

ELIHU YALE

GOVERNOR, COLLECTOR AND BENEFACTOR

BY HIRAM BINGHAM

EARLY in the seventeenth century there lived in North Wales, in Denbighshire, of which Wrexham is the chief town, a distinguished family by the name of Yale. One of them, David Yale, D.C.L., was Vicar-General of the diocese of Chester. He had a son named Thomas, who saw a good deal of the family of the Bishop of Chester and eventually married his daughter, Ann Lloyd, a lady of great personal charm. They had several children.¹

They lived for some time in London where Thomas Yale amassed a considerable fortune and was a friend of the leading merchants. When he died, his widow married another successful merchant, a widower, one Theophilus Eaton, then rated as rich, prosperous and distinguished. Eaton had been Deputy Governor of the East-Land Company, trading in the Baltic, and had represented Charles I in Copenhagen at the Danish Court. He was a rigid and uncompromising Puritan.²

At this time, the Yales and Theophilus Eaton were parishioners of St. Stephen's Church in Coleman Street, London, whose rector was the celebrated John Davenport, life-long friend of Eaton's.³

¹Capt. Charles Hervey Townshend, "Pedigree of Yale" in *New England Historical & Genealogical Register*, Jan. 1899; Alfred N. Palmer, *History of the Thirteen Country Townships of the Old Parish of Wrexham*, pp. 216-220 and 244-253; Palmer's *History of the Town of Wrexham*, pp. 288-290; F. B. Dexter, "Governor Elihu Yale" in the *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, Vol. III, pp. 227-248; R. H. Yale, *Yale Genealogy*; and *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Feb. 1924, pp. 417-419.

²Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, I, 149-155.

³Isabel M. Calder: Gift from St. Stephen's, Coleman St., London. *Yale Univ. Lib. Gazette*, Apr., 1934.

In 1637, this wealthy and commercially able group left England and landed in Boston. Although it was June, or perhaps because it was June, they decided to found a new settlement in the New England wilderness and proceeded to explore for the site of a new commercial center. They found it at the mouth of the Quinnipiac River on Long Island Sound. To this "new haven" in March, 1638, after having spent nine months in Boston, and made some good friends, the Yale young people, Thomas, Anne and David, went with their mother and stepfather to become founders of the Colony of New Haven. There they lived for several years.¹

David was the first to become dissatisfied with the conditions of life in New Haven under the stern Puritanical rule of his stepfather, Governor Eaton. The right to vote and to hold office was limited to members of the new church, as selected by Eaton and Davenport, and David was not selected. Furthermore, he probably resented his stepfather's attitude towards his mother, an attitude that led the Governor to permit his wife to be publicly tried for lying and excommunicated from the church in 1645. Her actions were hysterical and gave evidence of a nervous breakdown, but the charges were pitifully cruel and harsh. Several accused her of breaking the Sixth Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill."² By that time David Yale had become a resident of Boston.

His brother Thomas, ancestor of that Linus Yale who invented the Yale lock, decided to remain in Connecticut, and bought David's share in the Colony.

¹Leonard Bacon, *Thirteen Historical Discourses*. New Haven, 1839. J. E. Kimball, Elihu Yale in *Yale Literary Magazine*, XXIII, pp. 161-178. Fletcher Moss, *Pilgrimages to Old Homes*, Didsbury, 1906, pp. 95-103. Thos. Clap, *The Annals or History of Yale College*, New Haven, 1766. (This is the source of most of the inaccurate statements about Elihu Yale's parents, birth place, early history, etc. which have been repeated countless times, and are still current, notwithstanding the careful and accurate account in the *Dict. of Amer. Biog.* by Professor Stanley Pargellis.

²Rev. Newman Smyth, D.D., "Mrs. Eaton's Trial (in 1644) As it Appears upon the Records of the First Church in New Haven" in *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, Vol. V, pp. 133-148.

David may have been attracted to Boston by the presence there of a young lady named Ursula, whose parents are not mentioned in the records, whom he married and by whom he had several children. He bought a fine house in 1645 from a man named Bendall. It was on Pemberton Hill, now Scollay Square, and is said to have stood "two hundred and twenty-five feet north" of the present site of the Suffolk Savings Bank, according to a tablet placed in 1927 on the walls of the bank by the Yale Club of Boston. John Endicott, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, had occupied the house during his residence in Boston, 1642-44, just prior to its purchase by David Yale. In this well-situated mansion, on April 5th, 1649 (or possibly 1648) Elihu Yale was born.¹

When Elihu was three or four years old, the date is not certain, his father gave up trying to live in Boston and ordered his house sold.

His attorneys finally conveyed the lot to Capt. John Wait, in 1653. But in the meantime, turning his back on Massachusetts Puritan theocracy, David Yale had put his little family on board ship and returned to London, where his father, closely related, as we have seen, to high dignitaries of the established Episcopal Church, had once been a prosperous merchant, engaged, possibly, in foreign trade.

Little Elihu never knew Theophilus Eaton who had so cruelly mortified his grandmother, but he may have seen her, since she returned to England after Eaton's death in 1658. As she died early in 1659² possibly in Lancashire, while the David Yales were living in London,³ ten-year-old Elihu probably did not know her well.

¹*Yale Alumni Weekly*, Feb. 4, 1927, p. 520. A cut of the tablet is to be found on the cover of this *Weekly* and also is in *One Hundred Years of the Suffolk Savings Bank*, (Boston) 1933, p. 65.

²MS. letter from Hannah Eaton to Governor John Winthrop, dated at "Hoghton Tower, Apr. 25, 1659," preserved in the Yale Library.

³MS. letter from David Yale to Governor John Winthrop, dated "Stilliard Courte on Tower Hill London 14th January 1656" in the Yale Library; and David Yale's will, dated July 6th, 1665 which speaks of him as "of the parish of Cripplegate, London, Merchant" and which is preserved in Somerset House.

Anyhow, it is not likely that he had any feelings about New Haven, or Connecticut, where he was not born and never lived. Whether he shared his father's dislike of Boston we do not know. It is worth recording at this point that he was not a dissenter and had some scruples, many years later, about assisting in the establishment of a collegiate school among the dissenters in New Haven. It is also worth remembering, a fact which will be referred to again in its proper time and place, that Jeremiah Dummer, who first got him interested in sending a gift to Connecticut, disliked Boston, as Elihu's father did. Furthermore, had Cotton Mather liked the members of the Harvard Corporation who refused to elect him as their President, and had Dummer been better treated—but I am jumping ahead of my story. Let us return to London with the Yales in 1652.

Some writers have stated that Elihu went to Merchant Taylors' School, but his name does not appear in their carefully preserved records. Others have stated that he went to St. Paul's School where his family's conservative religious tendencies were not offended and where the forms and ceremonies beloved by his great-grandparents were practiced and encouraged. Unfortunately their records perished in the Great Fire.¹ We only know that when William Dugard, the strong-minded school teacher who was twice head master of Merchant Taylors', was conducting his own private school in Coleman St., he admitted on September 1st, 1662, "Eliah" Yale, the second son of David Yale, Merchant, born in New-England, now "in his 13th year" who paid his matriculation fee of 2s. 6d.

This is recorded in Dugard's own painstaking handwriting in the book he kept for the purpose and which was for many years in Sion College Library but which is now preserved in the vaults of Merchant Taylors' Hall. The spelling of the name need not disturb us for Master Dugard had his own ideas as to how boys'

¹He did, however, give them a fine set of atlases in 1711. Article by J. H. L., Governor Yale, in *The Pauline*, July, 1893.

names should be spelt. On the same September 1st he admitted "Joannes" Marshall, "Joannes" Brown and "Sigismundus" Stydolf, whose parents probably spelled their names differently. There were about two hundred boys in the school.

Elihu could not have attended this school very long for Master Dugard died a few months after he entered. It may have been continued by one of his assistants.

Two years later the "Great Plague" broke out in London. By June 10th, 1665 it had entered the City. One hundred and twelve died that week. Those who could, left town. By the end of June, Pepys reports that "the plague encreases mightily."¹ In the last week of June, 267 deaths were reported. On July 6th, Elihu's father David, finding himself "subject to distempers and sickness" signed his will. Seven hundred died of the plague that week, but David got well and lived for twenty-five years more, not dying until 1690.² In the following September the deaths ran up to six and seven thousand a week but the Yales escaped. Then came the Great Fire of 1666, and probably burned them out of house and home, since they lived in the parish of Cripplegate.

Meanwhile Elihu's father had become established in the mercantile life of the city, and had become acquainted with, although not a stockholder in, the rapidly growing and powerful East India Company. Through his business friends and connections it was not difficult for David to get a berth for son Elihu; then 21 years old, in 1670.

On October 24th, 1671 at a Court of Committees, as the Directors' meetings were called, twenty young men were chosen to serve as "Writers" in India. Among the twenty were Elihu Yale and Thomas Angier who had entered William Dugard's school together in 1662.³

¹*Pepys' Diary*, June 10, 14, 20, 25, 29, July 1, 6, 1665.

²David Yale's Will is preserved in Somerset House, P.C.C. 199.

³Calendar of the Court Minutes, East India Company, 1671-1673, E. B. Sainsbury. p. 82.

The Company required their employees to be bonded. Usually there were two bondsmen required. The amount varied with the importance of the position. For Writers it was £500. On November 15th, 1671, the Directors approved of the security, in the amount of £500, offered by Elihu's father and brother David.¹ So, after a year in the London offices, he made ready to seek his fortune in the new world of old India.

Elihu probably sailed from England in December 1671 on board of one of the ships of the annual fleet sent out to India by the great Company. We do not know the name of his ship or the day of sailing. We know from the Company's records that he arrived at Madras on June 23, 1672 and that he came out as a "writer" with Vincent Sayon and Francis Ellis.²

The British called their settlement Fort St. George, but the Directors in London were not prepared to erect a really fortified seaport where their employes might defend themselves.

For many years Madras was the principal English settlement in India. It was founded near the Portuguese settlement of St. Thomé in 1639. A piece of land along the shore about six miles long and a mile across and practically unoccupied was rented. Apparently it had little to recommend it. It had no harbor, although there was a good anchorage outside of the surf which broke continually on the reef. It was really nothing but a dreary waste of sand, selected partly because it was in a good region for trading and partly because a shallow river running parallel with the sea for a short distance formed a protection on the land side from roving bandits. The river offered no shelter for ships and its waters were brackish. It often emitted an unpleasant odor from the rotting seaweed lying in its loathsome black ooze. It is said that this odor is indelibly stamped on the memory of old Anglo-Indians.

¹Calendar of the Court Minutes, East India Company, 1671-1673, p. 88.

²Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, p. 394.

It must have been one of the first things perceived by Elihu Yale when he landed.

The "Fort House" to which Yale must have gone soon after landing was just opposite the sea gate. It contained offices, reception rooms, a dining hall, a chapel, and accommodation for the Factors and Writers who were on the staff. It is possible that this is where young Elihu had to find his lodgings. It seems to have been built of adobe, baked mud, and native wood.

During his first years in Madras, Elihu had to take his dinners and suppers in the common refectory room and also on certain afternoons of the week had to spend some time learning native languages.

Elihu was waked each morning by the sunrise gun. Together with his fellow apprentices, writers, factors and merchants, he dressed in fairly comfortable but unconventional half-Hindu costume and went to morning prayers where Chaplain Patrick Warner, sent out by the Company, did his best, although indignant at the small size of his congregation. Three years after Elihu Yale reached Madras the Reverend Patrick Warner could stand it no longer and sent to the Court of directors in London a long letter¹ bringing to their notice the vicious lives of the soldiers and some of the Writers in the Fort.

