

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

CENTRAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

CALL No. 954.1405/B.P.P.
ACC. No. 31280

D.G.A. 79-

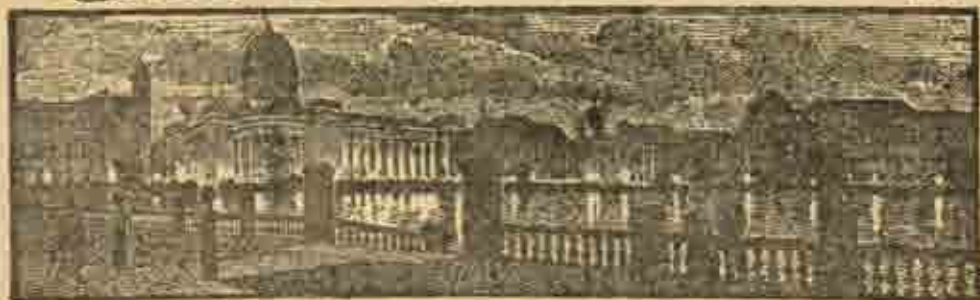
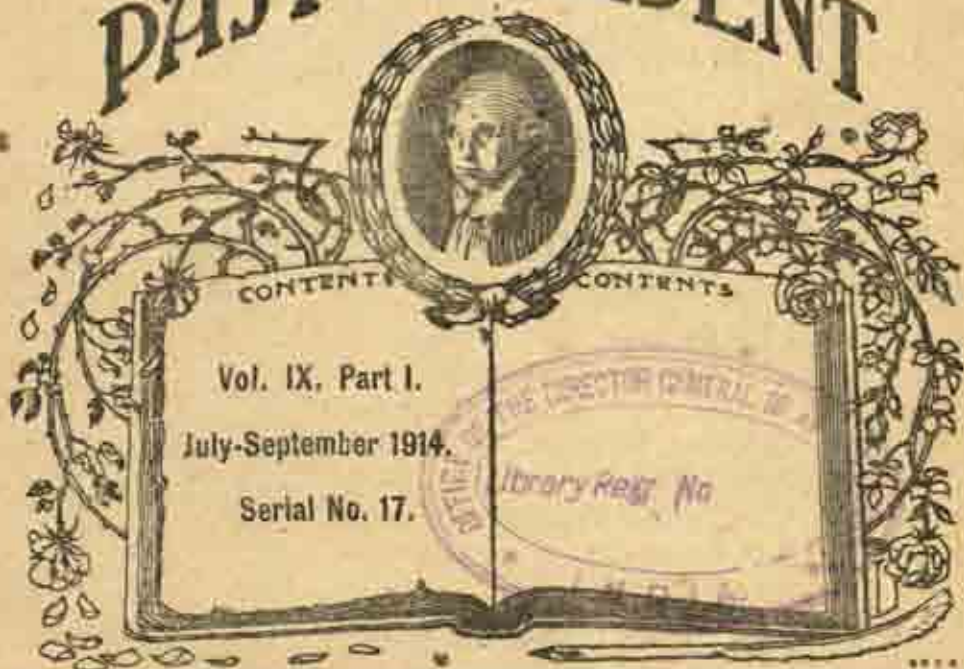
GIPN-S4-2D. G. Arch. N. D./57.-25-9-58-1,00,000.

Vol. IX. Part I. Serial No. 17.

July—September, 1914.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Price Rs. 5/- a copy.

CONTENTS.

LIST OF ARTICLES.

	PAGE.
I. THE DOMINICANS AT CHITTAGONG (1601-03) ...	1
II. A NORTH-EAST FRONTIER CEMETERY ...	6
III. LONDON-CALCUTTA STATUES ...	8
IV. THE GRANT OF THE DIWANI OF BENGA ^l BIHAR AND ORISSA 1765 ...	11
V. CHRISTIAN TOMBS AT BANKIPORE AND PATNA.	
FIRST ARTICLE ...	28
SECOND ARTICLE ...	35
VI. THE THREE FIRST TYPE-PRINTED BENGALI BOOKS ...	40
VII. LEAVES FROM THE PRESIDENT'S NOTE-BOOK ...	64
VIII. THE LETTERS OF MR. RICHARD BARWELL—II ...	78
IX. THE MEMBERS' NOTE-BOOK ...	122
X. THE SECRETARY'S NOTES ...	125

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	TO FACE PAGE.
1. JOHN ZOFFANY ...	1
2. BURIAL GROUND, GNATONG ...	6
3. STATUES OF BISHOPS OF CALCUTTA ...	8
4. MEMORIAL WINDOW, CHRIST CHURCH, CHITTAGONG ...	64
5. STATUE OF THE BUDDHA EXCAVATED AT CHITTAGONG ...	64
6. OLD ENGLISH CEMETERY, RAJMEHAL ...	74
7. THE VIZIER ALI ...	76
8. RICHARD BARWELL ...	78
9. INDIA HOUSE, LEADENHALL STREET ...	124

CORRIGENDA.

In Table I.—William Bethel *Major General*—b. 1807 for d. 15 June
1780 read d. 15 June 1880.

CONTENTS.

LIST OF ARTICLES.

	PAGE.
I. THE DOMINICANS AT CHITTAGONG (1601-03) ...	1
II. A NORTH-EAST FRONTIER CEMETERY ...	6
III. LONDON-CALCUTTA STATUES ...	8
IV. THE GRANT OF THE DIWANI OF BENGA, BIHAR AND ORISSA 1765 ...	11
V. CHRISTIAN TOMES AT BANKIPORE AND PATNA ...	28
VI. THE THREE FIRST TYPE-PRINTED BENGALI BOOKS ...	40
VII. LEAVES FROM THE PRESIDENT'S NOTE-BOOK ...	64
VIII. THE LETTERS OF MR. RICHARD BARWELL—II ...	78
IX. THE MEMBERS' NOTE-BOOK ...	122
X. THE SECRETARY'S NOTES ...	123
XI. THE LETTERS OF MR. RICHARD BARWELL—III ...	147
XII. CHRISTIAN TOMES AT BANKIPORE AND PATNA ...	176
XIII. THE CALCUTTA TOWN HALL ...	181
XIV. THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE ROSARY, MURGHUHATA CATHEDRAL ...	192
XV. MARRIAGES IN CALCUTTA, 1713—1754 ...	217
XVI. MADAME D'ARLAY AND CALCUTTA ...	244
XVII. LEAVES FROM THE PRESIDENT'S NOTE-BOOK ...	250
XVIII. REVIEW ...	258
XIX. REPRINT OF A RARE PAMPHLET ...	259
XX. MARRIAGES IN CALCUTTA, 1713—1754.—II ...	282
XXI. THE SECRETARY'S NOTES ...	285

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

TO FACE PAGE.

1. JOHN ZOFEANY ...	1
2. BURIAL GROUND, GNATONG ...	6
3. STATUES OF BISHOPS OF CALCUTTA ...	8
4. MEMORIAL WINDOW, CHRIST CHURCH, CHITTAGONG ...	64
5. STATUE OF THE BUDDHA EXCAVATED AT CHITTAGONG ...	64
6. OLD ENGLISH CEMETERY, RAJMEHAL ...	74
7. THE VIZIER ALI ...	76
8. RICHARD BARWELL ...	78
9. INDIA HOUSE, LEADENHALL STREET ...	124
10. ROBERTS OF KANDAHAR, PRETORIA AND WATERFORD ...	147
11. EXTRACT FROM REGISTER OF BAPTISMS ...	147
12. MONUMENT TO LORD CLIVE, WHITEHALL ...	154
13. ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL, MURGHUHATA ...	198
14. BUST OF FIRST LORD MINTO IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCH ...	210
15. LADY CANNING MONUMENT, ST. JOHN'S CHURCH ...	250
16. DITTO DITTO DITTO ...	252
17. SHOWERS MONUMENT, ST. JOHN'S CHURCH ...	254
18. LADY CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH—ZOFFANY'S ALTAR-PIECE ...	250
19. SAMHITU CHANDRA MOOKERJEE AND KRISTO DAS PAL ...	285

CORRIGENDA—In table I. William Bethel Major General—b. 1807 for d. 15 June 1780 read d. 15 June 1880.

CENTRAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. 31280
Date 8.8.57
Call No. 954.1405/B.P.P.

Vol. IX. Serial Nos. 17-18.

July—December, 1914.



BENGAL

954.1405

B. P. P.

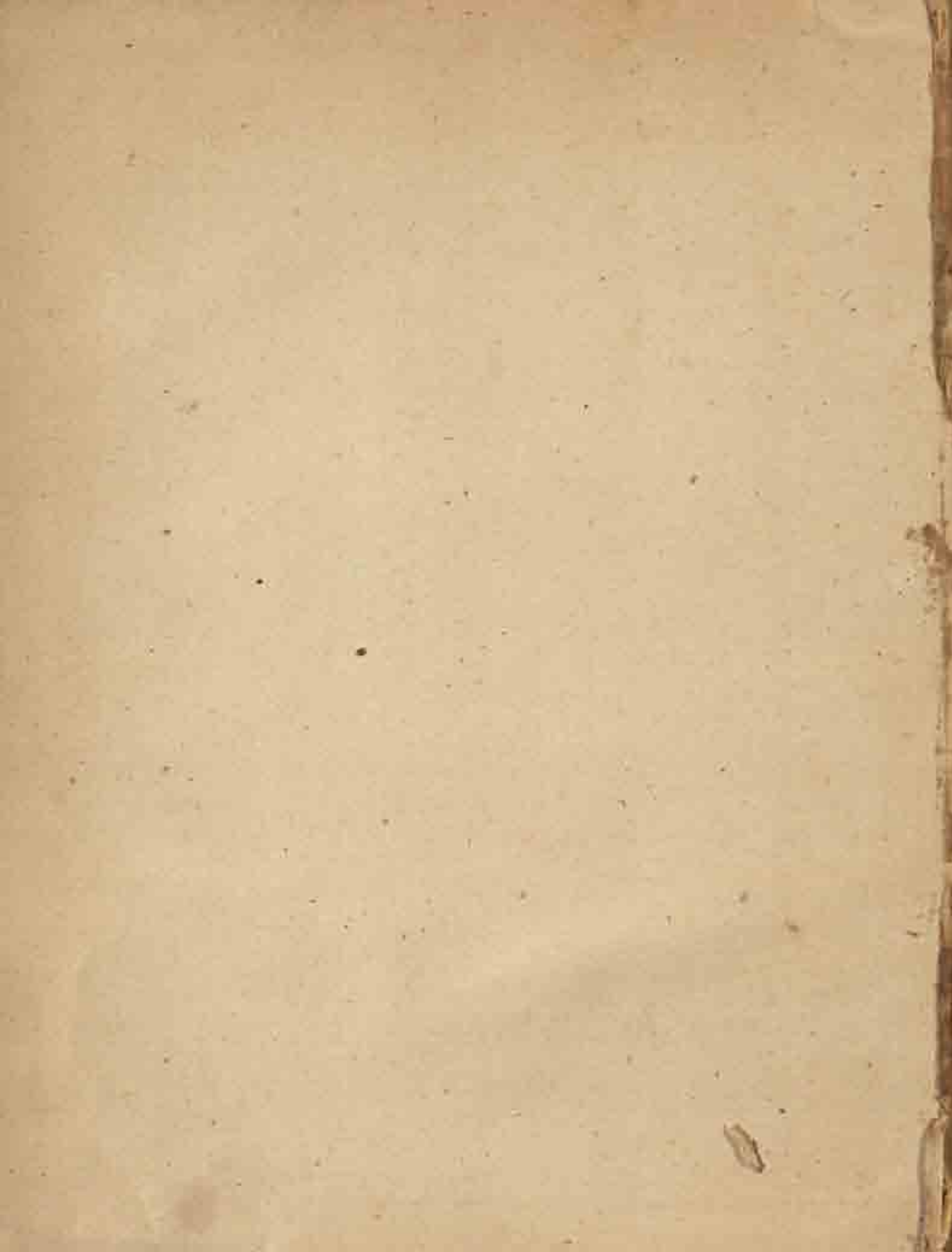
PAST & PRESENT

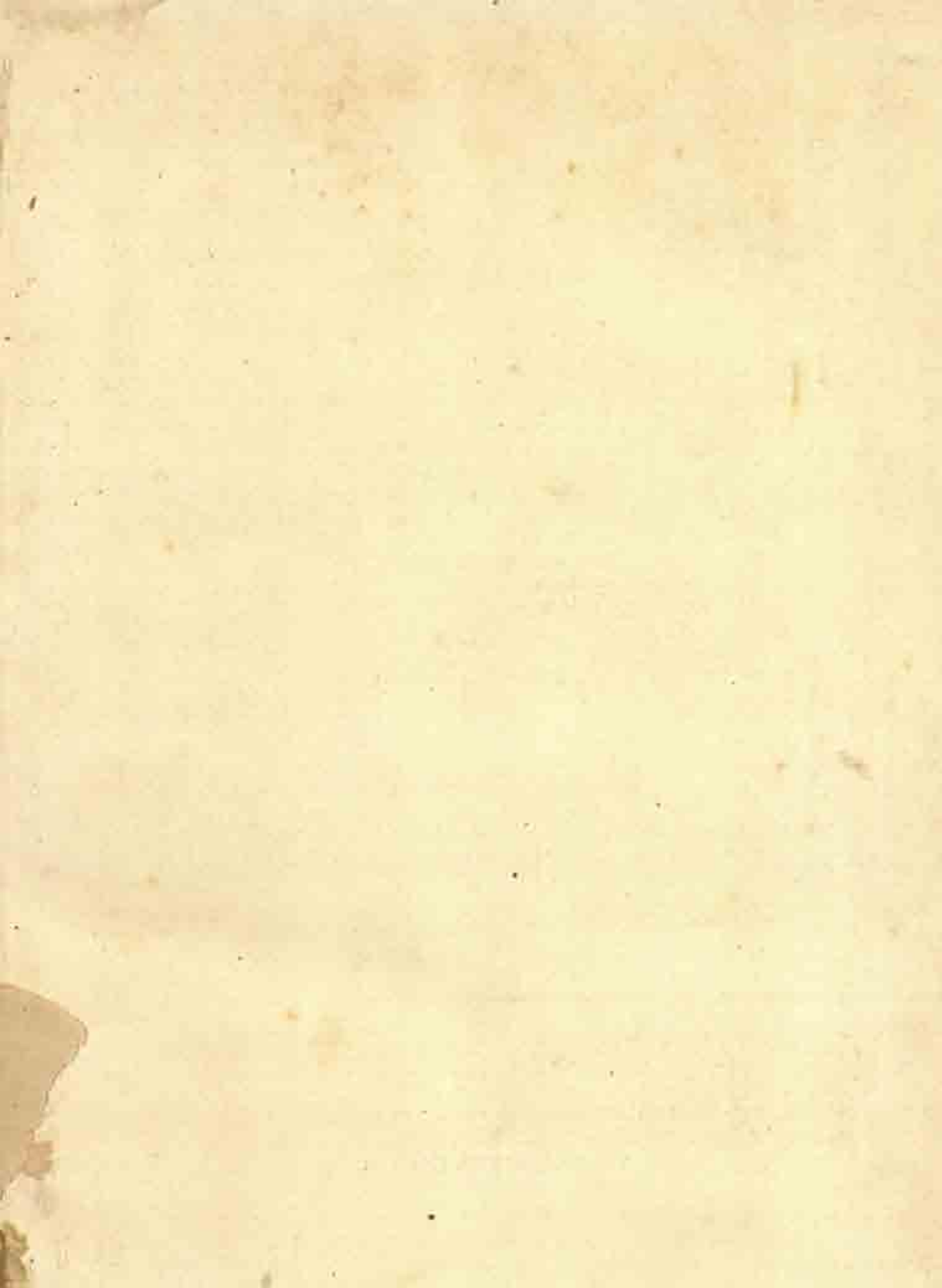


JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Price Rs. 10/- a copy.









JOHN ZOFFANY
PORTRAIT PAINTED BY THE ARTIST HIMSELF
IN
THE UFFIZI GALLERY, FLORENCE.



The Dominicans at Chittagong. (1601—03)

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S. J.

(From: FREY LUIS DE CACEGAS' *Historia de S. Domingos . . . re-formada . . . e amplificada . . . por Fr. Luis de Sousa . . . Lisboa, Antonio Rodrigues Galhardo, 1767, Vol. III, Liv. V., C. XI).*

[P. 356] Father Frey Gaspar d' Assumpção's journey to Bengala;
the Church and House which he built; and his doings
there, until the destruction of the Church by the
Infidels and its reconstruction.

IT is our intention to speak not only of the Houses of the Order of St. Dominic in the East where Our Lord has his Tabernacles at present, but also of all those in which it laboured for some time. Accordingly, we continue to narrate the journeys which we find were undertaken for the purpose by its Religious and to mention the Houses founded by them, even if they have ceased to exist. In this matter, we can keep no better order than speaking first of the former, as we are going to do, and secondly of the Houses still extant. Bengala is one of the richest Provinces of the East, one of the most fertile in all natural products; hence, it is the resort of all those whom their misfortunes or their evil lives force to seek other homes; for, on arriving in Bengala, they find at once a livelihood and a remedy to their poverty, whether they follow the mercantile or the military profession. But, as the country is inhabited by Gentooes, those of them who were lax in the Christian Faith [357] find there a high-road to Hell. And so the dissoluteness and moral depravity reigning among large numbers of Portuguese settled there was general and extreme. Bengala was a nest of brigands and criminals, when the merciful Lord cast compassionating eyes on their utter wretchedness, and moved the hearts of the best among them to seek a remedy to their evils. They wrote to the Vicar General of our Congregation, insisting with great urgency and expressions of genuine Christian feeling that Ministers be sent to them to administer the Sacraments, preach to them and instruct them. The Prelate entrusted this undertaking, one well worthy of appealing to our

Order, as it seemed, to Fathers Frey Gaspar d'Assumpção and Frey Belchior da Luz.¹ Father Gaspar readily assented, considering with great zeal that it would be much to God's honour, if he could turn those Souls away from the road of perdition which they were following. He thought that if, even at the cost of great pains, he could gain for Heaven but one Soul, it would be meritorious enough in the eyes of Him Who, in His infinite bounty, bids all His Angels rejoice over one sinner that turns to Him. Taking leave from the Prelate, he left for Bengala and arrived at Dianga.² According to the most reliable accounts this was in 1601.³ However, I find others shifting the fact by two years, to the year 1603. On his arrival he was met by the inhabitants, and they, wishing that what they had asked should be commenced that very day, started carting timber, straw and mats, the ready materials afforded by land and mountain, for the country produces neither stone nor lime. In a short time a Hermitage, and not a small one, was erected, which was to serve for many Parishioners. To it were added poor lodgings for the Friars, consisting of five cells. Frey Gaspar approached the Altar full of holy emotions, and there, within sight of the Idolaters and those who, born in the pale of the Catholic Church, were treading the ways of evil more guiltily than many of them and nearer to the brink of the infernal pit, he celebrated that most Divine of Mysteries, the memorial and beginning of all good things to us, the remedy and end of all our woes. The people pressed upon one another in their eagerness to witness what they knew no longer, but only just remembered; they made a return upon themselves, and seeing how God, from whom they had wilfully fled, had come in search of them, they pondered upon the pity of it. Confessions followed, and penances. Lives were amended, and Frey Gaspar considered himself amply repaid for his labours.

