lowest stage of wretchedness into which they seem to have been plunged by a train of the most peculative and unheard of oppression ever practiced under a Christian government". As Oliphant forgot to say to which government he was referring the Bombay satraps wrote by return to ask him who it was he was denouncing—themselves or the Dutch? A further letter cleared the point up, when Oliphant again proposed that the duties levied at Cochin should not exceed the level of those at the Presidency; and that Arab and Country vessels especially should be encouraged to resort to the port because they introduced an afflux of treasure. Ships and vessels of every description appertaining to the East should be built there free of port charges; and in short, "Let the weak and tyrannous old Dutch system be abolished and the good fruits of such liberal change will be felt".

But for the reason that it was not known whether the place would revert to the Dutch Company, trade slowed down and in 1806 was almost at a standstill. Of direct dealings with the Western World there were none—everything going or coming via Bombay or Madras. The discriminatory duty of 8% on goods carried in foreign bottoms, as compared with 3% in British built ships was a deterrent, which is a reminder of an old quip aimed at the people of the Low Countries.—

"In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch
Is in offering too little and asking too much.
The French are with equal advantage content,
So we clap on Dutch bottoms just twenty per cent."

Under Portuguese and Dutch rule Cochin was an open mart for negro slaves. Abram Parsons, passenger in the 'Bombay Grab,'* then in company with 'Revenge,' says that Capt. Moore of the latter frigate purchased several to take away with him. But by the Royal Proclamation of January 1795, it was declared that slavery must cease throughout the possessions of His Britannic Majesty, though the law was not with retrospective effect. Thus, when Colonel Petrie's force captured Cochin in October of that same year and it was found that practically every domestic servant in the place was a slave, they

N. B. From 1795 to 1801 Cochin was administered in the Civil division from Bombay.

* The Bombay Marine was sometimes referred to as the Grab Service. These were smallish vessels rigged very much the same as European ships, but with a peculiar projecting stem. They might be either 2 or 3-masted.

could not be set free; but their owners could neither take them into adjacent British-Indian territory nor export them by sea, wherefore such of the Dutch garrison or civilians as were later repatriated to Batavia were not allowed to take their slaves with them. This application of the law may account for Murdoch Brown being thwarted in his desire to accept the offer of his Cochin broker of a slave married couple, the woman able to play the harp, which it was considered would be a most eligible accomplishment in a tiring maid for Mrs. Murdoch Brown. But Murdoch himself, as a landed proprietor on a large scale and the owner of many agrestic slaves or bondsmen of the soil, was already a marked man; for the conscience of an awakening government was now directed towards this negation of the new conception of the liberty of their subjects. These serfs came under legislation in 1819 to the extent that it was ruled that none in that condition of life would be allowed in future, under any pretence whatever, to be shipped overseas.

Murdoch Brown (who died in 1828), however, has as his epitaph—"He raised his tenants in the scale of civilization". He did indeed build a church for them and gave them into pastoral charge of the Basel Mission, which seems to have had no difficulty in leading them to Christianity; but there was some trouble later on when the congregation, instigated by the missionaries, remained seated (squatting) when 'Squire' entered the meeting house. For which reason, so it is said, Francis Carnac Brown, the son, had the church pulled down. There is little doubt that the Browns, father and son, are the parties referred to in "Humour and Pathos of Anglo-Indian Life," by J. E. Meyer (1895)—"Old Mr. B. a retired civilian and his son, a bit of a scamp".

One of the first petitions received by the British Commissioner of Cochin, 1796 or so, was from adjacent villages praying for protection against abduction, an infamous traffic in which certain Moplahs were engaged, especially in kidnapping children and selling them to supercargoes of ships. In this business the shore agents of the ships were the medium through which the victims were placed on board. There was a bad case in 1799 when Joachim Manuel Correa, a native of Barrida in Portugal and master of the ship 'Nostra Signora de Rozario,' smuggled aboard at night twenty-two men, women and children, who

N. B. Brown also had Sinhalese labour for his cinnamon plantation, and the crudely carved Poongy they worshipped is still preserved in the house.

had been seized and carried away. The ship left the port clandestinely without taking clearance, but, as it happened, was held up at Colombo, where to the questioning of the port authorities, Correa blandly replied that he did not know it was illegal to ship slaves from Cochin. Even before this incident the Government had issued a declaration to the effect that the East India Company's Bombay Marine owed its origin to the laudable desire the Court of Directors always evinced to protect the natives of India generally, and particularly those of the exposed coast of Malabar, from the depredations of Arabs raiding the coasts for "choice specimens of femininity" wherewith to grace the harems of the Persian Gulf. In 1804 a Monsieur Boulbars, for carrying off three Indians to the Island of Bourbon, was fined 750 rupees, which, however, he obstinately refused to pay. He declared they had gone of their own free will. That the kidnapping of children continued to be practised was forcibly brought to light in 1840, when Captain Biden, Master Attendant of Madras, on searching the native brig 'Moydeen Bux', found 32 small children ranging from the still tender age of 10 down to infants of 4. These the crew tried to palm off as their own children, a ridiculous lie that was soon exposed.

Recruiting so-called free labour was the next variation of the traffic, in the carrying of which the schooner 'Nimble' was employed as she lay in the port in the month of May, 1838, loading for the Mauritius; but the trade was being closely watched, and in 1839 the Asiatic Journal published an allegation that the Rajah of Cochin himself was selling his subjects forthright and the ship 'Ganges' was instanced as having taken a batch away. The supreme Government was not long in taking measures to regulate these abuses, and the better to control such procurements emigration was confined to the Presidency ports. When, therefore, C. J. D. Boomgaardt in partnership with Monsieur Gerard (who had been working this business from Mallapuram) applied to use British Cochin, they were curtly referred to the supreme Government, and told that in any case recruitment was permitted for the British colony of Mauritius only. Whereupon the applicants, who were interested only in the Isle de Bourbon and other French possessions, retorted that they intended to pursue the matter no further, as their proposal was more to benefit the public

N. B. In 1858, when the last trace of slavery was abolished in India, there were surviving at Cochin 71 persons of negro descent who had been slaves.

than anything else. Wherefore Gerard, a country captain with a ship of his own, sailed away to other maritime pastures.

Francis Samuel Carnac Brown, who was instrumental in obtaining the release of a lad enticed away and awaiting embarkation at Mahe, stated that shiploads of coolies from places outside that small French colony were induced to hire themselves for Bourbon into a state little less than villeinage. He wondered, he said, whether the French Government would for a moment tolerate an Englishman in French territory recruiting their subjects in like manner. There is no doubt that many an indigent Indian went willingly enough; and there was the instance (which gave the Bombay authorities no little trouble) of a man named de Courcy, known to have European blood in his veins, who truculently insisted upon indenturing himself for labour in the plantations of Mauritius. Nonetheless he was not allowed to embark.

Oughterson & Campbell of Cochin (1847) endeavoured to get permission to recruit for a new field, the West Indies,* to which proposal the Resident, General Cullen, was not averse; but the idea was strongly opposed by the Dewan of Cochin. In 1860 a Monsieur Bellemare was gazetted to Cochin as French consul, possibly it was to foster emigration to the French colonies as far as he was able; but many vessels were also calling here with cargoes from France. Monsieur C. Chatalier, established at Cochin in 1863, describes himself as an emigration agent for the Island of Reunion (Bourbon), and as his business necessitated frequent visits to Mahe, one John Martin Bass was his accredited representative at Cochin.

A conviction was obtained in 1860 by the Master Attendant against a "notorious crimp" named Barrido for attempting to ship two Indian labourers who had been kidnapped; and in 1861 a small boy, reported missing by his parents, was found in the ship 'Sir Edward Parry', a vessel owned and manned by Arabs. It also came to light that Arabs were going through a form of marriage with women of Cochin for the express purpose of selling them later.

How the production of coffee was speeded up by the demand from the United States of America might be made the subject of an interesting essay, for when an American ship, in 1803, called at Mocha and straightway raised the price of the berry from 38 dollars to 50,

and went off with 8,000 bales at that rate, leaving the skippers of the Hon'ble Company's ships gasping for breath, it was obvious that coffee had 'arrived' in the international market on both sides of the Atlantic. Cochin State came into the picture as a source of supply a decade or two later; and among the pioneer exporters was a Mr. Foran, but of what estate is not on record. 'Needuvallum,' previously worked by Major Ward of the Madras Army, was bought by Captain Milligen in 1820. Among residents of Cochin caught up in the speculation was Lt. Col. C Lethbridge, 26th Madras N. I., Conservator of State Forests. In writing to the Resident for a grant of land (1841) for the growing of the Coffee berry at Palliar, Chalakhudi, the Colonel explains that his request is tendered as he sees no prospect of employment for his sons. In partnership with him was the Baron d'Albedhyll of Cochin, whose sister he had married.

Two other anglicized Dutchmen also took up the venture—Samuel Vernede dug himself in at Padiaram and Charles W. Vernede at Kadahutty, in the same neighbourhood. Another application came from Monsieur Gerard who, though born a Frenchman, had taken, as he said, the oath of allegiance to Queen Victoria. He wanted a grant of land, either for sugarcane or coffee, at Vellapully; but as his ship, 'First Girl', was about to sail for China he could not wait for an answer, which he requested should be sent to Mr. de la Selle at Mallipuram. Yet another would-be planter was a Mr. J. M. Cloke who, in 1847, writes to the Resident to say—"I am an Englishman and was steward of the ship 'Risk,' lately wrecked, and am now living at Cochin with other members of the crew. On thinking over the miseries of a sea life, I have decided to follow it no more but a different way of living, either in Travancore or Cochin, where I intend to settle and make a coffee plantation." Orders were given to enquire into the financial position of the petitioner, whereafter nothing further is heard of him. Mr. John Mackenzie of Cochin (owner of Mackenzie Gardens) also came in on the same proposition and received a grant of land at Vellapully, subject to his undertaking not to seek exemption from the laws governing the country.

At the Ernakulam exhibition of 1863 Messrs. Peirce Leslie & Co., were awarded the sum of fifteen rupees for their fine sample of coffee. It is doubtful however, whether the exhibit came from any of the

* The ship 'City of Paris' had taken away a batch of 271 from Madras in 1846. A well appointed ship equipped to attract this traffic.

aforementioned estates, which were soon abandoned for higher ground. Nor have efforts to trace the sites of those plantations in the Chalakudi Valley been successful.

Planters of Travancore and Cochin will have read "On the Indian Hills," by Edwin Arnold (son of the author of "The Light of Asia") who tried his fortune on the Nelliampathis, but had to retire defeated by malaria and debility. Along with a Mr. Reid, around about 1865 he opened up Pardagherry, adjacent to Polyampara, owned by Mr. G. Dupen, a Cornishman. Arnold reached his destination via Calicut, and was never nearer Cochin town than the anchorage where the s. s. 'Africa,' in which he was a passenger, discharged some cargo. This is disappointing as it was hoped that he could be claimed for a Cochin worthy.

An estimate, dated 1842, for bringing into bearing an entirely new plantation of 10,000 plants, may be of some interest.

1. Clearing and preparing ground measuring about 250 (gunthas?)	Rs.	500
2. Cost of 12,000 plants, allowing 25% loss	"	144
3. Average number of coolies to be employed weeding & watching, say, 2 annas for a period of five years	"	11,406
4. Salary for a 'Kanskapillai' and a headman in charge of the plants for 5 years	"	840
5. Price of working implements @ 100/- for 5 years.	"	500
6. Rent of ground at Rs. 13/- per annum	"	65
7. Interest for 5 years	"	2,078
	Rs.	15,533

The average produce of each tree was calculated at the rate of one pound from the sixth year, so 10,000 trees would produce 10,000 lbs of coffee which, at Rs. 1—4—0 per lb. aggregated Rs. 12,000. Annual average expenses for maintaining the plantation, including rent, plucking and preparing the produce was estimated at Rs. 800. This calculated upon the total expenses appeared to yield a profit of nearly 11 per cent.

Tea, which a correspondent writing from Kotagiri in 1865 declared "is all the rage now," has assumed pride of place as the main export of Cochin; but for centuries the duties levied upon pepper were the chief source of revenue to the sirkars of Travancore and Cochin. As the incident of taxation increased on this commodity so did the

smuggling fraternity flourish, until, in the 1850s, they became organized and daring bands. At one period there were gangs operating from seawards, from landwards and from the backwaters, all running the gauntlet from states territory into British Cochin. Candle Island was one of their lairs, but the ultimate goal was Calvetti, where the cargoes were landed. British officials said they could not prevent the traffic even if they would; and as it was not their revenue that was being defrauded, it was none of their business from whence the pepper came. In one incident the smugglers openly forced a passage through the cordon of the Cochin Sirkar's peons with fifteen boats, escorted by canoes full of men armed with guns, swords and sticks; they also used sharp pointed stones which could be thrown with great velocity and accuracy from a considerable distance. When the pursuit pressed too closely, the preventive people were met with handfuls of lime slammed in their eyes. An affray of more than usual severity occurred on the 7th of April, 1853, when two men were killed by gunshot wounds and others blinded. In course of time, however, tariff adjustments and better organized police improved matters; whereupon Cochin ceased to be the seat of the pepper smuggling trade.

In the library of Anjarakandi House where the floor for over a century has been used for the drying of cinnamon bark (the aroma of which is said to stave off the bookworm), is a pamphlet written in 1847 by Francis Carnac Brown, whilst he was living in London. It is a petition for the removal of protective duties on commodities imported into the United Kingdom from Cochin—Sugar, coffee, nutmegs, spices, and, more particularly, cotton, in the growing of which in South India great developments were expected. In the presentation of his case the writer refers to Van Anglebeek's administration of Cochin (1782-1793), during which Murdoch Brown was often in the settlement, and had left it on record in his correspondence that the place was then "wealthy, commercial, and beautiful." It was with the contrast—Then and Now—that it was hoped to shame a slow-moving statesman into appropriate action. The title of the pamphlet was—

Free Trade and the Cotton Question
With reference to India
being
a memorial from
The British Merchants of Cochin to
The Right Hon: Sir John Hobhouse
With a letter and appendix by Francis
Carnac Brown Esq., of Tellicherry.
LONDON MDCCCXLVII.

Brown commences with an historical survey of Cochin beginning with Vasco de Gama. He then eulogises the Dutch period at the expense of the East India Company, who are charged, on taking over the settlement from the Nederlanders, with immediately stripping and pulling down the arsenal, blowing up the citadel and destroying a massive stone wharf that extended along the bank of the river, at which the loading of ships could be effected direct from the shore. The Company had, too, (according to the pamphlet) withdrawn every authority except the military. British ships were forbidden to call there for purposes of trade; nor was any Englishman not in the Company's service, permitted to reside there. Native trade was burdened with every kind of taxation and levy; and government monopolies existed over pepper, salt, cardamoms, tobacco and alcoholic liquors. The panacea for all these ills was:—A survey of Cochin Harbour. Rebuilding the quay. Leasing of yards on long term for shipbuilding. A description of the harbour and its approaches to be widely advertised. Removal of customs barriers into British India. Navigation of the backwaters to be free. Protection of life and property. A resident functionary with requisite powers under whose jurisdiction Europeans in adjacent states should be subject. As in the case of Mysore, Cochin too should be treated as British territory. And, lastly, forbearance from taxation until wealth had been created.

In the appendices to the memorial Brown quotes a letter he had written in 1832 to the Secretary to the Government of Madras, in which the Cochin of that day was pictured in lurid colours; and in which reference was made to an assault by three Europeans upon an Indo-Briton, investigation into which required a magistrate from Calicut. Further allegation was made that it was a recognized thing for people with a grievance against anyone to hire ruffians to administer the bamboo, who were paid at a fixed rate of fifteen rupees—Cochin Law! The population of the town consisted of Franchmen, Portuguese, European and Creole. Dutch and all their descendants, legitimate and illegitimate, Turks and Arabs with bands of Sidhees, who had thrashed a sepoy guard and every other indigenous tribe and caste located round about Cochin. In fact, the elements of discord were always there, and the only person to deal with them, within a hundred miles, was a native Portuguese official called a Fiscal.

But the very concourse of these diverse nations at Cochin was of that it had much value as an entrepot of commerce. Yet the great and striking advantages of the place were in almost complete abeyance, and with all these circumstances there was not (1832) one European shipbuilder or merchant of capital in the town.

To this declamation the reply received from the Court of directors (to whom it had been sent by the Govt: of Madras) was that with reference to "Mr. F. C. Brown's proposal for making Cochin an emporium for commerce and a dockyard" no expense was to be incurred without their previous sanction.

The signatories to the 1847 representation were all the merchants who then mattered, European or Indian—

James Oughterson.	C. J. D. Boomgaardt.
Ballard & Brice.	H. J. Owen
Shaporjee Hirjee.	J. S. Vernede.

No prints of old Cochin show any deep-water quay such as Brown mentions, but in one of Ammann's old photographs is a vessel of about 400 tons lying off Aspinwall's foreshore and connected with the then un-revetted bank by a rough gangway. Parsons (1775) says that vessels drawing up to 14 feet went to 'Muttan Cherry' to unload and load, anything larger could, with safety, enter the port only at spring tides and in the calmest sea. He mentions the extensive wharves referred to by F. C. Brown, but it must be that they were used only by small craft engaged in working the ships lying at the inner and outer anchorages.

Of all the memorialists only Brice is thought to have been a 'cotton' man. He, on his own account, had been working from 1842 onwards to persuade the Cochin State to open up the Palghat road via Trichur and to remove the inter-state duties on cotton by which means alone could it be diverted for shipment from Cochin instead of at Ponani,* which had been made the outlet for it. Of the origin of Joseph Ballard,** who joined Brice in partnership, nothing is known except that when he died in 1858 at the age of forty, the executor of his estate was his brother Enoch, described as a merchant of London. Joseph Ballard's only son, who was born at Cochin, took to the sea; and shortly after his 21st birthday, upon which he became heir to considerable property, he was lost with all hands in the sailing ship

N. B. Much of the retaining wall along the harbour foreshore was built up with the stone ballast discharged from ships.

* The cotton godowns at Ponani are still in existence.

** Ballard married at Cochin a Miss Bennett, daughter of a pensioned head assistant in the Bombay Secretariate, who came to live at Cochin in 1845.

'Aberdeen' which foundered on a voyage Sydney to Hong Kong. Ballard Road, by the way, is named after a Collector of Malabar (1864-70.)

By 1846 progress in cotton had been made, and it began to arrive for pressing at the 'Cochin Screws.' Merchants of the town were likewise much to the fore in scouting for suitable soil in which to increase cultivation, for, up to that time, Chittoor was the only district in which it was grown. At Anjarakandi is an old press in which four massive rosewood columns are skilfully chiselled out in screw threads. Something like this served the cotton shippers of those days. Bales were rope bound, and on stowage were further compressed in the holds by jock screws backed against samson's posts. These old-fashioned contrivances gave place to hydraulic machinery about 1868, in which year 26,459 bales of coir yarn were pressed for shipment with the new hoop binding, a process which eliminated the disadvantage of bulging bales. First to inaugurate the system was the Cochin Cotton Mercantile Press,* owned by Cowasjee Eduljee of Colombo, who purchased a site from Duncan Dunbar which had been a part of Oughterson's shipbuilding yard. Cotton, however, soon deserted the port, but the pressing of coir for export filled the breach. One enterprising European firm imported the machinery for a new press and procured an expert to assemble it. As that engineer proved of little use, another was engaged to take his place who, indeed, was nearly successful; but in striving after the extra ounce of pressure to bring the bales to absolute minimum size, he brought the whole bag of tricks tumbling to the ground in ruin where, in utter disgust, the owners let it lie.