The Directors in London were influenced by this letter chiefly to preserve the orthodoxy of Fort St. George and sent out strict orders that if any man was married by a Catholic priest or allowed his children to be baptized by a priest, he was to be sent home without delay. Moreover, they sent out a few Protestant women for some of the soldiers to marry, on something like a matrimonial speculation.

The matrimonial speculation was not entirely successful since we learn that several years afterwards two of the ladies were still unmarried and were living in the Fort on a small allowance granted by the Company.

¹Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time*, Vol. I, pp. 63-67.

Seven years after Elihu Yale got to Madras there were twenty-four gentlemen on the rolls of the Company, of whom only six were married, while five unmarried ladies, three of whom were widows, were also dwelling in the Fort. There were sixteen other Europeans living in or about the Fort who got their living by keeping taverns. Of these six were married, two to Englishwomen, one to a half-caste, one to a Dutch woman, and two to Portuguese half-castes. It was a fairly limited society in which Elihu Yale had to live for those twenty-seven years.¹

There was not much chance to take trips into the country since the Company's domain only extended about a mile inland and no one was allowed to go more than three miles from the Fort without special permission. According to a map, the earliest in existence, prepared about 1710, during the Governorship of Thomas Pitt, within a mile from the gate of the Fort there were more than half a dozen gardens, some of which appear to have been public. There the Writers and Factors were accustomed to forget their long distance from home and their restricted lives in the Fort by drinking and carousing, singing such famous ballads as "Brandy Nosed Moll," "Cherry Ripe" or "Ho, Cavaliers" and whatever may have been the contemporary equivalent of "Sweet Adeline."

¹For this period of Yale's life vid. *Indian Record Series, Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1640-1800, by H. D. Love. 4 Vols. London 1913; *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, 1675-1680, ed. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple. 2 vols. London 1911; *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1668-1676*, by Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, 3 vols., Oxford, 1929-1935; Kahn's *Sources for the History of British India in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1926; *The Diary of William Hedges, 1681-1687*, ed. by Col. Henry Yule, 3 vols., Hakluyt Society, 1887-1889; John Fryer, *East India and Persia, 1672-1681*, 3 vols., Hakluyt Society, 1909-1915; J. Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time, 1639-1748*, 3 vols., Madras, 1861-62; John Bruce, *Annals of the Hon. East-India Co., 1600-1707/8*, 3 vols., London, 1810; Dalton's *Life of Thomas Pitt*; Maurice Collis, *Siamess White*; John Anderson's *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*; and particularly *The Records of Fort St. George* as published by the Madras Record Office. *A Guide to the Records Preserved in the Madras Record Office*, Madras, 1936, gives the complete list. The volumes which concern Elihu Yale's residence in India are: *Diary and Consultation Books, 1672-1699* which have been printed in some 23 vols.; *Despatches from England, 1670-1699*, 5 vols.; *Despatches to England, 1694-1696*, 1 vol.; *Letters from Fort St. George, 1677-1699*, 10 vols.; *Letters to Fort St. George, 1680-1700*, 8 vols. The results of a more intensive study of this material will be published later.

Yale's first Governor, Sir Wm. Langhorne, did his best to stop drunkenness, dueling, gambling and licentiousness.¹ His orders were that no one person was to be allowed to drink more than a pint of brandy and a quart of wine at any one time! Persons being out of the Fort after eight o'clock would be punished, and anyone who climbed over the walls of the Fort upon any pretense whatever was to be kept in irons until the arrival of the ship and then sent back to England for further punishment. Dueling was to be punished by imprisonment for two months on a diet of rice and water.

The business of the East India Company at this time consisted chiefly in importing from England fine woolen goods, silver bullion, and broadcloths, mirrors, hardware, sandals, etc., and exchanging these for the products of the country, a large part of which consisted of cotton cloth not suitable for use in England but trans-shipped from Madras to Bantam in Java where it was exchanged for spices greatly desired at home. Naturally it was possible for the Company's servants at Madras to do quite a little trading on their own account, securing the cotton cloth by various means, frequently as presents from natives who needed favors, and making a good turn when the spices bought with it in the East Indies were sold in London.

Sir William Langhorne was really an excellent Governor who fell a victim to those charges of private trade which seemed to have been brought against almost all of the Company's servants. The European goods of the Company were sold by custom to regular local merchants at low prices. Indian goods were purchased through these intermediaries at high prices and although there was still a good profit for the Company there was room for the intermediary to make excellent money and to help the Company's servants who favored them. Very small salaries were paid to the Company's servants and yet the Directors

¹Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time*, I, 60-61.

expected their employes to make enormous profits for them and little or nothing for themselves. Sir William Langhorne was charged with receiving annually about seven thousand pounds from one intermediary. The accusation was indignantly denied by all concerned but the charge was believed by the Directors, and Langhorne was recalled. Streynsham Masters succeeded him.

Governor Masters' rule lasted about four years. He had a hard time protecting Madras against hostile natives. He had already enjoyed considerable experience in the Company's trade. He had distinguished himself by a gallant defense of the Company's property at Surat. He had given every evidence of ability and loyalty, yet like his predecessors, he was soon to lose the confidence of the Directors.

During his administration in 1680 a suitable Protestant Church, was built within the confines of the Fort.

There is in existence, in his handwriting, a list of thirty-eight donors who subscribed to the building of St. Mary's. Governor Master himself subscribed 100 pagodas.¹ On the list of subscribers the second name is that of Joseph Hynmers who put himself down for 80 pagodas, little thinking that before the Church was finished he was to lie sick of a mortal illness. He died in May 1680 after ten years' service in Madras.

The subscriptions to the building of the Church seem to have been based largely on the rank and pay of the Company's servants. Hynmer's salary was 100 pounds per annum when he gave 80 pagodas, or roughly about 32 pounds. Herrys, the warehouse-keeper had a salary of 70 pounds and he subscribed 80 pagodas or about 32 pounds. John Bridger, the paymaster, had a salary of 50 pounds and he subscribed nearly 25 pounds. Richard Portman, the chaplain,

¹The pagoda was a flattened pellet of gold about half an inch across bearing on one side a rude figure of Vischnu with rays emanating from his person. Those coined at Fort St. George were accepted as being worth about eight shillings.

whose salary was 100 pounds subscribed about 20 pounds. Elihu Yale whose salary at that time was 10 pounds subscribed about six pounds. This was more liberal than the surgeon, Bezaliell Sherman, whose salary was 30 pounds and who subscribed only 4 pounds.¹

The structure was well built and is said to be as sound today as when it was completed. It still contains some old silver plate, among which is an alms dish which was presented in 1687 by Elihu Yale, then Governor, and bears his coat of arms.

Here Yale was married to Catherine Elford, the six months' widow of Joseph Hynmers, the Company's official who had been second in command. By Hynmers she had had four children. Whether from her first husband or from her family, she inherited a considerable fortune which seems to have formed the basis for the very large fortune eventually amassed by Elihu Yale. Her mother sometimes received diamonds from Mr. Hynmers.² She once sent him some wine and tobacco. The marriage on Nov. 4, 1680 took place one week after the dedication of the church. The record of it, with several names misspelled, is the first entry in the church Register. It reads as follows:

Elihu Yale and Catherine Hinners, relict of Joseph Hinners, were married by the Revd. Mr. Richd. Portman, Minister, given in marriage by the Right Worshipful Strinsham Master, Esqr. Govr., Henry Oxenden & John Willcox, Bridemen, Cathrine Barker & Tryphena Ord, Bridesmaids.

Their only son was born May 15th, 1684. He lived less than four years, dying soon after his father became Governor. He was buried in the same mausoleum as his mother's first husband, Joseph Hynmers. It is still standing.³

Apparently Elihu Yale must have done well in the opinion of the Company for after he had been in

¹Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I., 423.

²*Calendar of Court Minutes*, 1671-1673, p. 273 and 1674-1676, pp. 25, 370.

³H. D. Baker in the *Yale Alumni Weekly*, XXIII, pp. 269-270.

Madras five years he was promoted to the rank of Factor and had to sign new bonds for £2000.¹ He nominated as security to the Company his father, David Yale, his brother, David Yale, and two other merchants in London.²

On July 30th, 1679, in accordance with orders received from England, the Council ordered him to serve with Vincent Sayon and John Davys as Justices of the Choultry, or court of the native city.³ Under Governor Master's Commission, this appointment gave Yale a seat in the Council with the "Bookeeper," Warehouse keeper, Master of the Mint and Paymaster or Purser general. But he was not actually accorded a seat in the Council until Governor Master had been replaced by Gyfford, July 4th, 1781.

The Council sat in the Council Chamber on Mondays and Thursdays. The regular transactions were entered by the Secretary in a minute book; and a duplicate copy was fairly written out by one of the clerks and sent home to the Directors. These minutes were called "consultations." They have been preserved in hundreds of volumes.

Like other Governors, Streynsham Master did not last long and was succeeded by William Gyfford—"our too easy agent Gyfford," as the Directors subsequently called him. He had been with the Company for more than twenty years. At one time he had been a member of the Council of Fort St. George, then he was Deputy-Governor of the settlement at Bombay, and subsequently held the post of chief of the Tonquin establishment for five years. He had twice been back to England and apparently had the complete confidence of the Directors but he was too easy-going and subservient, especially so far as the demands of the native chiefs were concerned.

¹The bond, dated June 23, 1677, is given in full in *Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book*, 1678-9, p. 158.

²*Ibid.*, p. 66.

³*Diaries of Streynsham Master*, II, 190.

About this time the chairman of the Board of Directors in London was Josiah Child, who is said by some of the historians to be the first man in England who formed a just conception "of what ought to be the relations between the English and the natives." He had an overbearing spirit. His letters were sharp and arbitrary, even bitter and insulting. He was determined to increase the revenues of the Company by putting down all private trade on the part of the Company's servants and wiping out "interlopers" as those adventurers were called, who, like Thomas Pitt, paid little attention to the monopolistic rights of the great Company. Child treated Governor Master very badly and ordered him thrown into prison and returned to England, a disgraced and broken-hearted man.

He had "spent himself in the service of the Company with diligence and single-minded honesty, and acted with a determination, that the majority of the Court (of Directors) were quite unable to appreciate, to do his best to keep order, to put a stop to malpractices, and to uphold the dignity of his country." His enemies gave him much trouble in London; but in about ten years the matter was settled and eventually he was knighted.¹ It is interesting to note that he was one of those who in 1706 built a chapel-of-ease in Queen Square, London, where Elihu Yale lived after his return from India.² It is called, St. George, the Martyr.

William Gyfford who succeeded Governor Master tried to carry out the orders of the Directors.

In carrying out their wishes for enlarging activities in India, Governor Gyfford in 1681 selected Elihu Yale to go down to Gingee, 25 miles south of Madras, and negotiate for a settlement in the Maratha territory. Yale's departure from the Fort was very ceremonious. The official records state that in the afternoon of Dec. 12th about 400, accompanied by the Governor

¹*Diaries of Streyntsham Manor*, I, 130.

²Hamilton, *Queen Square*, p. 8.

and the Council and the principal servants of the Company, Yale went out of the Fort as far as one of the private gardens where they partook of supper. After supper about 9.00 o'clock the Governor and his staff returned to the Fort and Elihu then set forth attended by two assistants and a retinue of natives. Yale was successful in his commission as is shown by his letter to Governor Gyfford, written on January 9, 1682 from Trinomali, in which he wrote as follows:¹

Notwithstanding our great discouragements I thank God I have effected our business well beyond expectation with this welcome and strange remark (considering the circumstances and people I treated with) I preserved the Honorable Company's honor and their money too; which you will easily believe was a difficulty that sufficiently racked my wits and patience * * * this much I thought necessary to acquaint your Worships of our success, which makes me bold to mind you of your promised honor of meeting us at the Honorable Company's new garden, where we hope to kiss your hands by five of the clock on Wednesday evening.