A Preacher of repute from Meliapor, where he resided, Frey João das Chagas,⁴ came to Frey Gaspar's help. We are not sure whether he is the same as the one we mention in our account of Soler, or another of the same name. The month of September of the year 1602 was coming to a close. He determined to preach at the Feast of St. Michael. All went to hear the new Preacher. And he, knowing the sort of men he had to deal with, and seeing the opportunity which the Gospel of the Feast gave him in the words

¹ The only thing we know about Fr. Belchior da Luz is that he went to Martaban and Siam from the Convent of Bengala, i. e., Chittagong, but the year is not given. Fr. João dos Santos states in his *Athleptia* that he returned to Bengala later, where he was wrecked and drowned while travelling on one of the rivers. (Cf. *Terceliza parte da Hist. de S. Domingos*, Liv. v, C. viii.)

² Dianga, the Portuguese Bandal or settlement near Chittagong, was on the south bank of the Karnaphuli River.

³ In a marginal note: "O P. Fr. João dos Santos, l. 2. c. 10 da *Christandade Oriental*."

⁴ Frey João das Chagas was evidently a Dominican.

of the Lord: "*Nisi efficiamini sicut parvuli, [358] non intrabitis in Regnum Cælorum,*" that is, "Unless you become as little children, you shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven," he, I say, pitched his thoughts higher and higher, his style and diction grew more and more eloquent, and he enlarged on that Divine saying with such Fervour that his words fell like blazing sparks upon the audience, setting hearts aflame with love of God, sorrow and contrition for sins, as the sighs and sobs of their breasts and the tears from their eyes plainly testified. It was something so novel for those parts that the Portuguese wondered at their own selves, while the natives, accustomed to see and hear among them nothing but quarrelling, swaggering and savagery, were enchanted to witness these demonstrations of humaneness and gentleness. But all this was nothing compared to what happened after the Sermon, when one of the hearers, whom mere curiosity or sociality had brought there, was seen to cast himself at the Preacher's feet. Such was the sad plight of his life and conscience that he had lost all fear of God and shame before men, and it was notorious that he had not made his confession for the last twelve years. The Preacher, who had heard of the man's evil ways, was surprised. And the Penitent, knowing that he was not believed and did not deserve to be, with new marks of self-abasement appealed to the Wounds of the Good Jesus, imploring that for their sake he would deign to hear his confession and cure a sinner who felt that in all his Soul not a spot was sound. Like the good Father of the Prodigal, the Preacher took him up in his arms, encouraged him, consoled him. And there and then his confession was heard. And it was such, and such were the effects which followed, that all the world could see it was the work of the Holy Spirit. For he changed his conduct, amended his life, and persevered in approaching the Sacraments. And just as every man is wont to love the place where he has met with some good fortune, so this man remained ever after devout and devoted to the Habit of St. Dominic.

The Preacher wound up his Sermon by saying that the next Sunday, the first Sunday of October, the Fathers were going to celebrate the Feast and Procession of Our Lady of the Rosary, a solemnity which Dianga had never yet seen. He spoke of some of the favours and graces with which Our Lady enriches her devotees, he recounted the ample indulgences granted by the Supreme Pontiffs which they could gain, and called on them all to prepare for receiving them worthily. The people, still under the impression made on all by the Preaching, came in such numbers to the poor hut of the Fathers to make their confession that, three days before the Feast, four Fathers did not leave the Confessional from morning to night. And now the eve had come. And when the day of the Feast at last broke, it is said that more than five hundred persons received Holy Communion. A Father of the

Society of Jesus, who had been invited to preach on the occasion, remarked it and referred to it, saying that the like of it had never been seen in Bengala.¹

Our Lady of the Rosary wished to honour her Feast by averting a disaster which lay lurking for the no small affliction [359] of the Fathers and loss to the laity. Within and without the house, wherever the Procession was to pass, the place was adorned with everything of the best which Dianga could procure: silks and carpets and the jewels of the richest inhabitants. The Religious had prepared a bier (*charola*²) for Our Father St. Dominic, on which they had lavished—as there was only one—a treasure of precious stones and gold cloths, some hanging, other garnishing the columns. The richest ornaments of all encircled the Cope and Habit of the Saint. The Church was still closed, when, no one can say how, from a candle burning near by a spark fell upon the *charola*, which caught fire on the side where it was ornamented with cotton. What with the dryness of the weather and the inflammable nature of the material, the fire spread quick as gunpowder, and the flames flared up to the roof of the House, which being made of reeds and straw, a disastrous conflagration was imminent. All in a tremble the Fathers ran to the rescue to extinguish with carpets the flames of the *charola* and prevent their communicating to the ornaments on the walls. Slaves and servants mounted on the roof, all calling on Our Lady for help. Her blessed assistance failed not. The *charola* having been quickly saved, the flames which were seizing upon the roof, so much so that no human agency could now master them, suddenly went out by themselves, and before the servants reached them. No serious loss or damage resulted.

But what shall we say of the judgments of God? Less than thirty days later, Church and house were burnt down and nothing was left standing. It would seem that the first fire, a peaceful one due to carelessness, presaged the second, which war was to kindle of set purpose. The King of Arracão appeared in the harbour with a powerful Fleet, and, landing unexpectedly, while the place could offer but little resistance, he sacked everything.³ The Religious succeeded in gaining a small gunboat lying in the harbour. The sudden attacks threatening them brought them repeatedly face to face with death, until at last there was question of peace, and the King of the enemies

¹ There were at least two Jesuits at Chittagong at that time: Fr. Andrew Boyes and Fr. Francis Fernandes.

² The word *charola* is probably still used in Eastern Bengal for a bier with an open niche in which a statue is placed.

³ During these troubles Fr. Fernandes was so ill-used that one of his eyes was nearly plucked out. On November 12, 1602, he expired in prison, and Fr. Boyes, a prisoner himself, was allowed to bury him on the site of the church then in ruins. This church or chapel was probably distinct from that of the Dominicans.

himself stipulated as one of the conditions that the Friars should remain in the country. And he came himself to speak with them and ask them to stay, thinking that peace with the Portuguese would never be stable unless they had Priests with them, specially those of St. Dominic, whom he showed he esteemed and prized highly. And he was so much in earnest on their remaining that he had a new Church and House built for them at his own expense. And the rapidity with which it was erected showed the power and pleasure displayed in its construction. For the Friars said the first Mass in it on the Feast of Our Lady's Purification of the next year 1603. The new Vicar was Father Frey Manoel de Gama, a Member of the Convent of Cochim. Leaving Father Frey Gaspar d'Andrade to take this place, he went to Seripur to administer the Sacraments to the Portuguese residing there. And for the same purpose he sent Father Frey Francisco do Avelar to Bacalá. In the midst of these zealous labours, Father Frey Joáo das Chagas informed the Vicar General [360] of the dangers and treacherous wars menacing their Residence and the little protection it afforded. Hence it is that they were told to abandon it, and that no Friars of St. Dominic are now living in those parts.¹

¹ We have then the names of 6 Dominicans who within a few years laboured at Chittagong and along the Meghna: Fathers Gaspar d'Assumpção, Belchior da Luz, Joáo das Chagas, Manoel de Gama, Gaspar d'Andrade, and Francisco do Avelar. On two occasions Fr. Francisco d'Annuncição went to Arakan, once from Siriam (Pegu) in 1607, and once from Goa in 1620 or 1621.

The parts referring to Burma have been sent to *The Voice*, Rangoon.

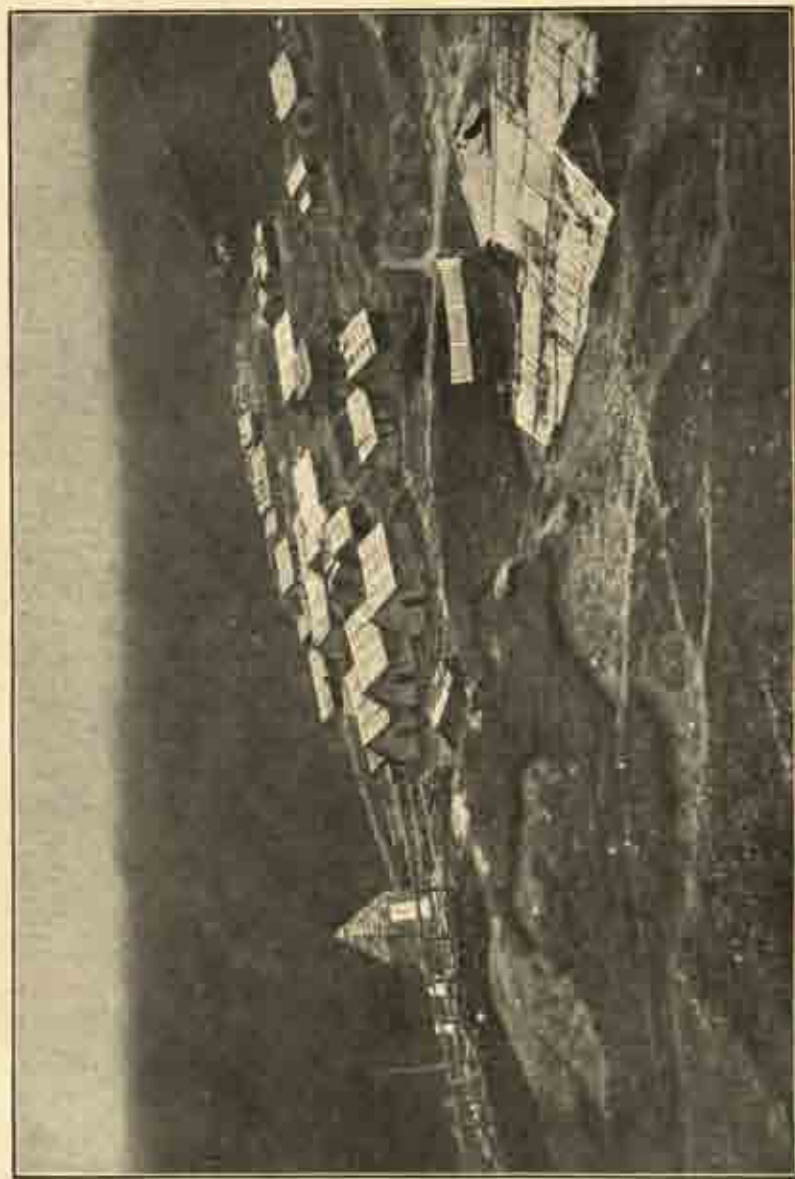
A North-East Frontier Cemetery.

ON a knoll to the South-East of the bazar at Gnatong, eight miles from the top of the Jelap Pass into the Chumbi Valley of Tibet, is the small and lonely military cemetery depicted in the accompanying photograph.

Gnatong is an important village of some forty huts on the trade route from Sikkim to Tibet. It lies in a hollow at an elevation of 12,300 feet above sea level, and 1000 feet below the Taku La Pass, the scene of a fight between the Tibetans and British Indian Troops in 1888. Gnatong was an important frontier camp during the Sikkim Expedition of 1888-9, and again during the progress of the Tibet Mission and Expeditionary Force which reached Lhasa on the 4th August, 1904. The remains of many wooden huts still exist which were used by the troops during the above expeditions. The best of these huts is used as the Dak Bungalow. In the bazar is a good rest house for native travellers to and from Sikkim, Tibet and Bhutan.

The little military cemetery is on a knoll above the village. It is fenced round with a low wall and is oval shaped. Within the fence is the Connaught Rangers' obelisk and 13 graves, where lie the remains of men of the British regiments who died during the operations. The strong masonry obelisk of the Connaughts is at one end of the oval, and behind it are the 13 graves in four rows. Some of them have wooden crosses with the names and dates of those who lie beneath; others have stone or marble slabs; some in position and a few lying round, which have never been put in site. One of these graves is surrounded by a wooden railing and the inscription is:—

To
The Memory of
Major A. BEAN,
Superintendent,
Field Post Office, Tibet Mission Force,
Who died
Between Kapup and Gnatong
on
The 3rd March, 1904,
Aged
40 Years.



BURIAL GROUND GNATONQ.

Photo by Lieut-Col. W. J. Buchanan.

100

The masonry obelisk of the Connaughts has the following inscription :—

To

The Men of the 88th. 1st. Batt., Connaught Rangers,

Who died

During the occupation of Gnatong,

January 1889 to October 1890,

R. I. P.

Erected

by

The Officers, N. C. Os., and Men of the Battalion 1909.

W. J. BUCHANAN.

London-Calcutta Statues.

(Also a Deposed Banner and a Doomed House).

*Dead the banner, barred the portal,—
Death alone lives on immortal;
Naught but shadow-shapes are we :—
Miserere Domine !*

*Down the Lane comes London laughter ;—
Of To-days is made Hereafter.
Look, the living Park there bright,—
Shadows all are born of Light.*

THERE are at least four public statues in London each of which is either a replica (or nearly so) of another in Calcutta, and there may be more. Mr. Tweed's "Clive" (it successfully faced the criticism of an Academy season), Chantrey's kneeling "Heber" ("the good divine, charming poet, and beloved parish priest" of Thackeray's remark), Theed's "Sir William Peel," and Boehm's "Napier of Magdala" are not only dominating adornments of "Belvedere," the maidan St. Paul's, the Eden Gardens river approach and Prinsep's Ghat, but also of Whitehall, Wren's St. Paul's, Thornhill's "Painted Hall" at Greenwich, and Lower Waterloo Place : each an eloquently silent reminder of the essential unity of spirit of the two premier cities. A colossal model of "Outram" of Chowringhee is in the great nave of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, and I possess a photograph of the original as it looked before despatch to the East when for a while "the Bayard" charmed the Londoners of the mid-sixties from almost the very site (destined for "King Edward") now held by "Napier", close to the Athenaeum (not the U. S.) Club.

The Red Road's "Roberts" is also in full sized model at Paxton's Palace.

A volume might well be written on the London-Calcutta statues and memorials. In 1912 I contributed a series of articles about them to *Notes & Queries*—a purely tentative attempt at bringing together interesting facts ; as a quarry of material for use in a fuller work it may not be without value to historical writers of the future.

I enclose with this a photograph of the London "Heber" which knelt formerly under the East Window, but now faces the Sanctuary in the South Aisle of the Choir of St. Paul's, and another of Bishop Middleton's



HEBER.



MIDDLETON.

STATUES OF
BISHOPS OF CALCUTTA,
IN
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
LONDON.

1784

1784

1784

1784

1784

tremendous sculptural group, by Lough, in the South Aisle of the Nave. The inscription thereon is also tremendous, (I am not transcribing it for this article as I believe the space available to me in *Bengal Past & Present* to be otherwise). Of other Calcutta marble men in St. Paul's is Bacon's Sir William Jones, one of the Cathedral original quartette occupying "the four posts of honour in front of the great supports" (the three others being the same artist's "Howard" and "Johnson" and Flaxman's "Reynolds"). Rossi's "Cornwallis," in the South Transept, is also an impressive arrangement.

At the Abbey are Scheemaker's "Rear Admiral Charles Watson" and Bacon's bust of Warren Hastings (the descriptions of which in the Abbey Guide's latest edition have been recently re-written at my suggestion), with Hagbolt's bust of James Rennell and other carven "echoes of old Calcutta" too fascinating for me to venture to touch upon now.

When in July, 1913, the banners of former Knights of the Bath were removed from Chapel of Henry VII to make way for those of the present Knights, I (with permission) took the opportunity to examine those taken down to find, if possible, that of Sir Philip Francis. It was a strange experience the turning over of the crumbling relics of long departed greatness. When I press my thumb against a finger I can still feel there the crinkling of the phantom fabric of the dead silks. The banner of Sir Philip was not among those I handled, though it had hung next but one (I believe) to the end on the right of a spectator facing the altar; but a search under the seal of the choir-stall below revealed the Knight's stall-plate. The area of operations was limited, and the use of matches innumerable very necessary; but I located the plate, while a friendly verger restrained the curiosity of onlookers doubtless scenting the beginnings of another militant outrage in the Abbey. At my suggestion the Vicar of Mortlake, in whose church Francis is buried, made enquiries in view to the practicability of placing the banner discarded by the Abbey near the grave. It had, however, so the Vicar wrote to me, been already claimed by Mr. P. Francis.

The London house in which Warren Hastings lived during the long anxious years of his Trial is now closed. I passed it a few days ago; the entrance boarded up and the usual House-agent's notices of sale desecrating the front. The last house at the Oxford Street end of Park Lane, it (larger probably than in Hastings' time) commands a superb view of the Park, with the marble arch only a few yards away. The quiet garden is still there, but it has at one end for a boundary the wall of one of London's very latest "Sinnymar" palaces, a gorgeous edifice representative of an order of society somewhat out of harmony with the ideals of Warren's day. Perhaps it is as well that the old house should go. Alipore Lane is not what it was, neither is Park Lane. I turned from the boarded door and went inside the palace.

It was dark inside, and shadows hovering there added strangely to the uncertainty of the gloom. There was one shadow that flickered for a moment to catch my eye before the lights went up,—it was only for a moment—it was at the "house" end of the "Sinnymar," and I am inclined to think, it had come inside from somewhere "over the garden wall."

I shall walk wide of Tyburn corner until I hear that the old house is down; I hope I have seen my last of it, of the sad little garden and the appealing porch. Can it be that after all the only real realities of to-day are the "Sinnymars"? *Their* performance is continuous.

WILMOT CORFIELD.

The Grant of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1765.

"I observed to him [Lord Chatham] that it was necessary for him to determine whether it was an object for the Company or the State; for I was persuaded, if the State neglected it, the Company, in process of time, would secure it for their greater quiet and safety, exclusive of gain." Walsh to Clive, 26th November, 1759.

LORD Clive arrived in Calcutta, on his second period as Governor, on the 3rd of May 1765, but in the past half year, the Calcutta Government, under Spencer's brief regime, had done much to increase the Company's power. Feeling that he was possessed of a mandate "to cleanse the Augean stable" Clive, but for an unflinching belief in his own personal power, might well have been dismayed by the thought he was about to pit himself against a Council which could credit itself with the completion of a difficult war, the increase of the Company's territory, and an improved treaty with the Subahdar of Bengal. A farman from the Emperor, dated December 29, 1764, had assigned to the Company "the country of Ghazipoor and the rest of the Zemindari of the Rajah Bulwant Singh, belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah-ul-Dowla; other regulation and government thereof we have given to their disposal, in the same manner as it was in the Nabob Shujah-ul-Dowla's. The aforesaid Rajah having settled terms with the chief of the English Company, is, according thereto, to pay the revenues to the Company."

In February, 1765,¹ moreover, the old Nawab Mir Jafar had died, and his son, Najmu-u-Daulah on February 20th entered into a treaty by which he signed away one of the most important elements of sovereignty.

¹ Mill says (*History of British India*, Vol. III. p. 250) that Mir Jafar, "after languishing several weeks at Calcutta, returned to Moorshedabad, loaded with disease, and died in January 1765." Mir Jafar seems to have returned to his capital on December 19 1764, and on December 20 he ordered Nanda Kumar "to manage the business of the country and revenues." Mir Jafar died on February 6, 1765. Imperial Record Department: *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 377. During the administration of Vansittart, Nandocomar's treacherous and criminal character had been exposed.

"IV. I do confirm to the Company, as a fixed resource for defraying the ordinary expenses of their troops, the Chucklahs of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong in as full a manner as heretofore ceded by my father. The sum of five lacks of sicca rupees per month for their maintenance, was further agreed to be paid by my father and I agree to pay the same out of my treasury, whilst the exigency for keeping up so large an army continues. When the Company's occasions will admit a diminution of the expenses they are put to, on account of their troops, the Governor and Council will then relieve me from such a proportion of this assignment as the increased expenses incurred by keeping up the whole force necessary for the defence of the provinces will admit of: and, as I esteem the Company's troops entirely equal thereto and as my own, I will only maintain such as are immediately necessary for the dignity of my person and government, and the business of my collections throughout the provinces."

The second article bestowed on Muhammad Riza Khan the office of Naib Subah, in which was vested the management of the Subahdari, and of this trust he was not to be dispossessed without the consent of the Company.