A complication in Cochin trade in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign was the complexity of the currency in circulation—

New gold mohurs	Silver fanams	Spanish dollars.
(Bombay)	Gold rupees	German crowns
Madras mohurs	Company's rupees	Copper pice
New gold fanams	Sicca rupees	Palghat kass
Old gold fanams	Madras coins	

Silver fanams were such tiny pieces that they could best be counted with a shuffle board having a hundred sockets. A handful of the coins would be placed on this tray and shaken until each recess

* Now Volkarts press.

was filled, when the surplus was removed with a scraper. Shabdai Koder has one which is believed to be over 300 years old.

Cochin Chamber of Commerce, formed in 1857, issued its first report in 1858. Of founder members none survive under their own name except Volkart Brothers, and it will be seen that H. J. Owen and C. J. D. Boomgardt, signatories to the 1847 memorial, had already gone out of business.

Members of the Cochin Chamber of Commerce 1857.

Business Firms	Represented by
A. C. Brice & Co.	P. Leslie
* Darley Butler & Co.	S. Darley
* Lawson Brothers	A. S. Lawson
C. E. Mirus	Mirus/Brunton
Oughterson & Co.	J. H. Berry
* Parlett O'Halloran	N. F. Fitzgerald
Pagel & Co.	H. E. Chatalier
Volkart Brothers	J. Huni
Wilson Ritchie & Co.	R. H. Peirce.

One or other of the individual members of the Chamber was probably the Cochin correspondent of the Madras Times who, on the 31st of August, 1858, wrote—"Thank God the country tomorrow ceases to be governed by the East India Company". On her Majesty's assuming personal sovereignty over this land, the citizens of Cochin tendered a loyal address; to which a reply was received in 1859 by Mr. S. Darley, as the leading signatory, acknowledging their expressions of dutiful allegiance. To Sir William Butler is attributed the remark that trade (1863) had flown from Cochin; and two years later came the announcement that that concern were withdrawing at the New Year (1865). One reason current for their closing down is said to have been their inability to compete with Scott Bros. Their premises were taken over by a native merchant who had been doing well in trade for some time (Andries de Cruz is probably the man referred to). H. E. Chatalier had taken over the business of Pagel & Co., whose warehouse in Burgher Street is now part of Wm. Goodacre's establishment. The firm had started at Cochin in 1842, when Monsieur Adelard Pagel, in accordance with the prescribed etiquette, wrote to the Dewan of Cochin begging to be allowed to pay

* Subsequently knighted—Sir William Butler, Sir Charles Lawson, Sir Nicholas Fitzgerald.

his respects in person "as he wished to engage in commerce on the Malabar coast," which implied the importation of the fermentations and distillations of the vineyards of Burgundy and Champagne. Messrs. A. D. Bordes et fils of Bordeaux, somewhat later, also established themselves on the 'West Coast'. They owned sailing vessels which, after discharging wines and spirits, used to wait at Mahe, perhaps for a month or two, for a back lading of coffee; but their houseflag—the letters A. D. B. in red upon a white ground edged with red—has not been seen here for many a long year. Their headquarters were at Tellicherry where they were represented by a Monsieur Fernel, a gentleman who was in the habit of sleeping in a favourite long sleeve chair. In that place his servant had left him one night, and in the morning he was in the same position, but life had departed as he slumbered.

As Bordes were Aspinwall's agents in Paris they cabled out to India requesting the latter Cochin firm to take charge of their interests, as owing to the war (1914-18) and for some time afterwards no one from France could be spared to replace their staff. Subsequently, by arrangement, Aspinwall & Co. took over the full agency on the Malabar and West Coast.

Efforts to fix the date of the first import of 'Scotch' into Cochin have been unavailing, but Calicut archives reveal that in 1827-28 six bottles, valued at 12 rupees, passed through that customs house. Brandy Pawnee was then and for many years afterwards the Anglo-Indian's favoured beverage.

A proposal of 1854 which came to nothing, was that of Monsieur Desmiers to install a distillery at Muttancherry, to be run on European lines.

The great drought of 1944 will be remembered by many friends of a daring little memsahib of Cochin who concocted for her guests a liqueur purporting to be 'Starboard Light'. The flavouring was imparted with a peppermint drop. Green genista gave the correct colour effect; but the core was Parry's indigenous gin. The syrupy consistency of the mixture was as low as its blistering effect was high; but there were polished courtiers in Cochin who could 'take it' and unblushingly lie that they liked it.

An 1849 transaction of Oughterson & Campbell was their offer to the Commercial Agent of Cochin State of Rs. 41/- per 100 lbs. for all the beeswax in store; and if their tender was accepted the goods were to be shipped in the 'Royal Shepherdess,' then loading in the harbour. Beeswax, it is said, is one of those 'jungle' products of the country in which no European firm ever yet succeeded in making a profit, for the reason that adulteration went to shameless limits, and the only way of testing it was by taste. In conjunction with Ballard & Brice, Oughterson was concerned too in an experimental farm at Vykom for the growing of sugarcane, an industry introduced into Cochin State from the Mauritius by Captain Regnaud, then (in 1850) living at Vypeen. Ballard & Brice also owned a copper still for the distillation of essential oils from herbs and grasses, which could be set up or moved from place to place as required. One wonders whether this was the first step in the commercialization of Lemon Grass Oil, the basis of Ionone scent (imitation violet) but otherwise made familiar to the civilized world in Sunlight Soap. This is an ever growing trade, though at first, so it is said, it was sold by the dozen bottles through the agency of Koder's 'Europe' shop.

Because of the stoppage of payment by A. H. Huske & Co., and John Bull & Co., their Bombay and London houses respectively, C. E. Mirus & Co., a reputable firm, closed down suddenly on the 27th January, 1865. In addition to being produce merchants, they were also agents at Cochin for the Bremen Underwriters Association. Frederick Theodore Melchior Kramer, also a merchant of Cochin, as attorney for Carl Woerman of the Free and Hanseatic city of Hamburg, was agent for the winding up of the business. Is it correct to suppose that this was one of the tentacles of Woermans, that once great German shipping line? C. E. Mirus was joined by George Brunton in 1857, in which year they erected a new steam saw-mill on land that was formerly the smithy and sawyers' linhay of James Oughterson's shipbuilding yard. This novelty was regarded as one of the 'sights' of Cochin, and it was visited by princes of the Travancore and Cochin states.

In 1866 Brunton is shown as in the employ of Scott Brothers, but this could not have been for long as it was about this period that

he installed his first iron-hoop baling press. The machinery was after his own design, and the cylinders for it were among the first castings ever made by Vickers Armstrong. The plant ran continuously for seventy years, and though now much out of date it could still function if required. Brunton, a Birmingham man by birth, is said to have come to India about 1835 for the Beypore Ironworks, a concern in which King Edward VII, when Prince of Wales, had shares, and which he inspected on his visit to India in 1875, landing at Calicut to do so. It may be only a coincidence (and no relationship is known between them) that William Brunton, The Eagle Ironworks, Birmingham, supplied engines in 1818 to the 'Pluto,' Calcutta's first steam dredger, and there was a Robert Brunton at the Porto Novo Ironworks on the Coromandel Coast in 1838.

George Brunton made much money out of his baling press, but yet another gold mine lay in the portable pumping sets made in his own workshops and let out on hire to zemindars of rice lands in areas at sea level or below, where the heavy monsoon rains could not be drained off by gravitation and evaporation alone. Billions and billions of gallons of water could thus be discharged over the dykes into the canals to make the fields ready for planting. It was a contribution to the creation of a smiling countryside of which George Brunton had every right to be proud.

In some respects the Malabar flats are not unlike the English fenlands, with dams and sluices and here and there a hut containing pumping plant. Dutch skill is responsible for much reclamation in Lincolnshire, where one district is named Little Holland; and one can hardly be wrong in assuming that the Dutch settlers of Cochin were also able to teach the people round about something of their art. In the Fen country many people of Dutch descent are to be found; and in one village in Huntingdonshire, though many generations have come and gone, the champion skater is of that origin. It is a whimsical fancy that suggests to one's mind what a paradise for ice sports our backwaters would be after a week or two of hard frost, when the lakes from Cochin to Alleppey would be one wide expanse of glass and every frond of the coconut palms pendant with an icicle.

Recorded in the Port Diary, 19th April, 1891, is an event of no little local interest. It runs—"The oldest inhabitant, Mr. Brunton,

leaves these shores for Europe per s. s. 'Mecca'". He returned once more on an intended visit to his son William, who went out to meet the steamer by which the old gentleman was arriving. But it happened that a case of plague had occurred on board and no one was allowed to land. So with a last conversation, carried on between the two with cupped hands, George Brunton's connection with Cochin was finally severed. A brass memorial plate in St. Francis says of him—"That the memory of the just is blessed."

With Brunton's name is associated the town's first newspaper—"The Cochin Argus"—for the flotation of which, with the support of other residents, he raised a capital of Rs. 3,000/- divided into 50-rupee shares. Francis Rice was its editor. Shortly afterwards a competitor appeared in "The Cochin Chronicle and West Coast Journal," later telescoped into "The Malabar Mail." The Argus went out of circulation in 1864; and when the press was purchased by the Cochin State for its own official work, the news department was dropped. Francis Rice was provided for with the post of Master Attendant at Mallipuram, from which he went to the secretariat, becoming in time Chief Secretary to the Cochin Sirkar. There then came on the scene, New Years Day, 1865, "The Western Star," edited by Henry Melville Walker, a gentleman with little respect for those who sat in the high places of Government or in the havildar-guarded sanctums of 'Big Business'. The 'suaviter in modo' was tried with him, and for a while he was brought on to the committee of that august body—The Friend In Need Society; but because he took no steps to vindicate himself in a matter of some local scandal, his fellow committee members resolved to expunge his name therefrom. One imagines the editorial mind to have been tinged with a permanent melancholy, and indeed, what other effect could be engendered, when day by day, wherever he sat or moved in the privacy of his own parlour, there followed him the sorrowful gaze of The Prodigal Son and Peter in Prison, two works of art which hung from his walls and which he specifically bequeathed by will to Violante, his wife, to keep her cheerful in the long days of her widowhood!

The 'Western Star' was produced from a house in Rose Street the sight of which is now part of the back compound of Volkarts Bungalow. 'Cochin Argus' was revived by Mr. C. H. Pereira, a local resident, who at the age of 14 started his career in Parlett

O'Halloram & Co. Upon his death his son (now one of Cochin's oldest inhabitants) carried on the paper from 'The Nest'; and though he disposed of it in 1938 and ten years have rolled away since the press was transferred to Muttancherry, he is still addressed as 'late' of the Argus. Unfortunately no back issues of that news-sheet earlier than the 1900s are now in existence. The new proprietor took over one volume only, that for 1869-70, (the first year of its resuscitation) but in a gale of wind and rain during the monsoon of 1944 the roof of the press collapsed and this old record was destroyed.

Here an event of 1861 is adverted to which, because of its vexations, evoked caustic comments from the mercantile community of Cochin. It concerns the 'electric telegraph'. "It would be," said a contemporary writer, "a point of the merest casuistry to determine which of the two departments in this Town is the least efficient—The Telegraph or the Police. The Telegraph seems to be working neither for profit nor for fame". The latter service was installed "in the commodious house of Mr. Liebschwager, opposite the Protestant Church". That is at the corner of Rose Street.

An item of progress in 1862 was the making of British-India currency legal tender throughout Travancore; and the bank, recently opened, was congratulated on this achievement. They had also arranged, for the benefit of non-English-reading folk, that the values of paper money should be stamped in the Malayalam characters. The first agent at Cochin of the Bank of Madras was J. C. Winscom. He left in 1864 to take up an appointment with the Royal Bank of India, Mauritius. On this occasion he was presented by the Indian and European merchants of the place with a piece of plate.*

Brown of Anjarakandi made his last appearance as Champion of Cochin in 1865 when a visit of Sir Charles Dennison, Governor of Madras, and his lady, was impending. Brown enjoins upon the merchants of the place the necessity of hanging together and pressing for improvements. If possible, get Cochin declared a free port; and if the Government of Madras can do no better than they have in the past, it should be proposed that Malabar should be incorporated with Bombay. One hindrance to trade, however, had been removed; that was the customs barriers on the land frontiers of Cochin and Travancore interposed between the British-India hinterland and the port of

* A practice which it is believed has since died out.

Relief from the coasting duties too, was imminent. This latter was an iniquitous imposition of 8% upon goods sent from one provincial port to another, no matter how short the distance between them might be. In Brown's own experience the Collector of Customs, Tellicherry, had tried to levy this impost on produce boated down the river from Anjarakandi and thence only 1½ miles along the shore for shipment at Tellicherry anchorage; and this was in addition to the normal export tariff.

F. S. Davies in his book traces the origin of Aspinwalls and Peirce Leslies to the common source of James Oughterson, though the latter was rather more absorbed by Scott Bros. than succeeded by them. In 1844 Oughterson purchased from the Government that portion of the Cochin harbour foreshore of which the eastern boundary was given as "The water-gate and landing place," features that go well back into the Portuguese period. Evolution from the original stock was on these lines:—

	Year.
James R. Oughterson	about 1844
Oughterson & Campbell	1849
James Oughterson, J. H. Berry (nephew) as manager	1862
Scott Bros., J. H. Aspinwall in charge, & J. H. Berry taken over	1863
Aspinwall & Co.	1868
Became a private limited liability Company about	1911
Was still constituted as above in the year	1948

A communique which foreshadowed widespread disaster in mercantile and financial houses of India, catching some of the most eminent on one foot as it were, read as follows:—

"1865—5th July, H. M. Government notify India that the late President of the so-called Confederate States had been captured and the armies hitherto in the field by the Confederate States have surrendered or dispersed—The war may be considered closed".

Ritchie Stewart & Co. of Bombay, who were Scott Bros. of Cochin, in consequence of losses incurred in the share mania of Bombay and the collapse of everything when the American Civil War came to an end and burst the bubble of cotton speculations, sold their Cochin business to their manager John Hutchinson Aspinwall. New

year's Eve, 1868, was the auspicious date chosen for clinching the bargain and the Orient Club, London, the venue selected for the dinner party to celebrate the event; and for about fourteen years thereafter Aspinwall was at the helm. He died in England in the year 1884 at the early age of fifty, and when this news came through the port office flag and all others in the town were lowered to half mast. A memorial to him in St. Francis' states simply—"He was a merchant of Cochin and a promotor of its interests". One entry in the registers concerns him and his wife, Enuretta; it is the burial of their infant daughter Rose, aged two days only. But they had three other daughters, one of whom married Aspinwall's assistant—Andrew Van Dunlop Best, whose daughter, Gladys, married into the nobility. It thus comes about that Phillip Grantham Yorke, 9th Earl of Hardwick, owns John Hutchinson Aspinwall as his great-grandsire. Aspinwall's widow made her home at Coonoor, where she died a nonagenarian.

But junior assistants are thrust in at one end of the mills of commerce to emerge at the other as substantial merchant princes. In this instance continuity for Aspinwalls was assured when William Neil Black joined their office at Madras in 1879, from which he came to Cochin in 1882. When he retired in 1909 he was worth, so it is said, a quarter of a million pounds sterling. E. H. Black joined them in 1882 and retired in 1909, also well provided for; and to the Blacks, even more than to Aspinwall himself, is ascribed the great expansion of the firm.

Another one of their chiefs was William Grant, an Ulster Scot, who had travelled much and who tells the story himself of how he crossed the North Atlantic twice at a cost of £ 1. As a very young man he booked steerage to New York for £ 5, and worked it homewards again in a cattle boat with £ 4 due to him in wages. In South America, when the first world war broke out, he returned to the U. K. to join up, paying full fare for the privilege of doing so. Grant married, at the house of her uncle in Buenos Aires, Miss May Drake of Uffculme, Devon, who later followed her husband to India. From Bombay she came on by Asiatic steamer to Calicut, where she landed in a native canoe with infant daughter Bridget on her knees. In due course this young lady, in a war-time wedding, was married to one 'Paddy' Sykes, a pilot of a

Wapiti squadron of the R. A. F. stationed at Cochin; and there were brave doings at St. Francis' Church and at the feastings and toasts afterwards, of which the impression remaining is one of Air Force blue, arum lilies, champagne and Gainsborough picture hats.

It happened about 1942 that the porch of Aspinwalls old office collapsed and uncovered beneath the foundation stone a sealed receptacle. Expectations were rife that this would contain a complete set of coins current at the time the place was built—gold, silver, copper, perhaps a Maria Therese thaler, a Dutch rix dollar, or even a Spanish piece of eight. The actual find was just a copper pice, equivalent to one farthing, which we are asked to believe was solemnly banked.

In 1947, within a few yards of Aspinwalls main entrance and at a spot where the lane from Albuquerque's landing place crosses the main Calvetti-Cochin road, a skeleton was dug up when the trench for the new water mains was being excavated. It was at the junction of such highways, in the old days, that felons were hanged and buried beneath the gibbet. This incident recalls a similar gruesome discovery of human remains immured within the walls of an inner room of that dilapidated old house immediately opposite Koder's shop. Nobody knows who it was or why it was placed there, though naturally enough murder foul and criminal concealment are conjectured.

Peirce Leslie & Co. work out their genealogy as below:—

James Oughterson	
Oughterson & Campbell	
Campbell, died of cholera	1851
Wilson Ritchie & Co.	1851
Peirce Leslie & Co., when W. R. & Co. failed.	1862

It is still extant (1948) as a private limited company in which the assistants automatically become shareholders after a certain period of service.

Just when Robert Hodges Peirce came to India is unknown, but he was certainly there in 1854, in which year a purchase of cardamoms from Cochin State at Rs. 415/- per candy is recorded against his name. He was previously at Mangalore, presumably with Wilson Ritchie & Co., to whose Cochin office he seems to have been transferred. In 1862, he was nominated to the chair at a public meeting to vote a message of condolence to Her Majesty Queen Victoria on the death of

the Prince Consort. This is the first time so far discovered in which he is described as of Peirce Leslie & Company; but an old member of the concern has passed it on that he had seen their headed letter papers with the date 1859 thereon. Another curious detail was that for some years there lay in the Cochin office safe a bundle of brass badges for peons' crossbelts bearing the name of A. C. Brice along with that of P. L. & Co.

R. H. Peirce was one of a numerous brood of 3 sons and 5 daughters (not counting the first three boys, who died in their infancy), children of John James Peirce of Canterbury, who was mayor of that city in the momentous year of 1812.* The family is from Charing, a village in Kent just off the Maidstone-Folkstone road, and they trace their pedigree to Gabriel Peirce who died at that place in 1669. A London family of the same name derive it from 'Peirs,' spelt in that manner and not 'Piers,' the usual form of it. The Peirces of Charing rank as minor gentry, entitled to armorial bearings, which, in somewhat simplified language are—On an azure shield, a golden band wavy between two silver unicorn heads, the mane and horn in gold. Their motto is *Esse quam videri malim* (One would rather be than seem to be.)