It will be noted that his Yankee birth crept out in his pleasure at having saved the Company some money, while his ceremonious British training made him appreciate the honor of being escorted out of the Fort and welcomed back by the Governor in person. Actually he received a salute of eleven guns "for his good services & the success he had in the management of the businesse he went about."²

The new factory was called Porto Novo. There was some talk of making Yale its Chief. Also of his being sent to take charge at the old factory at Masulipatam.³ He had obviously won the respect of the rich and powerful Sir Josiah Child, the Governor of the Company in London. He was "Provisional Customer" from Jan. 1st, 1681 until he became "Mint Master" in August, 1681.⁴ So, instead of leaving Madras, he was promoted at Fort St. George, receiving

¹*Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 463-464.

²*Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book*, 1682, p. 4.

³*Despatches from England, 1681-1686*, pp. 17-18.

⁴*Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book, 1680-1681*, *passim*.

the rank of "Customer" in July, 1682; becoming third in the Council in the following February and second only to Governor Gyfford in July, 1684.¹ Elihu's salary was now £100 per annum, as "Bookeeper."

The Governor was ordered to investigate conditions in various parts of India. On August 8, 1684 he started for the Bay of Bengal on a tour of inspection, leaving in charge of the Fort our young Bostonian. So far had Elihu, then 35 years old, advanced in the 12 years since his arrival.

Yale acted as Governor until January 26, 1685 when Gyfford returned.² The latter's health was poor and his enfeebled condition made it desirable for him to live out of the Fort in what was called the Garden House. This caused the London Directors to complain because they had to pay for two tables, the practice having been for the Governor and other servants of the Company to eat in the Fort.

Directors were continually having trouble with the Governor, partly because it was impossible for them to appreciate his difficulties and partly because they were willing to believe any charges made against him by disgruntled residents of Madras or minor officials of the Fort.

On July 22, 1687 a ship arrived from England and when the packet was opened in Council on the following Monday it was found to contain a commission for Elihu Yale as Governor.³ This caused some surprise. The minutes of the Council state that Mr. Yale was unwilling to displace President Gyfford, supposing that the orders proceeded from the Company's belief that Gyfford was absent, and asked if possible that Gyfford might remain as Governor until he departed. But the Council having examined the instructions found that President Gyfford's commission was ab-

¹*Diaries of Streymsam Master*, II, 190.

²*Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book*, 1684, pp. 82-151; and 1685, 1-21, *passim*.

³Records of Fort St. George—*Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book*, 1687, pp. 100-101.

solutely revoked and insisted that Yale could not be excused from the responsibility of the Right Honorable Company's commission. Gyfford readily consented, surrendered the chair to Mr. Yale and also the charge of the Fort. There followed the usual salutes. Gyfford was formally escorted out of the Fort and Elihu Yale returned with the Council to assume his new duties as Governor and President.

Historians of Madras consider the chief events of Yale's five years' administration to have been "the creation of a Mayor and Corporation for Madras; the erection of a new Supreme Court; the evacuation of the northern Coast factors in consequence of war with the Mogul; the arrival of Job Charnock and his company from the Bay, and his subsequent return to found Calcutta; the extinction of the dynasty of Golconda (the principal native rulers of that part of India); the purchase of territory at Cuddalore, and the acquisition of Fort St. David; a naval action with the French in Madras roads; and the resettlement of the Portuguese at San Thomé."¹

One of the most interesting acts of Governor Yale in promoting the commercial prosperity of Madras was the importation of expert weavers to whom he assigned a street later known as the Weavers' Street in the meadows outside of the walls of the Fort and of Blacktown and near the pleasure gardens, to which reference has frequently been made. The official record in the Minutes of the Council referring to this matter states under date of Feb. 22, 1689/90:²

"The President haveing for Severall years used his uttmost endeavours, and interest in this and other Countreys to invite and bring as many of the severall Casts of weavers to inhabit and Settle y^e families and trade in this town, to the great encreas and advantage of the Commerce and revenues of the town, which have been considerably encreast thereby and haveing been long treating with the Janrawar Cast of fine weavers, perswaded near fifty families of them to come hither,

¹*Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 490.

²*Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book*, 1690, p. 15.

to whom after haveing veiwd and allotted them ground separate from the other Cast of weavers, to build on and other conveniencys for their trade and worshipp gave them a Cowle to confirme the same to them, and their heirs, as also for their liberties & priviledges as to the ceremonies of their Casts and Superstitious Worship, Tashereefing them and the Chiefs of the other Casts with Perpetuanoes, rosewater and beetle to make them freinds, and agree together, which they promised as also to bring a thousand families of the severall Casts of weavers to work here in their handicrafts, which we hope in time may so encrease, as this town may of itself be able to make the Hon^{ble} Comp^{as} Investment in several Sorts of goods which is good Service." (This was signed by all the seven members of the Council. It gives a good idea of the character of the records, not only as to spelling and punctuation but also as to native customs and official policy.)

The interest of Elihu Yale in securing fine weavers to come to Madras is particularly significant in view of the fact that at one time he possessed a considerable quantity of very fine grades of Indian cloth, some of which found its way to America as we shall see later.

As usual, the new Governor had not long been in office before he began to be in trouble with the Directors at home and also with members of his Council and with the new court. Mrs. Penny says: "It was the old story of private trade, jealousy on the part of his fellow-merchants, and suspicion and distrust at home as his wealth accumulated."¹

Some of his troubles seem to have been due to his fondness for his brother, Thomas Yale, who had come out to Madras about this time and to whom Elihu gave certain privileges. He also permitted Thomas to engage in private trade in the East Indies, which caused trouble in the Council.²

The period of Yale's administration was one of military activity, partly on account of the war with

¹Penny, *Fort St. George, Madras*, p. 131.

²*Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book*, 1690, p. 54. For Thomas Yale's activities vid. Maurice Collis, *Siamese White*; John Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*; Francis Davenport, *An Historical Abstract of Mr. Samuel White, his Management of Affairs*; George White, *A Letter to Mr. Nathaniel Tenche* . . . London, 1689. He left India in 1694.

France and also on account of trouble with the Mogul who had been unnecessarily insulted in Bengal, thanks to the arbitrary action of the London Directors. Sir Josiah Child had sent out secret instructions that the English should retaliate upon the Mogul for injuries received in Bengal. This foolish war seems to have been approved not only by the Directors but also by James II.¹ Hardly anyone in England had any idea of the difficulties involved in punishing the Mogul. He was at this time personally engaged in the conquest of that part of India near Madras. Soon after Yale became Governor, the Council took note of the fact that there were only 280 peons employed in the watch and guard of the suburbs and that they were scattered about so as to be of little advantage. The Governor therefore ordered them formed into three companies, each to march under an Ensign and each morning to mount guard in the city and be ordered to their several posts. For the encouragement of the officers it was ordered that their pay have a small advance and that they exercise and drill the peons twice a week.

Governor Yale also wished to call the Portuguese inhabitants to arms, and that the Factors and Writers be drilled as an artillery company once a week, but this note of preparedness did not meet the approval of the Council and was deferred for further consideration.²

In the following November affairs in the country looked worse and the Governor proposed to the Council that all the Company's servants and all English freemen be formed into a militia company. This was agreed to. They also took a list of the Portuguese inhabitants but the Council was afraid to muster them for fear they might leave the town.³

On December 30, 1689 the Council ordered that the militia or "Citty Train Bands" and the garrison

¹Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time*, I, 173.

²*Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book*, 1687, p. 107.

Ibid., p. 179.

soldiers be mustered for a general training on New Year's day "as well to be instructed in millitary exercise as to acquaint them with the Points and Bullworks." After engaging in military exercises in the Fort they were to go across the little river to what was called the island where few gardens were and where there was some unoccupied land where tents were to be pitched and "the Councill and all the Company's servants to appear in their best equipage to make the greatest show and report in the country." Governor Yale correctly felt that in view of the many disturbances in the interior it was wise to impress the natives with the fact that the little group of foreigners connected with Fort St. George were prepared for any emergency.

Fortunately, Yale's policy had the support of the Company, the Company's attitude being inspired by none other than King James II himself who favored an aggressive policy in India. Under the vigorous leadership of Sir Josiah Child, the Directors wrote to Fort St. George that all of the Company's servants must be trained and exercised in the military art "because we must forever after keep ourselves a Martial Nation in India."¹ The Directors even sent out British soldiers of whom 62 died on the voyage. The presence of 140 new and lusty Englishmen presented quite a problem since they had to be fed and the ordinary taverns were unwilling to receive them. So Governor Yale finally persuaded a former steward of the Fort to undertake providing the English soldiers with sufficient "beef, mutton, pork, fish, pelow (meat boiled with raisins, rice and nuts) and rice, with a dram and punch sometimes, two meals each day * * * dinner to be precisely at 11.00 o'clock and supper at 6.00, at which times the bell is to ring when they are to appear upon the penalty of fasting except they are upon duty on the outguards." The recruits were not only short of

¹*Records of Fort St. George. Despatches from England, 1686-1692, p. 138.*

food but short of clothes, so Governor Yale had more problems on his hands.¹

He seems to have taken considerable interest in the military establishment and the rules which he issued shortly before he was relieved of duty show an appreciation of the necessity of constant watchfulness and training. The garrison was divided into three companies, the duties of each company were carefully specified and any officers or men who were absent from guard duty had to forfeit a day's pay. Sentinels who walked beyond the line of guards without permission were due for imprisonment or other punishment.

Chief gunners, their mates and assistants were ordered to be mustered every morning and to see to it that the guns and stores were all kept in due order and readiness and that sufficient ammunition was constantly ready.²

Governor Yale also tried to improve the fortifications and proposed to strengthen the wall around the native town, but all but one of the members of the Council opposed his wishes. They were afraid the native town might become fortified against the Fort itself; they disapproved of the use of earth; and they were afraid the Company would not approve the cost of the undertaking.³ Nevertheless the energetic Governor proceeded to improve the fortifications although the majority of the Council objected on the ground of useless expense, a reason that was sure to appeal to the Directors at home.

The Directors claimed that they never authorized any such expense and did not order it to be done except as a charge on the inhabitants of the town who, of course, were unwilling to pay for it. The Directors even went so far as to order the embankments "soundly flagged with stone or brick at the charge of the inhabitants for whose defense they are made."⁴ The

¹*Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 530.

²*Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 531-533.

³*Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book*, 1690, p. 57.

⁴*Records of Fort St. George. Despatches from England, 1686-1692*, pp. 182-184.

impossibility of forcing this cost to be borne by the native inhabitants, coupled with the necessity of improving the fortifications, was one of the stumbling blocks which led to Governor Yale's downfall.

The trouble Governor Yale had over rebuilding the ramparts of Blacktown and his overriding the views of a majority of the Council continued and became worse. The opposition appears to have been led by a Mr. Frazer who was a chronic objector and pursued similar tactics with Yale's successors. He objected to almost every measure that was proposed. Rumors flew thick and fast. The Governor was charged with all kinds of irregularities and even criminal acts. The climate was not healthy, many of the soldiers and officers died, and when two or three members of the Council died "whispers were actually heard that the President (Elihu Yale) had facilitated their departure."¹

Matters finally reached the point where Yale had to apply to the home authorities for someone to settle the difficulties, so they sent out Sir John Goldsborough and commissioned Nathaniel Higginson, a faithful and honest servant of the Company, born in Guilford, Connecticut, as Governor.² They requested that Yale remain at Madras until all differences be fairly adjusted so that "upon Mr. Yale's return hither we may have nothing to say to him but to bid him welcome home."

On October 23, 1692 when Higginson's commission reached Madras, Yale immediately surrendered his office, and proceeded to meet all kinds of accusations. He had accumulated a large property. It will be remembered that his wife brought him a considerable estate.