So affairs stood on Clive's arrival in May. Having set in motion his principal machinery of reform—the Select Committee,¹ Clive started up country on June 25. He had already, on the occasion of a visit from the Nawab, turned a willing ear to the tale of how the Naib Subah had depleted the treasury of Murshidabad by payment of presents to the English who had come thither as a deputation on the occasion of the Nawab's accession. Clive's present business at the capital, however, was not to listen to complaints, but to prepare for the virtual cession of the whole civil authority of the Nawab to the English Company. "Regulating the country government was the next object of our attention. We found the Nabob highly dissatisfied² with those plenary powers vested in Mahomed Reza Cawn, who by virtue of the treaty acted in quality of prime minister and enjoyed uncontrolled authority. This unlimited sway, lodged in the hands of a single person, appeared dangerous to the present establishment, which we thought it becoming to maintain, as having been formally ratified by

¹ This Committee, which had been given extraordinary powers during a crisis Clive turned into a permanent organ of government. *Vide* Mill, *History of British India*, Vol. III, p. 375. (5th edition) 1858.

² In the margin of the copy of Verelst's *Vies* in the possession of the present writer Archibald Swinton, who played no small part in the events of this period, writes against the above passage, "No doubt he (the Nawab) was; but he had far greater reason to be dissatisfied with his situation afterwards."

the Governor and Council. To amend the very obvious defects in the treaty, without reversing the principles on which it was founded, was consistent with equity, whilst it met with the Nabob's own approbation,¹ and the most effective means of doing this seemed to us to consist in an equal partition of ministerial influence. As Mahomed Reta Cawn's short administration was irreproachable, we determined to constitute him in a share of the authority, at the same time that we associated with him men of weight and character; so that each became a check upon the other. Accordingly we fixed on Juggut Seat [Seth] and Roydullab [Rai Durlabh], for the reasons assigned in the Proceedings: and we now have the pleasure to acquaint you that the business of the Government goes on with unanimity, vigour and dispatch."²

Ten years earlier, the idea of "regulating the country government" would have seemed to the Company's servants the dream of a madman. Lord Clive was now to regulate the affairs of the Mughal himself. The Company in England had expressed its disapproval of the recent acquisition of new territory, and therefore in the treaty between the Nawabs of Oudh and Bengal on the one hand and the English Company on the other, dated August 16th, 1765, it was agreed:

- "4. The King (Shah Aalum) shall remain in full possession of Korah, and such part of the province of Allahabad as he now possesses, which are ceded to His Majesty as a royal demesne for the support of his dignity and expenses.
5. His Highness (*i.e.*, the Nawab of Oudh) Shuja-ud-Daula, engages in a most solemn manner to continue Bulwant Singh in the Zemindaries of Benares and Ghazepore, and all those districts he possessed at the time he came over to the late Nabob Jaffir Ally Khan and the English, on the condition of his paying the same revenue as heretofore.
6. It being firmly resolved to restore to His Highness the country of Benares and the other districts now rented by Bulwant Singh, notwithstanding the grant of the same from the King to the

¹ Swinton asks: "Who gave away the Nabob's treasures, in the Nabob's name against his will, for the appointment of himself to plenary power, diametrically opposite to the Nabob's inclinations?"

² Clive and the Select Committee to the Court, September 30, 1765. Hastings (Consultations, 12th July 1772) thus defines the office of "Naib Subah" or "Naib Na'im": "According to its original constitution, (it) comprehends the superintendency of his (the Nawab's) education, the management of his household, the regulation of his expenses, the representation of his person, the chief administration of justice, the issuing of all orders and the direction of all measures which respect the government and police of the provinces, the conduct of all public negotiations, and execution of treasures, in a word, every branch of executive government."

English Company; it is, therefore, agreed that they shall be ceded to His Highness in the manner following:—*viz.*, they shall remain in the hands of the English Company with their revenues, till the expiration of the agreement between Bulwant Singh and the Company, being on the 27th November next; after which His Highness shall enter into possession, the Fort of Chunar excepted, which is not to be evacuated, until the 6th article of this treaty be fully complied with.

7. His Highness shall allow the English Company to carry on a trade, duty-free, through his dominions."¹

By articles of Agreement, dated August 19, 1765, it was arranged that the Nawab of Bengal, Najmu-u-daulah, should pay to the Mughal Emperor the sum of twenty-six lakhs of rupees per annum, in regular monthly payments of Rupees 2,16,666-10-0, the first payment to be made on September 1, 1765.² As the English Company were to be security for the payment of this sum, the Emperor Shah Alam, on August 12, had already made over to the Company,³ "the dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, from the beginning of the Fussal Rubby of the Bengal Year 1172 as a free gift and ultungan [*altamgha*] without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the Dewannee, which used to be paid to the court."

This grant of the diwani necessitated a new agreement between the Nawab Najmu-u-daulah. On September 30, the Nawab agreed to accept the annual sum of sicca rupees 5,386,131-9-0 as "an adequate allowance for the support of the Nizamut."⁴ Of this sum, Rupees 3,607,277-8-0 was to be expended on the maintenance of troops for "the support of my dignity only," and this expenditure was to be controlled, not by the Nawab himself, but by an official named in the treaty.

Lord Clive's estimate of the importance of the new acquisition is set forth in the following passage of the General Letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors, 30th September, 1765:—

"22. The perpetual struggles for superiority between the Nabobs and your Agents, together with the recent proofs before us of notorious and avowed corruption, have rendered us unanimously of opinion, after the most mature deliberation that no other method can be suggested of laying

¹ Alcockson: *Treaties etc.*, Vol. I. pp. 89-91.

² Op. Cit. V. I. p. 229.

³ Op. Cit. p. 227.

⁴ Some misleading conclusions have been formed by writers who ignore the fact that this sum does not represent the Nawab's gross personal income, but what was allowed out of the revenues for "the support of the Nizamut."

an axe to the root of all these evils than that of obtaining the dewanee of Bengal, Behar and Orissa for the Company. By establishing the power of the great Mogul, we have likewise established his rights: and his Majesty, from principles of gratitude, of equity and of policy, has thought proper to bestow this employment on the Company, the nature of which is the collecting of all the revenues, and defraying all the expenses of the army, and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the Nizamut, to remit the remainder to Delhi, and wherever the King shall reside or direct. But as the King has been graciously pleased to bestow on the Company forever such surplus as shall arise from the revenues, upon certain stipulations and agreements expressed in the sunnud, we have settled with the Nabob with his own free consent that the sum of 53 lacks shall be annually paid to him for the support of his dignity and all contingent expenses, exclusive of the charge of maintaining an army, which is to be defrayed out of the revenues ceded to the Company by this royal grant of dewanny;¹ and indeed the Nabob has abundant reason to be well satisfied with the conditions of this agreement,² whereby a fund is secured to him, without trouble or danger, adequate to all the purposes of such grandeur and happiness as a man of his sentiments has any conception of enjoying; more would serve only to disturb his quiet, endanger his government, and sap the foundation of that solid structure of power and wealth, which, at length, is happily reared and completed by the Company, after a vast expense of blood and treasure.

"23. By this acquisition of the Dewanny, your possessions and influence are rendered paramount and secure, since no future Nabob will either have the power, or riches sufficient, to attempt your over-throw, by means either of force or corruption. All revolutions must henceforward be at an end, as there will be no fund for secret services, for donations, or for restitutions. The Nabob cannot answer the expectations of the venal and mercenary, nor will the Company comply with demands, injurious to themselves, out of their own revenues. The experience of years has convinced us that a division of power is impossible without generating discontent, and hazarding the whole; all must belong either to the Company or the Nabob. We leave you to judge which alternative is the most desirable and the most expedient in the present circumstances of affairs. As to ourselves, we know of no other system we could adopt, that would less affect the Nabob's

¹ Contrast this statement with the terms of the Agreement with Najmu-u-Daulah.

² Swinton comments: "By this is to be understood that he would rather have this sum than less; and, in short, that he consented to be called Nabob on these terms rather than not be Nabob at all. The next section gives a more just statement of the case, acknowledging that a division of power is impossible without generating discontent and hazarding the whole, and that all must belong to the Company or the Nabob."

dignity, and at the same time secure the Company against the fatal effects of future revolutions, than this of the Dewanny. The power is now lodged where it can only be lodged with safety to us, so that we may pronounce with some degree of confidence that the worst which will happen in the future to the Company will proceed from temporary ravages only, which can never become so general as to prevent your revenues from yielding a sufficient fund to defray your civil and military charges, and furnish your investments."

It is necessary to pause at this stage, in order to show that the momentous transfer of the office of Diwan from the Nawab to the Company was no original idea of Lord Clive.

In the General Letter to the Court, of December 31, 1758 the President and Council write (para. 9):

"The success in Bengal has acquired us so great a reputation at the Court of Delhi, that the Vazier has several times addressed himself to the President to use his interest with the Subah to comply with the Royal mandate in paying the revenue due to the Mogul from his Subahship; and you will observe in the book of correspondence by letters from Setaub Roy the Vazier's agent, that the Court is extremely desirous of appointing the President the Collector of this revenue, amounting to 30 lack of rupees annually. The person invested with this employ, who is stiled the King's Duan, is the second man of rank in the kingdom; such a dignity annexed to your Presidency would give extraordinary weight to the Company in the Empire, which nothing could be able to remove; however, though repeated proposals have been made to the President, yet, at this critical conjunction, he has been under the necessity of evading them, and managing his answers in such a manner as to protract time in the expectation of a more favourable opportunity. The accepting this employ might occasion jealousy on the part of the Subah, and we are unwilling to cause him any dissatisfaction at a time when our small force is engaged another way, especially as you, Gentlemen, give us so little hopes for reinforcement from home."

The suggestion that the English should become Dewan thus originated in 1758 with the Mughal, and, as will be seen, it was pressed on the English again in 1761 and 1763. Lord Clive, however, had reasons for hesitancy over and above these explained in the foregoing extract. He was, in fact, on the point of proposing to Pitt that the Diwani should be accepted in the name, not of the Company, but of the English Nation. On the 7th January, 1759, he wrote to Pitt:—

"So small a body as two thousand Europeans will secure us against any apprehensions from either one or the other (Mir Jafar or Mir Miran): and that in case of their daring to be troublesome, enable the Company to

take the sovereignty upon themselves.¹ There will be the less difficulty in bringing about such an event, as the natives themselves have no attachment whatever to particular princes; and as, under the present Government, they have no security for their lives or properties, they would rejoice in so happy an exchange as that of a mild for a despotic Government; and there is little room to doubt our easily obtaining the Moghul's sunnud in confirmation thereof, provided we agreed to pay him the stipulated allotment out of the revenues, *via.*, fifty lacs annually. This has of late years been very ill-paid, owing to the distractions in the heart of the Moghul Empire, which have disabled that court from attending to their concerns in the distant provinces; and the Vizier has actually wrote to me, desiring I would engage the Nabob to make the payments agreeable to the former usage; nay, further, application has been made to me from the Court of Delhi, to take charge of collecting this payment, the person entrusted with which is styled the King's Dewan, and is the next person both in dignity and power to the Soubah. But this high office I have been obliged to decline for the present, as I am unwilling to occasion any jealousy on the part of the Soubah; especially as I see no likelihood of the Company's providing us with a sufficient force to support properly so considerable an employ, and which would open a way for securing the Soubahship to ourselves. That this would be agreeable to the Moghul can hardly be questioned, as it would be so much to his interest to have these countries under the dominion of a nation famed for their good faith, rather than in the hands of people who, a long experience has convinced him, never will pay him his proportion of the revenues, unless awed into it by the fear of the Imperial army marching to force them into it.

"But so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile Company; and it is to be feared they are not of themselves able, without the nation's assistance to maintain so wide a dominion; I have therefore presumed, Sir, to represent this matter to you, and submit it to your consideration, whether the execution of a design, that may hereafter be still carried to greater lengths, be worthy of the Government's taking it into hand. I flatter myself I have made it pretty clear to you, that there will be little or no difficulty in obtaining absolute possession of these rich kingdoms and that with the Moghul's own consent, on condition of paying him less than a fifth of the revenues thereof. Now I leave you to judge whether an income of upwards of two millions sterling, with the possession of these provinces abounding in the most valuable productions of nature and art, be an object deserving of public attention; and whether it be worth

¹ These assertions it is interesting to compare with Col. James Mills' "Scheme for an Expedition under the Imperial [*i. e.*, the Austrian] Emperor for dethroning the Nabob of Bengal," drawn up in 1746. Bolts: *Considerations*, Vol. III p. 16 *et seq.*

the nation's while to take the proper measures to secure such an acquisition—which, under the management of so able and disinterested a minister, would prove a source of immense wealth to the kingdom, and might in time be appropriated in part as a fund towards diminishing the present heavy load of debt under which we at present labour."¹

In 1761, the Emperor Shah Alam, on his way to Delhi, offered to Major Carnac, who was "in attendance on the stirrup," a confirmation of all existing privileges enjoyed by the Company and the grant of the Diwani, provided that the Company would guarantee the remission to Delhi of the Emperor's share of the revenues.² At that time, however, the strain between the English Civil and Military authorities had reached its highest tension, and Governor Vansittart, who had characterised Carnac's conduct as "unbecoming and arrogant" was not prepared to accept a boon coming through such a channel. On the 9th March, 1763, the Court expressed its approval: "Your refusal of the Dewanee offered by the King" wrote the Directors, "was certainly very right, and we are well satisfied with the just and prudent reasons you give for declining that office." It may be mentioned that on March 11, 1762, in a letter of protest against Vansittart's act in substituting Mir Kasim for Mir Jafar as Nawab, Coote, Amyatt, Carnac, Ellis, Batson and Verelst, had urged the Court of Directors either to accept the offer Shah Alam had made of the Diwani, or to sanction an expedition to Delhi in order to subdue the rebels to the Emperor's authority. Holwell's comment on the first offer of the Diwani is as follows: "With regard to the offer of the Dewanee, the objections against it were strong and unanswerable, unless we could have been invested with the Soubadaary as well."

¹ *The Life of Robert Clive Collected from the Family Papers communicated by the Earl of Powis*: By Major General Sir John Malcolm, G. C. B., F. R. G. S., London, 1836, Vol. 11, p. 121 *et seq.* Walsh, a relation of Clive's, by whom this letter was submitted gives an account of his interview with Pitt, in a letter dated 26th November 1759. Pitt regarded the proposal as "very practicable," but of a "very nice nature." "He mentioned the Company's charter not expiring these twenty years; that upon none of the late transactions it had been enquired into whether the Company's conquests and acquisitions belonged to them or the Crown, and the judges seemed to think to the Company. he said the Company were not proper to have it, nor the Crown, for such a revenue would endanger our liberties, and that you have shown your good sense by the application of it to the public. He said the difficulty of effecting the affair was not great under such a genius as Colonel Clive; but the sustaining it was the point, it was not probable he would be succeeded by persons equal to the task." "I observed to him that it was necessary for him to determine whether it was an object for the Company or the State, for I was persuaded that, if the State neglected it, the Company, in process of time, would secure it, that they would even find themselves under a necessity to do it for their greater quiet and safety, exclusive of gain. He seemed to weigh that; but, as far as I could judge by what passed then, it will be left to the Company to do what they please."

² *Calendar of the Persian Correspondence*. Vol. 1, Nos. 1291-2. Auber; *Rise and Progress*. Vol. 1, pp. 82-3. Holwell, *India Tracts*, p. 92.

The letter in which the Court of Directors acknowledged the gift of the Diwani breathes their usual *sancta simplicitas*. They—on May 17, 1766—approve of the acquisition as terminating a state of things in which the Company was gradually sinking to decline, while their servants in Bengal were "laying hands upon everything they did not deem the Company's property"; but they admitted that they were alarmed by the contemplation of added responsibilities. They write:

"We observe the account you give of the office and power of the King's Dewan, which in former times was 'the collecting of all the revenues, and after the defraying the expenses of the army, and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the Nizamut, to remit the remainder to Delhi.' This description of it is not the office we wish to execute. The experience we already have had in the province of Burdwan convinces us how unfit an Englishman is to conduct the collection of the revenues, and follow the subtle native through all his arts to conceal the real value of his country, and to perplex and elude the payments. We, therefore, entirely approve of your preserving the ancient form of government, in upholding the dignity of the Subah.

"14. We conceive the office of Dewan should be exercised only in superintending the collections and disposal of the revenues; which, though vested in the Company, should be officially executed at the Durbar, under the control of the Governor and the Select Committee. The ordinary bounds of which control should extend to nothing beyond the superintending the collection of the revenues, and the receiving the money from the Nabob's treasury to that of the Dewanny or the Company; and this we conceive to be neither difficult nor complicated; for that at the annual *Poonah* (punia) the Government settles with each Zemindar his monthly payments for the ensuing year: So the monthly payments of each Zemindar, which must be strictly kept up, and if deficient, the Company must trace what peculiar province, Rajah or Zemindar has fallen short of his monthly payments, or, if it is necessary to extend the power farther, let the annual *Poonah*, by which we mean the time when every landholder makes his agreement for the ensuing year, be made with the consent of the Dewan or Company. The administration of justice, the appointment of officers, zemindarrees, in short, whatever comes under the denomination of civil administration, we understand to remain in the hands of the Nabob or his ministers."

The Court of Directors imagined that all it behoved their servants to do was to lie beneath the tree and let the ripe fruit tumble into their open mouths. They would take the produce of the people's labour, and, in return, offer the people no protection against injustice and oppression. Fortunately for our national honour the Court was asking for what was impossible. The

English were soon to learn that if they were to accept the revenues, they must undertake the care of the country.

It has been observed by James Mill that the dual system of Government which the accession of the English to the diwani for a time established was the "favourite policy of Clive, to whose mind a certain degree of crooked artifice seems to have presented itself pretty congenially in the light of profound and skilful politics."¹ The dual system presented itself in a different way to Clive on the one hand and Verelst on the other. While Verelst honestly believed that the ancient institutions could be revived and made to do good work, Clive regarded the Nawab's authority as a "name and a shadow," and when he spoke of "throwing off the mask" (i.e. declaring the Company Soubah of the provinces"), he, in as many words, admitted that his system was one of artifice. So far as the Nawab's power and wealth was concerned, he was aware that the English had, so to speak, sucked the orange dry, but he imagined that the skin and the pulp left behind on the table, would serve to delude the other foreign guests in Bengal into the idea that the English had not at yet devoured everything.

That the power had in reality passed into English possession, Clive never doubted. The Select Committee, in their Consultations of 10th September, describe the Company as having "come into the place of the country Government by His Majesty's grant of the dewanee." In a letter, dated 16th January, 1767, the Governor and Select Committee write: "We are sensible that since the acquisition of the dewanny, the power belonging to the Soubah of these provinces is totally and in fact vested in the East India Company. Nothing remains to him but the name and shadow of authority." Under the system which Clive established the English were to do the work, but the Nawab's shadow was to cover it all, so that all that the English did was in outward seeming to emanate from the Nawab himself. "This name, this shadow, it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venerate. Under the sanction of the Soubah, every encroachment that may be attempted by foreign powers can effectually be crushed, without any apparent interposition of our own authority;² and all real grievances complained of by them can, through the same channel be examined into and redressed. Be it, therefore, always remembered that there is a Soubah; and that, though the revenues belong to the Company, the territorial jurisdiction must still rest in the chiefs of the country, acting under him and this Residency in conjunction. To appoint the Company's servants to the office of Collectors, or indeed to do any act by any exertion of the English power, which can easily be done by

¹ Mill, *History of British India*, (5th Edn.) Vol. III. p. 303.