Robert H. Peirce was married at Bombay to Miss Caroline Gore, a daughter of Major Gore R. A. who raised the Bristol Volunteers for the defence of the country against Napoleon's threats of invasion. This lady came out to India in a troopship in which cases of smallpox had occurred but in which the passenger accommodation had not been properly disinfected, so that Miss Gore also caught the contagion. She recovered and escaped disfigurement by virtue of the recently discovered collodion treatment. She is, in fact, believed to have been the first patient who benefitted by this medicament. Peirce met his fiancée as she landed, and a kind friend lent them a bungalow on Malabar Hill until as a newly wedded couple they could journey on to the Malabar Coast. Mrs. Peirce survived her husband for many years, and died only in 1917.*

Contrary to an impression abroad neither R. H. Peirce nor Patrick Leslie, who was manager for Brice & Co., was directly connected with Prices Patent Candle Company, though the latter owned estates around Cochin and Peirce also purchased coconut oil on their account. Indeed, for many years after Peirce was dead, his family received from them a

Christmas present of coloured candles, night-lights and soaps, which were a great treat to the youngsters. Nor did Prices Patent Candles ever make them on San Domingo, or Candle Island as we know it. It derives its name from the circumstance that Dominican monks did make candles there for the religious houses on the coast.

Peirce went home on leave in 1870, leaving his Cochin office in charge of Conrad B. Sparrow, but on Peirce's return to India, Patrick Leslie left him to found a firm of his own—Leslie & Anderson—which still exists in the city of London. Peirce thereupon took into partnership Dugald Stewart Gilkison, a native of Campbeltown, Argyleshire, who came up from Colombo where among his other pursuits he had been Spanish consul. Gilkison graduated for this last appointment by residence in one or more South American republics, taking his share in their revolutions. His first experience of soldiering, however, was in the army under Napoleon the Third, Emperor of the French, at the battle of Solferino, fought on the 24th June 1859. His father bought him out of the Foreign Legion into which he had enlisted, but his appetite for the excitements of war had been whetted, and on July 7th 1864, at the age of 24, he enlisted in the Tenth Regiment of New York Volunteers (National Zouaves), with which corps he marched with General Grant, being present at many engagements and battles right up to the conclusion of the Appomattox campaign and the surrender of Robert E. Lee, the Confederate commander in chief.

Captain Cowtan, adjutant of the Tenth, in writing a history of that regiment, mentions Gilkison by name as concerned with him in a reconnoitering episode. It was at the battle of Boydton Road, Va., that these two forded a deep stream and penetrated the enemy's lines, but suddenly encountering a column of hostile infantry, they had to take to their heels, hampered though they were by their clothes and equipment being heavily weighted by the wetting sustained in crossing the river. Once again, however, they ran into a party of rebels busily employed in ransacking the knapsacks of some captured soldiers; and once again took to their heels, neither of them entertaining illusions as to the charms of prison life in the South. Their luck was in, and although bullets whistled all around them, they succeeded in gaining the line of the 12th New Jersey Regiment.

* Mr. E. G. Peirce of Tiverton, and mayor of that borough in 1948, is the eldest surviving son of Robert Hodges Peirce. He possesses several volumes of his father's library.—Humbolt's 'Cosmos,' and Macaulay's 'History of Europe,' and other tomes of similar intellectual weight, all beautifully bound as was the custom in those days.

For this scouting exploit the Adjutant was brevetted a captain of U. S. A. Volunteers, and shortly afterwards Sergt. Gilkison (as he then was) was promoted to a second-lieutenancy. On the 30th June, 1865, the Tenth Regiment (Col. Joel B. Baker in command) was honorably discharged and mustered out at Munson's Hill, Virginia, Gilkison having since attained the rank of 1st Lieutenant.

Our hero's oval face and soft brown eyes with a twinkle in them, as portrayed in the London Office of Peirce Leslie & Co., do not betoken the fire-eater. Nonetheless his pointed beard would go well with a Poilu's kepi, and in the Zouave outfit of the Tenth New York Volunteers, Gilkison must have cut a devastatingly martial figure.

Robert Hodges Peirce died at Calicut in 1878. His name, though spelt in an unusual way, nevertheless had preceded him to India in the person of William Peirce, master of the ship 'William,' Surat for London in 1625, in the same year in which it was reported to London that at "Cowcheen is stock of all kinds of goomes (gums), Pearls, Diamonds, Ruby and Bezoar stones, all wch are brought from Goa and more quantitie than att Goa". And again in 1857, the English ship 'Vasco da Gama,' Captain J. M. Peirce, was at Cochin.

Gilkison took into partnership William Maylor, late of the Beypore Ironworks and the man who built the first Calicut and Alleppey piers, but he retired in 1885, the year in which A. W. Macrae of Stornaway joined the firm. The latter married Sylvia, daughter of Ferguson of Plantation House, Calicut; and due to the disembarkation at that place of the Durham Light Infantry (direct from South Africa and the Boer War) another romance arose. The Durhams were given a great reception, and to the admiring eyes of Violet Ferguson, a gallant young captain quickly succumbed. He was later to fall leading his men in battle on the Western Front in 1914. Yet the link with the Malabar Coast is maintained by his son, who having himself in the last great war set aside for a while the ledger for the sword, has since resumed his mercantile career at Cochin.

The newly fledged firm of Peirce Leslie & Co. carried on awhile in Wilson Ritchie's premises on Commodore's Bulwerke and with the adjoining yards, now the Club compound. From there they moved to Ballard Estates, leasing that property from the daughters of Joseph Ballard. This plot included a portion of the old ramparts and the

Gronigen bastion upon which he built his residence, an early plan of which depicts it surrounded by gardens and out-houses on a colonial scale of spaciousness, but all has since been turned to commercial uses. From this bungalow, which was their office, Peirce Leslies moved into the present site, which was extended on both wings in 1904.

The firm also owned that expanse of ground now covered by the warehouses of A. V. Thomas and the detached produce yard of Volkart Brothers, formerly occupied by A. C. Brice & Co. The whole of this was sold after the head office of P. Ls had been transferred to Calicut and at a period when the trade of Cochin was at its lowest ebb. It changed hands at the knock-down price of Rs. 10,000/- to James Darragh and Geo. Brunton, who, so the story goes, quarrelled as to who should pay for the conveyancing stamps. It is said too, that Mooljee Jetha would have paid much more but knew nothing of the property being available until the transaction was closed. At that time this area was covered with nothing but cadjan and bamboo sheds, all of which vanished in the Great Fire of Cochin of 1887. The chop-whiskered godowns erected later belie the statements made by some writers that on the British blowing up the ramparts and superfluous Dutch buildings in 1806, the concussions so shook other private property in the town that it had to be shored up with buttresses from foundations to eaves. As a matter of fact the laterite stones of which Cochin houses are walled is of poor quality, and the roofing tiles of that day were so weighty that outside support was essential if the whole lot was not to come tumbling down when the crumbling deterioration of age set in.

As illustrating the ups and downs of West Coast ports Captain Taylor, Presidency Port Officer, tells us that in 1879 Tellicherry, without any apparent advantages, was booming, in sharp contrast to the stagnation in which he found both Calicut and Cochin; but this was only a few short months before the general crash of 1880.

Many allusions have been made to the great international firm of Volkart Brothers who within a year or two will be celebrating a century of trade in Cochin for which event, it is believed, they are collecting material for a literary souvenir worthy of the occasion.

The firm of Ripley Mackay was bought out in 1917 by the Bombay Company, who continued business in the same premises, one of two old-fashioned buildings remaining on the water-front. Their office is

over a gateway guarded by heavy double doors swung on ponderous hand-forged straps and hinges. The solid panels are brass studded as if to defy a plate-browed battle-elephant to bash them in, and it is evident that when these premises were built, the owner was taking no chances with the half-tamed Moplah longshoremen, or thieving smuggling desperadoes of the backwaters. Nor did he trust the predatory Arab and the negroid Sidhee seamen from the country craft pool a quarter of a mile away, whose boats, unperceived and unchallenged, could be rowed up to his very back door.

There were two Mackays at the Cochin office and they were visited by another brother Dr. A. F. Mackay, known as 'Polar Bear' because he had been with Shackleton's 'Nimrod' expedition to the Antarctic in 1907. 'Polar Bear' was a character who preened himself upon his physical toughness and muscular energy. A habit of his during the hot season at Cochin was to souse his bed at nights with chill well water. On one occasion at the Club, somewhere near the witching hour, he was twitted that for a man who had done the things he had, and had climbed mount Erebus to boot, he was getting soft and gross. He declared the imputation to be a foul slander, to disprove which (seizing a bottle of vermouth for sustenance by the way) he forthwith set out for Alleppey, some forty miles distant; and there he arrived in time for a hearty Sunday morning breakfast, having walked all the way along the sands, swimming the creeks as he came to them.

Both the Cochin Mackays went off to the war of 1914-1919, when Ian was killed. The other brother returned to the south of England and invested in a vinery, a venture likely to have made him poor had he not switched over to tomato forcing, at which he did very well.

A previous occupant of Ripley Mackay's Calvetti premises had been Adolf Pochont (one-time head clerk of Pagel & Co.), who opened up business in hides, a trade that had hitherto been solely in the hands of the Black Jews. Pochont sold his place to James Darragh in 1873, but he could not have gone far away, for he was burnt out and ruined in the fire of 1887, being uninsured.

Malabar for centuries has been famous for its mats of woven rushes and grasses, in use by rich and poor alike upon which to sit, eat or sleep. Coir manufactured into mats and floor coverings was a later development. It was a novelty, for instance, at the Madras Exhibition of 1855, where

the note attached to the sample on show stated that the people (of whom but few were employed in the industry) were not accustomed to making mats other than in a width of 3 feet, though in any length in red, yellow, black, or white. At a further exhibition in 1857 the fibre was again referred to as 'the carefully cleaned coir which takes dyes and which was coming into use for carpets, rugs and mats.' Arising out of the first display was a request to the Dewan of Cochin to procure for Lord Harris, Governor of Madras, a large carpet in two colours, a touch of patronage which gave a welcome boost to a trade that now employs its thousands in Travancore and Cochin States.

In the manufacture of coir mats and matting on a large scale for export the pioneer was James Darragh. An Irishman by birth and a weaver by trade, Darragh emigrated to America, whither, it is believed, his father had already gone. It was at New York that he realized the potentialities of coir fibre and determined to go to the country of its origin and study the raw material on the spot. Hence, about 1855, he arrived in Calcutta; but, on learning that the fibre was coming from the west coast of South India, he bent his footsteps in that direction. And that is how he came to settle at Alleppey, where he was the first to instruct the people to spin yarn by the wheel instead of by hand. From that simple stage he went on to the manufactured article—mats and matting, in which, so tradition has it, he was so closely imitated by his operatives that they worked left-handed, even as Darragh did himself, he being, as they say in the States—'South pawed.' In Darragh Smail's Alleppey office there used to hang, between Darragh's sabre and gun, the first fancy mat he made—of the design and quality still known in the Trade as M. F. 202 Anjengo Yarn. It is a plain centre with dyed borders, which, in the beginning was all the colouring that was attempted. Darragh's connection with Cochin followed upon his general trading in the produce of the district; and, as already stated, he acquired a location in Calvetti. Here, so local gossip says, he could sometimes be seen in shirt sleeves trundling his casks of coconut oil down to the jetty and boats for shipment. Though almost illiterate, he was shrewd and aggressive; and probably had it well calculated out that in the American Civil War the North would come out the victors. On this outcome, it is said, he speculated heavily in U. S. A. 'Greenbacks,' and reaped a rich harvest at the end.

N. B.—Ian Mackay had come out to India for Peirce Leslies.

John Grieve was in his employ at one time; but in 1886 the trade depression persisting, Darragh decided to withdraw from Cochin, and gave Grieve every encouragement to carry on on his own account and in the same premises. In 1887 it was one of the buildings burnt down, involving Darragh (through Grieve's omission to insure) in very considerable loss. This he not only bore with his usual equanimity, but rebuilt the place at a cost of 20,000 rupees. A year or two later, when the slump in property values had plumbed the very depths, Cavendish, Agent for the Bank of Madras, had to use all his powers of persuasion to convince John Grieve that it was well worth taking over at the figure of 13,000 rupees asked for it. It seems as if Grieve was also then in occupation of Commodore's Bulwerke and adjacent yards. Smail, who joined Darragh in 1881, was not so well known in Cochin; but as a staunch R. C. contributed liberally to funds for the building of the new cathedral. When leaving this country, in 1903, he and his wife travelled homewards via Rome, where they were received in private audience of the Pope; but Mary, one of their daughters who had taken the veil in Europe, returned to South India in the sisterhood of one of the religious teaching orders.

Since Darragh's day, looms have greatly increased in breadth, in which dimension the maximum was reached in 1945 when the Cochin factory of the 'Koninplke Vereenigde Tapijfabrieken' (The Royal United Carpet Factory) of Amsterdam turned out a roll of matting 250 feet in length by 13½' in width, weighing 30½ cwts. This show piece was laid down in the new offices of the Travancore Fertilizers Company at Alwaye. The manager of the carpet factory was Mr. C. Hardebeck of Amsterdam, who returned from his 1946 leave with a young wife whose home was at Portland, Dorset.

Towards the end of the last war an individual of the Mercantile Navy whose ship came to Cochin would have thought he had lost a priceless opportunity had he not brought away a rug or two with him when he sailed. Goodacres and H. E. Day & Son could meet this retail demand in part only; for the rest, recourse was had to the bazaar, in which centre of the fine arts some of the most appalling designs in abbatoir and mortuary tints were unloaded on the over-eager and indiscriminating buyer, and that, too, at prices normally attached to Park Lane drawing-room Kidderminsters.

Imperial Chemical Industries (India) Ltd. were already in the port when hostilities broke out, at which time their business was conducted from the godowns adjacent to Peirce Leslie's; but from these they were ousted, rather late in the war, by the Directorate of Shipbuilding & D. E. M. S. Repairs. Nor were they able, on de-requisitioning, to return to them, inasmuch as they were resumed by A. V. Thomas & Co. who had acquired Brunton's Engineering Works, to whom this land belonged by virtue of the ten-thousand rupee deal already referred to. The guiding spirit of A. V. Thomas & Co., was a Syrian Christian gentleman of that name, at one time an assistant in Darragh Smail's, whose rise in Cochin mercantile circles had been meteoric.

A firm dissolved since Davies' list of 1926 is that of Joensson & Co., exporters of crude drugs, a loss compensated for by the distributing depot of Boots of Nottingham, who came here about 1945 and went into the old Bank of Madras building in Ridsdale Road.

Certain former items of Cochin trade have vanished. Coconut oil, for instance, was at one time the chief export; and the 'Churkas' or quern workers engaged in expressing the oil were an important section of local labour. A reason given for the slackness of demand in 1866 was that gas had recently been introduced into Mauritius; but the extinction of the trade is said to have been due to the imposition by the Government of India of a prohibitive duty on imports from Ceylon. Maybe, too, this accounted for the closing down of The Cochin Saw Mills, a company registered in 1876, with a factory on Gundoo Island, floated largely for the sawing of timber and the manufacture of casks of all kinds for the export trade in coconut oil which thus ceased so abruptly. Mr. E. A. Cooper, doyen of Aspinwalls' directorate and who went to Cochin in 1897, remembers loading a wind-jammer with copra in bulk, to get better stowage of which the brilliant idea was conceived of pressing it down with tun pipes filled with water. These improvised rollers seemed to compress this spongy product into a more or less cohesive mass. Of the out-turn at the other end, however, nothing could be known—the ship failed to reach her destination.

During the 1860-69 decade trade was much hampered by the holding up at backwater customs chowkies of craft laden with merchandise for export. This, combined with abnormally frequent bad weather

preventing boats going to the outer roadstead, caused one shipper to exclaim—"Through the enterprise of British merchants Cochin has become the nucleus of a large and increasing trade; but how many cargoes are unbought and unshipped because of uncertainty of shipment". Thus in P. Ls. old files we read of the manjiewallahs* refusing to venture to cross the bar "though Number One, himself, tried to induce them with soft words and presents". Plumbago is also no longer exported from Cochin. When deposits were discovered in Travancore in 1872, it was a year or two before Sinhalese underground miners could be induced to immigrate to this country to work them. But when the set-up was complete quite a lot of the mineral was exported via Cochin for shipment to London. Morgan's Crucible Company were the concessionaires, and it is believed they employed a certain prospecting engineer whose name is forgotten, but who had acquired the sobriquet of The Prince of Plumbago. In the course of his work in the jungles and forests he was so mauled by a tiger as to lose the use of both hands, which, of course, rendered him incapable of carrying on with his job. It was arranged therefore to send him home by a Clan Line freighter from Cochin, with his Indian bearer to feed and look after him, for the poor 'Prince' was helpless as any babe. It seems unbelievable that amongst the vast potential wealth of mineral sand, now exported by the shipload from Travancore ports, the only element collected in the 1870s was what was termed Garnet Sand, an abrasive used by French polishers and so-called because of its appearance of dark red glass. This trade too, has been dead for many years past.

Rather outside the scope of this chapter is the Tata Oil Mills, devoted to the manufacture of soaps and the cooking medium CUCUGEM, and which some years ago dispensed with their American mentors. The Aluminium Works at Alwaye still retain a small band of foreign experts, as do the still more recent Travancore Fertilizers. The two latter concerns mustered quite a coterie of Americans and Canadians who, on social occasions, rendezvoused at the Club, thereby adding much to the gaiety of nations. So, too, does one remember, in the erection of the Fertilizers plant, the transfer from War to Peace of two or three of the Landing Craft, a very large flotilla of which was kept standing by at Cochin for the recapture of Singapore and Malaya, but which were never required. These, harnessed to two large pontoons

* Lightermen.

named 'Ritz' and 'Blitz,' delivered loads of machinery to the factory sites on the backwater.

Adieu Cochin.

The most handsome manner whereby a merchant of Cochin may take leave of the scene of his profitable endeavours is not by the back exit, by sordid sinuous Rail; but in ocean leviathan by his own sea portals, through the Gateway of the Churches—Nossa Senhora de Esperanca to starboard: St. Francis of the Anglicans to port—between which the solid Presbyterian steers his steady course. Gliding past the frontage of his own office and warehouses; his staff from window and from jetty-head waving their salaams; and the stubby little tug (not the least of his business helpmates) giving her penny whistle salute, no more than a bos'un's piping to the deep organ chord farewell of the big steamer as she passes through the narrow ways to the ocean beyond. From the promenade deck a solitary figure waves a handkerchief, doubtless with a catch of the breath; and perhaps for a wee mistiness of the eye he does not see the spidery china fishing nets, on the foreshore before his late home, dip to his parting their deep kow-tow; for they too have been his servants for many a long year. Then with the departing pilot is exchanged the last hand-grip—Good bye—Good Luck! Maybe the sun is now sinking in the West, and the last contact the Cochin merchant has with the world he has left will be the tenuous kiss of the flashing Harbour Light.

Chapter VIII

Social Life in Cochin.