Through the next two years there were charges and counter charges, law suits and investigations which fill many pages of the records in the India Office and the

¹*Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 549.

²*Despatches from England, 1686-1692*, pp. 182-190.; also Bernard C. Steiner, *Two New England Rulers of Madras in Southern Atlantic Quarterly*, 1902, I, 209.

Madras Record Office, as well as the Bodleian Library and the Archbishopal Library at Lambeth Palace.¹

In January 1695 he protested to Governor Higginson that he was being accused of having promoted the death of members of the Council. He begged that the matter be strictly examined. The bitterness of the controversy is reflected in the last part of his letter in which he says: "Mr. Gray's sorrowful dying confession sufficiently showed his turbulent spirit and bad temper, declaring that, through the whole course of his life his greatest pleasure and delight was in doing mischief; which his troublesome practices here notoriously confirmed, few escaping his injury, his very father nor mother exempted. But I shall not rake into his dirty ashes, but desire your Honors, etc., will strictly and impartially look into the subjects of his complaint and do justice therein."²

Two years later he submitted a petition to the King in which he bitterly complained of his treatment in Madras. He stated that he was denied legal counsel, that his witnesses were arrested, that trial by jury was refused and that even the very judges were among his accusers. He also said that he had been imprisoned in the Fort for five years.

These claims appear to have been somewhat exaggerated according to the official statement of Governor Higginson who claimed that Yale was never imprisoned nor denied the liberty of going home.

The King in Council, meeting at Kensington on Feb. 14th, 1695, heard Yale's petition "complaining of the severe and illegal proceedings against him by the Commissary and new President of said Company in causing him to be imprisoned and his estate seized on pretended and false accusations against him. And therefore praying his Majesty's order to the Commander in Chief at Fort St. George to permit the

¹India Office Original Correspondence Book, Vol. 54. Also *Fort St. George Diary and Consulation Books* for the years 1692-1695. See also *Journal of Events at Fort St. George* in Gibson MSS., Vol. 4N, MS. 937, No. 6, preserved at Lambeth Palace; *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 550-551, also MS. Rawl. D747 in the Bodleian Library.

²*Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, 550.

petitioner to return into this Realm and bring with him witnesses and the estate he is now possessed of." The Privy Council ordered a copy of the petition to be delivered to the Governor and Company for them to answer the charges. Two weeks later the Directors' answer was heard by the King in Council who referred the matter to the Board of Trade and Plantations. It was decided to hear both parties to the dispute on March 7. At that time instead of ordering Yale to come home as he desired, the Privy Council ordered a study to be made by the Attorney General and the Solicitor General as to the East India Company's power in "matters of Judicature and Courts in the East Indies."¹

Nothing further seems to have been heard of the case in the Privy Council. But the Company was greatly perturbed by it especially as this was the period when the proponents of the New Company were making all the trouble they could for the Old Company.

Anyhow, Governor Yale does not seem to have been bothered any more in Madras. In fact, judging by subsequent events, he took advantage of his opportunities as an ex-servant of the Company to improve his financial position by successful trading ventures. He finally embarked from Madras on February 22, 1699 and was allowed to have the best cabin on board the fine ship *Martha*.²

His wife, the former Catherine Elford Hynmers, with the three little daughters she had borne him had preceded him by about nine years. She had borne him a son whom they named David after Elihu's father. But the little boy died soon after Elihu became Governor.³ The climate was unhealthy, particularly for English children. It is not surprising that Mrs. Yale decided not to risk losing any more of her

¹MS. *Proceedings of the Privy Council* in the Public Record Office, 1695, Feb. 14, 28, Mar. 3 and Mar. 7th. Also, MS. *Journal of the Board of Trade*, March 2nd, 1695.

²There seems to be no evidence whatever to justify the oft-repeated story that Yale haunched his groin for a trivial offense. It first appears in the 1744 edition of John Harris, *Navigantium Bibliotheca*, but not in the edition of 1705.

³*Ibid supra*, p. 163.

little brood. She sailed in the ship *Rochester* and was allowed by the Directors to bring in her jewels free of duty.¹

After she left, a scandal arose over the guests Governor Yale entertained at his "garden house," outside the city. One of them was the widow of a Portuguese Jew, Jacques de Paiva, a worthy diamond merchant who had been to London and had been selected by the Directors as one of the aldermen for the municipality of Madras they created in 1687. Hieronima de Paiva bore the Governor a son, whom they named Charles, about a year after Madam Yale's departure.² Elihu's brother Thomas, then in India, did not fancy this liaison, and when he died in 1697 he left part of his estate to "the heir male, lawfully begotten of my brother Elihu Yale," thereby excluding Charles, then seven years old, and a possible "heir male."

When Charles left Madras we do not know. He seems to have been buried in Cape Town, in South Africa. The inscription on his tomb indicated that his mother came from India to be with him and was buried in the same place. He died on Jan. 23rd, 1712, aged 21. Whether he was on his way to England when fatal illness overtook him at the Cape of Good Hope we do not know.³

Thomas Pennant, the celebrated Naturalist, in his *Tours in Wales*, London, 1810, I, 401, says:

Their epitaph, as copied by the late Governor Loten,⁴ runs thus: Hic jacet in tumulo/CAROLUS YALE,/filius Domini Yale, quondā/gubernator Madrassapatamiæ,/nec non JERONIMÆ de PAIBIA,/ juvenis admodum inclytus vir/-tute, et

¹MS. *Minutes of the Court*, Dec. 7, 1689.

²*Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 468, 486, 498.

³In the records of the Dutch Reformed Church in Capetown is the name of Charles Gale (*sic*) who was buried "about 1711" according to C. Graham Botha, formerly custodian of the Cape Archives Office. He reported in a letter to the *Daily Mail*, Apr. 26, 1920, that the mural tablet recording the death of Charles Yale and his mother seems to be one of those which have disappeared from the walls of the church where it was seen in the latter part of the XVIII Century. "Of the many hatchments which formerly adorned the walls of this church few now remain."

⁴Joan Gideon Loten was Governor of Ceylon, 1752-1757. Returned to Holland, 1758; visited England, 1760; a naturalist; died in Utrecht, 1789.

etiam elegans, unigeni-/tus suæ matris, et sui patris fili-/
-us unicus; Vivens ab omnibus amatus, nunc mortuus deplo-/
-ratus; natus fuit in Madras-/sapatamia, et hic obiit Jan^{ry}/
vicesimo tertio, anno ætatis/suæ vicesimo secundo, annoque/
Domini 1711/12/Sepulta etiam est hic mater/ejus JERONIMA
DE PAIBIA,/quæ pro amore sui filii reli-/quit Indiam, ut cum
illo hic/jaceret./

On Governor Yale's arrival in England, one of his first duties was the probating of his father's will. He settled in London but maintained his father's country place at Plas Grono in Wales, near Wrexham, whose parish church tower was considered "one of the seven wonders of Wales." When Yale took up his residence in London the Directors were at first very kind to him for fear that a rival "New" East India Company recently established might secure his aid and assistance and be able to take advantage of the knowledge acquired in his 27 years' residence in India. It was rumored that the new Company offered to make him a baronet and had him entertained at the houses of some of their noble friends. However this may be, it appears that he would not betray his old Company and did not join the new one as did "Sir" Streyntsham Master.

There is a story which has been several times repeated, and may even be found in the Dictionary of National Biography, that he "was made a governor of the East India Company" after his return to London in 1699. A careful persual of the records of the Company discloses the fact that he was never even a Director, much less Chairman of the board with the title of Governor. His title was derived from his having been governor of Fort St. George, and he retained it to the end of his life.

Of his subsequent life in London and at Plas Grono in Wales we get glimpses in contemporary correspondence and in court records.

Sir John Chardin, the distinguished traveller and jewel merchant, who was at this time living in London, writing to his brother Daniel in Madras, a folio letter

of 16 pages, dated Jan. 2nd, 1700, announces the safe arrival of Governor Yale in good health.¹

Sir John tells his brother that he goes to see the Governor frequently, that he likes his frank and candid manner and is glad his brother has had him for a friend. Yale spoke very highly of brother Daniel and apparently was also fond of his family. Sir John, writing in French, somewhat phonetically, added: "chaque fois que je vais le voir chez luy ou au Coffee house je luy ay donné toutes les marques possibles de desire de le servir."

In July of this year the Governor sent a dignified appeal to the Directors of the East India Company² asking for a redress of grievances and payment of money due him. He was not very happy.

In November he wrote to his business associates, Governor Thos. Pitt and Daniel Chardin in Madras³ complaining that the sale of his horses, which they had reported to him, was at "prices" which "will scarcely discharge their feeding." Also he is disappointed that his "Corrall" (beads?) was not sold "before the arrival of the glutt." "The *George* has made a poor voyage for me." He finds England "a most chargeable troublesome place." Having been away for twenty-seven years, and accustomed to the relative cheapness of living in India, he was not very comfortable. And, according to the Chancery records the Hynmers step-children brought suit against him and his wife for a larger share in their father's estate than the Yales thought their due.⁴

In September 1701, Sir John Chardin writes his brother again about Governor Yale, this time in a different tone and showing that a change had come over him. He says: "Apropos of Mr. Yale, this man at

¹The original of this letter and many other documents relating particularly to the affairs of Daniel Chardin and his wife are in the Yale University Library, to which they were presented by the late William Sloane, and were brought to my attention by Mr. Andrew Keogh and Miss Anne S. Pratt who have been most helpful in bringing to light such material as is preserved in the Yale Collections.

²MS. Rawl. D. 747 in the Bodleian Library.

³MS. letter in the Elizabethan Club of Yale University.

⁴Chancery 9/464/173. June 28, 1701.

first went abroad with a lackey, well-dressed and living like a gentleman. (Now) he has greatly modified his ways and lives in a secluded manner (plus obscurity.) I no longer go to see him at his house, where I went thirty times without once being able to get him to come to my house in the country. I found him timid (craintif), undecided (incertain), always on the defensive and, in a word, of no great consequence (*non e mi gran cosa*)."

Whether the Nabob had had some unfortunate experiences, found his appearance caused amusement, or was the victim of unpleasant attentions does not appear. He seems to have gone to Wales at times and to have taken up his abode at the ancestral estate of Plas Grono. In the Churwardens' book in the Wrexham church he is put down in the Church Rates for 3 shillings 3 pence, for the year 1701. For 1700 the rate was 10s 2d "for land and tyth."

Plas Grono, as the estate in the township of Esclusham was called, had been in the Yale family for several generations. The house which stood on this property during the nineteenth century until it was torn down about 1876 had Jacobean chimneys and the appearance of having been constructed early in the eighteenth or late in the seventeenth centuries. It might have been built about 1700 by Elihu Yale himself, but of this we have no record. From its appearance in an existing photograph in the possession of Simon Yorke, Esq., of Erthig Hall, the present owner of the property, it could not have been the one that was occupied by Dr. David Yale, Chancellor of Chester in 1590.¹

In a charming description of the house, as it probably was during the days of Elihu Yale, written by "Nimrod" (Charles James Apperley) who was born here in 1778 we are told that "The house is one of humble pretensions, consisting of four sitting-rooms,

¹M. B. Huish, *American Pilgrim's Way in England*, Chap. xiv. gives a somewhat inaccurate account of Elihu's life but has a charming colored plate, illustrating Plas Grono.

with other accommodations for a household of twenty." (!) Nimrod had neighbors whose houses were so very much larger that no doubt Plas Grono seemed "humble" even though it could accommodate "a household of twenty." He says it stood "in a space surrounded on some sides by shrubberies and buildings; ornamented on others by lawns and flower beds; and divided by a ha-ha from very parklike-looking grounds of some extent."¹ The site is still beautiful.