² And yet the Nawab now had no effective army of his own.

the Nabob at our instance, would be throwing off the mask, would be declaring the Company Soubah of the provinces. Foreign nations would immediately take umbrage; and complaints preferred to the British Court might be attended with very embarrassing consequences. Nor can it be supposed that either the French, Dutch or Danes, would readily acknowledge the Company's Subahship, and pay into the hands of their (*i. e.* the English) servants the duties upon trade, or the quit-rents of these districts which they have long been possessed of by virtue of the royal phirmauns, or grants from former Nabobs."

The acquisition of the Diwani, it must be observed, had no immediate effect on the condition of British administration in the ceded lands (*i. e.*, Chittagong, Midnapur, and Burdwan). The executive organised at Murshidabad for the collection of the revenues in what was now known as the "Diwani portion" had no jurisdiction in the three districts of Chittagong, Burdwan and Midnapore, for the possession of which the Emperor Shah Alam had granted a separate *farman*, confirming thereby the past acts of Mir Kasim and Mir Jafar. The districts which made up the Diwani portion are enumerated by James Grant as follows:¹

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. Rajeshay [Rajshahi] | 14. Rokinpore [Rokanpur]. |
| 2. Dinagepoore [Dinajpur]. | 15. Edrackpore [Idrakpur]. |
| 3. Bheerbhoom [Birbhum]. | 16. Futtehsing. |
| 4. Purneah. | 17. Mahomedameenpore. |
| 5. Rungpore [Rangpur]. | 18. Silberis [Salburi]. |
| 6. Dacca. | 19. Chunakly. |
| 7. Nuddeah [Nadia]. | 20. Bishenpore [Bishnupur]. |
| 8. Hidjelee [Hijili]. | 21. Pachite [Pachet]. |
| 9. Rajemahal. | 22. Tipperah. |
| 10. Sylhet. | 23. Ichangurpore [Jahangirpore] else-
where Grant writes "Jehan-
geerpoor") |
| 11. Jessore. | 24. Zemindary Khurdeah. |
| 12. Mahmoodshay [Mahmudshahi]. | |
| 13. Lushkerpoor, [Laskkarpur]. | |

It has been noticed that Lord Clive had appointed at Murshidabad a Council of Control for the administration of the affairs of the Nawab. Muhammad Riza Khan, who had been appointed Naib Subahdar by the agreement of 1764, was entrusted by the English with the office of Diwan to the Company. This individual, to whom the Company allowed a prince's income

¹ Grant, *Analysis of the Finances of Bengal*. Included in the *Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company 1812*. P. 336. It must be observed that No. 17 "Mahomedameenpore," as described by Grant, p. 391 is a partition of the old Sarkar of Satgaon and Salimabad.

of nine lakhs per annum,¹ has been credited by Grant with "honour, sagacity, moderation, *locally understood*," and is described by the same authority as "the great defaulter."² Jagat Set (Seth), the head of the great Jain firm of Shroffs or bankers, was according to Grant "solely interested in the benefit of money dealings, which were great in proportion to the gross receipts of cash from the country."

The Native officers, however, were not suffered to do their work unchecked by the supervision of a resident British official. There had previously been Residents at the Durbar³ but, after the acquisition of the Diwani, such importance was added to the post that it practically became a new one, and was assigned to one of the most senior of the Company's servants. The duties of this officer were:—⁴

1. To "execute officially" the disposal of the revenues.
2. "To stand between the administration and the encroachments always to be apprehended from the agents of the Company's servants" and to "prevent the oppression of the natives."
3. To correspond monthly with the Select Committee through the channel of the President, and to forward copies of this correspondence with its enclosures to be sent to the Court of Directors.

At first the Resident at the Durbar⁵ held also the lucrative post of Chief of Cosimbazar, but on 20th November, 1717, the Court sent the following order:

¹ *Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy*, 1773, p. 8. Roy Duriab was allowed 2 lakhs per annum, and Shital Roy at Patna Rs. 99,995. The latter was also granted a monthly allowance of Rs. 25,000 by Lord Clive and the Select Committee. In 1771 the Court of Directors ordered Muhammad Riza Khan's salary to be reduced to five lakhs per annum.

² *Analysis* [5th Report p. 230]. Grant's opinion is that Muhammad Riza Khan, who, he says, had confessed to having in two years incurred a balance of 2 krates of rupees of the Bengal revenues, was a wholesale plunderer. Grant also holds "that the actual system of revenue in Bengal was from the beginning (1765) taken upon mistaken grounds. It is a baseless fabric reared in ignorance, corruption, chicanery of the natives, intended to conceal from superficial popular view or perhaps ultimately to destroy the symmetry, convenience and simplicity of the outward structure."

³ Luke Scrutton held this office after Plassey, and was succeeded in it by Warren Hastings; the office is recognised by the Treaty with Mir Jafar, 10th July, 1763, Article VII.

⁴ Vide Vanslet's View, etc., Appendix 136-7.

⁵ The first to hold the newly constructed office was Francis Sykes, afterwards created a baronet. In addition to his official salary, he in two years received £35,757-18-0 as commission on the revenues, about £6,200 from the *mathuans*, or additional cesses, and close on £2,000 in complimentary donations at the time of the *punia*. He enjoyed a sumptuary allowance of £4,450 and a residence at Maidapur in the suburbs of Murshidabad. He had also been a private trader on an extensive scale. For the Resident's sumptuary allowance of Rs. 1,000 per mensem, see Long: *Selections* No. 801.

"Being convinced that the employments of Resident at the Durbar and Chief of Cassimbazar cannot from the importance and extent of the business of each department, be properly executed by one person, we, therefore, direct that they be from this time forward separated, and that some other member of Council be appointed to the said chiefship. We do not make this regulation from any failure of attention on the part of Mr. Sykes, with whose conduct we are perfectly satisfied. And in consequence of the extraordinary trouble and attention which the Resident at the Durbar must necessarily have in the due execution of that important post, we direct that he be allowed four shares and a half (*i.e.* in the commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the revenue collections),¹ but this is to be understood to be in full, and instead of such shares as are assigned, as above mentioned, to his rank in Council, or as a member of the Select Committee."

¹ The history of this commission is as follows: On November 20, 1767, the Court of Directors, in forbidding their servants to take part in inland trade and condemning their salt monopoly, directed that an allowance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. commission on the Diwani revenues, which had hitherto been received by the Governor, as compensation for his relinquishing his share in the salt trade, should cease on 1st September, 1767. The Court continue: "As the trade of our servants is to be confined to the articles of import and export only, in which they will be considerably affected by the great demands for extending the Company's investments, and considering the great increase of business in which our principal servants are necessarily engaged, and which demand their utmost care and attention, we are come to a resolution to give them a reasonable encouragement to exert themselves with zeal and alacrity in their several departments, but which they are to look upon as a free gift from the hand of their employers to them annually, so long as the present revenues shall remain with the Company, and their behaviour shall continue to merit such a reward. That you draw out an annual account of the sums received from the Dewannees, deducting thereout the stipulated payments to the King and the Nabob, and the allowance of the Nabob's ministers, also of the revenues of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong, and the Calcutta pergunnahs, from which are to be deducted Lord Clive's *jaghire* and the ordinary charges of collection. Upon the amount of the said net revenues, you are hereby indulged to draw a commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent." The sum so obtained was to be divided into 100 shares, which were to be distributed as under:—

The Governor	...	...	...	...	31 shares.
The Second in Council	...	...	...	...	4½ "
The rest of the Select Committee not having a Chiefship...	...	...	...	...	3½ "
" " Council	"	"	"	...	1½ "
The Resident at the Durbar	...	...	...	...	4½ "

The Chiefs of Cassimbazar, Patna, Dacca and Chittagong were not to have shares. The Court reserved to itself the appropriation of the remaining shares, a reservation which the Select Committee disregarded. In the benefit of this commission, the principal military officers were also included. The whole subject is dealt with in great detail in the *4th Report of the Committee of Secrecy 1773*. I may take this opportunity to say that I do not see how Mr. P. E. Roberts (*The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, p. 566) arrives at the figures he gives as to Verelst's salary and commission. Verelst's salary, according to his letter from the Court, was £3,000 per annum, not £4,800 as stated by Mr. Roberts, and Verelst's shares in the commission must have reached to more than the £45,800, mentioned by him.

In addition to the general supervision of revenue affairs, the Resident at the Durbar inspected the Courts of Justice at Murshidabad. The Resident and the Nawab received appeals from the district courts, caused inquiries to be made, and ultimately decided the causes so brought before them. Sykes seems even to have increased the number of courts at Murshidabad. In October 1770 Muhammad Riza Khan in company with the Resident at the Durbar, asked for the President and Council's directions as to the administration of justice. In reply the Governor and Council gave it as their opinion that the administration of justice should be continued "on the same footing as formerly, but that the Council of Control should interfere as there should be occasion," adding that "every transaction relative to the Government should ultimately come before the Council." The Murshidabad Council of Control therefore resolved:

"That in all criminal cases throughout the province, the trial should be transmitted to them for their approbation before the sentence be executed; that all causes relative to property in land and to the revenue, shall be tried in the country Government courts; that two courts should be established by the Council of Control, consisting of all the members of Council, to revise the proceedings of the country courts, and finally to determine upon them."¹

It is, therefore, not possible to say with Lord Macaulay even in regard to the Diwani portion, that "the police, the administration of justice, the maintenance of order" were left to "the Naib Subahdar." It would, however, be too much to say with James Mill, that "the phirmaun (farman) of the Dewannee, which marks one of the most conspicuous eras in the history of the Company"² constituted "them masters of so great an empire, in name and in responsibility, as well as in power."

Lord Clive's metaphor of a man wearing a mask aptly characterises the situation. The Court of Directors were insisting on their servants in Bengal maintaining an attitude of non-intervention in the administration, while their servants, anxious to venerate the shadow of the Nawab's no longer extant authority, were actually ruling under the guise of superintending or

¹ Proceedings of Murshidabad Comptrolling Council, October, 1770.

² James Mill, *History of British India*, Vol. III, p. 285. On December 29, 1767, the Select Committee wrote to the Resident at the Durbar:

"We are sorry to observe in these regulations you have made the Honourable Company co-adjutors to the Government, whereas it has ever been our intention to acknowledge the latter as principals, and content ourselves with enjoying our privileges under them, in like manner with the other European nations trading in Bengal. This we now repeat, and desire that you will be so much, in future, to make the Company appear as a principal in any measure or act of government." Bolts: *Considerations*. Appendix A: Vol. III, p. 168.

giving advice. The mask was not discarded till long after the whole world knew whose was the face behind it.

The net revenues of the Diwani portion in these early years are given in the *Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773*.

	1765-1766	1766-7	1767-8	1768-9	1769-70	1770-1	1771-2
Murshidabad	— £ 937,864	£ 1,149,469	£ 1,091,823	£ 1,138,629	£ 962,730	£ 820,438	£ 1,227,345
Bihar	— £ 150,854	£ 6,68,180	£ 551,110	£ 623,084	£ 456,246	£ 446,173	£ 461,461

It may be observed that the Select Committee, and not the Council, represented the Company's supreme authority in matters of revenue. Clive had undoubtedly carried on the activities of the Select Committee beyond the term set for its existence, but, in their General Letter to Bengal, 12th January, 1769, the Court of Directors wrote :

"9. We have experienced such great advantage from the establishment of a Select Committee that, although the ends for which it was first instituted are happily obtained by the establishing of peace, tranquility and subordination, yet we find the nature of those important charges which now fall under the management of our servants requires that they should be conducted by a small number, and we therefore confirm the Select Committee, and their department and powers are to be as follows :—

"10. They are to conduct everything that relates to the Country Government, either with respect to the Duannee or the Company's political interests with the neighbouring powers together with the military operations depending thereon. They are to negotiate with the Soubah and the country powers, but to conclude no treaty of Commerce or alliance without the approbation of the Council at large. They are to superintend the collection of the revenues arising from the Duannee, but without the power of disbursing them, nor do the revenues arising from the Company's other possessions fall under this jurisdiction, their general superintending power ceased with the abuses that gave rise to that power with which they were entrusted; and all other branches of the Company's affairs fall under the General Department. The members of this Committee are to stand Conformable to Lord Clive's appointment, *vis* :—

Harry Verelst	...	...	President
John Cartier,	...	...	Second
Col. Richard Smith	...	...	Third, but not to rise
Mr. Francis Sykes	...	...	Fourth
Mr. Richard Becher	...	...	Fifth

"11. We have in the foregoing paragraph directed that the military operations shall be conducted under the orders of the Select Committee

but the Supreme Military power is vested in the Board at large, conformable to the usual practice. We have already in our letter of 24th December, Para. 74, expressed our sentiments on the nature of your power over the military, not only that it is supreme, but that you may delegate your authority to any civil servant you please, and that the highest officer in our army must obey that civil servant in the same manner he is bound to obey the orders of the President and Council; and, upon any doubt or disobedience, or indeed for whatever cause may appear sufficient to the majority of the Council, they may dismiss any officer, be his rank what it will, without assigning such officer any other reason but your own pleasure, reserving the justification of your conduct to us, from whom you derive your authority, and to whom alone you are accountable.

"12. Upon the decease or coming away of Colonel Smith, no other military officer is to succeed him in the Select Committee, but the Commanding Officer for the time being is to be consulted upon military affairs only, at which time he is to have a seat and voice at the Board as the 3rd in the Committee."

It will be convenient to conclude this essay with a succinct statement of the Company's position in Bengal at the end of the year 1765.

1. The Company had acquired the right to defend by military force the three Mughal provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Within those geographical limits there were vast districts into which the Mughal arms had never penetrated, *e.g.*, the wild western lands. Only a part of Orissa came into the English sphere, for the Marathas remained masters of Cuttack till 1803. In the East the Assam Valley remained independent, Goalpara or Rangamati representing the most advanced outpost of the Empire. Assam was not annexed by the Company till 1826, and Kachar till 1830, Cooch Behar was annexed in 1773, but subsequently became a feudatory sovereign State. By the surrender of Benares in 1765, Clive had given proof of his sense of the just extent of the English occupation. In 1762 Eyre Coote, Carnac and three members of Council (of whom Verelst was one) had prepared to march the English forces to the gates of Delhi, but Clive, referring to his bold plan,¹ wrote (September 30, 1765): "My resolution, however, was and will always be to confine our acquisitions, our conquests, our possessions, to Bengal, Behar and Orissa; to go further is in my opinion so extravagantly absurd no Governor-General, no Council, in these times can ever adopt it unless the whole system of the Company's interest be first entirely remodelled."²

¹ Holwell: *India Traits*, p. 97.

² Elphinstone: *Op. Cit.* p. 447.

2. Calcutta was held in free tenure and in the adjacent Twenty-four Perganahs the English held the position of Zamindar.

3. In the Ceded Districts; *i.e.*, Burdwan, Chittagong and Midnapur, they had been in the direct management of the revenues, and had directly administered every function of government save that of criminal justice (which, however, they had supervised from 1760).

4. For the rest of Bengal the Company was Diwan; and, as the Nawab was a minor, they had appointed a Naib-Subah of their own preference, and every matter of importance came before the Resident at the Durbar for decision.

5. As Diwan the Company not only administered the land revenue, but controlled and collected customs, its commercial supremacy was now beyond all question.

CHEYNE COURT,
Chelsea, August, 1912.

}

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

Christian Tombs at Bankipore and Patna.

FIRST ARTICLE.

ON January 13, 1913, I found myself at Bankipore on my way back from Lahore via Delhi and Allahabad. I may say I spent the day among the dead, indulging my hobby for inscriptions on tombstones.

I visited three graveyards:—

1. A small old one near the compound of the Nuns of the Institute of Jesus and Mary, close to the Catholic Church of Bankipore. Here I picked up only two inscriptions; but, if I remember well, there are a few more. The Cemetery is quite small and neglected.

2. Another Cemetery, a short distance from the old Catholic Cathedral of Patna. It is on the right of the road leading from Bankipore to the Cathedral of Patna. It is not a Dutch Cemetery, as I expected it to be, but an English one. All the inscriptions are unpublished, and there are many. As my time was limited, I copied only all the inscriptions before 1800.

3. The Cemetery round the old Catholic Cathedral of Patna. It has also been left untouched by the antiquarian. Here again there are many inscriptions, say a hundred. It should be particularly interesting to the historian, since it contains names of French and Portuguese families. In the sacristy, too, there was a number of loose tombstones. The Church had been lately repaired and newly cemented, and the stones which lay in the Church and in the verandah of the Church had been removed to the sacristy; but, at the places where they had lain, crosses had been cut into the cement, and these crosses were to receive numbers corresponding to numbers on the stones. I think the idea was to leave the stones in the sacristy, or to place them along the walls of the Church, rather than on the ground, the system of numbered crosses allowing to determine where the stones had been taken from. Something similar had been done in the Cathedral of Agra.

I counted in the sacristy 28 tombstones and one in the Armenian character. They needed washing and scraping the chunam off the letters. It was already dark, so I desisted from copying, one of my reasons being also that one of the Italian Capuchin Fathers of the Allahabad Diocese had told me he had copied all the inscriptions of the Patna Cathedral. I felt inclined to tackle the Portuguese and French inscriptions all the same, but the forbidding

appearance of the stones, and the fact that they were too unwieldy to turn towards the light, discouraged me completely.

Instead, I turned my attention to a very massive cracked bell hanging in the sacristy. I had no means of measuring it. All I can say now is that it struck me as uncommonly big for a place of Christian worship in this country. Curiously enough, it had been cast in Nepal, as the following inscription along the upper rim allows us to conclude.

BAHADUR SAH PRITHINARAEN REGIS NEPAL FILIUS DONO
DEDIT ANNO 1783.

(The son of the King of Nepal Bahadur Sah [Sháh] Prithinaraen presented [this bell] in the year 1783). Below is the name of the bell: MARIA. The Capuchin Fathers, after their expulsion from Tibet, had been many years in Nepal before Raja Prithinarayana conquered the country and set up the Gurkha dynasty; and it was under him, if I remember well, that they left it and fell back on Bettiah and Patna, their older establishments. Friendly relations must, however, have existed between them and the Princes of Nepal in 1783, as this bell witnesses. About 1762, Father Michelangelo was a great friend of Prithinarayana's son,¹ and we find that Padre Juvenal, who in 1796 was 45 years old, had made two excursions to Tibet, by which I think we should understand Nepal.²

I copied some of the Portuguese and French inscriptions in front and at the back of the Cathedral; but, I felt little tempted to cover even that part of the ground which my friend the Capuchin Father of the Allahabad Diocese had gone over, because the publishing of these inscriptions would require a study of the old Patna registers, and these are in the Archives of the Catholic Cathedral of Allahabad, where I had summarily examined them. These old registers would prove of very great value for the history of Patna, and *Bengal Past & Present* would no doubt welcome them. I am in *pourparlers* with my friend the Capuchin Missionary, to obtain his collection of inscriptions.

Here then is my day's harvest from the field of death at Bankipore and Patna. I place the inscriptions in chronological order, but refrain from making any researches into the history of the persons commemorated.

¹ Cf. Angelo de Gubernatis, *Gli scritti del Padre Marco della Tomba*, Firenze, 1878, p. 23. The next chapter contains a narrative of Prithinarayana's conquest of Nepal.

² Cf. Thomas Twining, *Travels in India a hundred years ago*, London, 1893, p. 179. "He had made two excursions to Tibet, and resided there long enough to be able to compile a Dictionary of the language. He showed me this laborious work, now nearly completed, although he said another journey to Tibet would be necessary. When finished, he meant to transmit a copy of it to Rome and another to the University of Oxford, of which, at his request, I gave him the address." (p. 205.)

If Mr. E. W. Madge had been still alive, I should have asked him to do that part of the work. He was eminently fitted for it. Has his mantle not fallen on any of the Members of our Society? And may we not hope that one of our members at Bankipore or Patna will take up methodically the study of the Patna Cemeteries other than that of the Catholic Cathedral?