(Claudius Buchanan, vice-provost of the college of Fort William (Calcutta), spent from November 1806 until February 1807 at Cochin assembling materials for his work—"Christian Researches in Asia." His time was divided between the two semitic communities at Jews Town; the Jerusalem or White Jews, and the ancient or Black Jews. Here, too, he engaged his Hebrew munshi, Judah Misrahi, a name which afterwards recurs in the baptismal and marriage registers of St. Francis Church; but of any social intercourse with the Europeans of Cochin there is no mention whatsoever, except for some official assistance given him by Thomas Flower, the magistrate. Colonel Macaulay, when visited by Buchanan, was said to have been staying at "Bal-gatty," called by the natives "the pepper jungle"; but it was not at that time the Residency.)

Within a few years of Dutch rule ending, the social life of Cochin had dwindled to less than that of a third-class cantonment. When, apart from the doings of the newly arrived chaplains and missionaries and the very occasional arrival of a bishop to receive their garnerings into the Church, the most that could be looked forward to was the passage through the town of a battalion of infantry moving on relief to or from Quilon.

The Right Rev: Thomas Fanshaw Middleton was the first high ecclesiastic of the Church of England to make a visitation to South India. This was in 1817, when he confirmed a number of Indian converts prepared by the Rev: Morgan Williams, who, himself, was the first Anglican chaplain of Cochin. It was a memorable service at which probably every Protestant Christian of the town and district put in an appearance, as did many Indians of differing sects and creeds. The fine statue of Bishop Middleton in St. Paul's cathedral, London, shows him

(in the act of blessing two young natives, the models for which might well have been found among the neophytes that knelt before him in St. Francis church.)

In the cavalcade of troops, British and Indian, which halted at Cochin were many with illustrious records. In 1822 it was H. M's 89th Foot en route for Cannanore; the next year it was the 2-25th Madras Native Infantry, with a host (including families and followers) of 7,000 trailing on behind, and a few months later it was the 20th M. N. I., later designated the 80th Carnatic Infantry. So also the 26th, 9th, 1st, 12th & 45th regiments of the Madras Army. Outside the old R. C. chapel at Amaravathy is the neglected grave of Major Francis Plowden, of the 20th M. N. I., who married Augusta Marie Wickeed, daughter of a military officer of the Danish settlement of Tranquebar. Plowden was a Stoneyhurst boy, son of an Irish barrister practising in London.

Troops on the line of march and bivouacking at Cochin did so on what was the Dutch 'Utrecht Kwadraat', or Cochin Green as it has come to be known. Under its Portia trees the soldiers cleaned their arms and mounted guard; and in the morning struck tents, fell in and marched off to the beat of the 'Tamboer' (the drum).

In the civil administration (1822) an old curmudgeon reigned over the settlement, a kill-joy, who when asked by some young people for permission to present a comedy on a certain plot of ground replied—"These lads would be better members of society if attending school or making shoes. A great theatrical mania seems to have possessed the descendants of the Portuguese and Dutch here."

A dinner party given by the Rajah of Cochin in 1828 places the Europeans then accepted at his court—Colonel Lethbridge was there with his brother-in-law, the Baron Carel Lodwyke D'Albydhyll; Captain Trotman and Lieut: Stevenson, officers of the garrison; James Crawford, Commercial Agent at Alleppey; Dr. Eaton, Civil Surgeon; Jean Scipion Vernede and his two sons, also Samuel Ridsdale, the C. M. S. Missionary, who had not as yet accomplished the crowning exploit of his ministry by converting Prince Rama Varma, the Rajah's son. A number of retired master mariners had by then settled in the town, but none were invited to the dinner, though some time afterwards the son of Captain Harris of the 'Country Service' had so ingratiated himself with the

ruling chief that the Dewan complained that the palace correspondence was being handled without reference to himself, the duly appointed minister. He went on to say that Harris was deliberately stirring up strife so that he (Harris) might make himself indispensable. The latter, as a matter of fact, must have steered very cleverly through the shoal of intrigues to remove him, otherwise when he died in 1893, at the age 79, it would not have been stated in his obituary notice that he was the late private secretary to his Highness the Rajah of Cochin.

This narrative would be incomplete were no further allusion made to the Rev: Samuel Ridsdale, who, from 1824 to 1838 maintained the Protestant religion in Cochin with fervid zeal. As soon as he began preaching at St. Francis church he realized, he said, that a knowledge of Portuguese was essential, wherefore he plunged into an intensive study of that tongue which, because of its affinity to Latin, he mastered within a month. Whether because of this or not, his congregation increased from 40 to 300; but this is where he diverged from his true functions. For, as his Society saw it, he was in India to labour among the 'Heathens', and not for proselytizing Roman Catholics and Syrian Christians. The former pronounced an anathema upon Ridsdale's church, forbidding their members to enter it. Nonetheless, whilst obeying the letter, hundreds clustered around the open doors and windows when a service was in progress. The laity of the Sooriani (Syrians) were warned against wandering from the fold by their catanars thundering at them the biblical warning—"Beware of false prophets that come to you in sheeps' clothing." This figure of speech was directed at the Anglican clergy and their habit of wearing woollen garments, though such a contortion of the scriptures would hardly occur to an occidental protagonist!

Those who went openly to hear the evangelist at St. Francis church varied in number with the impediments placed in the way to prevent them; and Ridsdale, in his own erubescant language recounts one of his many set-backs.—"That raging volcano—Babylon the Great, Mother of Harlots and abomination of the Earth, redoubled her diabolical diligence in causing the people to drink of the wrath of fornication, and Satan was once more permitted to triumph in the dispersal of the greater part of my congregation."

Ridsdale also preached in the bazaar, going to his venue in full canonicals so that all who saw him might know his intention. Needless to say, he there endured much heckling and hustling from the rougher elements of that unsanctified forum.

By dint of hard work and forceful exposition, however, the missionary knit together a numerous and permanent following. A great aid to this had been the creditable standard reached by his people in congregational singing. Music, so he said, had been his study since childhood; especially had he found in the organ a means of expression beyond the power of speech. Having collected funds for such an instrument he was unable to procure one in India. In the meanwhile he installed a 'Grand Piano Forte', at the very idea of which in a church, he wrote, "many people will smile." He then appealed to his Home Committee to obtain an organ for him from England, but getting no reply, he purchased, mostly at his own expense, a small imperfect instrument built by an officer in the town. It was creditable to the ingenuity and perseverance of its amateur creator, but noisy and imperfect in action. The Padre refers to certain adventitious worshippers who, not well able to afford a palanquin in which to take the air of a Sunday evening, availed themselves of the sunset coolness to attend his church.

The heaviest blow to fall upon the mission was the death of his assistant, the Rev: Estevan Lime, at one time a Franciscan friar of Goa, who, with his wife, was killed by the collapse of their house during a cyclone. Ridsdale hurried through the fierce storm to the rescue of his Indian colleague, as did the military commandant with a file of sepoy and Mr. Morphew, the Assist: Judge. But it took from 2 a. m. until 4 a. m. to dig the victims out, by which time both were dead.

Samuel Ridsdale's salary had been fixed at £ 200 per annum which, when he arrived in India, he found was to be paid to him at 8½ rupees to the £ sterling only, whereas the current rate of exchange was 12½. Much correspondence was taken up with this grievous retrenchment from his salary; and Mrs. Ridsdale also took up the plea from the housewife's point of view, showing how it affected their standard of living. They had rice, she said, instead of bread; fish instead of meat; coffee instead of tea. By 1838 the Ridsdales were played out, and through their 'kind friend Mr. Vanspall of Bombay' a passage for their return

home was arranged. The missionary's departure from this country was the more distressing to him in that until the last minute no arrangements had been made for his successor. His work, it seems, was considered to have been too much ministerial and too little missionary, and therefore largely outside the scope of the Society he served. After he had left, the Rev. H. Harley took charge, and almost immediately began to agitate for the removal of the mission to Trichur, which, as it accorded more with the inclinations of the C. M. S., was speedily acceded to.

The date arranged by Vanspall was too late in the season for a vessel to call on the Malabar coast, and the departure had to be deferred. Ridsdale's last official entry in the registers of St. Francis church therefore is that of the burial of a John Winsor, mariner of the ship "Lord Lyndoch." It was in this very vessel that the Ridsdales and their five children (two small graves were left at Cochin) embarked from Alleppey on the 10th March 1839, and for whom the passage money aggregated the goodly sum of Rs. 2,750. On arrival in England they settled at Stoke Newington, where the Rev. Samuel Ridsdale died the following year. His widow survived until 1879.

That the Vernedes had a good opinion of themselves is manifest by an incident of 1843, when George of that family was held up in his coach bandy at the Calvetti Bridge by John James Stevenage, an Eurasian clerk, in a humbler vehicle. For this presumption George chastised John who, when he complained to the head of the house, Jean Scipion Vernede, got for reply—"It is lucky he did not kill you, for he is a powerful fellow." Inasmuch as amongst his own community he seems to have been of some standing, one would like to know more of the origin of Stevenage, who lies buried under a substantial stone, dated 1857, in the forecourt of Muttancherry church. He was born at Tellicherry, 1803, and may be the son of a Mrs. Perugina Stevenage who died at Mangalore in 1810.

Writing of Cochin as it was in January 1844, the Madras Athenaeum has this unpleasant picture of it:—

"There is no station at which we have correspondents that we receive so little that is favourable to the inhabitants as Cochin. Much of what has reached us from that place possesses such a forbidding character as to preclude the possibility of giving it publicity. The whole of

the Cochin people, high and low, rich and poor, are connected by ties of consanguinity, near and remote, and yet there is no unanimity. Families keep up quarrels of long standing so that this society is completely subdivided. The Dutch families born and brought up at Cochin are complete natives in their mode of living and behaviour, and moreover are said to possess a low cunning, always bent on mischief and in order to bring public functionaries into as bad an odour as possible. The vigilance of Mr. Taynton has, we understand, discovered some nefarious proceedings on the part of some of the Hon'ble Company's employees who are carrying on a smuggling trade in tobacco to a great extent. The detection of the fraud will, of course, create him a host of enemies. Public servants pretend ignorance. They eat the salt of Government and give no return. We throw out these hints for the consideration of the Noble Marquis.* Should they be accepted, Cochin affairs will improve."

Ross Taynton was the sub-collector, and whatever enemies he raised up against himself, he was soon to meet the last to be encountered in this world. He lies in the old cemetery under one of those mountains of masonry which have the appearance of a petrified Lord Mayor's coach.

Charles Lawson, of Lawson Bros., Cochin, leaves his picture of the place as it was a couple of years later.** He writes of the tulip trees by the bastion, "where merchants of an evening oft do congregate." Work was over by 5 p. m., when the inhabitants then took their exercise. Ladies appeared in wide-awake hats, natty white jackets and black skirts. Gentlemen in costumes much resembling painters were mounted on white, cream, and chesnut ponies. Easy-going lady pedestrians strolled along in quasi-crinolines. But at 8 p. m. the town seemed wrapt in slumber, except where some warm-hearted neighbour was giving a party with the Cochin band. On Sundays church bells suggested the quiet of an English countryside. But Lawson, who hears the Sabbath bells pealing, says nothing of church matters, though a hard struggle was then in progress to find money sufficient to maintain a resident clergyman; and whereas a few years previously the deacons were lending at 9%, the normal rate of interest, they were now borrowing on the same terms on the security of the sacerdotal plate. The Rev. Richard Collier, a visitor to Cochin in 1875, also mentions

* George Hay, eighth Marquis of Tweeddale. Governor of Madras 1842—48.

** "British & Native Cochin" by Chas. Allan Lawson (afterwards knighted), born in 1838, and therefore only 23 when he wrote this book.

that he and his host "joined the majority of the resident Europeans at the regular evening rendezvous, a portion of the old Dutch bastion, facing the sea, where there are seats."

Baron d'Albedhyll, trustee of the Protestant church on behalf of Government, was disputing the right of a so-called committee of residents to hand over the entire property to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in return for the supply of a permanent incumbent. Until this matter was settled, so they were informed, the Bishop was unable to consecrate the church. d'Albedhyll was unimpressed by this argument; he supposed that as the edifice was originally Portuguese, it must be already consecrated. Nor did he know what constituted desecration to the extent that re-consecration was necessary. That is how the matter stands to-day; but when the wall around the church was built, about 1924, the open ground so enclosed was consecrated by the Bishop of Madras. An elderly lady of the domiciled community when asked, said she knew nothing of any consecration symbols anywhere on the exterior fabric, but she had been told by her mother that sugar had been used in the building of the walls. It was, however, a practice of Indian masons to mix jaggery with mortar to improve its binding properties; and no religious significance can be attached thereto.

Major Heber Drury's 'Life and Sport in Southern India' covers a period about 1858—1861. In it he relates how, on landing at Cochin from the backwater late one night, he made his way to the parade ground in which vicinity lived the Civil Surgeon, of whom he intended to beg a bed. Ascertaining from the sentry on the guardroom that the doctor lived just behind, Heber Drury knocked and kept on knocking at the door without drawing a response from within. He then hoisted his servant on to the compound wall, telling him to drop down behind and open the door from the inside. After some demur, for he could not see the bottom, the servant did as he was bid, and falling heavily into a deep ditch made such a racket that the attention of the Doctor was attracted to it, and he came down to see what it was all about. In a detached sort of way he had heard the banging, but as he lived next door to the undertaker, who often hammered away at his job throughout the night, he had taken no particular notice of it. The author* mentions that pure-blooded Dutch folk still dwelt there, and

* Possibly written to divert his mind from the loss of his wife, Annie Playfair Ross, whom he married in 1862 at Quilon whilst his battalion, the 45th M. N. I., was stationed there. This lady died at Balghatty on the 28th February 1859. Heber Drury also translated the letters of the Rev. Jacobus Canter Visseher, the Dutch predikant or chaplain of Cochin 1717—1723.



DUTCH CASTLE (SO-CALLED).

Formerly belonging to the Dutch vryeburgher Geraldus Lafontaine. It was later acquired by Baron d'Albedhyll. During the late war it was taken over as a hostel for the paid personnel of the Civil Defence Services, and somewhat later the billet for the firemen of the N. F. S., a few of whom are standing about the building in this picture.



AN OLD GATEWAY.

This house adjoins the V. O. C. residence mentioned elsewhere. This is the rear entrance into the Meeting House of the Plymouth Brethren, which opens on to de Quieros Street.

as living was cheap in Cochin it had attractions for pensioners and people of small income. But there was more accumulated filth and poverty therein than in any other spot of the same size in the world. In Dutch times the city's conservancy was looked after by the College of Scavengers, when every house had its sullage pit cleared daily; and in 1812 a new system of open drains was made, the cleansing of which was the penal task of the prisoners in the jail. It is mentioned in passing that street lighting was installed as early as 1797.

Drury mentions one other European only, a Mr. Owen whose summer villa at Alwaye he had borrowed. There were other residents, however, among them the Reverend Thomas Whitehouse, of whom we obtain a glimpse through a letter of his written to the Dewan of Cochin in which he regrets he is unable to accept an invitation to distribute the prizes at the public examination of pupils at Ernakulam, for, said the worthy clergyman—"I should not know whether the boy who might win was also good in attendance and conduct, and therefore I should be unable to officiate with a clear conscience." The strain on the reverend gentleman's inner mentor must have been excruciating when Lord Harris laid the foundation stone of the new church school. It was to be on a plot of Government land, which, however, had been entered upon in anticipation of sanction, a very irregular proceeding. The appropriate authority in this instance was the Collector of Malabar, who it was considered would most certainly arrive at Cochin a day or two ahead of His Excellency, when, doubtless, the requisite grant could be nicely fixed up prior to the date selected for the ceremony. But to the horror of the chaplain and his lay trustees the Collector went off somewhere else, and they were left in the dilemma of allowing the business to proceed without enlightening Lord Harris, or to tell him beforehand and risk his refusal to countenance this infraction of the official code. They chose the first alternative, hoping for the best.

Accompanied by the leading residents, Padre Whitehouse* met the Governor at the jetty, where a guard of honour of the 2nd Madras Native Infantry was drawn up for inspection. The cortege then proceeded to the site of the stone laying, but whether on foot, in procession of palanquins, or the ridiculous 'Push Push' in line ahead, the account does not say. A vast concourse was already in position

* The Rev: Thomas Whitehouse M. A., chaplain of Cochin 1854—60. He wrote a short account of Cochin, with a frontispiece reproduced from a quaint water colour sketch of St. Francis church.

to watch the 'tamasha', grouped tier upon tier on the old ramparts. The proceedings opened with prayers and the 2nd chapter of Proverbs was read aloud.—

Yea, if thou criest after knowledge, and
lifest up thy voice for understanding,
If thou seekest her as silver, and searcheth
for her as for hid treasures, Then shalt
thou understand the fear of the Lord and
find the knowledge of God.

After the reading of the scriptures Mrs. Whitehouse handed to His Excellency a bottle containing small coins, and the ashlar was well and truly laid over it. That there was an unpleasant aftermath from official quarters goes without saying; but the reprimand came with confirmation of the gift of the land.

In expectation of the sweep of the gubernatorial eye, the prisoners from the jail, government peons, gangs of coolies and unemployed were set to work cleaning up the streets of Cochin. Men, so the newspaper declared, could even be seen with two pronged forks jousting the falling leaf ere it had reached to the ground. How different, it was whispered, would be the aspect if high officials descended on the place unannounced. Balghatty, too, was thoroughly overhauled for Lord Harris's reception. Across at Ernakulam the buildings along the river front were illuminated at night, and around the main attraction, a set-piece of portraits of the royal princes of Cochin painted in oils by a Mr. Lewis,* gaping crowds lingered by the hour. A chain of fairy lights, festooned in anchored boats from Ernakulam to the opposite Muttancherry shore, cordoned off the outer darkness of the eastern backwaters.

Noteworthy in Cochin's civic history was the year 1860 when the two companies of the 45th M. N. I. in cantonment there were transferred bodily to the Malabar Moffusil police. They continued to occupy the sepoy lines at Pattallum, and whilst under training ceased to be military but were certainly not police. Whilst in this embryo state wise heads shook knowingly at the impending change. It was supposed that these ill forebodings came mostly from those who feared their pockets would be affected, for it was computed that the military spent 35,000 rupees a year in the bazaar. When the new force did

* F. C. Lewis, 1813—75, son of a distinguished engraver. He studied under Sir Thomas Lawrence. Came to India at 21 years of age, and was for some time in Travancore. His painting of a Mysore Dussara has in it portraits of 150 guests and officials.

take over many said that the old posse was better than the new levy, despite their smartness in infantry movements; and the instance of an undetected burglary at Mr. Vernede's house was quoted against them. Under the old regime, too, a curfew had been imposed on Cochin, and any one of the humbler classes found in the street after a certain hour was run in and lodged in the chowki for the night. But when the newly established authority tried to carry on this good old Spanish custom, they were warned that they might find themselves in trouble should any aggrieved party take action against them for wrongful arrest.

There must have been a final parade of the sepoys whilst still embodied in the 45th M. N. I., though nothing is said regarding it. All that happened was a scramble to peg out claims on the vacated parade ground, upon which every square yard soon had its squatter, a goat, a cow, or a bull; and with Taurus so much in the ascendant, no lady dare cross the maidan on her way to the Protestant church on Sundays, which had hitherto been the short cut. Many roundings up of cattle, tethered and loose, and the redemption of them by their owners from the pound were necessary before the nuisance could be eradicated.