Governor Yale was in London in February 1702 and wrote to his friend Governor Pitt in Madras: "pray send me no more diamonds unless 50% cheaper." His business in London seems to have been concerned chiefly with the diamond trade.² In another letter to Pitt, written a few days later, he gives a little glimpse of their social life (dated "London, 12th Feby. 1701-02"):

Your good Lady and fair daughter Essex lodg with her sister in our neighbourhood, and often make us happy with their good Company, but the young Lady is now to be settled at tother end of the town for accomplishments of Musick, french, etc., and Your Lady, after despatch of the Shipp, design'd for Salisbury, where the rest of your Dear family are verry well.

The Governor probably followed the prevailing custom of going down to the country for part of the year and up to London for the season. That he was highly respected in his home county of Denbighshire is shown by the fact of his being made High Sheriff in 1704. This honorary position, held for one year, appears usually to have been filled by distinguished residents appointed by the Crown on the nomination of previous incumbents.³

In London, in addition to dealing in diamonds he seems occasionally to have loaned money to friends and acquaintances, judging by the lawsuits that ensued. In 1706 he brought suit against Richard Middleton of Denbighshire to recover two thousand

¹Nimrod, *My Life and Times*, London, 1927, pp. 4-7, 218.

²*British Museum Additional MSS.* 22, 851, f. 170.

³John Williams, *Records of Denbigh and its Lordship*, Wrexham, 1860, Chap. viii.

pounds he had lent him on a mortgage.¹ In March of that year he took a bond from his neighbor at Erthig Hall near Plas Grono, Joshua Edisbury, for four thousand pounds to cover a loan of half that amount.²

Edisbury never paid his loans, so this had to be recovered as best it could when Erthig Hall was sold for the benefit of his creditors. This was too bad; for in 1681 he had sent to Yale in Madras "four Rundletts of Sandpatch Ale" and received in return a very nice letter of thanks and also an Oriental screen which is still preserved in Erthig Hall.³

The Governor was fond of his friends. About this time he sent a thoughtful present to Governor Pitt in Madras which, in the course of a letter, dated Jan. 24, 1708-9, Pitt acknowledged as follows:⁴

I received your noble Present of a fine Silver Watch and Seales, two peices of Drugget and a Choice Canary Bird, but noe Letter upon these ships. I am highly obliged to you for the former, but doe assure you a Line from a good freind (as I esteeme you) is of farr more value with me, then the greatest offerings that can be made.

By this time he seems to have settled down to the life of a real Nabob, a rich Collector. We get a striking glimpse of him in a letter written to Governor Pitt by a mutual acquaintance, E. Harrison of the Treasury who tells the Madras official that he sits "in his choultry [E. Indian for caravanserai, here probably a large "studio" or "den"] hid in tobacco smoak . . . a scurvy painter or two drawing him in for some choice pieces in which he is become a very great virtuoso or a bubble [i.e. a gull]. Sometimes you find him sett between two diamond cutters, sometimes a broker or two about matching his daughters; and often with the ingenious Sir Charles Cotterell of the Ceremonies."⁵

¹Chancery 7/633/99.

²Palmer, *History of the Thirteen Country Townships of the Old Parish of Wrexham*, p. 234.

³A. L. Cust, *Chronicles of Erthig on the Dyke*, I, 43-46.

⁴*British Museum Additional MSS.* 22850, f. 118; *Diary of Wm. Hedges*, II, 294.

⁵Hist. MSS. Com. Fortesque Papers at Dropmore House. Harrison to Pitt, 25 July, 1707.

Of the paintings, it is obvious from the catalogues of the sales of his Collection that he was both a virtuoso-- since he had examples of Rembrandt and other good painters of the XVII Century-- and a "bubble" -- since he had hundreds of inferior paintings. That he should have associated with diamond cutters is not surprising since he was known as a diamond merchant. As for "matching his daughters," one, Catherine, was already married to a son of Sir Dudley North, "the Turkey Merchant," and nephew of Lord Guilford, and the second, Anne, was about to marry a son of the Duke of Devonshire, as we shall see presently.

As for the "ingenious Sir Charles Cotterell of the Ceremonies": Pepys wrote in his diary on Mar. 31, 1669 that he hears "Sir Charles Cotterell and his son" were "both ingenious men." That description seems to have stuck for more than forty years. The first Sir Charles was Master of the Ceremonies in Pepys' day but died about 1687. The position was then held by his son, Elihu's friend and crony, Sir Charles Ludovick Cotterell, who was Master of the Ceremonies from 1686 until his death in 1710. In June, 1706, he had the distinction of being robbed by highwaymen on the same day that the Venetian Ambassador's coach and also Lord Sherrard were robbed.¹ In 1708, shortly after the death of Queen Anne's husband, he published a highly eulogistic pamphlet entitled "The Whole Life and Glorious Actions of Prince George of Denmark" in which he wrote "He had piety enough for a Saint, Courage enough for a General, Sense enough for a Privy Councillor, and Soul enough for a King, Feared nothing but God and loved nothing on Earth like the Queen, and the Kingdom she governed."² It is said on good authority that he was deeply interested in forms and ceremonies. In this he probably pleased the taste of the former Governor of Madras who had been accustomed to elaborate ceremonies in India.

¹Harrell, *Hist. Rec.*, VI, 53.

²There is a copy in the British Museum.

The marriage of Yale's daughters no doubt concerned him greatly. In the letter just quoted Harrison told Pitt that Elihu had "made shift to give his eldest daughter £20,000, but heartily repents it." When she married Dudley North of Glemham we do not know. He was very well connected, being the son and nephew of the famous Norths whose brother Roger wrote so much about them. He himself does not seem to have amounted to much, although he was elected to Parliament—in an uncontested election—in 1710, the chief expenses of which were for eight barrels of beer and the inn keeper's bill for "wine, bread and beer."¹ Dudley's wife, Catherine Yale, bore him four or five children and died while they were quite young.² Their sun dial and their tapestries as well as their portrait of her father Governor Yale, are now preserved at Yale University, thanks to the generosity of alumni, particularly, Edward S. Harkness, Esq., who has done so much for his Alma Mater and the cause of education.

Governor Yale's second daughter, Anne, married Sir James Cavendish, 3rd son of the 1st Duke of Devonshire, July 8, 1708.³ His father had died in the previous August, and his brother the 2nd Duke seems to have been hard up for he was sued in the following year by the builder of his mansion in Derbyshire for £12,000. The builder won the case.⁴ Sir James was a frequent candidate for Parliament—and often he got elected. Doubtless they were all glad of a little help from the Nabob, who a little later leased the Manor House of Latimer in Bucks from his son-in-law. In the

¹Report of the Hist. MSS. Com. on the Glemham Papers, pp. 189-190.

²British Museum Additional MSS. 32501, *passim*.

³Mantrell, Hist. Rel., VI, 324. Francis Bickley, *The Cavendish Family*, London, 1911, p. 186; Grove of Richmond, *The Lives of All the Earls and Dukes of Devonshire*, London, 1764 gives a long account of the life of the 2nd Duke who died in 1726 and had a remarkable collection of gems, medals and paintings. He was probably interested in the sales of Elihu Yale's extraordinary collection of similar objects. Joseph Tilley in his *Old Halls, Manors and Families of Derbyshire*, London, 1899, gives the story of Staveley Hall where Sir James Cavendish lived. In Ford Hall there is a painting of the marriage "trough." It depicts Governor Yale seated at a table enjoying a pipe and a glass of port with the Second Duke of Devonshire and "Lord James" Cavendish, while a young barrister stands at Yale's shoulder holding a copy of a document, presumably the marriage settlement. A black nose boy attends the Duke.

⁴Mantrell, VI, 461.

little churchyard very near the Manor house are buried Catherine Elford (Hynmers) the Governor's widow who died Feb. 8, 1728, at the age of 77; her youngest daughter Ursula Yale who died Aug. 11, 1721 "in the 36th year of her age"; as well as Benjamin Hynmers, Ursula's half-brother and two other relatives.¹

In September, 1708, Sir James and Lady Cavendish went to Wales to visit her father.²

In 1709, the Governor was well enough known as a patron of the arts and sciences to have a new Map of the Netherlands dedicated to him "by his obliged humble servants, Cha. Price and Ion. Senex, Geographers to the Queen."³ He bought some of Senex's globes, and probably some of his maps and engravings.

In July, 1710, Governor Yale was saddened by the death of his crony, Sir Charles Cotterell.⁴ Soon after that, however, he must have been pleased to welcome back from India his friend and associate, Governor Thomas Pitt whose arrival in September caused quite a stir as he had "a powerful purse."⁵

During the winter of 1711-12 subscriptions were being sought to enable the publication of a translation into Welsh by the Reverend Mr. Williams of Denbigh of "The Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England, with Collects and Prayers for each Solemnity." It was helped by various bishops, including Bishop Burnett. Elihu Yale put his name down for twenty copies. It is doubtful if he could read Welsh, but he was a good Episcopalian. Robert Nelson who lived near the Chapel-of-ease in Queen Square, Great Ormond St., is down for 100 copies.⁶

¹Thanks to the courtesy of Major Emory Chubb of Chorley Wood, rubbings of the tombstones from which this information was obtained are now in the Library of Yale University.

²MSS. of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck. Report by Hist. MSS. Com., IV, 504.

³Copies of three issues are in the Yale Library. C. L. Cannon: Map Dedicated to Elihu Yale. *Yale Library Gazette*, Oct., 1933, pp. 83-84.

⁴Luttrell, VI, 604.

⁵John Drummond's letter to Robert Harley, Sept. 12-23, 1710, in Hist. MSS. Com. Report on the Duke of Portland's papers, IV, 594.

⁶A copy of the subscription list is in the library of Canon Anson Phelps Stokes of the Washington Cathedral.

Probably before this date Governor Yale acquired one of the new houses in that neighborhood. Queen Square, so named for Queen Anne, was then on the very outskirts of London. The north end of the square was left open so as to afford a pleasant view of the Lamb's Conduit fields and the distant hills of Hampshire.¹ The Chapel-of-ease was erected in 1706. Sir Streynsham Master, former Governor of Madras, was one of the founders. John Marshall, D.D., was the rector from 1706 to 1730. It is barely possible that he may have been the "Joannes Marshall" who entered Wm. Dugard's school at the age of 10, on the same day Elihu Yale entered. He would have been 54 at the time the Chapel was opened. The pious Robert Nelson was one of the ardent parishioners. He was engaged in writing religious books. Probably he was a friend of Yale's. They both took life seriously.

In 1707, the Governor had persuaded the churchwardens of Wrexham church to permit him to erect at his own cost a gallery that would seat himself and his family and a few others, across the chancel, where a rood screen may have once stood. He reserved six seats. The others were at the disposal of the churchwardens. The gallery was immediately back of the pulpit. The seats probably faced the congregation. A memorial tablet to his father and mother is still on the south wall of the chancel arch on a level with the location of the Governor's gallery. Eleven years after the gallery was erected he got permission to take it down at his own expense and move it to the West end of the church. Probably he got tired of crawling up through narrow stairs, and decided that at his age (he was then 70 years old—an "aged man" in those days) he could be more comfortable in a pew on the church floor, or he may have stopped going to Wrexham.² He gave the church two religious paintings, one of which is still

¹G. H. Hamilton, *Queen Square*, London, 1926.

²MS. records of the Church. Also Palmer, *History of the Parish Church of Wrexham*, pp. 40-41.

there; "a pulpit and sounding board, a clock dial, and a carving of the royal arms of England. He also re-flagged and re-railed the altar-space, and furnished it with a new altar-table having a marble top."¹ There is no question but that he was a good churchman and not a dissenter. No wonder he demurred at making a gift to the Collegiate School in Connecticut, as we shall learn later.