I. BANKIPORE OLD CEMETERY.

1. 1756.—Here / lies the body of / LT. WILLIAM COLLINGS / Of the Hon'ble Comps. Artillery who / Departed this life / Octr. 30th 1765 / aged / 22 years. /
2. 18....—Sacred / to the / memory / of MRS. M. A. IMHOFF / who departed this life / on the 14th of Sept. / MDCCC..... / aged..... /

II. PATNA CEMETERY.

3. 1766.—Here / lies the body / of MR. PATRICK WAT-/SON who departed / this life Sept. 20th / 1766 Aged 37 y(ears). /
A portion of the stone was broken off.
4. 1768.—To / The Memory of / CAPTAIN GEORGE KINLOCH / who died 10 May 1768 / This Monument was erected by / His Brother CHARLES KINLOCH. /
5. 1769.—Sacred / To the Memory of / WILLIAM MAJENDIE Esqr., / Who, after passing through the several stages of Slow Decay, / with true Christian Fortitude : / Departed this Life / At Patna / October the 3d MDCCLXIX / Aged 26. / Being at that Time in the Service of the Hon'ble *EAST INDIA* Company / And Second in Council at that Settlement : / A Man who to every Amiable Disposition, joined nice Honor : / And Strict Integrity ; And was Possessed of such Abilities / As might adorn any Station of Life. / His lamenting Friends, deeming his Death a Publick Loss, / Caused this Monument to be erected, as a Tribute due to / Uncommon Merit ; And as a Testimony of the high Regard / they bore him. /
6. 1778.— Traveller, to this sad shrine draw near,
Here lies a Man beloved, a Friend most dear,
To honour true, and of a generous Mind,
A soldier bred, yet Friend to human Kind,
Blest be his Memory. May it be ever known
That a true Briton rests beneath this stone.
This Monument was erected by CAPTAIN ARTHUR BALFOUR/
to the Memory of CAPTAIN CHARLES HAY, who died at /
Patna the 26. November 1778, Aged 31. /

7. 1784.—Here / lies the body of / EDWARD BUNNY who / departed this life / March 22d M,DCC,LXXXIV. / (a)ged..... /
8. 1789.—To / the memory of / JOHAN ADOLF ASSCHENBERG, Esq. / who departed this life / May 7 A: 1789 Aged 63 years. /
9. 1789.—To the Memory / of / JOHN MITCHARD / who departed this Life / July the 26th 1789 / Aged 43 Years. /
10. 1790.—J.-L.-ROSS / Died 12th June-1790 / Aged..... /
11. 1790.—To the memory of BENJN. / DOWNS conductor [*sic*] of ordnance / in the Honble Company's Service / Departed this Life 31st Aug. 1790 Aged / 31 Years, This Monument is erected by / MARIA D'ROZARIO. /

D'Rozario was one of the commonest names adopted in Bengal by native converts, many of the Augustinian Churches being dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, e.g., the Church of Bandel and the Cathedral Church in Portuguese Church Street, Calcutta. It does not mean that none but native converts bore the name.

12. 1792.—This Monument is erected / In Memory of / MR. THOMAS COCHRAN / who departed this Life / The 13th September 1792 Aged 42 years. / By his ever grateful [*sic*] Servant KITTY. /

13. 1793.—Here Lies / WILLIAM SIGNEY / who died 24th April 1793 /.../

What I represent by a g is in the original like an o with a below it.

14. 1795.—Sacred / to the memory / of / SAMUEL CHARTERS / Esquire / Senior Judge of / the court of / appeal at Patna, / died 25th July 1795 / aged 47 years.
15. 1797.—Sacred to the Memory of / BENJAMIN GRINDALL, Esquire, / of Patna / who departed this Life / In July 1797 / Aged about 43. /
16. 1798.—Here / Lays [*sic*] The Body of / ANNE BURGESS, / Daughter of / DAVID and ANN BURGESS, / Born 30th December 1794 / Died 6th September 1798. / Aged.....Years, 9 Mths. & 8 Days. /
17. 1799.—In / Memory of / JOHN BOTTOMLY / who departed this Life / on the 9th of May 1799 / aged 45 years. / Erected by BEEBEE..... /

Beebee—Bint, a Hindostani title for a woman.

18. 1799.—Here lies / ELIZABETH / HALL / Daughter of / MR. JOHN HALL / who Deceased the 6th October 1799 / Aged 9 Mths. 16 days. /

19. 1797.—Under this Monument raised /
to his Memory by / *his sorrowing pa-* /
rents, are entered *the remains of GEOR-* /
GE RAWLINS, the second son of FR- /
ANCES RAWLINS w/ho born on the /
28th day of August 1793 / *departed this* /
Life on the 8th of August.....aged..... /
months and 11 days / ? /

Only the left half of the stone was found. We have printed in italics what we suppose was on the other half.

20.9?—Here lieth / + / the body of DOMINGA ROZARIO / god-
daughter to Mr. JOHN BAPTIST / who departed this life on
the 8th / Day of March A.D.....9 / Aged Years 10
Mths. & 9 Days. /

III. PATNA CATHEDRAL CEMETERY.

21. 1772.—Sara Le-Bon / obiit initio diei / 23 Martii / 1772. /
(Translation): Sara le Bon died in the beginning of the day on the
23rd May 1772.

22. 1796.—+ / JNRJ. / Ci Gît BTE. DE LAFONTAINE né en la province de
Bearn en France. / Ancien Général de L'empereur Mogol à
Delij décédé à Patna le 26 / Mars Âge de 69 ans. Passant [*read*:
Passant] prie Dieu pour son ame. Requistuant [*sic*] in pace.
/ Obiit Anno domini MDCCXCVI 1796. / Hodie mihi cras tibi. /

(Translation). Here lies BAPTIST(?) DE LAFONTAINE born in the
Province of Béarn, France, former general of the Mogol Emperor of Delhi,
who died at Patna on the 26th of March, aged 69 years. Wayfarer, pray to
God for his soul. May he rest in peace. He died in the year of the Lord
MDCCXCVI 1796. To-day my turn, to-morrow thine.

23. 1798.—+ / Aqui foi enterrado o Corpo / de / HENRICO JOZE, filho /
de / JOAO & FRANCISCA GAUMISSE, / em 23 de / Mayo
de 1798, / na idade de 3 annos, 4 mezes / & 23 dias. /

(Translation). Here was buried the body of HENRIQUE JOZE, son of
JOAO & FRANCISCA GAUMISSE, on the 23rd of May of 1798, aged 3
years, 4 months and 23 days.

Many who once wrote their name "Gomes" have drifted into the spelling "Gaumisse."

24. 1808.—Aqui Jase o Corpo / de MANOEL JOAQUIM d' CAMERA /
DE NORONHA, filho primogenito / do CAPITAO J. J. d'
CAMERA DE NO/RONHA, e de DONNA FRANCISCA /
DE CAMERA: nascido aos 29: de Agosto [*changed to*: Novro]
/ d' 1803: na Cidade de A/gra, e falecido aos 18. d' Feveiro /
d' 1808: nesta Cidade de Pat/na contande [*sic*] de Idade IV:
an/nos II: mezes, e XXI dias. /

(Translation) : Here lies the body of MANOEL JOAQUIM D'CAMERA DE NORONHA, first-born son of CAPTAIN J. J. D'CAMERA DE NORONHA and DONNA FRANCISCA DE CAMERA : (who), born on the 29th of August [corrected to : November] of 1803 in the town of Agra, died on the 18th of February of 1808 in this town of Patna, aged IV years, II months and XXI days.

25. 18[17]3—Ici repose le corps / de / MADELEINE L'EPINE[TTE?] Epouse de CAP[ITAINE] / JOSEPH L'EPIN[ETTE?] décédée le 18 Février 18[17]3 / Agée d' environ ... Ans. / *(Here the stone is broken and a name must have disappeared)* / décédé le 8 Jan[vier] ... / Agé d' environ 60 Ans. / Passant priez Dieu pour le Repos / de leurs Ames. / [Me]mento Homo quia pulvis [es] / [et] in pulverem Reverteris. /

(Translation) : Here lies the body of MADELEINE L'EPINE[TTE?], the wife of CAP[ITAINE] JOSEPH L'EPIN[ETTE?], who died on the 18th of February 18[17]3, aged about... years *[a name has disappeared here]* died on the 8th of Jan[uary] ...aged about 60 years. Wayfarer, pray to God for the repose of their souls. Remember, Man, that "dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt return."

I think that the name is L'Epine in the inscription, but I found clearly "L'EpINETTE" in another inscription (No. 28.)

26. 1817.—Baixo desta pedra / Jaze o Corpo d'aquella gran[de] / peccadora / ANNA TEREZA NUREN[HA] / [fi]delissima, e querida consor[te de] / [BER]NARD JACOB NUREN[HA] / [conver]tida do Gentilismo a nossa [santa fe] / [fale]ceo a 12. de Mayo do Anno do / Senhor 1817. / [De]idade podera ella ter 37. annos. / Santa Caridade pede a todos, que passarem sobre / que rezem hum Padre nosso, huma Ave Maria / e hum Gloria Padre, & por sua Alma. /

(Translation) : Under this stone lies the body of that great sinneress ANNE TEREZA NUREN[HA], the very faithful and beloved wife of [BERN-]ARD JACOB NUREN[HA], [who conver]ted from Heathenism to our [holy faith] died on the 12th of May of the year of the Lord 1817, aged about 37 years. Holy Charity begs of all those who happen to pass over [this stone] to recite for her soul one Our Father, one Hail Mary and one Glory be to the Father, etc.

27. 1819—*(Two swords crossed)* / Sagrado / Na memoria / do Señr. Capó. J. J. D'CAMERA D'NORONHA / Filho de Dom M. D'CAMERA D'NORONHA / &c. &c. &c. / Que Partio d' esta vida no dia de quinta feira pela 12- / horas do meio dia aos 3. de Junho no anno de 1819 / Na Idade de 32 annos e 6. meses. / Na sua mais

bella e florente idade, entrou em / Posto d' official na militia no
ordem de Cavallaria no serviço da sua Magestade Fidelissima
Rei / de Portugal [nos seus dominios de Goa, e com / grande
satisfação serveo 8. annos. Depois em pos/to de Capitaõ serveo
differentes Principes do In/dustan: No fim ficando estipendiado
do Gover/no Inglez recolheo-se em Patna. Mas algum tem-/
po depois foi apontado como Capitaõ na Irregular / Cavallaria no
commando do Sr. COL. W. L. GARDNER. / Foi hum afeiçoado,
e amado marido: / Querido Pai, sincero e leal amigo. /

A character every way / creditable to human nature. / If honesty,
if purity of principle, / Filial and fraternal affection, / conscientious
discharge of / his public and private duties, / if charity, & the
principle of every virtue, / that ennoble the character of Man
merit the Kingdom of Heaven, / the living only have to lament /
his premature Death. / Mathathias vir fortissimus, / dilatavit
gloriam Populo suo. / Primo Maccob. [sic] Capi. II. /

This Monument is erected / by his disconsolate Widow. /

(Translation): Sacred to the Memory of Senhor Captain J. J. D'CAMERA
D'NORONHA, son of Dom M. D' CAMERA D'NORONHA, &c., &c., &c.,
who departed this life at 12 o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the 3rd of June of the
year 1819, aged 52 years and 6 months. In the flower of life, he entered the
army and served 8 years with great satisfaction as a cavalry officer in the
service and Goa dominions of His Most Faithful Majesty the King of
Portugal. After this, he served as Captain under several Princes of Hindustan.
Finally, being pensioned by the English Government, he retired to Patna;
but, some time after, he was appointed Captain in the Irregular Cavalry
under the command of COL. W. L. GARDNER. He was an affectionate
and beloved husband, a tender father, a sincere and faithful friend...
Mathathias, a very valiant man, "got his people great honour."

This text is from 1 Mac. Ch. iii, v. 3, where it is applied to Judas, not to his father
Mathathias.

28. ?—[Ici rep]ose le / ... / [LE] VASCHE, Seconde / [épo]use de
MR. JEAN / [FRA]NCOIS LE VASHE / [déc]édée le 5 Mai / ...5[?] heures
du ma-/ [tin] agée d' environ 2[?] /Sœur /L'EPINETTE / [Miserer]e
mei Deus. / (a skull) / Consumatus in brevi / explevit t[em]pora m[ult]a / .

(Translation): Here lies the [body of MME...LE] VASCHE
second wife of [FRA]NCOIS LE VASCHE (who) died on the 5th May
at 5 A.M., aged about 2[?]sister [of]..... L'EPINETTE.—God, have
mercy on me.—"Being made perfect in a short space, he fulfilled a long time."

H. HOSTEN, S. J.

SECOND ARTICLE.

This attempt to follow immediately in the steps of Father Hosten may perhaps appear to the reader to be an unwarrantable impertinence, yet the opportunity of presenting these few remarks on the subject of Christian Tombs at Bankipur and Patna may not recur, and I therefore venture, though very reluctantly, to avail myself of this opportunity.

1. There is one inscription at least which should not be left out of account, for it commemorates a hero who was perhaps, after Clive and John Nicholson, the most incredibly able and gallant soldier who ever served under the British Flag in India. I had hoped to be able to pay a visit to the grave of Major Knox when I was in Bankipur some few months ago, but official business prevented me from satisfying the desire. I must, therefore, content myself with quoting from Dr. C. R. Wilson's most unsatisfactory *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Bengal*.

Here lay deposited the earthly remains of the truly gallant MAJOR RANFURLIE KNOX, who, after having lived many years in the military Service of the Hon'ble United East India Company, universally esteemed and beloved, died on the 28th day of January, 1764, aged 34 years, as universally lamented. Reader! Whatever the Principles of thy religion may be, form thy life after his example, so shall the pious tear never be wanting to be shed to thine as to His memory.

Dr. Wilson states that this monument is to be found "just on the east side of the Judge's cutcherry." It deserves every care and honour the Government of Behar and Orissa can bestow upon it.

Father Hosten does not mention the monument to the officers who perished in the massacre of 1763. The subject has been dealt with in a previous number of *Bengal Past and Present*.

Dr. Wilson gives the following two inscriptions as belonging to the Patna cemetery.

- (1). Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant-Colonel DONAT VAUGHAN KERIN, who died on 3rd December, 1823, aged 64 years. Sincerely lamented by all who knew his worth and experienced his honesty.
- (2). Sir JAMES HARRINGTON, Bart., 1835.

The *Bengal Obituary* gives (in addition to the two last) under Patna the following inscriptions:—

<p>To the Memory of HENRY BROOKE, aged 3 years and 4 months, and FREDERICK CHARLES HUGH, aged 2 years and 5 months,</p>	<p>two beloved children of David Cunliffe Esq. C. S. who both departed this life on the 23 Nov. A. D. 1843.</p>
---	---

"Suffer little children and forbid them not to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of Heaven."—Matt. chap. xix. ver. xiv.

HARVY PRICE,

son of Thomas Price Wynne
Assistant Surgeon at this station and of
Anne Maria his wife, born 2nd April 1827
died 27th April 1829.

Sacred to the Memory of
Captain PETER JEREMIE,
Assistant Opium Agent Behar,
born 28th Dec. 1786, died 2nd July 1831,
aged 44 years 7 months.

To the Memory of JOHN SHUM, Esq.,
of the Civil Service, who departed this life
on the 13th March 1828.

This Monument is erected as a mark
of esteem
and affection by a few of his surviving
friends.

Sacred to the Memory of PHILIP
YORKE,

youngest child of Philip Yorke Lindsay
and Helena Elizabeth his wife,
born Nov. 17th 1821.
This beloved and most precious child was
taken from his deeply afflicted parents
on Saturday the 1st October 1825,
aged 3 years 10 months and 13 days.

"Suffer little children to come unto
me and forbid them not, for of such is
the kingdom of Heaven."

Yet mourn not we as of hope bereft,
Bless'd hope that consecrates the
Christian dust;

Sad but not comfortless, our souls are
left—

Father of love, we know in whom we
trust,

Our angel child rejoices with the just
He who on little children deign'd to lay
His blessed hands and call'd them
heirs of heaven,

Forbids a doubt to cloud our way,
His infant prayers were heard! oh!
be our tears forgiv'n.

This last tribute of affection
paid to the remains of MARIA,
wife of Julien Boillard, Esq. Senr.
who departed this life on Saturday
the 22d Sept. 1838, aged about 48 years,
by her afflicted husband and children.

"I am the resurrection and the life
saith the Lord, he that believeth in me
though he were dead, yet shall he live
and whosoever liveth and believeth in
me shall never die."—St. John xi, 25,
26.

Weep not for me my children dear
I am not dead but sleeping here.

To the Memory of MARIAN D'OYLY
wife of R. N. Farquharson,

C. S.

died 9th Dec. 1836, aged 23 years.

Sacred to the Memory of
Mr. SAMUEL DENTON, *Ætat* 85,
who departed this life 6th Jany. 1831
at Patna.

where he had resided for 56 years,
and where by a mild unassuming
demeanour,

and unceasing acts of kindness to all
around him
he has left a name, which will long be
cherished.

Sacred to the Memory of
SELINA MARY CHARLOTTE
KINNEAR,
the beloved daughter of John Bean,
and his wife Eveline,

born 1st July 1845, died 16th
April 1816.

Sacred to the Memory of
CHARLES WILLIAM GRANT,
the beloved son of John and
Eveline Bean,
born 3rd August 1846, died
3rd May 1847.

David Cunliffe arrived in India on December 13, 1835. He served first at Patna, then at Cuttack (1839-40) and Monghyr (1841). On October 10, 1842, he was posted to Patna as Joint Magistrate and Deputy Commissioner.

John Shum arrived in India on August 14, 1804. He was assistant to the Magistrate, Register at Rajshai in May 1806; Assistant to the Collector of Nadia in 1808; Officiating Collector of Burdwan, February 1810. In the following years he was Assistant to the Commercial Resident at Santipur, then Jungypore, and then Cosimbazar. In 1815 he was Superintendent of Salt Chowkies at Behar, and in 1826 was in charge of the office of Collector of salt customs at Patna.

Philip Yorke Lindsay arrived in India on November 6, 1813. After holding appointments in Tirhut and the Twenty-Four Parganas, he served in the Salt and Customs Departments in Orissa. In 1820 he left for England, returning to India in October 1821. He was Officiating Mint Master at Calcutta in 1822, but during the greater part of his remaining service he was associated with the Customs and Salt Service. In 1824, however, he was Collector at Mymensing. The years 1828-30 he spent in England. He died at the Cape of Good Hope, December 6, 1833.

The Sir James Harington buried at Patna was the 9th Baronet, and was born on September 30, 1788. His wife was a Sophia, third daughter of Charles Steer, Esq., of Chichester. He arrived in India on October 7, 1807, and his appointments—almost entirely in the judicial branch of the Company's service—were at Nadia, Chittagong (1812), Jessore (1814-17), Bakarganj (1818), Jessore (1819-25), Bhagalpur (1826), Murshidabad (1826-27) Patna (1828-33). He left an only child who succeeded to the baronetcy, and who was in turn succeeded by a cousin—Sir Richard Harington, the father of the present Baronet, whom we remember with affection as a former member of the Council of the Calcutta Historical Society, and an enthusiastic officer of the Port Defence Volunteers.

Robert Nesham Farquharson arrived in India on October 21, 1829. His service, which seems have been spent chiefly in employment under the Revenue Department, appears to have terminated in 1842, when he was Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Saran.

William Majendie was Secretary to the Council when Clive returned to Bengal in 1756. He seems to have organised a united protest of all the Company's Bengal Civil Servants against Lord Clive's action in bringing up four Senior Servants from Madras, (see *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. V). For this business he was dismissed the Service, but was subsequently reinstated by the Court of Directors. In an unpublished letter, dated Plassey 2nd April, 1786, Clive writes to H. Verelst: "If you refusing to give your consent to Majendie to marry Miss Gardiner shall occasion reflection sufficient in the young man to set aside the match, he and his friends will render obligations to you which they never can repay."