Referred to in some old jottings on Cochin for the year 1864 is a custom that was formerly observed by the lower orders, "Mostly sons of Crispin or knights of the needle" who, on New Year's Eve and Epiphany, masqueraded about the streets of the town as ancient dukes, earls and viscounts. Their air of grandeur as they postured and strutted about evoked much mirth among the onlookers, but the pageant used always to end in a debauch and a glorious shindy would usher in the New Year. A Christmas-tide custom observed among people of Dutch descent was the bringing to the table, with much ceremony, the "Sweet Plantain," which was the horse plantain preserved in sugar in accordance with old recipes. This delicacy held the same place in the affections of Dutch colonial peoples as the plum pudding in England.

On this side of India our citizen soldiers came into existence in October, 1878 with the formation of an independent company at Ootacamund. Seven years later another Russian invasion scare spread the movement to Malabar. Collector Logan then opened the

appeal for recruits with a broadcast headed "Defence not defiance," which the present writer remembers was the motto on the badge of the Calcutta Volunteer Rifles when he joined it in 1901. "This" said Logan, "will be here as in England the gathering cry. Europeans and Eurasians, a mere handful among the alien races only slowly, very slowly, awakening to the grant of British freedom etc. etc." At Cochin a meeting was called for 8 o'clock on the morning of the 22nd of April, 1885, at the office of the Dy: Collector to enroll those willing to join the force. The uniform at first allotted is believed to have been white; but until the Army List of 1889 the point is left blank, when, in that year it is given as khaki serge with dark green facings. As on the 14th August, 1885, the officers of the corps were.—Major Logan (commanding). At Calicut—Captains Ross and Henry Thomas, Surgeon Henry Cooke. Lieuts: Ralph Tatham, Fred Ernest Fletcher, Brooke Cunliff Leggat, Thomas Cotton Mallish and Frederick Noone*. At Cochin—Captain John Grieve & Lieut: Alexander Carnegie Cavendish. In 1886 the officers were—Captains Alexander William Macrae and William Klein, Lieut: William Maylor at Calicut. At Cochin—Capt: Conrad Bryant Sparrow, Lieuts: Samuel Locke, Henry Morse Brown, William Brunton. The uniforms of the several corps in South India as finally sanctioned were—

Coimbatore Rifles—Red, blue facings, white braid.

Madras Volunteer Guards—Red, Green facings, silver braid.

Coorg & Mysore Rifles—Khaki serge, scarlet facings.

Nilghiri Rifles—Rifle green, red facings.

Malabar Vol: Rifles,—Khaki serge, dark green facings.

South Indian Railway—White drill.

Targets and ammunition for the Cochin detachment arrived early in 1886. The next year, 1887, in celebration of Queen Victoria's fifty years of sovereignty, our volunteers fired their first feu de joie and attended church parade. There was also a procession of two elephants, banners, native music and acrobats, which made a circuit of the town from Calvetti to the parade maidan. Houses and offices were bathed in the soft glow of thousands of coconut 'buttees'.** Across the harbour entrance boats were moored, each dressed in loops of light. This carnival garland was extended to the far shore and beyond to the church of Our Lady of Hope, whose curled baroque gables and facade

* Frederick Noone—There is a memorial to him in the Protestant church of Mangalore. He died at sea aboard the s. s. "Ellora".

** Shallow ends of coconut shells used as lamps in which floats a wick of cotton thread.

were limned in lambent flame. Our Lady's new bells, too, (Mater Sanatæ Spei, Vaipim, 1885), answered the joyous jingling from the Cochin side of the river. An Indian loyalist of the old school collected accounts of these celebrations from every town in South India. At our sister seaport of Mangalore for instance, he tells us there was a procession of 25,000 people headed by the 31st Madras Native Infantry, in which joined the Europeans, ladies and gentlemen, walking from the bunder to their club between a double row of torches. A banquet with toasts brought the glad day to a fitting conclusion.

Under the date 2nd December 1889 there is an entry in the Port log which outlines the story of a jest with a tragic ending—"Mr. Klein of Volkarts shot through the lung and killed, gloom cast over the whole station." The deceased, a man of 34 only, together with a few pals had gathered outside the bungalow of a friend, where they pretended to be a band of Moplah roughs who, with loud voices and threats, demanded immediate admittance. So scared was the other that without looking to see who his unwelcome visitors were, he discharged his gun through the closed door, mortally wounding the foremost, who was Klein. As an officer of the Malabar Vol: Rifles he was buried the next day with military honours.

Due partly to the state of the roads and partly to the proneness in this locality of horses to a disease of the hindquarters, there never were, at any one time, more than a couple of carriage vehicles in Cochin. His Lordship the Bishop, on the re-establishment of the see in 1888, tried to keep up appearances with a landau and pair; and Mr. J. H. Aspinwall, who gave parties in his produce yard, would pick up his lady guests in his wagonette. But the usual conveyance was a 'Push Push', a four-wheeled vehicle introduced from Pondicherry, seating two passengers; the motive power being primitive man. There is one extant in Cochin today, though never used, owned by two old ladies of Rose Street. In Auguste F. Ammann's "Reminiscences of an old V. B. Partner," printed in English at Zurich in 1921, is an excellent photo of one taken at the porch of Beach Bungalow, when Ammann and Mr. George Volkart* stayed there in 1875. At that period there were but ten Europeans in the station, two of whom were constantly away. Beach Bungalow was then owned by Otto Maximilian Raphaels, Number One of Volkarts

* George Volkart died at Bombay 15-3-1875 and was buried in old Sonepore cemetery—Queens Road.

and a native of Barmen in Rhenish Prussia; but he took out British naturalization papers, R. K. Gahan, Port Officer and Magistrate, certifying that he was "worthy of the privilege prayed for"

A former merchant of Cochin remembers, some forty years ago, the Misses Chettle and d'Albedhyll setting out daily in their antiquated 'Push Push' to spread the Glad Tidings in the zenanas of the vicinity. They lived in Napier Street in the house since taken by Peirce Leslies, who purchased it from Miss Chettle through the medium of Lawyer Locke. The latter, for his own part, solved land and water transport difficulties by the expedient of becoming mortgagee of the means thereof. In the Registrar's muniments it is recorded that one Kuni Praya, in debt to the tune of 150 rupees to his employer, Samuel Locke, offers as security his 'perambulator' or 'Push Push.' Likewise a Mr. Somtoo was the nominal owner only of a six-oared gig in which that same dispenser of the law was rowed daily to his duties at the Ernakulam High Court, and in effect, was also bound in body and in chattels to his employer in return for a consideration received.

Our own sub-magistrate was John d'Silva, an old gentleman who, on retirement in 1877, was presented with a silken scroll of honour. He, for his part, had bequeathed to his native town a book of which he was the author—"Moral Maxims and Proverbs," containing according to its title page 1545 moral maxims, 833 proverbs, 496 Latin maxims, 309 law maxims and 278 moral reflections in French for the juvenile mind—One or more suitable for every occasion and every delinquency.

A brief notice of our Cochin of 1880 occurs in Mrs Murray-Aynsley's 'Our Tour in Southern India.' There were then, she says, perhaps half a dozen English families in the place, including those of the judge, the clergyman, a few merchants and Mr. Sealy, the principal of the High School at Ernakulam. He had been there 18 years and at first had 22 pupils only, which number had grown to 300.

In the early days of the Volunteers in Britain, there was a noisome breed of street urchin whose joy it was to lie in wait for Paterfamilias as he sallied forth to his Saturday afternoon battle practice and greet him with shrill cries of—"Who shot the dog"? In Cochin we have our own version—"Who shot the panther"?—Some goats had been killed in the town, one being found dead on the parade ground; and credulous people, among them four members of the Cochin

company of the Malabar Volunteer Rifles, ascribed the depredations to a panther that had escaped a couple of weeks before from a circus across the water at Ernakulam. They swore individually and collectively to rid the neighbourhood of this menace, and accordingly a young kid was tethered out on the parade ground in front of the armoury (the Netherlands consulate in 1947); and at nightfall they took post in the upstairs verandah to watch and wait. As they sat there, silent and alert, a voice below bade them good night and gave them best wishes for a kill. It was Freddie Cox going to his home at the Towers. Nothing happened for some while, then one of the party pointed to a dim shadow crouching low on the ground which he could see moving towards the bait. Just for a minute or so it was still, but then continued its stalking, when with a life-like leap it sprang upon the bleating animal. Four martinis spat out simultaneously, and the beast of prey lay still in an attitude as of death. The four musketeers now ran downstairs and began a wary advance upon the prone object very faintly outlined in the darkness. One of them suggested another volley—"To make sure," and this was given. It was at this moment that raucous laughter resounded from behind the ammunition magazine on the far side of the maidan. This came from Freddie. He had gone to his bungalow, but had returned with a soiled linen basket attached to a length of line by which, from behind the old magazine, he could drag the dummy towards the little goat; whilst the death leap was easily produced by an extra jerk upon the line. The halt referred to was due to the string's breaking, and which Cox had crawled back to reconnect, at imminent risk to himself.

The mortality among the goats was traced to a savage dog, though it is of no use saying so. But if the narrator of the story tries to draw the long bow by introducing a Royal Bengal tiger into it, he may be properly corrected—The Panther.

It is interesting to know something of the regard in which Cochin Town was held by the higher government mandarins of something over half a century ago. Captain Winckler, the Port Officer, records it for us in his official log under date 27th February, 1893.—"The Collector, Mr. Bradley, came over from Balghatty, such a thing is rare indeed for Cochin. Hence a note is made of it."

Cochin Personalities.

Of all the memorials in St. Francis Church the most modest is a small brass plate placed there by the widow of Alfred Charles White. It marks the passing of a name connected with Cochin since the days when Lieut: Thomas White, 9th Bombay Infantry, wooed and won Clara Jacomina Groenbaart, a Dutch lady of the town, whom he married in this same church in the year 1801:—he of the mature age of 21 and she three or four years his junior. Like most other women of the place who had entered the bonds of matrimony with British officers, she was early left a widow, her husband dying at Baroda in 1805, but already the father of two children and one yet to be born. They were Thomas, afterwards in the Travancore State service, who wedded his cousin, another Clara Jacomina Groenbaart. (2) Henry, later a judge in the Cochin State judicial department, who took as his wife Sarah Mina Ellisabeth Thompson of Cochin, and by whom he was presented with three daughters. (3) William, a bachelor, who died at Cochin and of whom nothing more is known.

Robert White (son of the second Thomas), he who was tutor to the rajas of Cochin, married Helen Elisabeth Liebschwager, and it is their son, Alfred Charles, who is commemorated in the church of St Francis. He married a lady who had been brought up in Switzerland, a daughter of Conrad B. Sparrow, a merchant of Cochin: and their only child, a daughter, became a Mrs. Kolhoff. Those who saw this old man going about his business were not to know of his clean-cut pedigree and the written story of his forbears that had come down to him from William Ramsay White, an Inspector-General of Hospitals, Bengal, and chief of the medical staff at the Island of Mauritius.

Lieut: Thomas White, aforementioned, was born at Bernaids Bower, Edinburgh, in the year 1780, the son of Patrick White, Registrar of Seizures in the General Excise office of that city, who had married Jean Finlayson, daughter of Collector Finlayson of Aberdeen, whose wife, a Miss Gordon, was cousin to the Duke of Gordon. This pedigree, however, is taken up only from Donald Bane, born 1640 died 1740, whose portrait and large oak chair, with the city arms thereon (crown and hammer), are in the civic hall of Aberdeen to this day. Of Donald's three sons, all out in the '45' Daniel alone survived the battle of Culloden. He is said to have been the original

of the 'Donnie Bean' of Scott's novel 'Waverly.' He was with Prince Charles Edward in his invasion of England, but was taken prisoner in the retreat and, under sentence of death, was cast into the dungeons of Carlisle castle.

From this fate he escaped on the eve fixed for his execution, and, rejoining the Scottish army fought at Falkirk. Ultimately, however, he had to flee to France. On returning to Scotland under the general amnesty he assumed the English equivalent of his Gaelic name, and was thereafter known as Daniel White.

Lieut: Thomas White was the 'Donnie Bean's' great-grand-son, but whilst his brothers maintained their places in society, no one in the 'Old Country' bothered about the posterity of Clara Jacomina Groenbaart.

George Brunton, founder of the engineering works which bear his name, lived in Ridsdale Road in the old Dutch V. O. C. house, or maybe in the one next to it. It was Marie de la Caridad (Charity) Cardet, Brunton's second wife who, after she became a widow, bought the ancient and ruinous property, which, when she had rebuilt it, was named The Towers. There she lived with William Brunton, son of Arabella her husband's first wife. Marie Brunton, who is said to have come from Cuba, was a handsome woman and in her less obese days an exquisite dancer, much in vogue with the younger set. She kept open house, and her side-board (a genuine Dutch monument in wood, now in P. L's Napier Street bungalow) was perpetually under load with the best local aliment, supplemented with the hermetically sealed delicacies of the West. With an all-embracing sweep of the hand she would sometimes invite the entire circle at the Club to come and take 'pot luck' with her. •

A photograph of the house taken between 1864 and 1870, shows that the living apartments on the first floor were approached frontally by a broad stone-stepped entrance rising straight up from a small high-walled forecourt, entered from the roadway through an ornamental doorway of the same Palladian design as that of the V. O. C. Dutch residence already mentioned. Incorporated in what was Mrs. Brunton's dining room are three carved beams, one of which is from the older house, the other two being replicas of it. So, too, the encorolled double doorways between her 'ballroom' and lounge, were

re-installed from the previous building; but the carved panel over this entrance, with the monogram C. B., is her own addition, the initials being either for Caridad Brunton or Cardet-Brunton. That the windows and archways of the house have a suggestion of the Arabesque may be attributed to this lady's Spanish origin.

There is a row of Bruntons in the mission cemetery at Alwaye, but although 'Billy' Brunton is described as the best of that family, his grave alone is without headstone or remembrance. He it was, with his de Dion who brought the motor age to Cochin, a vehicle, in superstructure at least, little in advance of the archiac Push Push. The Towers, also, was the first Cochin residence to be illuminated with the electric light, generated from a battery set of anti-social temperament, one which usually refused to function on guest nights.

F. A. Cox and his wife (the last link with Victorian Cochin*) succeeded the Bruntons at 'The Towers,' and maintained its tradition of hospitality. He is the son of the Rev. John Cox, of the London Missionary Society, who, with his wife and other workers in the same cause, landed on Quilon beach on the 31st March 1838. But in 1864 the padre took up coffee planting, and was the pioneer in the Ashambo district of Travancore, there he died at the advanced age of 82. The Cox ancestral home was at Painswick, Stroud, Gloucestershire; and it was from that manor that Lieut: C. F. Cox of H. Ms. 71st Foot (H. L. I.), an uncle of John Cox, set out for Wellington's army in Spain. The medal for this campaign, with clasps for Toulouse, Orthes, Nivelle, Fuentes d'Onore and Vittoria, as well as that for the battle of Waterloo, have descended to F. A. Cox. Thus in Cochin can be seen these souvenirs of one of the greatest events in the world's history.

Whilst browsing in a Madras second-hand bookshop one day, Jourdain of Aspinwalls found a copy of Horseley's 'Memoirs of Travancore,' published at Trivandrum in 1838. Seeing the name 'John Cox' in the fly leaf, Jourdain purchased it for a small sum and on returning to Cochin presented it to Freddie as a memento of his father. Such little courtesies are sometimes made possible by those who dally among old books that have strayed from their rightful homes.

That period of the 20th Century anterior to the first world war is already dim in retrospect, and as for the Cochin of the closing years

* Mrs. Cox passed away in the early months of 1948.

of the 19th century, it seems utterly remote. Yet we will attempt impressions of those Lights of Other Days, for whose face and form, at least, the Club picture gallery is the best collective source of information. One can only sigh regretfully that the 'tournure' and pulchritude of past 'Burrah Memsahibs,' also, has not been preserved. Many of the notes regarding bygone habitués of our chief social centre were supplied by an elderly lady who is now no longer in the land of the living. So, too, Ibrahim Khan, the ancient tennis marker, who from the age of seven ran around the courts picking up balls, has gone to his last home. This superannuated retainer, indeed, was the only person able to identify the older portraits, and to remember, for instance, that Bruce Ferguson, Chief of Cochin State Police, was the first club member to be 'hung'. Ferguson is presented to us in cricketting flannels and with an absurd W. G. cock-sparrow cap on his big head. However he looks a guy tough enough to deal with the most refractory of the Raja's subjects.

John Grieve is a totally different type, a good looking man with broad high forehead, hair greying at the temples, and a long shrewd nose. But for any tableau featuring John Bull in person, the only man with acreage sufficient for the Union Jack stomacher would have been Samuel Locke, who is also to be seen in the municipal hall in a full length oil painting, and facing Mahatma Ghandi—a full circuit contrast. Locke and Steiner of Volkarts married sisters—the Misses Prior,* whether this was a matter of combined operations is not known; but two of Locke's daughters enlivened Cochin with a double wedding—Ethel to F. A. Cox and Lottie to W. Burns Wilson. The latter's photograph, in the war-time uniform of the Malabar Volunteer Rifles of 1914, is also in the Club. It is said that he had been tutor to Gilkison's son, from which post he came to India to Peirce Leslies, but left them to start a sawmill at Bimlipatam, near Cannanore. After that closed down he joined Shaw Wallace & Co: (Burmah Oil Company), in whose service he died.

Badenoch of P. Ls, known as 'Batknock Master' to the Club servants, is presented to us habited in a high stiff collar of a batwing front elevation, allowing for display of a formidable Adam's-apple, which, may be, was an indication of the consumption trouble by which he was carried off; but though his career in India was short, his

* A third sister married a Scotch legal luminary who was afterwards knighted.

contemporaries voted him a good fellow. Lawyer Gover in mould of head and cast of features was the antithesis of Lawyer Locke; and his picture tallies with the description given of him as a kindly courteous old gentleman who took it in turns with Captain Winckler to read the lessons at St. Francis church. His son, a planter, is one of those honoured on the war memorial. Regarding this cenotaph it is here explained that the guiding principle in selecting names for inscription thereon was that the fallen, apart from those born in the town or who joined up from it, had at some time been members of the Club.

William Neil Black is another portrait that looks down from the club walls. He, too, had a son numbered with the Cochin heroes of the first great war. Black was not only a handsome man but most successful in business. Let the industrious apprentice study the picture well; peradventure it has a secret to communicate to him. James Dell of Peirce Leslie's had, it was thought, also been on the walls with the old-timers, though he has since disappeared. He, too, left India a wealthy man. A story has come down to us concerning him and his little clique of brother exiles, how that on Sunday evenings they donned full Pall Mall uniform—top hat, frock coat, gloves and goldheaded canes (lavender spats are not vouched for) and took the air on the elevation of the lighthouse mound, the wonder and envy of all beholders.

Basil Kidd, an Anthony Eden type, was in Ripley Mackays, which is all that has come down to us regarding him; but hanging close by is John Christie, who made a deeper impression upon the minds of Cochin folk, and who, among the humbler employees of Peirce Leslie's, was known as 'Padachenakan'—God. He was an exemplar of the simpler pleasures of life, having been president of the Calicut Cycling Club before coming to Cochin. He died at Madras sometime during the first world war, but is remembered by a brass plaque in St. Francis Church. In juxtaposition to 'Padachenakan', both by memorial in the kirk and by portrait in the Club, is Hal Jones of Aspinwalls, another congenial clubman of his day and generation. His widow presented a clock to the church, for which a black dial was chosen supposedly because in those days the front view of St. Francis was kept cleanly white-washed, which by contrast threw the gilt hands into strong relief. But since the sacred edifice, for some years now,



COCHIN CLUB.