It is possible that in the Spring of 1711 the Governor may have heard of the serious illness of his illegitimate son Charles in Capetown. At all events we do know that about this time he sent to Connecticut for one of his cousins to come over to England and be adopted as his heir. It may have been this that attracted the attention of Jeremiah Dummer, a keen young American whom the Province of Massachusetts had sent to London to represent it as its agent. It will be remembered that Dummer,² born in Boston, the son of Jeremiah Dummer, silversmith, engraver and magistrate, graduated from Harvard in 1699, took a Ph.D. at Utrecht in 1703, and before he "recovered" from it surprised his distinguished fellow alumni and Governor Dudley by an uninvited address in Latin at the Harvard commencement in 1704. Shortly afterwards he was recommended by Increase Mather for a professorship but did not make a hit in his native town and went to England from whence he never returned. In London, he became a prominent lawyer, and as a man of fashion knew everybody about town.

He was a friend of the Rev. James Pierpont of New Haven with whom he carried on a correspondence. To him from London on May 22, 1711, Jeremiah Dummer wrote:

Here is Mr. Yale, formerly Governor of Fort George in the Indies, who has got a prodigious estate, and now by Mr. Dixwell sends for a relation of his from Connecticut to make him his heir, having no son. He told me lately, that he

¹Palmer, *History of the Thirteen Country Townships of the Old Parish of Wrexham*, p. 249.
²S. E. Morison, *Harvard College in the XVII Century*, II, 463, 479, 535, 548.

intended to bestow a charity upon some college in Oxford, under certain restrictions which he mentioned. But I think he should much rather do it to your college, seeing he is a New England and I think a Connecticut man. If therefore when his kinsman comes over, you will write him a proper letter on that subject, I will take care to press it home.¹

The "kinsman" was young David Yale, son of Elihu's own cousin John Yale of North Haven, Conn. David went to England in 1712.² David was born Oct. 8, 1699, so he was twelve years old when he went to his wealthy kinsman, the Nabob of Queen Square. Whether he brought with him from the Rev. James Pierpont the "proper letter" that Jeremy Dummer suggested we do not know.

The next information we have on this subject comes from a letter from Jeremy Dummer to friend Pierpont, dated May 5th, 1713, in which he reports his success in collecting books for the new "Colledge." He was not very happy about it. A possible benefactor who had promised to give his "great valuable library" died suddenly leaving it to a "Stranger." Now "Mr. Yale has done something, though very little considering his Estate and particular relation to your Collony."³ As a matter of fact he gave forty volumes, some of which are still on the shelves of the Yale Library. This was more than most. Dummer had secured four volumes in folio from Sir Richard Blackmore who brought the books "in his own chariot," but in general he found the collection of books "troublesome as well as expensive" because the benefactors contented themselves with giving very few volumes each, so that he had "almost as many benefactors as books"!

Possibly Governor Yale was not deeply impressed by the superior advantages of the Collegiate School which had been established in that remote New England wilderness where he spent part of his childhood,

¹Dexter, *Documentary History of Yale University*, p. 56.

²A paper by Sheldon B. Thayer, read before the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Mar. 30, 1891. *N. H. Journal Courier*, Apr. 1-3, 1891.

³*Documentary History of Yale University*, p. 55.

but which he had not seen for more than sixty years. If he made inquiries regarding the progress of the school, which was then located at Saybrook, of which he probably had never heard, he learned that it did not compare at all favorably with Oxford as a place in which to have one's memory perpetuated by generous gifts. So he contented himself with being one of a group whom Agent Dummer persuaded to contribute books to the new institution. The group included Sir Isaac Newton, who sent his "Principia"; Sir Richard Steele, who contributed eleven volumes of "Tatlers" and "Spectators"; and Sir Edmond Andros who managed to spare a copy of "Josephus" and an Armenian Dictionary!

On January 26th, 1714, a disastrous fire destroyed the largest and most magnificent mansion in the vicinity of Queen Square—Powis House—at that time the French Embassy.¹ This fire may have destroyed part of Elihu Yale's property, or it may have been another fire on which he collected insurance from the Sun Fire-Office in 1719.²

What young David of Connecticut was doing at this time we do not know. He is not on the books of any of the London schools. Perhaps he went to school in Wales or he may have had a tutor. It is possible that the portrait of Elihu Yale, now in the possession of the Elizabethan Club at Yale, which shows him attended by a handsome young man about 16 or 17 years old, may have been painted at the time of David's stay with his great cousin and when it was expected that he would be the heir. He seems to have been entered at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1718, as a Fellow Commoner "which gave him a sort of superior position whereby he ate with the Fellows."³

About this time, however, he returned to America to be made a deacon in the dissenter's church at the age of

¹*European Magazine*, June 1804.

²*Chronological Diary for the Year 1719*, p. 4.

³For this information I am indebted to Mrs. Powers of the Yale Library, who received it from the Master of Pembroke.

18! Since his church was aggressively hostile to any leanings towards episcopacy and had dismissed their minister for suspected tendencies in that direction¹ it seems probable that he had displeased his rich cousin by his friendly attitude towards "dissent" and so went home rather suddenly, just as he was beginning to study at Cambridge. Perhaps the atmosphere of Pembroke, long known as the college of bishops because so many famous bishops had come from its cloisters, brought out his latent Puritanism and caused the break that sent him flying home. Had he turned out to be a good Episcopalian, Elihu might have made him his heir and not taken any interest in the suggestion he was about to receive.

In October, 1716, the Trustees of the Connecticut Collegiate School, taking notice of a popular subscription which had been raised in New Haven and which was larger than either Hartford or Saybrook could show, decided to establish the school in the "city of elms" and to erect there a college and a Rector's house. So the school went to New Haven where Elihu Yale's father and grandmother had spent some years.²

Soon after commencement, which was celebrated in September, 1717, the college building began to take shape. News of this reached Boston, and interested the influential Reverend Cotton Mather.

Cotton Mather's interest in the new collegiate school in Connecticut was undoubtedly due in part to his disappointment with Harvard.³ It will be remembered that he graduated from Harvard at the age of fifteen, having been hazed by the more ungodly students and being more popular with his instructors than with his classmates. He became an Overseer at the age of 24, and was elected a Fellow at the age of 27. His father

¹S. B. Thrope, *opus cit.*

²The founding of Yale College in 1701 and the first 25 years of its history are given comprehensively and entertainingly in Edwin Oviatt's *The Beginnings of Yale, 1701-1726* published by the Yale University Press in 1916, illustrated with more than 130 charming drawings.

³Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, Vol. I, *passim*.

was then President or, more correctly, Rector of Harvard. But in 1701 his father was forced out of office and Cotton Mather tried to get the job himself. He was "twice balked of the Harvard presidency."¹ The Massachusetts House of Representatives did actually appoint him but failed to make it stick. So he resigned as a Fellow and began to take a lively interest in the new institution then just starting in Connecticut. It is said that he came to look upon it as the hope of that Congregational education in which he believed. Anyhow, possibly at Dummer's suggestion, he undertook to write a long letter to Elihu Yale.

Cotton Mather's name was not unknown in London. He had published a vast amount. He had contributed to the Royal Society—and had been elected a Fellow in 1713. Elihu Yale was elected a Fellow on Dec. 30, 1717. He had many distinguished correspondents in London although he does not appear to have spent any time there. His father lived there for four years as the agent of Massachusetts, and doubtless through him he was able to make friends at a distance. His letter to Yale is a historic document.

Ingenuously worded, adroitly suggesting both spiritual and worldly advantage to a possible patron who had lost his only son, it planted a seed which bore such important fruit that it is worth reproducing in full, at least insofar as it concerns that momentous incident, the generosity of Governor Yale.

Here is what Cotton Mather wrote, on November 14, 1717:²

The Colony of Connecticut, having for some years had a College at Saybrook without a collegious way of living for it, have lately begun to erect a large edifice for it in the town of New Haven. The charge of that expensive building is not yet all paid, nor are there yet any funds of revenues for salaries to the Professors and instructors to the society.

Sir, though you have your felicities in your family, which I pray God continue and multiply, yet certainly, if what is

¹Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 548.

²Dexter, *Documentary History of Yale University*, pp. 163-164.

forming at New Haven might wear the name of Yale College, it would be better than a name of sons and daughters. And your munificence might easily obtain for you such a commemoration and perpetuation of your valuable name, as would indeed be much better than an Egyptian pyramid.

We have an excellent friend, our Agent, Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, who has been a tender, prudent, active and useful patron of the infant College at Connecticut . . . He will doubtless wait upon you, and propose to you and concert with you the methods in which your benignity to New Haven may be best expressed.

Nor will it be any disadvantage unto your person or family, for a good people to make mention of you in their prayers unto the glorious Lord, as one who has loved their nation, and supported and strengthened the seminary from whence they expect the supply of all their synagogues. . .

Fortunately, Jeremiah Dummer, although a Harvard man and rebuked by some of his friends for his activities in connection with the new school in Connecticut, conceived it to be his duty as the new Agent of the Connecticut Colony to continue his activities in their behalf. On March 12, 1718 he reported he was trying to get a "Present from Mr. Yale" for the new building.¹

During the winter of 1717-18, Yale saw something of Gen. Francis Nicholson, an ardent Churchman, who knew Gov. Gurdon Saltonstall had sent some books to the Collegiate School, and knew of Elihu's charitable inclinations. The General urged him to help the new college as he himself had helped "St. John's" in Maryland, and "William and Mary" in Virginia.²

In June 1718, Cotton Mather was able to write to Governor Gurdon Saltonstall as follows:³

'Tis an unspeakable pleasure unto me, that I have been in any measure capable of serving so precious a thing as your College at New Haven.

Governor Yale now gives you a sensible proof, that he has begun to take it under his patronage and protection. But I am

¹*Documentary History of Yale University*, p. 184.

²MS. letter from the Trustees to Gen. Nicholson preserved in the Yale Univ. Archives. Also, MS. Minutes of the Soc. Prop. Gos. For. Pts., *passim*.

³*Documentary History of Yale University*, pp. 170-171.

informed, that what he now does is very little in proportion to what he will do, when once he finds, by the name of it, that it may claim an adoption with him. Yale College cannot fail of Mr. Yale's generous and growing bounty. I confess, that it was a great and inexcusable presumption in me, to make myself so far the godfather of the beloved infant as to propose a name for it. But I assured myself, that if a succession of solid and lasting benefits might be entailed upon it, your Honor and the Honorable Trustees would pardon me, and the proposal would be complied withal.

Evidently, the brilliant idea which he had boldly conceived that Governor Yale might be influenced by being assured of the perpetuation of his name, even though he had no sons, had borne fruit. "A few days before Commencement" (Sept. 1718) came the news that there had arrived at Boston "a Large Box of Books, the Picture & Arms of K. George and two hundred lb. Sterling worth of English Goods, all to the vallue of 800 lb. in our money, from Governr Yale of London."¹ This was a large amount of mcney to be received from a single individual; furthermore it was thought to be the forerunner of "a succession of solid and lasting benefits." Accordingly, the Trustees acted promptly to change the name of the "Colledge."

And so it came about, as Professor Morison says in his recent remarkable study of the history of Harvard College,² that "It may well be a matter for congratulation and pride that Harvard men not only founded, governed, and supported Yale in her infancy, but even obtained for her a patron, a library and a name." Nevertheless, as has been suggested, had Boston treated David Yale with more hospitality, had Jeremy Dummer liked Boston and been made a professor at Harvard, and had Cotton Mather been given the presidency of Harvard which he wanted, the history of the Connecticut College would have been different! The name "Yale" would probably have been connected solely with locks.

¹Dexter, *Documentary History of Yale University*, p. 157.

²S. E. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 548.