Of Benjamin Grindall something has been said in my "Leaves" in the present member of *Bengal Past & Present*.

Of very special interest to the present writer is the appearance of the name of his kinsman, Captain W. L. Gardner in the inscriptions given by Father Hosten. It would require very many pages of *Bengal Past & Present* to do justice to the stirring story of William Linnæus Gardner's romantic career in India. For the present I must be content to refer the reader to the H. Compton's *European Military Adventurers of Hindustan* (pp. 358-361) pages of Mr. or, if an older book is preferred to Lady Fanny Parke's *Wanderings of a Pilgrim*. The accompanying genealogical table is very incomplete, but it will serve to indicate the wealth of interest attaching to the name of Gardner. Of the Second Baron Gardner it should be recorded in an Indian historical journal that when Admiral Sir G. K. Elphinstone captured the Cape of Good Hope in 1776 he despatched Alan Hyde Gardner in charge of the naval expedition to secure the reduction of Colombo.

From the Table it will be seen that Major Valentine Gardner had two sons, half-brothers who came to India. The first of these sons, William Linnæus, is the officer mentioned in the inscription in the Patna Cathedral. The second son, Valentine, appears to have married a near relation of his half-brother's wife—William Linnæus seems to have had a very numerous family, but I will only refer to two of his sons.

ALAN HYDE who married the Bibi Sahiba Hinga, by whom two daughters were born:

Suzan married Prince Mirza Ungun Shekoe of the Delhi family.

Jane "Hurmoyee" who married Stewart William Gardner.

JAMES VALENTINE who married "a niece of the Emperor Shah Akbar"—
"Mufka Begum who was closely allied by marriage to Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder, King of Oudh."

TABLE I.

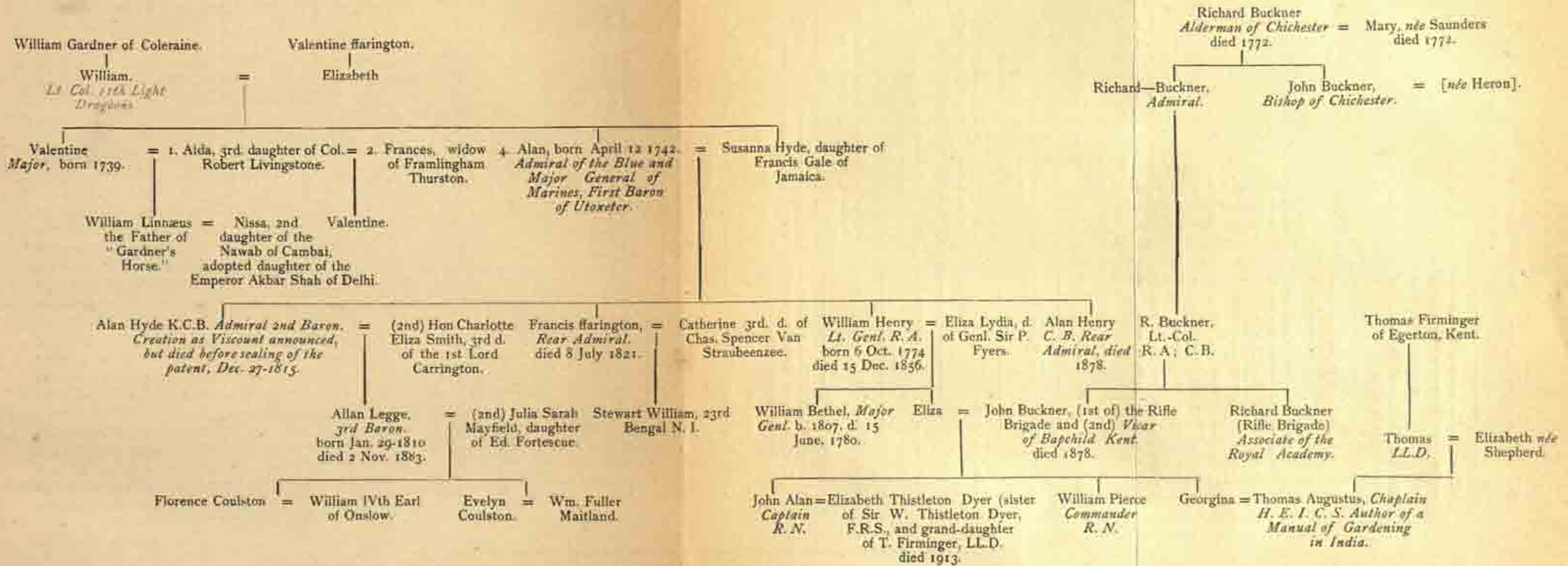


TABLE II.

*Edward I, King of England.	=	*Margaret, d. of King Philip III of France (2nd Wife). Died 1318.
*Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, Earl Marshall, died 1336.	=	Alice, d. of Sir Roger Halyss, Kt., of Haewich.
Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk, sole heiress, d. 1399.	=	John de Segrave, 3rd Baron Segrave, died 1352.
Elizabeth [de Segrave] heiress.	=	John de Mowbray, 4th Baron Mowbray.
*Thomas, 5th Lord de Mowbray, K. G., Earl of Nottingham and Duke of Norfolk, 1397.	=	Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Richard Fitzalan, 3rd Earl of Arundel and Surrey.
Margaret de Mowbray, eldest daughter and heiress.	=	Sir John Howard, Kt.
Katherine, sister of John Howard, the first of the Howard Dukes of Norfolk.	=	[and wife] Edward Neville, 1st Baron of Bergavenny [uncle of "the King Maker."] Died 1476.
Margaret Neville.	=	John Brooke, 1st Baron Cobham.
Thomas Brooke, 2nd Baron Cobham d. 1519	=	Dorothy, d. of Sir Henry Heydon Kt., of Heydon Hall, Co. Norfolk.
Elizabeth Brooke	=	*Thomas Wyatt, Kt., of Allington Castle, Kent, [The poet and early lover of Anne Boleyn] died 1542.
*Thomas Wyatt, Knt., executed 1554.	=	Jane, d. of William de Haute, Knt., and Sheriff of Kent.
George Wyatt, Knt.	=	Jane, d. of Thomas Finch, Esq., of Eastwell, Kent. [Probably Sir T. Finch*].
*Francis Wyatt of Boxley Abbey, Kent, knighted 1603. Governor of Virginia, died 1644.	=	Margaret, d. of Samuel Sandys, Knt., a son of an Archbishop of York.
Henry Wyatt, Esq.	=	Elizabeth, d. of George Wesley, Esq.
William Wyatt (a younger son)	=	Elizabeth, d. of Counsellor Edward Helyn.
Elizabeth Wyatt, married 26th July 1688.	=	William Hall, 1st British Consul at Bilbao, 2nd Colonial Secretary, went to Jamaica.
James Hall. Born in Jamaica, 1698.	=	Elizabeth, d. of Col. John Crossley.
Susanah, 2nd Child	=	Francis Gale, Esq.
Susanna Hyde Gale	=	*Alan Gardner, First Baron of Uxeter. Died 1809.

Turning to the Table I we look at the name of Stewart William, the second son of Admiral Harington Gardner, second son of the first Baron. Arriving in India as a cadet in the Company's Army, Stewart William in 1834 married Jane or "Hurmoyee," the younger daughter of Alan Hyde. A son by this marriage, Alan Hyde, who died in 1899, married a cousin, Jane, daughter of Prince Mirza Ungun Shekoe. The family history at this stage becomes exceedingly complicated, and I will not attempt to disentangle the genealogical threads of descent.

A younger son of the first Baron, the Hon. Edward Gardner, arrived in India on July 14, 1802 as a Writer in the service of Hon'ble Company. In 1808 he was Assistant to the Resident at Delhi; in 1813 Acting Judge and Magistrate at Mooradabad; in 1813 Commissioner of the affairs of Kumaon and Agent to the Governor-General; in 1814 Resident in Nepal; in 1816 Resident for the Native States of Bundelcund, and in 1819 once again Resident in Nepal.

As to the ancestry of Susanna Gale who married the first Baron Gardner, I have been supplied by a relative with the following particulars. If there is such an institution as a Historical Society of Jamaica this contribution may be of interest to its members. It is on record that the godmother of James Hall was Mary, daughter of Bradshaw the regicide. Alas, Alas! The names marked by an asterisk are noticed by articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

W. K. FIRMINER.

The Three First Type-Printed Bengali Books.

WE speak designedly of type-printed books, for it appears that some crude block-printing was done in Bengal at an earlier period than that to which we shall refer. Dinesh Chandra Sen (*History of the Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 849) says that he came across a MS. nearly 200 years old, which was printed from engraved wooden blocks. But, he adds that the art, which we should think was borrowed from Nepal or Tibet, was not in general use, and that "a stray endeavour for decorative purposes does not prognosticate a system or a regular cultivation of the art."

Again, we speak of *books*, not of mere alphabets, several of which appeared in Europe before the books we are about to describe. Dr. G. A. Grierson mentions several in his *Linguistic Survey (Specimens of the Bengali and Assamese Languages)*, Calcutta, 1903, s. v. Authorities). There is, however, one which he has failed to notice, and which antedates by some 20 years the earliest he knew of. It was published with a Burmese alphabet in 1692 in a work containing observations by the Jesuit Fathers Jean de Fontenay, Guy Tachard, Etienne Noël and Claude de Bèze. The title of the book is *Observations Physiques et Mathématiques pour servir à l'histoire naturelle, et à la perfection de l'Astronomie et de la Géographie: Envoyées des Indes et de la Chine à l'Académie Royale des Sciences à Paris, par les Peres Jesuites. Avec les reflexions de Mrs. de l'Academie, et les Notes du P. Gouye, de la Compagnie de Jesus*. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, M.DC.XCII; 4°, pp. 113, 2 maps, and 1 plate containing the characters of the people of Bengala and Baramas [Burma.]¹

The three earliest Bengali books were printed at Lisbon in the Roman character in 1743. All three appear to have been prepared for the press by Father Frey Manoel da Assumpção, a Portuguese Augustinian Missionary at Nagori, Bhawal, near Dacca. Some years ago, Father Thirso Lopes,

¹ Cf. Sommervogel, *Bibl. de la C. de Jésus*, III. Col. 1641, No. 2.—I take the remark about the alphabets from a description in a bookseller's catalogue. The authors of the book were members of a scientific mission sent by Louis XIV. to Siam. Cf. *Missions Belges*, Nov. 1913, pp. 405-406.

of the Colegio dos Agostinhos Filipinos, Valladolid, Spain, sent me some notes, partly Latin, partly Portuguese, containing a description of them. We translate :

"Father Manoel da Assumpção, a Portuguese, and different from the preceding one, a Member of the Congregation of the East Indies, laboured there strenuously for the conversion of the infidels, for he had learned their language with great zeal and success. Accordingly, being about 1742 Rector of the Mission of St. Nicolas of Tolentino in the Kingdom of Bengalla,¹ he wrote and printed in the vernacular for the easier instruction of his neophytes :—

(1) A Catechism of the Christian Doctrine, in the form of a dialogue. It was printed in 8vo. at Lisbon in 1743 by Francisco da Silva. The contents are: A discussion about the Law between a Christian Catholic Roman, and a Bramene or Master of the Gentoos. It shows in the Bengalla tongue the falsity of the Gentoo sect and the infallible truth of our Holy Catholic Faith, in which alone is the way of salvation and the knowledge of God's true Law. Composed by the son of the King of Busna, Don Antonio, that great Christian Catechist, who converted so many Gentoos, it was translated into Portuguese by Father Frey Manoel da Assumpção, a native of the City of Evora, and a member of the Indian Congregation of the Hermits of St. Augustine, actually Rector of the Bengalla Mission, his object being to facilitate to the Missionaries their discussions in the said tongue with the Bramenes and Gentoos. It is a Dialogue between the Roman Catholic and the Gentoo Bramene. Written in two columns, Bengala and Portuguese.

The title and the Prologue are signed by Father Frey Jorge da Apresentação.* Cod. $\frac{\text{CXVI}}{1-1}$ from page 1 of the 2nd series of numbering.²

(2) An Abridgment of the Mysteries of the Faith, composed in the Bengalla language by Father Frey Manoel da Assumpção, actually Rector of the Mission of St. Nicolas of Tolentino in Bengalla. It is also in two columns, Bengalla and Portuguese, and Barbosa notes that it was printed at Lisbon by Francisco da Silva, 1743, 8vo. Cod. $\frac{\text{DXVI}^3}{1-1}$ from page 141 of the 2nd series of numbering.

¹ He had prepared for the press, already in 1734, his *Catecismo da Doutrina Christã*.

* This note from * refers probably to the MS. at Evora.

² Sic in notes received from Fr. Th. Lopes, O. S. A. I suspect it should be Cod. CXVI as before. The note in Portuguese runs thus: *Compendio dos Misterios da Fee, ordenado em lingua Bengalla pelo P. Fr. Manoel de Assumpção,....*

(3) A Vocabulary in Bengala and Portuguese, divided into two parts and dedicated to the Most Excellent and Reverend Sr. D. Miguel de Tavora, Archbishop of Evora.¹ Lisboa, na officina de Francisco da Silva, 1743, 8vo.

It contains two parts: A Bengala-Portuguese and a Portuguese-Bengala Vocabulary. It is preceded by a Compendium of Bengala Grammar.

Cf. *Catálogo dos Manuscritos da Bibliotheca Publica Eborensis* ordenado pelo Bibliothecario Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Ribera [Rivara], tom. I, p. 345; BARBOSA MACHADO, *Bibliotheca Lusitana Historica, Critica e Chronologica*, t. III, p. 183, col. II; OSSINGER, *Bibl. August.*, p. 84; SILVA, t. V, p. 367; BONIFACIO MORAL, *Revista La Ciudad de Dios*, t. 37, pp. 433-434.²

Thus far Fr. Thirso Lopes' note.

Cf. also A. C. Burnell's *A Tentative List of Books and MSS. relating to the History of the Portuguese in India proper*, Mangalore, Basel Mission Press, 1880, s. v. Assumpção (Manoel da), where the *Vocabulario* and the *Cathecismo da Doutrina Christá* are both mentioned as printed in 1743.

Burnell's *List*, the only authority at hand here, is of very little use, as it contains merely a dry reference. As for Father Thirso Lopes' notes, it looks as if they had been compiled from different sources, and as if none of his authorities described our 3 books according to the present rules of bibliography.

We made several attempts to get into touch with Spanish and Portuguese libraries, where printed copies of our 3 books might have been preserved. Only one of these met with a response, and even then our success was null. Through Mr. G. Stadler, the Belgian Consul in Calcutta, we addressed the Belgian Consul of Lisbon, Mr. R. Le Ghait, who received from Senhor J. Gonsalves Teixeira (Ministerio dos Negocios Estrangeiros, Gabinete do Ministro, 12 April 1914) the information that the 3 works in the Public Library of Evora are MSS., and that my questions about the *printed* books were therefore irrelevant. My friend, Mr. H. Beveridge, now announces (Pitfold, Shottermill, Haslemere, July 17, 1914) that the British Museum contains no copies of the 3 books in question.

We consider then that we cannot reasonably be expected to do more in the matter, for it was our intention to procure photographic facsimiles of parts of the printed books. Facsimiles of the Evora MSS. will not answer our bibliographical requirements, so long as there is a chance, by publishing what notes we have, to get someone in Europe interested sufficiently in the matter to hunt out for us the printed books.

¹ *Vocabulario em idioma bengala e portuguez. Dividido em duas partes e dedicado ao Ex. mo e Rev. mo Sr. D. Miguel de Tavora, arcebispo d' Evora.....*

I was equally unsuccessful here in Bengal in my efforts to obtain printed copies from the historic stations of the Portuguese Mission of Mailapur. My advertisements in the *Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, and private circulars failed to discover even a scrap. Yet, these books were printed, and we should think that the greater part was shipped to Bengal, for which they were intended. Copies ought to have been very precious to the Augustinian Missionaries and their Christians here. They ought to have been kept with jealous care. No. 3 for instance, a Dictionary and a Grammar would have proved most useful for the study of the language. Even if it was printed at only 100 copies, for there were not more than 15 Missionaries in Bengal about 1743,¹ how is it that not even a single copy, whole or fragmentary, can now be traced? Such then is the havoc played in less than 200 years by white ants, bookworms and other destructive agencies.

It is some relief, at least, that the Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a copy—mutilated though it be—of the *Compendio dos Misterios da Fé*, i.e., our No. 2 above.

Before describing it in detail, we shall say a few words about the other two books.

¹ We translate the following from a *Memorial da Congregação dos Religiosos de Santo Agostinho na Índia*. Anno 1735: by Fr. Paulo da Silva, (Goa, January 8, 1735). Cf. *O Herald* (Goa, January 17, 1908, or No. 2341 continued from No. 2337, which latter number I have not seen).

Convent of N. Senhora do Rosário of Ugaim [Hugh] in Bengala.—They have no immovable property, nor any other revenues than the altarge, for it is a Parish. At present three Religious are thus supported there; they live sparsely, but there was a time when the country was wealthier and when there were more Religious. And it was in this Convent that they learned the language of the country, after which they went to be parish-priests in the Churches.

Mission of S. Nicolau de Tolentino in Bengala.—They have no immovable property, nor any revenues except some chance alms and the altarge. With this the Rector of the Mission is supported; but, as these revenues are now small, the said Rector cannot keep a Companion, as of old.

Number of the Missionaries.—At present there are employed in cultivating the Christianities of Bengala, a Mission entrusted by orders of His Majesty to the Religion of Our Father St. Augustine, fifteen Religious who direct Churches and live from their altarge, for there are no other revenues nor quarterages from His Majesty. If such existed, many more labourers could be employed in that vast vineyard, especially in those parts where formerly there were numerous Christianities. To-day, the poverty of the settlements is such that they cannot support a parish-priest nor assist him with the means of salvation.

On the Choramandal Coast there is, besides the two Religious referred to [*this part is missing in my collection*], one in the Church of Mussulapatão, and one in the Church of Vizagapatão. They live on some allowances contributed by the Christians to whom they minister, and have no other means of subsistence.

The Mission of Arracão is at present without Padre, and we are not sure that, if there were any, he could get an entrance there (*não pode constar com certeza se está lá poderá ter entrada*).

Hospice of S. Thomé.—It has only one Religious, who lives on alms, there being no other means of livelihood. In the City of S. Thomé is the hospice for the Religious who go to the Mission of Bengalla or come thence.

Father Marcos Antonio Santucci, S. J., the Superior of the Mission among these Bengali converts between 1679 and 1684, wrote from Nofua Cot to the Provincial of Goa on January 3, 1683: "The Fathers [Ignatius Gomes, Manoel Sarayva and himself] have not failed in their duty: they have learned the language well, have composed vocabularies, a grammar, a confessionary and prayers; they have translated the Christian Doctrine [*Doutrina Christá* or Catechism], etc., nothing of which existed until now." (*O Chronista de Tissuary*, Goa, Vol. II., 1867, p. 12). Fr. Santucci's reference to vocabularies and a grammar gives us, perhaps, a clue to the authorship of our No. 3 above.

In 1680, Father Fernão de Queyros, the Jesuit Provincial of Goa, had given the Missionaries the following wise directions: "Let Your Reverences take care to send us a full account of the beginnings and progress of Don Antonio, of the dispositions and docility of those natives, of the difficulties and obstacles which our Holy Faith may meet there either from the Moors, or from the Gentoo rites and idolatries of Bengala, and it would be a good thing to send us, if possible, after taking cognizance of the country, a map, even rudimentary, showing the divisions of those states.