(THE MAIN BLOCK.)

It is on the waterfront between the sites of the Stromborg and Gelderland bastions. Believed to have been part of Schuler's shipbuilding yard. Later a ropewalk, the rectangle of which the present building occupies. The palm tree waving over the roof has since been struck by lightning.

has been clothed in a dingy suit of blue dungarees, little distinguishable from the face of the time-keeper itself, the lady's gift does not show to advantage. More's the pity, for not so long ago the hereditary distemperers of Cochin were noted for their artistry on exterior walls, and they made the town gay in coats of cream and blue and rose.

F. S. Davis, a former Director of Education in Cochin State, does not look the part of scholastic; but he left behind a useful record of local matters in his book "Cochin, British & Indian", of which copies are rarely seen. One feels that the disappearance of this little essay into domestic history is due to frittering neglect rather than to vicissitudes of climate and the wandering tendencies peculiar to some books.

Contemporary with Davis in State employ was Dr. Coombes of whom a small photo hangs in the bar. 'Combee Master', as Indians called him, was fond of a practical joke. The best one remembered of him is the occasion when a hard-boiled planter was imposed upon the Club as the newly appointed chaplain, the Rev: S. Morgan, a gentleman who was so dilatory in assuming the responsibilities of his charge that Coombes had been asked to try and hurry him up. Sure enough within a day or two the Doctor put in an appearance at the Club accompanied by another gent who, on entering the bar, was introduced to Macbean of Aspinwalls, its only occupant, as 'Our new Padre.' Macbean did the proper thing in asking the stranger to have a drink. To this the mild reply was—'Thank you! a lemonade please'; and after a polite exchange of conversation Macbean handed the visitor over to new-comers and went his way. When he returned to the bar an hour or so later it was to see the Padre imbibing whiskies and sodas very freely for one of his calling. Not only so but as the evening progressed the visitor's language grew most unclerical. In the breast of another club member, Beuler of Volkarts, the utmost indignation was simmering against Coombes—"Making our Padre drunk the first night he is here;" and he sat apart glowering at the unedifying spectacle. But Macbean and one or two others had already a gleam of suspicion as to the identity of their guest, and at last it dawned upon them that he was none other than Tate, a planter from one of the estates in the Hills. So the gaff was blown for all except Beuler, who had gone home in rank disgust.

Only two of its members who fell in the first world war are represented among the photographs preserved by Cochin Club. One of Ian Mackay in his uniform hangs behind the bar, its inscription tells us that he fell at Vermelles, where the Gordon Highlanders "covered themselves with glory." Ian was posted to a territorial battalion which his father had at one time commanded. Fincham, whose portrait in R. F. C. uniform is one of those relegated to the lumber-room, was a cousin of Mrs. Brunton. He and E. H. House of Aspinwalls hunted together and both were full of the joy of living. An ebullition of this flow of spirits was to put a white goat to bed within the mosquito-net draped couch of a senior merchant of the place, a joke that was received with much effluvium. Writing of himself from the Western Front where he was serving with the Royal Flying Corps, 'George' says "that the old frame is very weary." Shortly afterwards he was shot down and killed.

A search for Falle was unsuccessful, but when the war broke out he had already left Peirce Leslies and India. It is believed he went to relations in Russia, from which country he returned to the United Kingdom to join up with the Royal Irish Fusiliers, with whom he fought and died in France. Residents of Cochin were kept 'au courant' with the war news by Boys, manager of the Bank of Madras, who, with the latest Reuter's telegrams used to make a tour of the town on his bicycle. When, some time later, Boys was transferred to Mangalore, he was summoned to a conference at Madras, to which presidency city he decided to pedal on his roadster. That he arrived on the other coast of India with a few annas more in his pockets than he had left home with, is proof of his aptitude as a banker; but old Mr. Cooper says that Boys had a personality that could only be appreciated by those who knew him. News of the armistice (1918) came late at night to 'Puffy' Dean, successor to Boys. He made it his job to go around the town knocking everyone up and giving the Club as the rendezvous, where the event was duly celebrated.

Of club members who lost their lives in the second World War there were two, both of Peirce Leslies—Ian Wemyss Campbell and David Small. The latter was posted to an Air Force unit detailed to patrol the East Coast, and it was whilst on this duty that he sighted

the Japanese fleet raiding into the Bay of Bengal, where they wrought so much havoc. Small returned to his base with this important information; sometime later he crashed and was killed. Poor Campbell had already embarked for active service, when he was taken off the ship at the last moment because of his great aptitude as an instructor in small arms. He subsequently met his death when training combat troops in ball and bayonet exercises.

N. B.—It was the unwritten law that no member should be 'hung' until he had passed over to that world where men thirst no more. Exceptions had been made, old Mr. Cooper of Aspinwalls being one, though even his photograph seemed to have disappeared from the bar just before this author left Cochin.

Yachting, Fishing and other matters.

The story of Cochin yachting would have been better told by one of its own votaries, but as the Malabar Sailing Club (though not yet 'Royal') is an Institution of standing on the 'West Coast,' a short account is here given of it from notes supplied mainly by W. T. Anderson and J. S. Macbean. Under its present constitution the club was inaugurated in 1911, with G. H. Davy of Alleppey as commodore, at which period the craft sailing under its burgee were of all shapes and sizes. Shortly afterwards, however, J. S. Macbean, Hal Jones and H. R. Haigh could be seen poring over the blue prints of a dagger-plate craft which they thought might be suitable as a class boat for Cochin waters. In the end it was agreed to build to this design, which had been produced by Linton Hope for the Naini Tal Sailing Club, in whom the rights were vested and to whom the Malabar Sailing Club paid a royalty of 2 guineas for each boat constructed from it. One past member of the M. S. C. believes the type to have followed closely on the "We're Here," a well known racer on the Norfolk Broads.

The first four or so of the Cochin class boats were built by Dominic Lobo, the last of the Cochin shipwrights, and the same old worthy who raised the shrine to St. Anthony on the Vypeen side of the harbour ferry, which saint, the patron of seafarers, may be supposed to keep an eye also upon yachtsmen. Lots were cast for the boats as Dominic completed them, and "Puffin," the first to be launched, fell to Grob of Volkarts. The cost of hull alone was Rs. 450/-, but sails and other gear brought the total to Rs. 635/-.

Macbean has a series of photographs of these dainty gunter-rigged half-raters skimming about the harbour, each a record of friendly rivalry and stratagem, of pleasures past but lingering. He

has also a snapshot of the lawn at Balghatty on Regatta Day, where the large shamiana close by the spick and span landing stage of the Residency speaks eloquently of the importance of this social function.

One of the earliest Cochin regattas on record, that of 1903, embraced anything that floated—Snake boats, dugouts, dinghies, local skiffs, ships' lifeboats, gigs, whalers, yawls and a few pleasure boats of which two only were thoroughbred yachts. Of these latter, one was 'Primrose,' owned and sailed by Napier, the engineer of the Alwaye railway bridge; the other 'Ortolan,' a faster boat, skippered by George Elliot Browning, the Munchausen of the Malabar Coast. 'Sea Queen' and 'Effie,' belonging to Cochin State, were sailed by F. S. Davies and Hadfield respectively; there was also a 46-footer, which can be none other than 'Cochin Witch,' built here in 1869. Captain Leverette, the Port Officer, with his best boat, and two or three shipmasters who fancied their gigs, also entered.

A story is told of P. B. Thomas, one-time District Supt. of Police, Malabar, that round about 1908 he built a boat in the verandah of his bungalow at Calicut, named her 'Gwen' (after his daughter) and put her down for Cochin's leading annual event; one so popular that there might be as much as five or six thousand rupees in the sweep stakes on the race. This the wily Thomas designed to acquire. During preliminary scudding around the harbour on the day before the race took place, it was observed by yachting fans that 'Gwen' had much difficulty and lost much time in rounding the outer racing buoy; her number therefore slumped and was bought in for a song in the selling sweeps by her owner. But on the day of the event itself, 'Gwen' romped home, scooping the dividend and at the same time obtaining an offer of one thousand rupees for a craft that had cost 250 only.

C. T. R. Scovell, the Bombay yachtsman, when sailing his 113 ton schooner 'Muriel' from Bombay to the Solent in 1909, looked in at Calicut to spend an hour or so with P. B. Thomas, who was a friend of his. This voyage was successfully accomplished: it was from the deck of another craft that Scovell was afterwards washed overboard and drowned. The 'Muriel' did not come into Cochin, though other cabin cruisers have done so. There was the 42-ton 'Ophelie', belonging to E. F. Marguerite, which came on from Bombay to this port.

There was also the American 'Freelance'. Cochin folk will, too, remember the 'Svarten', a two-man yawl in which one of the American family of Robinsons sailed around the world with a Hawaiian as his foc'sle hand. Unfortunately for the reputation of Cochin it was one of the two places during his cruise at which the author of 'Deep Water and Shoal' met with a rebuff, or so he complained. Robinson in the first blush of glamour attending his successful global circum-navigation married an American heiress. They came East together to prolong their honeymoon in a Tuticorin brig which they had purchased for twenty-five thousand rupees.

One General Meeting of the Malabar Sailing Club was rounded off with a dinner in which oysters figured on the menu. Of our own species of this mollusc, Edgar Thurston, the Madras Ichthyologist, when staying at Cochin, has written that though eaten by Europeans of the place 'they sometimes lead to an intestinal crisis.' The truth of this was proved on this occasion when all who partook of them were ill, including the two doctors of the settlement. Freddie Cox says he got home looking as if he had put on his trousers 'backsifore', and from the foot of the stairs called for his wife (who was not at the beano) to come down and help him upstairs. But she, not long wed, determined to teach him a lesson—'Coming home in that disgraceful state.' So he had perforce to crawl up alone. To know all is to forgive all; and the sufferer was soon up to the neck in household remedies devised to defeat an acute intestinal crisis, his anxious spouse crooning the while.—

"Men smile until the banquet's o'er,
Then comes the dreadful reckoning,
And they smile no more."

The race of 1909 on the Vembanad Lake for G. H. Davey's cup brought out most of the Cochin-Alleppey craft of that day. 'Gwen'—Ian Mackay, was first. 'Primrose'....., second. 'Ruby 11'—Davey, 3rd. 'Alicia'—sailed by H. R. Haigh, 4th. 'Sylvia'—H. R. Lockie, 5th. 'White Heather'—G. E. Browning, 6th. 'Kathleen'—H. Kirkpatrick, 7th. 'Dora' and 'Constance,' 8th & 9th. The year 1911 was made eventful by the arrival of that popular sportsman J. T. Lewis, Chief Engineer of the South Indian Railway, who with a fine crew of his own assistants, steered 'Fiona' (built by him at

Mandapam) to victory on many occasions. So, too, was the year 1913 memorable inasmuch as it was in that season that the present 'Seabird' class was launched upon our backwaters.

At the first entry of the classboats for the Cochin—Alleppey trophy, the distance was covered in about the same time as the old 'Line' boats,* the order of arrival being.—'Kathleen'—Colin White. 'Kalyani 11'—Haigh. 'Seamew'—Jack Brunton. 'Fions'—..... 'Kittiwake'—Macbean. 'Red Rose' (renamed Penguin)—F. F. Mackay; and last 'Curlew'—Pitcairn. With the exception of 'Fions,' 'Kathleen' and 'Ruby 11,' the latter an imported boat, the remainder were Cochin built. F. A. Cox himself a cunning exponent of the art of yacht sailing, having, it is believed, built his own. During the yachting season of 1919-20-21 J. E. Pitcairn came to such an excellent understanding with 'Curlew' that the combination emerged champions of Cochin and Alleppey regattas. The Pentland Cup of burnished silver gleaming on the old oaken sideboard of 'Blue Cedars', Woldingham, is a reminder of some of the high spots of that Cochin merchant's sojourn on the West Coast.

With the purpose in view that inter-club racing might be fostered, an arrangement was come to in 1926 between the Malabar Sailing Club and the Rangoon Sailing Club that some of the Cochin craft should be transferred to Burmah; others being built at Cochin to replace them. But witehorn was the only one of 'Ours' able to pay Rangoon a visit, on which occasion he won his events in good style. It is said that the transferee of Grant's 'Gannet' came to grief in the Shwe Dagon lake by removing the yacht's air-tight tanks, whereby in a capsize the boat sank and life was unfortunately lost. It was, too, an unnecessary tragedy for had the yachtsman had the presence of mind to feel for the bottom, he could have stood upright in the depth of water there was.

Maurice Strauss wrote an account of an eleven-day cruise with Brian Holloway in a 22-footer, believed to be 'Fiona', among the backwaters of Cochin and Travancore. The former, too, often spoke of his extraordinary trip from Cochin to Trichur, what time the whole countryside was inundated in the heaviest floods within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. When, in Volkarts launch, he forced his way upstream against a terrific current and placed the craft positively alongside the

* Steam launches on the public passenger services.

railway station platform. He there took aboard certain friends who had been marooned at Trichur and brought them to Cochin at a speed of engine plus torrent that broke all records.

This chapter would not be complete without mention of the tiny butterfly yachts with wings of blue, or white, red, yellow or brown that flitted about on the Ernakulam reach. These small sailing skiffs were built mostly of plywood by members of the forces stationed in camps on Willingdon Island, whilst awaiting demobilization and sailing orders homeward. The men were given every encouragement to engage in this sport, and it did a lot to reconcile many to the wearisome period of inaction after the cessation of hostilities.

Present day members of the M. S. C. are determined to revive some of its lost glories, for though Regatta Day with tea at the Residency may be a thing of the past, there is still scope enough to make of this sport a most enjoyable social amenity.

A combination of yachting and trolling in Cochin waters is sometimes rewarded by a fair size fish rising to a strip of red bunting. One member of the sailing club, taking his pleasure in this dual role, hooked a ray which towed him from the outer buoy to Pallaruthy, say 2½ miles. An even longer haul gave a Vypeen fisherman the thrill of his life. His bait was taken by a porpoise which pulled man and canoe for twenty miles along the coast to Cranganore, where the exhausted fish was gaffed and sold ashore for twenty rupees.

Abundant information regarding the fishes of our sea coast and rivers is given by Francis Day*, Civil Surgeon of Cochin 1861—1865, in—"In the Land of the Perumals," "Fishes of Malabar," and "On the Fishes of Cochin." Although in the medical department, Dr. Day was an ichthyologist of repute. Among the finny tribes discussed is the 'Halecore Dugong,' which he describes as a large herbivorous mammal of the Indian Seas, whose skulls are often to be seen on the beach at Narrakal. But although the present writer knows the Malabar coast well enough, he has never seen any part of a dugong skeleton elsewhere than in a museum. It has a round skull and ribs and vertebrae as large as those of a sheep. An old catch, tried out on passengers landing at Aden, is for touts of a second-rate hotel to draw them to their particular establishment on the lure of being shown a genuine mermaid.

N. B. On the disbandment of the Nilghiri-Malabar Battalion two pieces of mess plate that fell to the portions of Lieut. Col. Jourdain and Major Meadows were presented to the Malabar Sailing Club.

* Born 1829. Died at Cheltenham in 1889. Unmarried. Author of several scientific works.

On arrival and the payment of a rupee, a cupboard door is thrown open revealing a couple of stuffed female dugong, repulsive looking in themselves, but still more so from the scabbiness of long storage.

It would have been odd if Dr. Day, so learned on the subject of fish, was unable to expatiate from his own experience on their differing culinary values. The memory of two delectable dishes seems to have lingered with him. He writes of the mullet and murrel roe curry for which Cochin was celebrated, and of 'Tamarind Fish', which was prepared in preference from the 'Nuddimeen', sometimes called the 'Nair' fish; for as the Nayars were the aristocracy of Malabar so was this the noblest in flavour of all West Coast fish. It was boiled and filleted, sliced and highly spiced, and then left to soak for some time before it was pickled in jars. The cooks of Cochin of the present day appear to have forgotten these two delicacies. The learned Doctor, in passing, says that he had only heard of one accident from sharks in five years, and that, as a matter of fact, the saw fish was more dangerous. Oil from the former, even at that time was used as a substitute for cod liver oil, also believed in by local practitioner as a cure for night blindness. Dr. Day had more than once seen what is called the walking fish round about Cochin, and he also mentions the fact that when, one day, the grassland in front of his bungalow (what is now Aspinwalls) was flooded during heavy rain, the pool was almost immediately populated with little fishes. He had no idea from whence they had come, for this sheet of water had no communication with any other.

Cochin line fishermen, who fish for a livelihood, use a rod made from the central stem of the Panna or palmyra palm leaf, weighing only a few ounces. When something big is on the barb the whole thing is allowed to go overboard for the fish to drag about, until, in the end, it tires itself out. Rod and line are then retrieved together with the fish. This is the signal for the petty broker, never far away, to paddle alongside and commence a haggles for spot cash payment, whilst the subject of negotiations flounders in protest on the bottom of the dug-out. Smaller the herring, greater the argument, in the course of which it is of little consequence if the creel should miss other opportunities. Talking of herrings, there was a time when fishing boats came annually from Ceylon to Cochin for the mackerel season.

It may be news to those who rule over our harbour waters to be told that the fishermen of Vypeen are in the grip of a giant monopoly. One of the port peons has constituted himself the sole selling agent of fish-hooks and cat-gut. How many lakhs of rupees are involved in the business it is hard to say, or how control of the market is exercised; but it is thought that long-term credit may be the answer.

Izaak Walton's most devoted disciple at Cochin for two decades was Alan Shepherd, Chief Govt. Pilot of the port. His heaviest catch was a Naddimeen (Nair fish) of 26 lbs. taken off the pilot jetty. Native fishermen, however, land Carabs (Rock Cod) of much greater size than this. A trio of amateurs, comprising Jimmy Bruce, Arthur Ross and Pat Brodie, brought in one great fish weighing 200 lbs. or so; but they had found it floating on the surface, badly gashed, it was thought by the propellor of the s. s. 'Jalaganga,' which had shortly before gone out. That experience is oft offset by mischance was brought home to us one Sunday morning at the Club when the news was flashed around that at that moment our chief pilot and our senior banker (boat partners for the day) were struggling for their lives in the surf on the far side of the channel. They contrived to extricate themselves, but minus all their gear. Those who didn't know it already were then to learn that grown-up men who go out fishing for fun and get upset, even though they escape a watery grave by inches, may expect no sloshy sympathy from the British matron.

From the twin dangers of sharks and sea snakes there have been, it is believed, no casualties in Cochin waters. Indeed the only instance of death by the latter, even read of by the present writer, was as far back as 1837, when a Mr. Hayman, of H. M. S. 'Algerine,' was bitten while bathing from the ship as she lay in Madras Roads. Fishermen, it is believed, do sometimes get bitten when pulling in their nets at night by inadvertently thrusting a finger through the meshes right into the mouth of some outraged reptile. Snakes of the land varieties are now-days encountered in Cochin bungalow gardens on rare occasions only, though formerly they were not infrequently seen wriggling along the town's open drains in chase of frogs. Amaravathy appears to be their last sanctuary, for in that quarter are many ruined and deserted houses the gardens of which are coarse and scrubby. For this reason,

during the late war, the narrow lanes and paths of this locality were unpopular with A. R. P. night patrols.