As it happened, however, the Commencement program which had already been printed with the old name of the "Collegiate School" on it, was destroyed and a new program printed with the first official appearance of the name "Yale College."¹

A grandiloquent letter was sent to Governor Yale which must have caused that worthy to feel that his gift was duly appreciated. Probably the pompous prolixity of the epistle really pleased him. Here are the first two sentences of what he had to read:

Honourable Sir

We Trustees of the Collegiate School of Connecticut, fixed in the Ancient famous Town of New Haven, have convened on our Academical Solemnities, where we have had the Honour done us of seeing the names of the famous Books sent us from yr. Honr. appearing in the Catalogue of the Books of the noble-spirited Benefactors of our School, and of knowing your most generous Bounty of a Large Quantity of very agreeable Goods, together with a further Ornament of Choice Books, his Majesties Picture & arms are safely arrived at Boston, and had the Happiness of the Honble. Coll. Tayler, Representing yr. Honr., gracing the Solemnities of our Commencmt. In whose presence, a great number of Learned Men & fautors of Learning attending, We the Trustees in the Large & Splendid Hall of our Building, Have done our School the Honour of naming it with your Illustrious Name & have called it Yale-Colledge, and read off a Memorial of it in the Lattin Tongue, and also a Memorial of the Same in the English Tongue, answered with a Counterpart in Lattin, which Coll. Tayler was pleased to say was very agreeable to him representing yr. Honr.² (Col. William Tailer, a friend of General Nicholson, had visited London in 1711, knew Dummer, and had been Lieut. Governor of Massachusetts.)

In April, 1719, Jeremiah Dummer wrote Governor Gurdon Saltonstall that when he gave Governor Yale the news that the College had been named after him he seemed "more than a little pleased with his being patron of such a seat of the muses." It was then that Dummer learned why it had taken so long to interest

¹*Yale Library Gazette*, VI, 15-17.

²Dexter, *Documentary History of Yale University*, pp. 176-177. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, Amer. & W. I., 1710-1711*, p. 369.

him. The Governor admitted that he had been in grave doubt as to whether it was appropriate for him, a good churchman and the descendant of high church dignitaries, to "promote an academy of dissenters." Apparently, this had been discussed with Mr. Dummer who had finally succeeded in convincing the Governor that there was no better way of promoting the discipline of the Church of England and making men appreciate it than by giving dissenters a good education.¹

The personal vanity of the wealthy and illustrious ex-Governor of Madras was further gratified by Mr. Dummer's success in suggesting that a full length portrait be sent with more books and some "mathematical instruments," of which quite a number were in his great collection.

Jeremy Dummer thus describes the painting: "Mr. Yale's picture at full length with his nephew's on the same canvas is drawn for a present to your Colledge Hall." This may be the painting now in the Elizabethan Club. We do not know of any proper "nephew." It may have been his cousin whom he had let go back to the dissenters in North Haven and whose picture he no longer valued. Anyhow, the painting referred to by Dummer never came to the "Colledge Hall." The Elizabethan Club portrait did not come to this country until this century.²

About this time, 1719, a Charity School for girls was established at Berse, not far from Wrexham, largely through the efforts of Dean Peter Drelincourt. To this Elihu Yale promised to give £5 yearly.³ Of his other charities, apart from gifts to the Wrexham church and subscriptions to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, of which he was a member, it has been difficult to find any particulars, although

¹Dexter, *opus cit.*, pp. 192-193.

²The University's Three Portraits of Elihu Yale: the original Zeeman (1717) and those in the Corporation Room and the Elizabethan Club. *Yale Alumni Weekly*, Nov. 28, 1913.

³Palmer, *Thirteen Country Townships*, p. 92.

when he was ill in London in 1721 the paper said he was "eminently known for his extensive Charity."¹ Probably Jeremy Dummer had talked about his gifts to the Connecticut college.

His chief interest at this time seems to have been in his enormous art collection. After 1718, his name no longer appears as a rate payer in the Wrexham vestry records. He was now seventy years old, had spent more than a third of his life in one of the hottest parts of the Tropics, and probably preferred to live quietly in London instead of travelling back and forth to North Wales. It may have been to please his wife and youngest daughter Ursula, still unmarried, that he negotiated with son-in-law Sir James Cavendish for the Mansion House of Latimer, twenty miles from London, in the lovely valley of the Chess.² In addition to his large house in Queen Square he had bought two houses in Southampton Row, not far away.³ He also had "a small house at the corner of Brunswick Row" and several coach houses and stables. He needed them all to store his paintings and objects of art which must have crowded his family almost to distraction.

He apparently had, to an extraordinary degree, the desire to "collect," and thanks to his very large fortune he was able to gratify this mania to an amazing extreme. It took more than thirty auction sales to dispose of his effects after his death. In order not to glut the market the sales were held in series, generally six at a time, at intervals of a couple of months, more or less. They were well advertised. His "Collection" must have been well known.⁴

¹*The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, July 8, 1721. *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892*. London, 1893. p. 835.

²Records of Buckinghamshire, vi, 23-34.

³*The Daily Courant*, London, May 8, 1723.

⁴The Yale Gallery of Fine Arts has the painting of George I by Kneller given by Elihu Yale; also a beautiful snuff box of his. The Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington has some pieces of Portuguese silver and an Oriental velvet bedspread that came from Madryn Castle and may have belonged to Elihu Yale. E. Alfred Jones, "Some old Portuguese and Other Foreign Silver at Madryn Castle" in *The Connoisseur* for July, 1910: Vol. xxvii, pp. 164-170.

It was described as "consisting of a large collection of Pictures, Jewels, fine chac'd Philigrew and Household Plate, Gold and Silver Watches, Clocks with several Motions, Velvets, Broad-Cloths, Silks, and Muslins, Mathematical and Surgeons Instruments, curious Fire Arms, Swords, and Canes, India Japan Cabinets, fine Snuff-boxes, with many Curiosities in Gold, Silver, and Agate."¹

The first series of sales lasted from Dec. 14th to 20th, 1721. The second series of six, lasted from January 31st until February 6th, 1722.² The third series of six sales, described in the advertisements as "The last Sale for this Season," ran from March 8th until March 14th, 1722. It was said to be the "Most Valuable Part of the Collection of Elihu Yale, Esq.," and consisted of "Jewels, (particularly that celebrated Diamond Ring, on which is cut the Arms of England and Scotland, formerly belonging to Mary Queen of Scots) fine Diamond and Pearl Necklaces," watches, clocks, plate, "with several dozens of Silver Plates, and some Dishes; a large Collection of valuable Pictures and Limnings, among which is the Capital Picture of the Samaritan Woman, by the famous Vander Werf; a fine India Skreen standing upwards of ten Foot, with great Variety of extraordinary India Cabinets, and divers Sorts of useful Household Goods; Brass Cannons," etc. etc.³ This catalogue was not distributed at the coffee or chocolate houses, but only at the place of sale and at Mr. Cook's "near the Vine Tavern in Broad Street near Golden Square, St. James's."

¹Advertisements of the first six-day Sale, appeared daily in the *Daily Courant* from Dec. 6, 1721 until the last day, Dec. 20th. They were also published in the *London Gazette* and the *Post-Boy*. Catalogues were distributed "gratis at the Place of Sale (the house in Queen Square), at Mr. Ozenda's Chocolate House, St. James's, at Mr. Innys's in St. Paul's Churchyard, and Burton's Coffee-house, Covent-Garden." Two copies are known to be in existence, one in the private collection of Seymour deRicci, Esq., and the other in the British Museum.

²Dr. John F. Fulton of Yale University has a copy of the Catalogue of the Second Series. He has deposited a photostat of it in the Yale Library.

³The only known copy of a catalogue of this third series of sales is in the collection of Seymour deRicci, Esq. who has kindly permitted a photostat of it to be made for the Yale Library.

After a lapse of nine months a fourth series of sales was advertised in the *Daily Courant*, November 9th to 19th, 1722. It began on Nov. 15th and ran for several days, just how many we do not know. No copy of the catalogue is known to be in existence.

On January 31st, 1723 a fifth series began, running for six days.¹ Besides the usual hundreds of "Pictures," many "on Cloath, without frames," there are "several curious Antiques in various Stones of Altra-Relievo's, and Seals; with a great many Antient and Modern Silver Medals and Coins . . ." and "A very valuable Library of Books in most Languages, of History, Divinity, Law, and other Polite Learning." The pictures, mostly paintings, were sold in lots of seven, ten or fifteen, generally without any attempt at description. In this fifth series of sales, 1,480 pictures had to be disposed of as well as about 2000 volumes in English and Latin.

Two weeks later, Auctioneer Cock began advertising a sixth series in the *Daily Courant* "On Monday the 11th of March (1723), the Remainder of the Collection of Pictures, Antique Seals, several Curiosities, small Pearl Necklaces, &c."² The Catalogue contains mention of hundreds of pictures in frames and without frames, dozens of pearl buttons, scores of seals, and an amazing number of rings, not heretofore mentioned in any of the catalogues.³

By putting a large number of things in a lot, the auctioneer managed to get through the sixth series in four days. However, he warned in his advertisements and in the catalogue that this sale while finishing up Elihu's "intire Collection" did not include "his most valuable Jewels, unset, and Furniture in the Country."

A week later, Mr. Cock began advertising "The most valuable, and all the remaining Collection of Jewels" to be sold on April 17th, 1723.⁴ This series

¹A unique copy of the catalogue is preserved in the British Museum.

²*Daily Courant*, Feb. 18th, 1723, Feb. 20, 22, Mar. 8, 11, 13 and 15.

³The only known copy is in the British Museum.

⁴*Daily Courant*, Mar. 21, 1723, and also Mar. 30th, Apr. 9th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th and 23rd.

lasted three or four days. No catalogues are known to exist.

From the catalogues and from the advertisements it is easy to see that the Nabob of Queen Square had an extraordinary "collection" of great value, even admitting that not all of the five thousand paintings were particularly desirable. Where he kept his thousands of paintings, his hundreds of engravings, watches, snuff boxes, firearms and jewels, to say nothing of all the so-called "curiosities" is a mystery, although as has been pointed out he had four houses in London besides coach houses. Anyhow it is not surprising that Jeremy Dummer spoke of his "prodigious estate" and was disappointed not to get more out of him.

On Feb. 25, 1721, Agent Dummer wrote to Governor Saltonstall: "Mr. Yale has shipped a hundred pounds Sterl. in goods for your Colledge. They go consigned to Mr. Cradock, who carries them with him, being upon his return to Boston by Capt. Letherid. This however is but halfe what Mr. Yale promis'd me a month ago, when he assure'd me he would remit you 200 lbs. Sterl. per annum during his life, & make a settled annual provision to take place after his death. But old Gentlemen are forgetfull. I was with him last night, to refresh his memory about the books, pictures & other presents which I formerly mention'd to you, & to see if they could be ready to go with the goods, but it seems they won't be in order 'till a month hence. I shall be glad if they are ready then."¹

Probably this last gift of "goods" reached Boston safely. It was shipped on the same ship with a letter that came to Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, one of the Trustees, in March 1721. The final accounting of the sale of goods sent over by Governor Yale was not made until June 28th, 1721. The total amount realized from the sale was 562 lbs. 12s. or quite a little more than Governor Yale expected.

¹Dexter, *Documentary History of Yale University*, p. 209.

In view of Yale's interest in textiles when he was Governor of Madras it is worth noting that the inventory of the "goods" shows them to have consisted of muslins, calico, poplins, silk crape, camlett, garlix¹ and "pieces of Stufe" packed in trunks.² It should be added that these textiles were sold "for 200% advance" over "the prime cost." How the "cost" was known does not appear.