"According to the dispositions which Your Reverences will find, you can keep encouraging the Christians, and construct some form of chapels or churches where the Holy Sacraments may be conveniently administered to them. And Your Reverences must do your best that the translation of the prayers and of the Doctrine [Catechism] be quite exact and perfect, both because of the importance of this matter, and the great inconveniences resulting from making changes in what has once been introduced." (*Regimento para os Padres Missionarios das Missões de Nupál, Pataná e Bengala*. Goa, Apr. 29, 1680, fol. 130, facsimile of MS. in my possession).

DESCRIPTION OF NO. 2.

The copy of No. 2, in the Library of the Asiatic Society, i.e., *Compendio dos Misterios da Fe*, is unfortunately mutilated. It is marked 167a, and must be sought in the Catalogue of the Library under Manoel (da Assumpção). It came into the Library on March 3, 1845 (perhaps we should read 1875) and belonged once to A. Gones (probably Gomes, a very common name among the Dacca Christians). To say that the Bengali and the Portuguese are printed in two columns might give one to understand that each page is divided into two columns, whereas in reality the Bengali text appears on the versos and the Portuguese on the rectos of the pages. The book is printed entirely in the Roman character. It wants the title-page, pp. 33-48 incl.; 155-158 incl.; 321-336 incl.; 371, 372 and all after 380. P. 347 is numbered 117. The present measurements between the

covers, after the bookbinder's clumsy clippings, are 13×8 cm. The running title is: *Crepar Xaxtror* [*pron. Sháshtreer*] *orth bhed* and *Cathecismo da Doutrina Christãa*. It is under this title that it is entered in the Catalogue of the A. S. B. Library.

The preface runs thus :

"I, Fr. Manoel da Assumpção, Rector of the Mission of St. Nicolas of Tolentino, and author of this Compendium, certify that the said Compendium was copied exactly (*ao pé da letra*), both the Bengalla and the Portuguese; and I certify also that this Doctrine is the one which the natives understand best, and the most free from errors; in truth of which I made this attestation, and, if need be, I swear to it on my honour as a Priest (*in verbo sacerdotis*). Bawal, the 28th August, 1734. Fr. Manoel da Assumpção."

Division of the work.

- Bk. I. Exhaustive explanation of the whole Christian Doctrine.
 - Ch. I. Of the sign of the Cross (pp. 1-19).
 - Ch. II. Of the Our Father and the explanation thereof (pp. 19-32 *sqq.*).
 - Ch. III. The subject is the Hail Mary and the Rosary, but the title is wanting (pp. ? *ante* 49-77).
 - Ch. IV. Of the Creed and the Articles of the Faith and the explanation thereof (pp. 77-137).
 - Ch. V. Of the Ten Commandments and the explanation thereof (pp. 137-245).
 - Ch. VI. Of the Five Commandments of the Church and the explanation thereof (pp. 245-273).
 - Ch. VII. Of the Seven Sacraments and the explanation thereof (pp. 273-313).
- Bk. II. Of the Prayers of the Doctrine, and whatever a Christian must know by heart.
 - Ch. I. Of the Mysteries of the Faith reduced to a short summary (pp. 314-355).
 - Ch. II. Of the Prayers of the Doctrine separately (pp. 356-380 *sqq.*).

Specimens of the Bengali text.

The system of transliteration of the Portuguese Missionary and his theological nomenclature will be seen by a few extracts, *e.g.*, the Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the Creed. Probably, the system of transliteration will be found less open to criticism than the theological terminology and the grammar displayed.

Father Guerin wrote in 1836: "M. R. Patris Manuelis cum opus scrupulosè recognoverim, in responsis, verbo sæpissimè, sensu perrarè, plurimas mendas agnovi, ac indè manifestum fuit quod Bovalensis Christianus

Catechismum Lusitanæ scriptum ab ipsomet patre Manuele solus coram dicto patre interdum dormitante Bangalicè reddiderit."

Our Father (p. 20).—

Podar Thona.

Pitá amardiguer, / Poromo xorgué assó; / Tomar xidhi nameré(a) Xeba houq; / Aixuq(b) amardigueré / Tomar raizot; / Tomar zé icha, (c) / Xei houq; / Zemon porthibité, (d) / Temon(e) xorgué; / Amardiguer / Protidiner ahar / Amardigueré azica dió; / Amardiguer / Corzô qhemó, / Zemot amorá qhemí; / Amardiguer corziore; / Amardiguere cumotité / Porrité na dio. / Ar amardigueré xo-/Col mondó hote / Raquiá coro. Amen Jesus. (f) /¹

Hail Mary (p. 356).—Pronam Maria / Crepae purnit; / Tomatê Tahacur assen; / Dhormi tomi / Xocol xtrir lôquer moidhe. / Dhormo phol / Tomar udore / JESUS. / Xidha Maria / Poromexorer Mata, / Xadho amora papir caron / Ephone, ar / Amardiguer mirtur calé. / Amen JESUS. /

The Creed (p. 78).—Mani xottio Niranzon / Pita xorbocorta. / Tinil xorgo monso(a) / Kristti(b) coriassen; / Mani JESUS Christo / Quebol tahan Putro / Amardiguer ithacur; / Tini udbhob hoilen / Espiritô Santor cortuté, / Zormilen ocumarí Mariar(c) udoré / coxtto loilen / Poncio Pilato / tthay / Crucé zorit hoilen / Mirtu lobilen, mirticá loilen. / Naroqué lamilen; / Tetio(d) diné / Zia utthilen mirtú(e) thaquia, / Zia utthia xorgué guelen; / Boxiassen onontó Pitar / Dahin boxter cassé; / Xeqhané thaquia aixiben(f) / Bichar corité xiantá(g) morar. / Mani Espiritô Santo; / Xidhi Mata Dhormô Ghor(h) / Xocol xidhar dhormô pholer zugal paon; / Paper udhar; Xorir zia utthon; / Ebong sibon onontó xonqhiá. / Amen JESUS. /²

The following canticle to the new-born Infant Jesus (*Baloq Jesuser Guít zormo xttone xoia*) is still sung by the Dacca Christians. The Rev. Father P. Altenhofen, Golla, P. O. Gobindpur, Dacca, procured for me the musical setting of the present version of the hymn.

PP. 353-355.

1. He Baba Jesus
Baloq Nirmol,
Bibi Mariar udorer
Xidhi dhormo phol,
Amar doear Jesus.

2. He Baba Jesus,
He xonar baba,
Tomaqué ami toi,
Cori tomar xeba,
Amár doear Jesus.

¹ Variants at p. 356: (a) namare; (b) aixuq; (c) iccha; (d) zemot protidiner; (e) temot; (f) Ar amardiguer, / Gait qhemó, / zemot amara / coroloquer gait qhemí / Amardigueré cumotité / Porrité na dio. / Ar xocol mondó hote / Raquia coró. / Amen Jesus. /

At p. 26: Amardiguer corzô qhemó, zemon amorá qhemí amardiguer corziore Amardigueré cumotité porrité na dio. Amardigueré xocol mondó hote raqhiá coro.

To explain these variants, we may suppose, in the first place, that Fr. Manoel had not reached yet a very satisfactory system of transliteration, or, if he thought he had, that he did not apply it uniformly, and secondly, that the printing at Lisbon was not done under his supervision.

² Variants at p. 260: (a) mangxo; (b) Xristti; (c) Maria; (d) titio; (e) mirticá; (f) aixiben; (g) mair; (h) Dhormo Ghor Romans bhocci.

3. He xondon Jesus,
He xondor arxi,
Tomaré tomaré,
Bex xondor deqhi,
Amar doear Jesus.

6. Xansa Poromexor,
Ar xansa purux,
Ar tini zormia,
Hoiassen Jesus,
Amar doear Jesus.

4. He Baba Jesus,
Poromexor xotio,
Xon gaxer uporé
Quenó xoiassó;
Amar doear Jesus.

7. Zabot Poromexor,
Tini Pitar xoman,
Tini xorbo corta,
Tini xorbo zan,
Amar doear Jesus.

5. Amardiguer caron,
Eqhane xoiassó,
Aixoré Christaorá,
Tahan xeba coró,
Amar doear Jesuré.

8. Ar zabot purux,
Beguná quebol,
Bibi Mariar udore,
Xidhi dhormo phol.
Amar doear Jesus.

Amardiguer caron,
Hoiassen purux,
Eto doea coren.
Amen Jesus.
Amar doear Jesus.



হে বাবা যেও,
হে সোণার বাবা,
তোমারে আমি লই
করি তোমার সেবা ।

আমাবিদের কারণ,
হইয়াছেন মাহুৎ ।
এক দয়া করেন
আমেন, আমেন, যেও ।

We now proceed to translate some passages, chiefly such as give us an idea of the life and practices of the Dacca Christians more than 200 years ago; for, though the book was composed in 1734 only, the Mission of Nagori was established according to Father Ambrosio de Santo Agostinho in 1695, and Bengali-speaking Christians were already found near Dacca about 1610.¹ Our extracts are translated from the Portuguese.

PP. 3-7.

Pupil.—Blessed and praised be the Holy Sacrament. (*Puzio houq xidhi Poroma Nirmol dhorma*). [A footnote says: This is the way our Christians of Benguala salute one another].

Master.—May He give you His blessing and procure your welfare (*Tini tomare axirbad deuq, ebong tomare bhale coruq*). Come here, my boy. Who are you? (*Aixo, Pola, tomi quetta?*)

Pupil.—I am a Christian, by the grace of God. (*Ami Christab, Poromexorer Crepae*).

Master.—Where are you going? (*Cothae sao?*)

P.—I am going home. (*Barite sai*).

M.—Where is your house? (*Tomar bari cothae?*)

P.—In Baval (*No Baval*: dans le Baval): I live in your village (Port.: *aldeya*) of Nagori (*Baval dext*: *ami tomar vaioto*: *Nagorite boxf*).

M.—I am also going there. Come with me. I shall explain to you the mysteries of the Faith, and you will learn them. (*Amito xeqhané sai*: *amar xongus aixé*: *amito ortho bked bushaibo, tomito bushiba*).

P.—I obey. Let us go. (*Ze agguia*: *cholo sai*).

M.—Do you perhaps know the mysteries of the Faith? (*Tomi ni axthar ni rupan sané?*)

P.—I heard something from the Master [*Mestre*, the name still given near Dacca to a Catechist]; question, and I shall answer as I can, if God helps me and does not fail me with His grace. (*Tthacur, quissu xonilam Gurur casset*: *tomito ziguiaxa coré*: *amito utor dibo xemat Poromexor loen*).

M.—Very well. I question. Tell me, whence did you get the name of Christian? (*Tobe ziguiaxé cori*: *coho, cothae hoté paila Christaor nam?*)

P.—From Christ (*Christoe hoté*).

M.—When did you receive the name of Christian? (*Con xomoe pailé Christaor nam?*)

P.—When I received Baptism (*Baptismor xomae*).

¹ Father Frey Sebastião Maniquin, O. S. A., says in his *Itinerario*, Roma, 1653, Ch. X, p. 33, that, having arrived at the Convent of Hugli in 1628, he left it for Arakan in Sept. 1629, after preparing himself for his work as a Missionary by studying Bengali and Hindustani.

M.—Which is the sign of the Christian? (*Christaor nixan qui?*)

P.—The Holy Cross (*Xidhi Crux*).

M.—Show (*Coro, deghi*).

P.—By the sign† of the Holy Cross, Deliver us God† Our Lord from our† enemies. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen, Jesus. (*Xidhi Cruzer† siniote: Roghia coro Poromexor,† amardiguer Thacur: Amardiguer† Xotro hote. Pitar name ebong Putrer ebong Espirito Santo. Amen Jesus*).

M.—Why do you make the cross on the brow? (*Queno corilâ xidhi Crux copalê?*)

P.—That God may deliver us from evil thoughts (*Zenô Poromexor ghuchauq amar xocol mondô colponô*).

M.—Why do you make the cross on the mouth? (*Queno corilâ xidhi Crux mughê?*)

P.—That God may deliver us from evil words. (*Zeno Poromexor ghuchauq amar xocol mondô cotha*).

M.—Why do you make the cross on the breast? (*Queno corilâ xidhi Crux bughe?*)

P.—That God may deliver us from evil works, which spring from the heart. (*Zenô Poromexor ghuchauq amar se mondo carzio prane thaquia aorme*).

On this slight conceit of an imaginary journey to Bhawal is based the whole of Bk. I, or pp. 156 of Bengali conversations between the Gurû and the "Xixio" (*Shishu*) or Disciple. These conversations ought to have taken a considerable time, and we are not told whether the two ultimately reached their destination.

Some of the "Xixio's" answers are far above the ordinary level of a *menino*. Having said that the Holy Ghost is the love of the Father whereupon the Gurû exclaims "*Bhale rupe buahan*," he is asked to explain himself. (*Tobe bushibô*).

"I explain. The Son is the the Word of the Father; therefore He is begotten of the intellect. The Holy Ghost is the mutual love of the Father and the Son; therefore He proceeds from the will; and for the same reason neither can the Son be the Holy Ghost, nor can the Holy Ghost be the Son. Just as the word cannot be the love, nor the love the word, so too the Son is not the Holy Ghost, nor is the Holy Ghost the Son." (pp. 7-9).

The Gurû had said that he would teach the Shishu the mysteries of the faith; but the rôles are inverted generally. He has nothing to do but to question, and off goes the pupil with long answers and no end of stories. For instance, to prove the virtue of the sign of the Cross, he relates four miracles taken from the lives of St. John Chrysostom, St. Francis Xavier,

St. Constantine the Martyr and Fr. Bartholomew de Espina; another is borrowed from the *Chronica de S. Francisco*, 3 p. liv. 1. p. 19, and another from *Luz das Verdades*, l. 103. The Master interrupts him (p. 10) to express his approbation, and, when the pupil comes to the end of his stories, "*Boro utom cothâ cohilâ*", he exclaims. "*Araodi quissu asse cohibar ; cohô, xoni*. You have spoken exceedingly well. If you have more to say, speak. I like to hear you." But, the Pupil turns off to another subject. "The miracles of the sign of the Cross are so many that I cannot tell them all; you know them very well; that will do for the moment. Let us pass to the other doctrine [or lesson]." Whereupon Ch. II opens on the Our Father and the explanation thereof.

Many of the stories related by the *menino* are unauthenticated, crude, bizarre, apocryphal. Where they happened or when, matters little. The more astounding they are, the more impressive they will be, he judges. Some he has heard from his Master; others he has read in books. The chief thing is that they should point a lesson. Alanus de Rupe, p. 5, c. 3 and his story of a certain Queen in Spain is quoted (pp. 65-67) to insist on the importance of reciting frequently the Rosary, "a devotion dear to the heart of the Bengallas" (p. 59). "*Utom cohila*," is the Master's reflection, but the Portuguese has "*Bizarramente!*" which is the proper term under the circumstances. We cannot but regret that Father Manoel de S. Agostinho did not exercise a more severe censorship on the *menino's* illustrations.

The *menino* is questioned on the grounds of his faith (pp. 81-85).

M.—Did you ever see any of the mysteries which you believe?

P.—No.

M.—Then, why do you believe them?

P.—I believe because God said it, and our Holy Mother the Catholic Church teaches it.

M.—And how do you believe these mysteries?

P.—I believe them as Holy Mother Church believes.

M.—And how does Holy Mother Church believe them?

P.—This I cannot say. Holy Mother Church has Doctors. They will be able to answer you.

M.—Very well; but, say, if anyone does not know or understand the *I believe in God the Father*, or the *Articles of the Faith*, can he be saved?

P.—No, because he has not the Faith.

M.—True. So it is. Tell us some wonder to prove the truth of this.

P.—Listen then. There was once a certain rustic, who was so stupid and lazy that he never could nor wanted to learn the Doctrine [Catechism]. So God ordered an ox to teach him the *I believe in God the Father*.

There was a very stupid woman whom the Virgin Mary came to teach the *I believe in God the Father*, the *Our Father* and the *Hail Mary*.

There was a Paulist [Jesuit] Father who once was teaching the Doctrine. He asked whether anyone could explain the mysteries of the Faith and what is contained in the Creed. No one answered out of shame. Then, a mere suckling raised its voice and explained them like a Doctor, (which proves the necessity of knowing the mysteries of the Faith).¹

Here is another story, a legend (pp. 112-115). We may wonder how old it is.

M.—Is there in that country [of Jerusalem] a continual miracle?

P.—Yes, there is. I shall tell you one I know. Near Jerusalem there is a pleasant place with many trees covered with wonderful fruits. The place is so agreeable that it is like a nook of Paradise. There is in it a great variety of birds, which sing marvellously. Every year, from the Sunday of the Passion up to the feast of Easter, these birds practise such great penance that they scarcely eat or drink. They are sad, letting droop their wings or stretching them out crosswise, and they look so downcast that it would seem they bemoan the death of their Lord. But, on Easter-day, they are so happy that one would think they have revived with their Lord. They sing and play and fly in and out with such lively gambols that they seem to have trained themselves for the purpose. Such are their festivities on the feast of the Resurrection. This continual miracle was seen by all those who went there at the said time, and, if you were to go nowadays, you could see it too.

M.—A great miracle. You must learn from it how, if birds, irrational creatures, are so sad during the Passion-tide of Christ, we, rational men, ought to feel much sadder, seeing the Lord suffered so for sinners.

The conclusion certainly is excellent.

PP. 123-129.

Master.—How many Hells are there?

Pupil.—Four.

M.—Which are they?

P.—The Hell of the damned, Purgatory, Limbo, and the bosom of Abraham.

M.—Where are these Hells?

P.—In the bowels of the earth.

M.—Who goes to the Hell of the damned?

P.—Gentooes (*Indu*), Moors (*Mossolomen*), Heretics and Schismatics, and all those bad Catholics who did not do penance and died in sin.....

M.—Who goes to the bosom of Abraham?

P.—No one goes there nowadays; the souls of the Holy Fathers went thither formerly, and Christ redeemed them from it after His death, and took them to Heaven on the day of His Ascension.

¹ The part within () is not in the Bengali.

PP. 183—185.

Here is an impossible story, which the *menino* borrows from Michael de Llisfel, lib. 12. de Merc. Gal. Belgic. Itin. de Andrad. Grad. 12. § 15, fol. 177.

P.—.....In the year of Our Lord one thousand five hundred and ninety-five, there lived in the city of Baquiaras a man and his wife. Their characters were very different. The woman was good; the husband, very bad. One Sunday, this bad husband had got drunk in a tavern. His wife, hearing of it, came and said: "My man, what must the world be thinking, when they see you drunk here? Get up, and come home." The drunkard, hearing this, fell upon his wife in a fury, beat her and said, "Go to Hell with the devil you have in you."—"If I have a devil in me," said the woman, "he will soon be born to punish you." Thus she said, and thus it happened. She went home, and presently with great travail she gave birth to a horrible cobra. The husband, hearing of it, ran home; but, the moment the cobra saw him, it attacked him and started biting until it killed him. He dead, the cobra also died, as if it had come into being only to be the instrument of God's justice. As for the woman, she got such a fright that she died shortly after.

M.—This example may serve as a mirror to married people, in which each may see how he lives.

P. 209.

On usury.

M.—How much interest is one allowed to take?

P.—On a hundred tangas one is allowed to take one tanga of interest a month; on the tanga, seven ganddas and a half (*this is the interest allowed in Bengalla by the Very Illustrious and Reverend Bishop of S. Thomè, D. Francisco Laines*), and he who takes more interest will have incurred the penalties of usury, that is excommunication.¹

Against some superstitious practices.

PP. 265-267.

M.—Is it allowed to fast the fasts of the Holy Ghost, besmearing the floor of the house with cow-dung, cooking rice in a new vessel, and using other ceremonies observed by the women on the said fasts?