Whilst speaking of Amaravathy, which for three centuries or more has been the ward of the Konkani Brahmin goldsmiths, it is reported that the soil beneath and around their habitations has become so impregnated with the craftsmen's filings of the precious metal that a coolie, by digging and washing the earth to a depth of two or three feet, can earn a good wage.

People of this goldsmiths caste had a habit of keeping crocodiles in their garden tanks, but the practice was forbidden after an exceptionally large one at Vypeen had dragged a woman under the water and devoured her. There was also bother when a ship's captain, prowling around the same neighbourhood hoping to shoot one, hit a native girl. Some will remember the skin of a six-footer which used to hang in the Club billiard room killed by 'Lux' Schweizer of Volkarts on the tennis courts. To account for the amphibian being in such an unexpected place someone recollected that at one time there was a small pond at that spot. It was conjectured therefore that 'Croc' was revisiting the scene of its innocent infancy. This was but a small one; the record in point of size was a 19-footer accounted for by one of the Bruntons in the Alleppey Narrows.

Old sea captains say that no vessel called at Cochin but was boarded by an ancient Black Jew selling minikin muggers, quick and dead. There was the instance of the 'Windsor Castle,' one of R. & H. Green's clippers, which was abandoned in a sinking condition off the coast of Africa in the year 1884. At Cochin her captain had purchased a boxful of these little reptiles, a few inches long and very much alive, which were rescued and placed in a lifeboat just before the ship went down. Edgar Thurston, who for some weeks during 1886 lived in the Travellers' Bungalow with his taxidermists whilst employed in mounting specimens of fish representative of our waters, commented upon the hawkers who haunted the place selling stuffed baby crocodiles, which were rendered more lifelike in appearance with red or yellow flannel lining in the mouth and eyes simulated with discs of red, yellow, or green glass.

Alexander Hamilton, an eighteenth-century visitor to Cochin, makes no mention of crocodiles as souvenirs, but he does refer to the

chests and cabinets for which the town even then was famed. The trade still flourishes in the form of those brassbound and metal-inlaid ditty boxes, so much sought after by seamen frequenting this port.

Thurston also remarks how notorious the T. B. was for midnight thieves, as a protection against whom he was given a young constable who had armed himself with the blade of a saw-fish, the snout end of which was fashioned into a handle grip. But the rogues most dreaded were the stray goats and cows which wandered around eating up the skins the taxidermists left out in the compound to dry. And what the Cochin kine will manducate is something to be marvelled at. A favourite grazing ground of theirs is the sea beach, where a drift of onions, garlic or water-hyacinth bulbs is always to be picked up for a cudweed; and this pungent alliaceous scent too often betrays the meanderings of the old cow from which has been tapped the bungalow's supply of washy milk.

But to return to the subject of fishing—After all said and done the dream of the hook fisherman, longshoreman or rickshaw-wallah is to own one of those gambling machines—a Macao dip net, let down into the water like a bucket. This queer contraption of a parallelogram web suspended by its corners to the extremities of two poles set cross-wise is worked from the riverbank by a system of swape pole and fulcrum, the counterweights of which are ragged boulders suspended by frayed pieces of coir rope, which have been known to snap with messy results to one or more of the team of hauliers. Such an outfit nowadays might cost five hundred rupees, an outlay, however, which might soon be recouped. Watching such a net one day, this author saw a haul of 227 Chemboly or butter fish (the species with an intense black thumb mark on either flank), each from 4 lbs. to 10 lbs. For these the fishermen obtained a flat rate of one rupee for each, which were afterwards retailed at an average price of Rs. 2-8-0. On another occasion the catch was one of prawns alone, many hundredweights of them. Indeed the bag was so full that, until canoes came alongside and baled into their bottoms the greater part of the speckly green mass, the net could be raised but an inch or two above the surface. Yet another time, when the bed of the sea had been stirred up by a storm and the water was muddy, the net brought up nothing but squirmy eels. They were abhorrent to the sight, and the only spot buyer was a ragged old hag who retired with her purchase to the shade of a tree. There they

were let loose to wriggle in the dirt and the grit, the while sparse enquirers of the eel-wife's own lowly state in life were invited to take their pick at the equivalent of a penny a yard. Perhaps, during the day, she sold a round dozen of them.

Macbean of Aspinwalls remembers a huge sword-fish becoming entangled in a Vypeen dip net. Threshing the water furiously, it could only be killed by the fishermen stabbing it frequently with knives lashed to bamboos. When finally dispatched, it was towed, still enveloped in the folds of the net, around to Bruntons' yard and landed by the hand crane. When weighed, it turned the scale at 25 cwts.

It does not appear to be so to-day, but it is said that these nets used to be soaked in a brew of the *Coculus Indicus*,* a bitter vegetable drug seductive to fish. Pellets of it thrown into the water and swallowed will bring the 'muchli' to the surface in a stupified condition, floating belly upwards. At one time this berry was exported from Cochin to Europe, where it was used as an adulterant in beer; but its employment for that purpose has been prohibited by law.

If old prints of Cochin are to be relied upon those Macao dip nets along River Road have been there 70 years at the most. When Winckler was Port Officer, in 1884, and he gave permission for two to be rigged on the plot adjacent to Pilot jetty, it drew a protest from a man who stated that his hereditary rights had been thereby invaded. He claimed that his ancestors, right down the line from Portuguese times, had possessed the sole privilege of that method of fishing from that pitch; but he had nothing to support his claim, neither present nor past occupancy within the memory of anyone he could cite as a witness. All the same he employed Old Guizelaar, the 'answer jobber' (cheap lawyer) to present his case.—"Your requiring me," says the protest, "to adduce oral and documentary evidence before you on substantiation of my claim causes me great surprise. There is another reason that creates the same feeling in me, to wit your not requiring your old ayah Amboor to bring forth any such evidence as you called for from me."

It is believed that the nets near the pilot jetty were placed there in lieu of sites withdrawn when the new customs house was built about fifty years ago. The foreshore at the latter point had also been the public 'hard,' set aside for the beaching of harbour cargo manjies, and off which they moored whilst awaiting their turn for hire.

* Other vegetable products serving the same purpose were nux vomica and the oil of the croton seed.

Chapter IX. WAR TIME COCHIN.

Writyne is ye key to all good Remembrance.

(When the clouds of war burst over Cochin there were neither batteries nor troops to defend it. The Nilgiri Malabar Batt. of the Auxiliary Force was immediately mobilized, and a platoon of the Inniskillings was sent here from Wellington. They were later relieved by a company of the Worcesters commanded by Major Bickford. With this slender protection the port held on until the Japanese came in against us, when an Indian mobile medium battery, hastily raised and trained, leavened with a high percentage of British N. C. Os, was posted here to guard the approaches to the harbour. A battalion of the 8th Punjab Regt. arrived about the same time, relieved later by the Ajmere Garr. Battalion, commanded by Major Thomas. As time went on a force was assembled inland, within the triangle Bangalore-Coimbatore-Madras, ready at very short notice to move to any part of the South coast of India threatened by invasion.

After the crisis had passed, a system of fixed defences for heavy guns took shape, and the area fairly bristled with anti-aircraft artillery. What with one and the other—gun practice seawards, skyward, and landwards—the people of Cochin got well accustomed to the sounds of war; but so that the timid should not be unduly alarmed, discharge of the miniature cannon at Vypeen church, which the irreverent said were used for the blowing away of the sins of the parishioners, were told to be silent for the 'duration.' Opposite the Harbour Hotel was the parade ground of two units of widely differing military appearance. One was a Docks Company learning the rudiments of movement drill: the other was a platoon of Madras Sappers & Miners, whose close-order exercises with arms equalled in precision the Guards themselves. As the efficiency of the Nilghiri Malabar Battalion improved they took

over infantry duties on the Cochin side of the river; and though the skirling of their pipes will no longer be heard, the scars of their trenches and machine gun positions will mark the town for many a year to come. They also provided escorts for treasure and furnished the boarding parties for the Port Examination vessel. Their only casualty was a promising lad named Fernandes, who fell overboard from the target-towing launch during night gun practice seawards and was drowned.

Twice daily mine-sweeping vessels searched the approaches to the harbour, the first stationed here being two Bombay ferry steamers converted to naval purposes. Explosions in the offing were not infrequent, but this could be attributed to depth charges expended in exercises or dropped on the very faintest of chances that a hostile submarine might be in the locality; some, too, it is whispered, were loosed off to procure fresh fish for the patrol-boats' mess tables.

One of these small steamers was the 'St. Anthony,' whose peacetime job had been the carrying of Indian passengers, 1200 or so at a time, between Bombay and Goa. Her engines had a peculiar pulsation audible for miles around, which never failed to awaken one at dawn, as she was passing through the gut on her monotonous but essential duties. The other vessel was the ill-fated 'Ramdas' which in 1947 after a resumption of her normal employment, was swamped by a heavy sea when crossing Bombay harbour, when the greater part of her 700 passengers and crew were drowned.

H. T. Grubb, who married the last surviving Miss Brunton, with his own Hornet Moth (to which was given the number T 1781) was the nucleus of No. 5 Flight R. A. F. V. R.; and he commenced duty forthwith at Cochin. When the unit was completed it consisted of six ancient biplanes, most of which subsequently crashed, in the Cochin area, and not without casualties. In June, 1943, No. 5 Flight was transferred and Sunderland flying boats took their place; with them also came three high-speed motor launches of No. 232 Air/Sea Rescue unit.)

As a base of supply for aircraft Cochin made huge expansions. Its position as a port with quays within half a mile of an aerodrome was quite unique; and the R. N. A. S. establishment alone delivered over 2400 naval aircraft of eleven different types. The R. A. F. personnel,

likewise, ran into many hundreds; and at the cessation of hostilities there were sufficient spares collected here to service the South-East Asia Command for 12 months.

A shore base for landing craft on Vendruthy Island was commissioned on the 1st October, 1944, as H. M. S. Chinkara, to which were attached M. O. L. C. Bs. (Mobile Operational Landing Craft Bases) named H. M. S. Landswell and H. M. S. Landlock, both accounted for as tenders to 'Chinkara.' H. M. I. S. Vendruthy, shore depot of the Royal Indian Navy, also grew out of all recognition. It was alongside the Royal Naval establishment and totalled several hundred officers and ratings with their own war vessels and auxiliaries constantly coming and going.

At a display on Willingdon Island, to which civilians were invited, we saw the tradition of the Royal Marine Light Infantry for faultless drill fully maintained. It was then demonstrated that the Marines at least were at the highest pitch of training; and though they were never called into action, there could not have been a finer body of men anywhere.

So large was the concentration of all arms on Willingdon Island that a town planning committee was formed to deal with the lay-out, in which nothing was left to chance, though, of course, great scope remained for improvisation. Largely responsible for the housing and building work was the Port engineering department, which at one time had between 11,000 and 12,000 people employed on it; and it is thought in some quarters that the Port got less than its due credit for the immense effort made.

Another large organization was the Embarkation Staff, of which the first commandant was Lieut: Col: Goodchild, known in service circles as 'Atchababa'. A still more familiar figure was that of Lieut: Col: Hill, Cameronians, who, it is believed, slept in his Glengarry cap. Through the 'Embarkation' was handled 1½ million tons of military stores, 28,000 troops, and no less than 98,000 men recruited for Travancore and Cochin States Labour Corps. Not forgetting 9,000 goats, mostly proteges of Capt. Quayle, on whose stocky figure the kilt of the London Scottish was displayed to advantage on social occasions.

Women's Auxiliary Corps [W. A. C. (I.)] and Women's Royal Indian Navy (W. R. I. N.) came into existence. The former did their spot of squad drill on Cochin Green, two English lassies in short skirts towering over their Indian comrades draped in ankle-length saffron saris. Both these corps and the local militia had a fine innings whilst it lasted. Many is the time this poor civilian has seated himself down to a frugal evening meal, lighted only by a farthing dip; punkah mute and motionless overhead and myriads of mosquitos thus free to glut themselves on his life's blood, what time the married corporal of the N. M. B. across the road has been lapping up good army rations amidst all the effulgence and comfort that bright lights and whirling fans could give.

For Civil Defence purposes British Cochin was divided into wards and manned by a true cross-section of Cochin Burghers. Perhaps the worst sector was the southern suburb, a very nightmare of small barbed wire enclosures each with its little palm-leaf or wooden hut in the middle, and each again for the sake of privacy fenced in with plaited palm-leaf panels or dry and brittle wattles; anything more inflammable could scarcely be imagined. In this area likewise was the Hindu burning ghat, from which nightly bonfires glowed red far into the early hours of the morning. It was some weeks before religious scruples could be allayed, so that these funeral rites were concluded before darkness set in. On one occasion only, 9th April 1942, when the Japs were over Colombo, did we stand-to expecting the real thing. But though Pitcairn, who was our Chief Warden, breathed into the telephone his most sinister—"YELLOW," no enemy plane* came so far north as Cochin. Eventually the voluntary workers were dismissed and replaced by paid personnel. We were, however, allowed to retain our uniform of sausage-tight navy drill shorts and jail-made shirts with tails that left but a precarious couple of inches to tuck inside the waistband.

During the withdrawal from North Africa of Australian troops destined for the nearer defence of their own country, the mechanized transport of one whole division was diverted to Cochin, where the men were forced to wait many weary weeks before they could proceed further. Cochin reeled under the impact of this unexpected influx, all volunteer soldiers, many of them heroes of Tobruk, and every one of them in a state of the utmost impatience to place himself between his

homeland and the Japs. Amenities ashore were pitifully inadequate to the emergency, especially liquor; for the Europeans of the station were themselves under strict rationing, and in any event their total allowances were as a drop in the ocean to liquidate the thirst of veterans straight from the Libyan desert. As elsewhere and as might be expected substitutes appeared from nowhere. Any empty bottle with its label intact that had once contained spirits fetched a good price in the bazaar, which when refilled with local poison was sold to the Australians at outrageous prices. Results too often were deplorable. But it cannot be gainsaid that these fine fellows were as well conducted as the best if placed in similar circumstances.

There were lighter moments to relieve this period of depression. An Australian soldier doing the sights of the town in a rickshaw saw a woman by the roadside with a small urchin. He stopped, picked up the child, and making quite unintelligible signs that he was merely taking it for a short ride, told his rickshaw-wallah to pad along. There was the devil of a hoocha, the woman supposing that her progeny had been kidnapped. But after going the round of the Green the soldier handed back the brat, plus one rupee. At first the Diggers were permitted to use the Malabar Hotel which was indeed a glorious oasis in the midst of a broiling Sahara; but after a day or two the visitors were seized with the souvenir mania, and the privilege was withdrawn.

One morning half the transports moved slowly out of the harbour and waited beyond the bar for an expected naval escort; but as the cruiser had not arrived by nightfall, they were obliged to make an ignominious return. As they glided to their former berths a Digger who was standing by the rail of one of the ships that had not made the false start shouted across the intervening water—"Why have you come back?" To which there was the bellowed response—"To bring back the cruets to the Malabar Hotel!" Then came the day when they finally sailed, most of the men convinced they were bound for Java. When, therefore, on the sealed orders being opened at the appointed time and it was learnt that they were really bound for home, the tidings seemed too good to be true, and men who had previously taken no interest in their movements now crowded the deck to make certain they were steaming south. They all arrived safely at Freemantle, and

* Radio Tokyo transfixed Cochin listeners one night with—"Hurry up, Cochin, with that aerodrome. We are going to need it soon."

many people of Cochin received letters of thanks from men they had entertained, posted at the first opportunity from Western Australia.

The departure of the Australians was not without its serio-comic incident. A Sikh pilot of one of the Wapitis of the flight based on Willington Island, wishing to say good-bye to his Antipodean pals flew over the convoy so low, as it happened, that he crashed into 'the drink.' To everyone's relief he emerged from the wreckage and swam towards the nearest transport, but on getting alongside a difficulty arose. In the scurry of the accident or in the swim the pilot had lost his nether garment; nor would he be taken aboard until one of the Aussies above let down his own shorts to the bashful follower of Baba Nanak.

Driven to the port of Cochin by a naval incursion of the Japs into the Arabian Sea were no less than 26 freighters and a large paddle steamer of a total of 131,000 tons. There too, under repair, were H. M. Ships 'Scout' and 'Keddah,' the latter a peace-time passenger liner plying in the Malay Archipelago, in the war evacuation of which her constitution had been badly overstrained.

Vessels of the Merchant Navy then collected at Cochin were.—

City of Bombay	Forthbank	Hai Lee	Mantola
Lulworth Hill	Oriskany	Hai Leng	Turehy
Idar (paddler)	Brittany	Yin Chow	Aramus
Clan Ranald	Wayfarer	Wu Chang	Carpio
Steel Ranger	Cranfield	Havildar	Nawab
Haresfield	Lyee Moon	Nirvana	Nycu
Jalaganga	Aquarius	Rancher	

'Lulworth Hill' is strongly impressed upon one's memory. Her chief Officer, Mr. Arbuthnott, had been left at Colombo ill with the smallpox, and on the steamer's passage to Cochin two other cases had developed—the second officer and the cabin steward. Both were removed to the Muttancherry isolation hospital, not too well found and with neither matron nor resident medical officer, merely two or three Indian ward boys. They both died and were buried at Cochin. When the Japanese menace had subsided 'Lulworth Hill' was sent to the Maldives with coal, which she discharged and returned to Cochin. Now it was Captain Smith who complained of feeling unwell. He was, however, most reluctant to be taken off his ship—saying that he would be as well cared for there as on shore. But in the end he was persuaded to

go to the Ernakulam Civil Hospital, where the nursing was superintended by Italian sisters of the Ursuline Order. Notwithstanding every attention he too died, but of pneumonia. His body was brought back to Cochin for interment in 'Sailors Corner,' close to his former officer and steward. There is little doubt that this gallant officer's health was undermined by exertion, exposure, and long hours on the bridge without rest during the withdrawal from Java; and he was as much a victim of the war as those who have appeared in official casualty lists. When this vessel did sail for the United Kingdom it was under the command of the promoted chief officer, who had since rejoined the ship.

One or more of the vessels with Chinese names and which had escaped the clutches of the Japs were owned by Jardine Mathisons. A rather curious coincidence arose out of this fact.—Whilst searchlights were splaying the skies, and gunfire could be heard booming from the outer ring of London's anti-aircraft defences, two of Bedford's A. R. P. wardens met at the end of their respective patrols, at the junction of Warwick Avenue and Lansdown Road. It was a pitch-dark night and the men were strangers to one another, but in a little neighbourly chat, sitting on the coping of someone's front-garden wall, it transpired that one of them had been evacuated from China and the other had recently retired from India. The alert was still on and the drone of planes overhead was heavy in the air when the two wardens resumed their beat, neither being aware of the other's name or lineaments. Some months later two strangers found themselves together in a launch crossing Cochin harbour, when, in the course of conversation it was discovered they had met before under the circumstances related. One belonged to the administrative staff of Jardine Mathesons, then operating from Calcutta: the other had taken on a new lease of life and was out with Peirce Leslies of Cochin.