The first lot of goods was thought to be worth only 200 pounds, when news of its arrival reached the college authorities.³ If this last lot be added to it, that would make the expected value of the goods to be £300 instead of £562. To get an idea of the importance of the gift there should also be added the value of the 300 books and the painting and arms of George I which were considered to be worth about £600. This makes the actual total of his gifts, in the money of that day to be about £1162, or say \$28,000. in money of today.

Jeremy Dummer probably never saw Governor Yale again. In *The Weekly Journal* for July 8, 1721, it was reported that Elihu Yale, Esq., "commonly called Governor Yale" lies at the point of death, "at his house in Queen's Square." His death on that day was reported by *The Post Boy*.⁴ In a notice of his death which appeared in *Applebee's Original Weekly Journal* for July 15, 1721 it speaks of him as "an East-Indian merchant of very great fortunes." *The Weekly Journal* or *British Gazetteer* for July 15th also notices his death and calls him "a very eminent Merchant." On July 18th *The Daily Post* says: "Yesterday Morning the Corpse of Elihu Yale, Esq., was carry'd out of Town in order to be interr'd at Wrexham in Wales." This notice is repeated in the *Gazetteer* for July 22nd.⁵

¹Probably garlits, a kind of linen cloth, according to Mr. W. A. Slade of the Library of Congress, who, in this, as well as in many other matters, has been of the greatest assistance in the preparation of this monograph.

²Dexter, opus cit., p. 217.

³Dexter, opus cit., p. 157.

⁴No. 4987.

⁵From the files of these papers in the British Museum.

In view of the small size of these papers and the fact that it was not customary to report the death, still less the illness, of any but titled or very distinguished people, it is fair to draw the conclusion that Governor Yale was a noted person in London in his day.

Five days after his body is reported to have left London, an entry was made in the Record of Baptisms and Burials in the Church in Wrexham as follows: "July 22, 1721, Eliugh Yale, Esq., was Buryed."¹ His father and mother had been buried beneath the church floor but at his own request he was given a prominent place in the churchyard near the foot of the famous tower. An iron fence was erected around his grave and an interesting inscription was carved on one side of the tomb.²

The entry in the church records is in a crabbed hand. The spelling of the name "Eliugh" was due to someone's ignorance. All the other entries in the Vestry book carry "Elihu" spelled correctly. On the tomb as it stands today, restored by the Yale Corporation in 1874 and repaired in 1894,³ the South side bears an inscription spelt as in the Vestry records and surmounted by the letters MS which probably means that the old inscription had so far disappeared that the new one had to be copied out of the MS. records.

¹MS. Vestry Records, Wrexham.

²The iron fence shows quite plainly in an engraving by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, published in London in Sept. 1748, and so does the sun-dial that still stands near the tomb—and which originally may have been his gift. But vid. Palmer, *History of the Parish Church of Wrexham*, p. 47. The appearance and the location of the present sun-dial correspond to that in the engraving of 1748 although Palmer says it was erected in 1809, and I am informed by Canon Davies, the Vicar of Wrexham, that the dial is so marked. This may have been merely a restoration.

³MS. Records of the Yale Corporation. Secretary Carl A. Lohmann, of Yale University, writes me that on Oct. 3, 1874, the Prudential Committee of the Yale Corporation voted "to recommend to the Corporation to defray the expense of the restoration of the tomb of Governor Elihu Yale in Wrexham, Wales (\$40)." He adds that "we do not know who first reported the need of the restoration." It seems possible that it may have been Professor Franklin Bowditch Dexter who at that time was Secretary of the Corporation and who had been at Wrexham in 1873. Dexter mentions this fact in his essay on Governor Yale which was read before the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Dec. 2, 1878. He speaks of the "plain altar-tomb" and says "The inscriptions upon it have all been recut or replaced in modern times, and may not be relied upon for accuracy." He also says that the inscription on the south side which is reported to have given the date of Elihu's birth as April 5, 1648 "is now obliterated." F. B. Dexter in the *Papers of the N. H. Colony Historical Society*, III, 231, 239, 245.

On the north side is the famous verse which has been so frequently reproduced and which appears to have been somewhat altered during one of the restorations.¹ The oldest known version of the poetical epitaph is in Thomas Pennant's "Tours in Wales." Pennant (1726-1798) was a noted naturalist and a trained observer, so it is likely that he made a careful copy of the original. He even noticed that the first three lines were very properly bracketed. He gives it as follows:

Born in *America*, in *Europe* bred,
 In *Afric* travell'd, and in *Asia* wed,
 Where long he liv'd, and thriv'd; at *London* dead. }
 Much good, some ill, he did; so hope all's even,
 And that his soul, through mercy's gone to heaven.
 You that survive, and read, take care
 For this most certain exit to prepare:
 For only the actions of the just
 Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.²

The epitaph as it exists today³ and which the usually well informed Baddeley⁴ says was "restored by the Yale authorities in 1874," differs from Pennant's text in several particulars.⁵ In the first place there are no italics and there is no bracket for the triplet. In the second place it reads "Africa" instead of Afric." In the third place the words "this tale" have been added in line six, after the word "read." And, finally, the couplet which was taken from the last two lines of the song in James Shirley's "The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses" has been inexcusably butchered so as to read:

Where blest in peace, the actions of the just
 Smell sweet, and blossom in the silent dust.

A casual re-reading of the last four lines will show that originally they made better sense.

It appears probable that Elihu Yale himself composed the epitaph. He may have been helped by his

¹Palmer, *History of the Thirteen Country Townships of the Old Parish of Wrexham*, p. 252, n. 44a.

²Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, London, 1810, I, 400-401.

³My visits to the tomb were made in the latter part of August, 1937.

⁴North Wales, II, 24.

⁵The changes were made before Professor Dexter's visit, opus cit., p. 245.

son-in-law, Dudley North. The Norths were fond of music, as is shown by the musical collections in the MS North papers in the British Museum. The song, "The Glories of our blood and state" which Calchas sings "before the body of Ajax, supported by six Princes" at the close of Shirley's play, was set to music "excellently composed by Mr. Ed. Coleman."¹ In William Oldys' copy of Langbaine's "Dramatic Poets"² is a note in his handwriting in which he says that this is "the fine song which old Bowman us'd to sing to K. Charles and which he has often sung to me . . . and therein also the fine lines

Your heads must come
To the cold Tomb,
Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in their Dust."

Since this was a popular and well-known song during the lifetime of Dudley North of Glemham, and since the Norths were fond of music, it is quite likely that he was familiar with it and may possibly have helped to write the epitaph which ends with the same couplet, or nearly the same, as the song.

However that may be, Baddeley says that "the *original* side stone of the tomb is now in the Hall of Yale University."³ Apparently when, in 1874, the Corporation restored the tomb, the original (?) carved sandstone slab, much the worse for the wear and tear of its one hundred and fifty-three winters, was sent to New Haven to show the Corporation how badly a new stone had been needed. It seems to have disappeared. The tomb had been restored by the Parish in 1820.

Shortly after the death of Governor Yale, his unmarried daughter Ursula died and was buried at Latimer. Her will, preserved in Somerset House, shows her to have been interested in charity and anxious to help the poor and needy.

The will of Elihu Yale was not signed nor quite completed.

¹*Honoriam and Mammon* by James Shirley, London, 1659, p. 118.

²This copy is in the British Museum.

³*North Wales*, II, 24.

March 8, 1723, Dummer wrote Gov. Saltonstall: "The Suit in Doctors Commons about the legacy to Yale College goes on well in the main and has a good prospect. There is indeed one unfavorable circumstance attending it which I did not know until this week, that the Preamble to the will and the Schedule were distinct papers and found in different places. This will be an objection but I believe not strong enough to hinder the probate."¹ In June 1723 Dummer wrote: "The validity of Mr. Yale's will is not yet determon'd, but is depending in Doctor's Commons." July 22, 1723 Dummer wrote to Governor Saltonstall: "I am still in the Commons about Govr. Yale's will; because the Sons-in-Law use every art of delay."

In September, 1723 Dummer reports that he is going on with his "Suit in Doctor's Commons for the probate of Mr. Yale's imperfect will, as fast as the Slow proceedings of that Court & the Studyed delays of the Administratrix will permit."² The widow, Catherine Yale, had taken the oath as Administratrix in July 1722.³ Finally, Dummer reports in February, 1725 that "we lost Our Cause in the Commons by the vile decree of the Dean of the Arches (Archives?), who, I verily believe was corrupted."⁴

And so ended all hopes of getting a substantial legacy from Governor Yale. The family did not get as much as they hoped to, for the House of Lords decided adversely an appeal of Catherine Yale in a suit to recover the whole or at least part of a levy of 40,000 pounds taken by the Government on a bond signed for a defaulting employee of the Treasury by his friend Elihu. The defalcation amounted to less than 13,000 pounds, but the Government declared the whole bond forfeited.⁵

¹Dexter, *Documentary History of Yale University*, p. 237.

²Dexter, *opus cit.*, p. 244.

³MS. Registry of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Divisions of the High Court of Justice.

⁴Dexter, *opus cit.*, p. 257.

⁵*N. H. Courier-Journal*, Oct. 17, 1901. contains a copy of the documents furnished by Capt. Chas. H. Townshend of New Haven, a descendant of Elihu Yale's uncle Thomas. In the British Museum are the briefs in the case: *Katherine Yale, Widow, Relict, and Administratrix of Elihu Yale, Esq.: lately deceased, Plaintiff. His Present Majesty, Defendant. The Plaintiff in Error's CASE. The Defendant's Case.*

Catherine Yale was in the courts on a number of suits in an effort to recover some of the loans the Governor had made, including one to Sir Richard Steele in 1723.¹

When Catherine died in February 1727/8 her daughter, Lady Anne Cavendish, was appointed administratrix of her estate. And in 1734 a commission was issued to Benjamin Hynmers, executor named in the will of Catherine Yale to administer the estates of his mother and his half sister Anne.² As the step-son of Elihu Yale he owned portraits of Ursula Yale, her sister Catherine Yale North and of the Governor's wife, which he left by will to his faithful servant, Mary Hall. She left them to her brother William who, in his will, ordered them sold for the benefit of his heirs. Where they are now is still an unsolved mystery.³

Although Elihu Yale left several grandchildren, the stock soon ran out and no direct descendants of his have lived in this century. On the other hand, the College, to which he was induced to make a contribution, and which he undoubtedly intended to befriend in his will, is still flourishing. As Cotton Mather prophesied to Elihu in that famous letter, his munificence has obtained for him "a commemoration and perpetuation" of his "valuable name," "much better than an Egyptian pyramid."

¹Willard Connely, *Sir Richard Steele*, p. 397; and MS. Chancery 11/319, 5, 6, 8, 9. P.R.O. Exchequer of Pleas, Orders, E 12/35: as discovered by Miss Ruth Anna Fisher who has been of great assistance in this and other searches.

²MS. Records of Somerset House.

³Lord Chesham, the owner of the Manor at Latimer, Bucks, and of a valuable collection of portraits, has kindly sent to Yale University photographs of portraits of Dudley North of Glemham, Elihu Yale's son-in-law, and of Bishop Chandler of Durham and Mrs. Chandler whose son and daughter married Yale's granddaughter and grandson, the children of Lord James Cavendish and Anne Yale, whose portraits are yet to be located. The three portraits of Elihu Yale, now at the University, are believed to have come at various times from Glemham Hall, Suffolk. The acquisition of the first, and best-known one, is described in Stiles: *Diary*, ed. by Dexter, Vol. III, 368-369; also President Stiles' purchase of Elihu's snuff box whose tortoise shell cover is "elegantly charged with the Governor's Head in alto Relievo, and his Coat of Arms." III, 315-316. Another snuff box bearing a little known portrait of Governor Yale is in the possession of George Dudley Seymour, Esq. of New Haven. *Yale Alumni Weekly*, Jan. 28, 1927.

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