Crews of two or three vessels sunk by enemy action found their way into Cochin. The s. s. 'Jose Navarro,' one of these, was carrying mules for the Burmah front which were in charge of a party of Texas Rangers, for whom, and the officers, the military authorities did their best to provide suitable fare and entertainment for the New Year's Eve of 1943. When the captain of 'Jose Navarro' dined with Black of the Madura Company, he told his host that from motives of humanity, though hundreds of miles from land, he had given orders for the mules

to be cast loose. This action nearly occasioned further tragedy. For when the ship sank it left these animals swimming wildly about, some trying to hook their forelegs over the gunnels of the lifeboats, one of which was upset by a mule whose instinct for self-preservation was stronger than others that had been beaten off with oars and boathooks.

The steamer 'Richard Hoover' was another casualty, the crew of which was brought in by a passing vessel. But the tanker 'British Purpose' escaped foundering though twice hit by Japanese torpedoes, the quality of which was so poor that minor damage only was suffered. With slight patching at Cochin she was able to proceed under her own power to Bombay.

'Empire Thane,' a tanker of 8120 tons, formerly the 'Desmoulea,' owned by the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company, came to Cochin from much further afield. She had left Alexandria with a full cargo for the Piraeus on the 29th January, 1941. On the 31st of that month she was torpedoed in the engine-room and abandoned, but was re-boarded and towed by a destroyer to Suda Bay. In April she was towed to Port Said and through the canal to Suez, where, on the 3rd of August, she was struck amidships by an aerial torpedo. She was then towed to Aden and from thence to Bombay, where she arrived on 12th January, 1942. In November 1943 she was brought on to Cochin and remained there as a storage tank hulk until January, 1947. Finally, with 5,000 tons of fuel oil as cargo, she was taken away from Cochin to Falmouth, arriving there in July, 1947. It is estimated that in this manner she covered over 12,000 miles, which is probably a record for anything save a floating dry-dock.

Talking of dry-docks, one, the A. F. D. 12, Reykjavik for Singapore, rolled up at Cochin after passing through many hands, and after many driftings away and recaptures. A fresh destination was settled for her, and she resumed her adventurous voyaging. Yet another floating dock, a smaller one for use with landing craft, was sent to Cochin from South Africa where she had been built at a cost of £ 50,000/-. In April 1947 she was still there awaiting disposal, the best offer so far received for her being about £ 5,000/-.

Of fighting ships proper we saw a few only, the heaviest of which was H. M. S. Berwick. Also an auxiliary cruiser, the P. & O. liner 'Corfu,' a huge target of 20,000 tons. There was also the 'Sarpedon,'

a smaller Blue Funnel liner similarly converted commerce raider. But aircraft carriers were constantly in and out of the port. There was 'Colossus,' now the 'Aromanches' of the French navy. The large repair ship 'Unicorn,' 14,000 tons. 'Vengeance,' whose flight deck was 690 feet overall. Others were.—

Trumpeter	Khedive	Chaser
Attacker	Arbiter	Hunter
Searcher	Empress	Smiter
Atheling	Stalker	Rajah
Activity	Glenroy	Begum
Rattler	Fencer	Ranee
Emperor	Ameer	Shah

The 'Athene,' a flat top, was not at Cochin in the role of a carrier but made her maiden trip to Cochin after conversion into the freighter 'Clan Brodie.' Mr. W. K. M. Langley and the present author went home in her. An allied warship, a Greek destroyer, was sent at one crisis to patrol off the Malabar coast, but we never met any of her officers or men. She would just dash into the harbour in a most spectacular manner, pull up all standing alongside the fuelling depot, and then, when bunkered, away again in the same headlong career.

Among other excitements of the times was the diversion to Cochin of the Blue Funnel liner 'Eurybates,' which was on passage to Java when it became known that that Dutch settlement had fallen to the Japs. Her cargo was a wonderful assortment of luxuries, evidence of the high standard of living enjoyed by the colonial peoples of Holland—whisky, wines, liqueurs, sports requisites of every kind, perfumes, textiles for the better class Javanese ladies, mirrors, vanity bags, brocade and velvet ballroom shoes; porcelain baths, and hundreds of much coveted sanitary fittings were strewn over the island in the most incongruous situations, for there was insufficient warehouse accommodation for merchandize of that kind however valuable. Thus thieves, vagabonds, climate, sheer neglect and plain mischief took a very heavy toll of these treasures during the months and months the Anglo-Dutch committee appointed at Cochin to negotiate disposal were engaged with the innumerable interests involved.

Merchant shipping, as the war progressed, carried increasingly heavier armaments; and in the American freighters, even of the smallish

size, defence was the charge of a commissioned naval officer, one who always accompanied the Master ashore on ship's business. By 1944 British ships likewise were heavily armed and manned; as for example the s. s. *Clan Cameron*, 7243 tons, Captain Hardinge, which carried one commissioned officer and 20 gunners of the Maritime Regiment. The British passenger-cum-cargo steamer '*Mantola*' was often in port. She had amongst her DEMS detachment Lord Howard of Effingham—just a gunner. He was often at the Club (ordinarily debarred to service people under commissioned rank) where his title combined with his subordinate status caused some embarrassment when officers in uniform were present. It is a coincidence that on the walls of the bar hangs a presentation photo of H. M. S. *Effingham*, one-time flagship of the East Indies squadron, which visited Cochin for the last time in 1938.

Neutral shipping, mostly Swedish, looked in occasionally, but the feeling that those not with us were against us could not be entirely eradicated from our minds, wherefore conversation was restricted to an exchange of polite trivialities on the terrace of the Club—the bar, where more freedom of speech is current, was tacitly avoided. One Norwegian skipper, somewhat overshot at the Club, had difficulty in retrieving his cap. This was done for him by a rather senior merchant of the place, for which he was rewarded by the offer of a one rupee tip. On its being gently refused, the befuddled sailor exclaimed—What! Not enough? Our most ancient ally, Portugal, was on a different footing. Hence when, in January 1944, the passenger liner '*Nyassa*' (ex-German prize ship of 1914-19) of the *Companhia Nacional de Navegacao*, dropped in, conviviality found ready expression. This was none the less spontaneous in that Captain Antonio de Bettincourt, her commander, had rendered great services on more than one occasion to the crews of British ships sunk by enemy action; for which timely aid he possessed parchments and a gold watch presented to him by our Government.

Among the passengers of '*Nyassa*' was the Governor of Diu and his three lustrous-orbed daughters, also Brigadier Vasco de Silveira Brandis Friere Themudo de Vera, a friend of one of the English residents ashore. Visitors to the ship received a photo souvenir of the vessel on the reverse of which was a six-stanza eulogy of '*Nyassa*' set to music which the ship's orchestra played as a sort of national anthem.

Everyone knew it by heart, and the community singing of it got all into a good humour and made them forget for a while at least the cost of their passages—Goa to Lisbon—the equivalent of £ 180 sterling, and that at pre-inflation value. All-in, '*Nyassa*' earned on this round trip £ 200,000 -.

A sequence of repasts on board was brought to a close with a gala night at the Club, with the ship's band in attendance. As the tempo warmed up the guests went through a round of Lusitanian folk dances, the last number of which blended so handsomely with the Lambeth Walk that the entire assembly took the floor for the Grande Finale.

When the Lethbridge Mission, composed of senior officers of the U. S. A., United Kingdom and Canadian forces of all branches of the service, came to Cochin they were shown everything in the place of historical, social or industrial account. Peirce Leslies laid on for them a demonstration of the coir trade commencing with the coconut in its embryo spathe to the bales of yarn packed and marked for export. But though the party was much interested in this, they were really intrigued by a display in Wm. Goodacre's old-fashioned lofts of rugs, mats and carpets specially sent up from Alleppey for their inspection. They could hardly be dragged away from this show of colour. One could almost read the processes of their minds, discussing mentally with wife or mother the merits of the different piles, colours, sizes and qualities of the wares they saw. The American officers, more intent than the rest, were in serious computations and comparisons of present spot prices and the sky-high dollar ticket they knew would be affixed to these same goods in a New York store.

The members of the Mission were as stated below, but for the benefit of past members of the Nilgiri Malabar Batt.; which unit provided the orderlies, their names, too, are given.

Lethbridge Mission	
Officer	Orderly
Rear Adm. F. W. H. Goolden, C. B. E., R. N.	Sgt. D'Crouz E. T.
Lt. Cdr. H. R. B. Janvrin, D. S. O. R. N.	Pte. Lopes I.
Brig. G. E. Macalevey, R. A. M. C.	„ Hendricks A.
Lt. Col. G. H. Stockley R. M.	„ Scolt W. J.
Lt. Col. E. D. Andrews, R. A.	„ Paiva B.
Major H. W. Lancaster, R. A. P. C.	„ Fernandes I. K.

Lethbridge Mission—(Contd.)**Officer**

Wing Cdr. F. W. P. Dixon, MBE, R. A. F.
 Cap. D. C. Williams R. A. O. C.
 Gp. Capt. W. I. Clements, R. C. A. F.
 Lt. Col. J. E. Cumming, R. C. C. S.
 Lt. Col. C. J. Bermingham R. C. E.
 Capt. R. E. Blick, U. S. Army
 Col. R. R. Robbins
 Col. W. C. Deware
 Col. I. J. Moore
 Lt. Col. D. G. M. P. Shewen (Brit. Army).

Orderly

„ Fernandes G. R. P.
 „ D'Cruz J.
 Cpl. D'Costa L.
 Pte. Bayer W. L.
 „ Jackson H.
 Sgt. Callaghan D. I.
 Pte. Paynter I.
 „ D'Rozario A. W.
 „ Gezler R.

N. B. Admiral Lethbridge was not himself present.

Nor were we without some contact with our Muscovite friends and allies. One Russian steamer called in at Cochin but beyond being told that she was run on committee lines, nothing of interest transpired concerning her. A Soviet commissar from Calcutta came up to buy pepper for his Government. When met at the boat camber and his rickshaw being pointed out to him, he refused to ride, exclaiming—"One man pull another man not good," and he placed his suit case in the vehicle and walked beside it to his quarters at the Club. At the bar, a little later, his English guide ordered a couple of gins, when almost immediately the Russian opened with the very controversial subject of how his country had saved Britain, a version quite unacceptable to his listener. So a compromise was sought for and found. In the morning the commissar went to inspect the pepper, and seeing just one albino corn on a stack some feet high, he leapt upon it with the cry—"Mouldy!" Not the vestige of a smile creased his countenance the whole two days he was with us. He wore the visage of one to whom the joys and irresponsibilities of childhood had been denied.

An incident comical in retrospect was a swim across the harbour, in the light of the silvery moon, by an R. A. F. officer who had dallied o'er long at the Club. Nevertheless he had withdrawn from its garish lights sooner than his companions and had wended his way back to the liberty boat waiting at the basin. But he got tired of tarrying for the other members of his party, and suddenly divesting himself of his clothes, excepting his socks and suspenders, plunged into the water. Nor did the astounded native crew see him come up again. When

therefore the rest of the revellers put in an appearance, they were told that the other sahib was drowned. Then ensued searchings, probings and dragging for the body for a couple of hours, all without result; and it was sorrowfully agreed that poor G..... had gone for good. Grief, however, was premature. The missing officer had come to the surface again, and had struck out for the 'Lights of Calais'—otherwise the Malabar Hotel, about a mile across the water. Helped by a swift inflowing tide he made the distance safely, but on pulling himself up level with the hotel landing stage he could see that although it was past three o'clock in the morning, the building was still lit up and there were people about. Decency required that he slip back into the water and swim further along the embankment to the Port Administrative block. Here he landed, and dodging from shrub to shrub, the moon gleaming on his ivory torso, he sped across the open spaces and gained the road to the camp. He had now only to slip behind a tree to avoid any chance pedestrian he saw. But the most formidable obstacle of the course still lay ahead. It was how to get through the gateway into the camp to reach his billet, to do which he must run the gauntlet of the Indian night-watchman, who, with a lamp, scrutinized all and sundry to keep out intruders.

Crawling up nearer the entrance he lay down in the ditch against the barbed wire fence to ponder the matter. Rest also was needful, for not only was he fatigued but his body and feet were cut and scratched by brambles and the oyster shells which abound on the top dressing of the newly reclaimed Willingdon Island. So cogitating he was inspired with the idea of acting the ghost. Creeping up close to the unsuspecting watchman, he sprang up to his full height, something over six foot, waved his arms in the air, and, because he dared not make much noise, emitted a fiendish hiss. It worked, the guardian of the gate fled in terror, leaving his lamp guttering upon the ground. For our hero the rest was easy; and when the other members of the mess arrived they found him in an arm chair, clad as he had entered the sea, only a little less so, for now but the top rings of his socks remained attached to the suspenders.

Many ENSA and other parties included Cochin in their itinerary, some of first-class talent such as that touring under the leadership of

Miss Beatrix Thomson with the straight plays—"The Man in Possession" and "The Two Mrs. Carrolls". The ingenue, an attractive little lady known as Josie, was chaperoned by a somewhat more experienced artiste whose home was in South Africa and whose stage name was Miss Kosie Court; her real name being Kort, the Dutch for Short. Eugene Wellesley and one of the Lovat Fraser clan made up the party. Another troupe were guests of the Club one evening, and after a display of dizzy jitterbug dancing came the tall light tenor, an Adonis of the footlights in full evening dress, who, whilst perambulating around the dance floor, gave a rendering of 'I hear you calling me,' with the appealing gestures he thought appropriate to that soapy lyric.

A great treat was the concert given by the band of the Plymouth division of the Royal Marines, which arrived here from Colombo in H. M. S. Cleopatra. Yet people who heard the band of the Madras Guards (which was combined with the orchestra of H. E. the Governor during the war) thought them the better of the two. Anyway nothing could surpass the more material feast that came afterwards in NOICs* quarters, when the buffet offered viands the like most of us had not seen for years. Van der Hum of genuine brand was part only of the nectar provided for our delectation.

On a lower plane was one Gunboat Jack, a famous character of the Indian prize-ring fraternity and public entertainer of the Fun of the Fayre type. He thought to cater for less highbrow audiences by setting up a Balalaika in the old Dutch house at the corner of Napier Street, just across the way from the 'Wacquerie,' an establishment secured from intrusion by a barbed wire entanglement. The venture was still-born. Higher authority closed down on it as soon as the doors were opened.

H. M. I. S. Nerbudda, wearing the flag of Admiral J. H. Godfrey, came into port soon after the cessation of hostilities and a pleasant cocktail party was given on her quarterdeck to which residents of Cochin and Ernakulam were invited. There was then, of course, nothing discernible as a forewarning that within a few months this very cruiser would be in open mutiny. H. M. S. Jamaica, which called a few months later, was the cruiser from which was fired the last salvo of torpedoes which sank the "Bismarck." The re-establishment of peace time discipline and routine was apparent in everything

about her. Her captain and officers also were At Home to the European community of Cochin; but the return function at the Club was marred by some silly trouble at the R. I. N. depot on Willingdon Island, which necessitated all officers except the chaplain and three or four of junior rank to stand by the ship. One report had it that there was a 'strike' of ratings because of an order that liberty men must go ashore in trousers, and not in the more comfortable shorts and stockings. His Majesty's submarine "Affray" was detailed to Cochin for peace-time exercises with the Royal Indian Navy; and when the day's work was done, her officers spent much of their time at the Club. They reciprocated by taking one or two members for a trip, gentlemen who sweated in sympathy with the rivets when the pressure of a dive made the passenger wonder whether or not the great green fish would remain watertight much longer.

We also had as visitors a flotilla of American-built wooden mine-sweepers that had been handed over to the French, and were then on their way to Indo-China. They were numbered and not named, but each had its individual device painted on the funnel. The officers were by no means all Free French: some had reported for duty only when their country was liberated. Before leaving Cochin they entertained as well as their cramped quarters would permit, and also presented the Club with pretty enamel brooches bearing the emblem adopted by each vessel.

Closing down the business of war resolved itself into disposal of surplus stores and the dumping or destruction of Lend-Lease supplies. Day after day pontoons were towed out to sea with planes to be sunk in deep water; and when that process proved too slow, an aircraft carrier was detailed to expedite the matter. Over six hundred were thus jettisoned. Landing craft likewise were scuttled complete with equipment and medical comforts.

Navy, Army, and Air Force personnel flaked away from the station in large chunks; and if the last three hundred were reluctant to leave this country, they had their deferment granted for thirty hours at least when their troopship grounded in the harbour on the way out. Just before the bitter end, the Royal Navy made a formal presentation to the Club of several silver challenge cups, a Bechstein grand piano

*Naval Officer in Charge.

and a high ranking Japanese Samurai sword. These will serve as a reminder of those hectic days of war which all hope will not recur.

As events turned out, very little trooping of military units was effected through Cochin, except the repatriation in 1946/47 of the 81st West African Division—The Scorpions. An account of their short stay and of their departure from Cochin, written by a young medical student, an officer on the Embarkation Staff, was entitled *The Hausa's farewell or Taaf Gidda* (I be going home). A characteristic of these African troops was the mono-syllabic mode and the undertones of their speech. Scarcely a sound was heard even when the men were at ease squatting on the decks. One unit had a mascot, a thick-set dwarf, who, as the battalion was drawn up on the quayside, wandered at will in and out of the ranks, or from drum-major to colonel and back again. These regiments were of mixed composition—Mohamedans, Pagans, and Christians; and the number of English-speaking 'Mission Boys' in their composition was surprising. They were the product of every creed and sect operating in the field of African evangelization. With the Mussalmen went their moulvies and with the Pagans their witch doctors, clad in long burnous and clutching their pet fetish as they climbed the gangway. One big Hausa, staggering along under the weight of two bulging kit bags, was halted by an officer and asked what he had in them, to which the reply was—"Two Singar sewing machine, Sar!"—and there being no reason to doubt his word or that he had come by them dishonestly, he was allowed to go on board with them. One problem the Embarkation Staff had to solve was the repatriation on a British-manned ship of thirty or so African soldiers who, during their absence from home, had developed leprosy.

A much be-medalled party of Italian senior officers, prisoners of war, were also returned to their country via Cochin. Among them was General Berganzoli or 'Electric Whiskers.' He begged hard to be allowed to take up quarters in the Malabar Hotel, rather than be herded with the rest of his kind in the transit camp. This favour was denied him by the top local authority with soldierly bluntness, but tempered and refined somewhat by the last officer who had personal delivery of the refusal.

(The dis-embodiment of the Nilgiri Malabar Battalion was typical of the break-up of the British connection in India. It was known, of course, that the Auxiliary Force would have to go; but it had been planned to hold a farewell parade on the 15th of August—Independence Day—when the Union Jack would be formally hauled down and the Indian national flag run up in its place. But late at night on the 13th a telegram was received from headquarters with the briefest intimation that the battalion ceased to exist forthwith. At the end the Cochin detachment was commanded by Major Meadows who in the first world War had served in Flanders with a battery of the H. A. C. At the outbreak of the Moplah rebellion in 1921 he was a member of the Light Motor Patrol of the N. M. B. at Calicut, and with others was attached to the Leinster Regiment; and for participation in these operations was awarded the Indian General Service medal.

It was a strange sight on Independence Day to see every European business house flying the banner of New India—saffron, white, green, with the charka superimposed. A half a gale of wind was blowing at the time.)