P.—No, because they are illicit and superstitious.

M.—May he who fasts the fasts of the Holy Ghost eat pigeons on meat-days?

P.—Why not? If he gets them, he may eat them without sin; and he who for the sake of the fasts of the Holy Ghost does not eat pigeons during

¹ Bishop Laines was in Bengal in 1712-1715. The interest allowed was 12%. A tanga was a rupee; 4 cowries = 1 ganda; 20 ganddas = 1 pun; 32 puns = 1 rupee.

the year, believing it ominous (*se o fixer por agouro*), commits a sin of superstition.

M.—Is it allowed to let fly pigeons in the Church on the day of the Holy Ghost?

P.—No, all this is superstitious, if it is thought to be ominous (*se for por agouro*).

The practices here condemned about 200 years ago exist still to some extent among the native Christians and the lower grades of our Eurasians, and I am not sure that they are found among Catholics only. The question is whether these superstitious taboo observances originated here or in Europe, whether they were borrowed from Easterners or from Westerners.

The following letter, dated Calcutta, 10 October 1913, was addressed to one of our Fathers by a young man with a Portuguese name. We reproduce it as it stands.

"Dear Father,

Next Friday it might interest us to hear from you as regards the view of the Church on the following points noted below:—

(1) *A* abstains from eating flesh-meat of a dove all his life long in honour of the Holy Ghost, Who came down upon the Apostles in the form of dove [1].

(2) During the course of the Novenas preceeding [*sic*] His Feast, he observes a strict fast, remains in a closed room, speaks with no one, allows none to approach him, and, as often as he leaves his cell to attend to nature's call, so often he takes a bath and changes his clothes, and on the day of the feast, lets free 12 doves in honour of the Holy Ghost.

(3) Is this a primitive usage of the Church? I hear so many say the practice was followed by many of the old people, and now only a few of their descendants follow it...."

It is not easy to kill vain observances. Missionaries may move in and out among the people and never suspect their existence.

Here are other practices borrowed from the Hindûs, which the Missionaries were endeavouring to kill 200 years ago. Have they succeeded? And let no one feel tempted to throw the first stone at the native Catholics of the Dacca side, unless he has made sure that his own glass-house is stone-proof.

PP. 302-303.

M.—What must the bride and bridegroom do before their marriage?

P.—.....They must go to Confession and to Holy Communion; but, on no account shall they practise the *Odibax*, and the *Xuagpani* of the Gentoos. And, after their marriage, they shall not perform the *Baixbia*, nor the *Pagporox* of the Gentoos.

M.—.....Explain. What is the *Odibax*, *Xuagpani*, *Baixbia* and *Pagporox*? I do not understand.

P.—.....It is a fast, which the Gentoos practise on the eve of their marriage, and which has some connexion with (*que diz relaçã a*) the Confession of the Christians. There is no need of knowing the other names.¹ These and other rites whatever must not be practised by Christians; they are superstitious.

PP.—312-313.

M.—Are there perhaps among married Christians some Gentoo (*Indu*) rites?

P.—There is the *Xatamirth*, the *Sotiara* and the *Oniopraxon*. These rites are not allowed to Christians; they are superstitious.²

The meddlesomeness of parents with regard to the marriages of their children is probably as marked now as it was two centuries ago.

PP. 303-304.

M.—To whom does it belong to settle the marriage?

P.—Those who have to get married must settle the marriage themselves; for this, they are allowed to ask the advice of their parents. The father and the mother, or some other person, may also settle the marriage, provided the two parties be satisfied; but, if they are not satisfied, neither father nor mother may oblige them to marry, because a marriage, to be a true marriage, depends on the consent of the parties. When the marriage has already been agreed upon, it is proper to hold the betrothal before three or four witnesses, one giving the other a promise of marriage, and the form will be this. The bridegroom will say: "So-and-so, I promise before God to marry you." The bride will say: "So-and-so, I promise before God to take no other husband but you." After this they will give a pledge, which may be a ring or a Rosary. The betrothal over, they will celebrate the marriage when they wish.

And Fr. Manoel da Assumpção, forgetting for once that the conversation is between the Gurú and the Shishu, thrusts himself in between them.

"I write this to do away with the unjust custom existing in this country that parents should arrange marriages without consulting their daughters, whence it follows that married people are unhappy, because they have not married as they wished."

¹ The meaning evidently is that these practices were by the Christians considered obscene.

² Missionaries would do well to inquire into the possible survival of tantric rites among their converts. In an article on *A Portuguese Wedding in Calcutta: (The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register, Vol. XIV, N. S., May-Aug. 1834, London, Parbury, Allen & Co., 1834)*, I find it hinted that there existed (among the Eurasians or natives with Portuguese names) ceremonies of purification preliminary to marriage, "like the mysteries of the *Bona Dea*," which ought not to be revealed. Such things are possible. They must have existed in 1734.

Good advice to parents.

PP.—176-179.

P.—.....Fathers of families, if you wish to be saved, teach your family by your own works, and with your words explain to them the way of salvation; and, if they refuse to listen to your teaching, chastise them; chastisements do not kill them, and, if chastisements do not correct them, ask the Padre to correct them; if you don't, you may have to go to Hell with your children by your sides, which God forbid.

M.—This is all very well. But some say: Formerly, I taught and chastised them; but now my children have grown big and I am old; they have no respect for me any longer, and they are no more afraid of chastisements; each one does as he likes; they have lost all shame; and who has lost all shame, no punishments can make him good; evil company has spoiled him. Among drunkards my son became a drunkard; among spendthrifts, he has become a spendthrift; and he is so worthless (*perdido*) that he refuses to work. In the same way my daughter has gone wrong (*fica perdida*). I am an old man; I cannot punish any more. If I complain to the Padre, they will run away, and I shall remain alone. I can work no longer. Then, what is to become of me? Give me a remedy! What do you say to that?

P.—If anyone were to speak thus, I would answer. If what you say is true, God alone can provide a remedy. Go to Him; tell Him: Merciful Lord, Thou, Who art all-wise, knowest well what I suffer. My son, or my daughter, is lost; he obeys neither me nor Thee. I ask Thee to give him the grace of amending his ways, and, if I do not deserve to receive this favour, Thy Holy Will be done. And, if after this petition your son does not change his life, it is his fault. Some day he will repent, when it is too late."

In spite of its many defects and imperfections, this little Catechism contains excellent matter. It is really a compendium of doctrine. Its appearance in print was a marked improvement on previously existing conditions, and we cannot but regret that it was not attempted at a much earlier date, either at Lisbon, or at one of the presses introduced into Western India by the Jesuits.

It is impossible to say how many copies of it were printed. We can, however, make some sort of guess. The number must have been very limited, for the number of native Bengali-speaking Christians who had mastered the Roman alphabet must have been small in comparison with those who could read Bengali. In Father Ambrosio's time, i.e., after 1726, the Mission school at Nagori contained 150 boys learning the Catechism. No printed books were yet in existence then. "The method of catechising is as follows," he writes. "They begin by singing some hymns of the Mysteries of the

Rosary, composed by Don Antonio do Rozario, and, as the people assemble to hear them and questions are made about their meaning, this gives occasion to their conversion. These hymns are very pious and very devout, and all the Christians of this Mission, both the public and the occult ones, know them, and they are the Psalms with which they praise God both in Church and outside, according to the seasons." (*O Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. II, 1867, p. 60.) In 1750, Father Ambrosio speaks of 1500 public and 8000 occult Christians, and 8733 who dressed like Europeans. Total: 18,233. (*Ibid.*) The number of pure native Christians in Eastern Bengal was therefore 9500. The occult Christians lived inland, away from the towns, and at great distances from the Missionary centres about Dacca. It is among the 1500 public native Christians that we should look for such as could read the Roman character. Now, of these only 900 *almas de confissab* or Christians of an age to go to Confession were living in the *aldeia* of Nagori, where there was something like a decent village school. We should think then that the Catechism, as also Don Antonio's Dialogue (No. 1), was chiefly printed for the use of the Missionaries and their Catechists. Even two hundred copies would have gone a long way, and, if sparsely used, ought to have lasted a long time. As for the native Christians settled about Chittagong and along the Hugli, we can say nothing definite about their number; they were mostly servants who could speak the *pigeon* Portuguese of Bengal and understand the Padre's Portuguese sermon, when it was not too high-flown.

If Fr. Manoel's Catechism is really an original work composed at Nagori, his frequent references enable us almost to reconstruct the catalogue of his library in 1734. We have had the curiosity of jotting them down as they turned up.

Catech. Roman.	Niceforus, lib. 5.
Sigib. & Vincent. Velb. in Spec. Hisp.	Michael de Llisfel, lib. 12. de Merc.
l. 2. c. 39. 14.	Gal. Belg.
S. Greg. Turon. c. 6. de Gloria	Gen[esis].
Martyr.	Joan. Ramir.; S. Agost.; S. Ambro-
Theod. in hist. Rel., l. 11, c. 16.	sio; S. Jeron.
P. Punic, l. 2. hist. Virg. c. 2.	Aug. Mag. c. 186.
Sur. in Vita S. Egidii.	Mariet. lib. 19. c. 9.
Thomas Boc. 1. 2. l. 15. de sig. Eccl.	P. Luc. Pinel. lib. 2. de Sacrif. Miss.
S. Athan. Sermo de mirac. conc.	c. 4. Serm. 70.
Nic. 4.	Godejo. Holon. l. 2. Serm. 100. lit. C.
S. Amb. lib. de Cain & Abel.	Fr. Marcos de S. Joseph, l. 1. p. 3.
S. Geron. In Osseau. Propheta [<i>sic</i>]	c. 21.
Aquil. l. 9. c. 19.	Especul. exempl. dist. 10. exempl. 14.

Izaias; Mar.; Luc.; Math.	S. Antonin. de Floren. p. 2. t. 1. c. 19.
S. Joan. Damasceno, orat. 3. imag.	Petr. de Palud. 4. Sent.
Itin. de Andr. Grat. § 7. fol. 235.	Sur. tom 5.
Grat. 10. § 10. fol. 137; Grad.	P. Euseb. lib. de hist. pereg. 15 dos.
12. § 12. f. 175; Grad. 12. § 15. fol.	milag. de Europ.
177; Grad. 20. § 3. f. 303.	Martin Delr. t. 2. Disquis. Mag. l. 5.
	quaest. sect. 8.
	Arjdek. p. 3. c. 3. f. 160.

Father Guerin's reprint of the Catechism (No. 2).

In 1836, Fr. J. F. M. Guerin, a Sulpician priest, the Vicar of St. Louis' Church, Chandernagar, re-edited No. 2 in Bengali characters. In reality, he recast and remodelled entirely the disposition of the original. The work will be sufficiently explained by its title, preface and contents.

Title: Catéchisme / suivi / de trois dialogues / et de la liste / des Eclipses de soleil et de lune / calculées pour le Bangale / à partir de 1836 jusqu'en 1904 inclusivement. / Nouvelle édition, revue et corrigée. / Kripár Shástrer arthabed / Súrjyer ár chandrer grahan ganánár sahít 140 batsarer / árambh 1836 Sál abadhi / sahar Chandananagar / ebang sámasta Bángalá desher nimitte. / Koriyáchhen Jákabachhi Phrárchhiskas Máriyá Geren / Chandananagarer sarbba gráhyar Pádri. / Niyojita prerita-sampakíya ebang dharmmátmár sabhástha. / Dwitiya bár ebang shudharupe-Shrírámpure mudánkita hoila. / San 1836.

Preface translated from the Latin.

Kind Reader,

As, with the grace of God, pagan Bangalis, ignorant of any foreign language, are being daily converted to the Catholic Religion and ask for Baptism, the Missionary must teach them in Bangali, so that they may faithfully learn by heart the principles of Religion. For this, he generally uses the Portuguese Catechism with a Bangali version opposite, which was composed in 1735 by the Rev. Father Manoel da Assumpção, a Religious of the Order of St. Augustine, and Rector of the Mission of St. Nicolas of Tolentino in the province of Bangal. The Bangali Christians, and this excellent exposition of the rudiments of the Faith taught them from the year 1735 and printed at Lisbon in the Roman character in 1763,¹ constitute for the Mission of St. Nicolas of Tolentino a monument more lasting than brass. However, as the book was never republished, the Christians who had some knowledge of Portuguese, and Missionaries especially have long felt the

1. I do not see how Fr. Guerin got at these dates. It should be 1734 and 1743, as given in our description of the book above.

want of it. As for the Bangalis who are ignorant of Portuguese or of the Roman character, they do not require Father Manoel's Catechism. The book would be quite useless to them either to study their Religion or to teach their children. It would have been very different in my opinion, if it had been printed from the first in the Bangali character.¹

Accordingly, after revising lately this Catechism now a century old, I felt the religious desire of republishing it now in the Bangali character, and some day in the Roman character with a correct French translation.

While carefully revising the Very Rev. Father Manoel's work, I found in the answers very many mistakes—mistakes in the words, rather than in the meanings, and it was clear to me therefore that the Catechism was written in Portuguese by Father Manoel, and that the Christian of Bhowal, who translated it, did so at times alone, while the Father was napping. Add to this that, after expunging, as was becoming, the very curious but apocryphal stories, scarcely one third of the book remained, the best part, though. Finally, at no small personal expense, and after a nine months' labour, in which I was helped by two Christians, two Brammons and a Mousolman, this Bangali Catechism was completed by me and under my most attentive directions. To it have been added three dialogues which will attract the curiosity of the pagans and prove most useful to them; also a list of the solar and lunar eclipses calculated for Bengal from 1816 to 1940 inclusively. If any error against the Catholic Faith should have crept into the book, I condemn it beforehand; so, if you detect any, kindly correct them.

It is superfluous to add that the astronomer Pingré had not foreseen that his laborious calculations of eclipses would be made instrumental in diffusing Religion, neither did the Baptist Society of Fredericnagar [Serampur] think their translation of the Bible into Bangali would be turned to the use of the Catholic Faith; for, with the exception of a few passages, I have confidently and to the greater glory of God made use of it. Mr. Carey, a great oriental linguist, translated, they say, the greater part of the Bible into Bangali. However that may be, Mr. Marshman, the present Director of that Society, presented me kindly with a free copy of the *Dharmma Pustake*, carefully printed quite recently. I have but to add that I wish you should not forget to pray for God's richest blessings on this Catechism and my own eternal salvation. Farewell.

Written on the 6th of May A. D. MDCCCXXXVI by J. F. M. Guerin,
M. A. S., Pastor of the Church of Chandernagor.

1. This would have been quite a feat. The first specimen of printing in Bangali characters was Halded's Grammar, printed at Hugli in 1778.

Description and comparison with the original.

(21 x 13 cm.)—Before the title given above, there is a smaller title: *Kripār Shāstrer Arthabed | āṛ | 104 batsarer grahan ganānā.*

PP. V-VI, Latin preface; p. 1: Advice to Hindú and Muhammadan readers; p. 2: blank.

PP. 3-13 or ch. I is Bk II, ch. I of No. 2 or pp. 314-347.

PP. 13-21 or ch. II embodies Bk II, ch. II of No. 2 or pp. 356?

PP. 21-24 or ch. III is Bk I, ch. II of No. 2.

PP. 24-26 or ch. IV is Bk I, ch. III of No. 2.

PP. 26-39 or ch. V is Bk I, ch. IV of No. 2.

PP. 40-51 or ch. VI is Bk I, ch. V of No. 2.

PP. 51-55 or ch. VII is Bk I, ch. VI of No. 2.

PP. 55-57 contains the *Artha beder dharmma gīt* or pp. 348-354 of No. 2.

PP. 57-58 is the hymn to the Infant Jesus or pp. 353-355 of No. 2.

PP. 58-62 or ch. VIII is a dialogue between a Muhammadan and a Christian Gurú or Catechist.

PP. 62-65 or ch. IX is a dialogue between a Christian Gurú and a Hindu.

PP. 66-97 is a discussion between a Christian Gurú, a Maulvī and a Brahmana Pandit. The discussion drops into a monologue (pp. 70-97), or an exposition of the Catholic Faith. The world had a beginning; the first patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; Melchisedech and Daniel's prophecies; proofs of Christ's divinity; as Christ was sent by God, so were the Apostles sent by Christ; the doctrines of the faith are settled by the Councils; sketch of the history of the Church throughout the world; rise of Protestantism (Henry VIII, Elizabeth, Luther, Anabaptists, Calvinists, Episcopalians); Armenian heresies and subsequent divisions; no miracles found among the sects; number of Catholics, bishops and priests throughout the world. At p. 91, the Gurú says: "Reading and meditating these words is excellent. I think that God has gathered every nation in Calcutta that the Catholic Scriptures may be made known and proved to all other religious teachers."

PP. 98-99. The conversation is resumed, but it runs on eclipses. An astrologer, the wisest in Bengal, is introduced. The Gurú tells him that he will give him Rs. 100, if he can foretell eclipses for 10 years. The astrologer answers: "Brahma will not be

able to do that without great trouble. It will be impossible to get from Benares or Nadiya an astrologer fit for that work."

PP. 99-100. Rules for calculating years and eclipses.

P. 101. A title: *104 batsarer grahan ganand*.

PP. 102-123. Solar and lunar eclipses calculated for 1836-1940.

After his return to Europe, i.e., after 1840, l'Abbé Guérin published a very learned work on Indian Astronomy, of which we copy here the title: *Astronomie / Indienne / d'après la doctrine et les livres anciens et modernes / des Brammes / sur l'astronomie, l'astrologie et la chronologie / suivie / de l'examen / de l'astronomie des anciens peuples de l'Orient / et de l'explication des principaux monuments astronomico-astrologiques / de l'Egypte et de la Perse. / Par M. l'abbé J. M. F. Guérin / Ancien Missionnaire Apostolique dans les Indes Orientales / et Docteur en théologie. / Paris / Imprimé par autorisation du Roi / à l'Imprimerie Royale / MDCCCXLVII. /*

PP. 2 unnumbered: Dedication to H. R. H. the Prince de Joinville, Vice-Admiral; pp. x: Introduction; pp. 250; 4 big folding lithographed plates.

PP. 241-243 contain a list of 58 native MSS. on Indian Astronomy and Sciences collected by the author. His introduction is particularly interesting. I knew a great deal of Father Guérin's pastoral activities at Chander-nagar; but, until I read the introduction to his book, I did not suspect his scholarly pursuits while in Bengal.

Our bibliographical desiderata.

If any of our readers were lucky enough to discover printed copies of our three earliest printed Bengali books, we should urge him to describe them fully. We ought to have at least:—

For No. 1: a photographic facsimile of the title, a Ms. copy of the introduction or prologue, if any; also of the imprimatur and whatever belongs to the history of the book. The size and different paginations must be clearly and correctly shown. Does No. 1 contain any details to prove that Don Antonio was the author of the book, or any information on his conversion? Does it contain Father Guérin's 3 dialogues?

For No. 2: we need a photographic reproduction of the title, a Ms. copy of the imprimatur, and of whatever throws light on the history of the book. At what page does Bk. I, Ch. III begin? What does it treat of? What divisions and how many pages are there after p. 380?

For No. 3: wanted a photographic facsimile of the titles of the 3 different portions; a Ms. copy of the introduction and imprimatur with their dates; the number of pages of each part; also a photographic reproduction of one or two pages of each vocabulary.

If copies of these 3 works could be traced in Bengal, they should without delay be acquired by the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial. I shall even suggest that, as the only known copy of No. 2 is at present in the possession of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it ought to be ceded or loaned to the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial. It is a mere curiosity, a rarity, which no one probably had examined before me or will examine after me. The proper place for it is a Museum. There, with a suitable label to describe it, it would excite the interest which it deserves.

H. HOSTEN, S. J.

ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE, CALCUTTA.

Leaves from the President's Note-Book.

ON the occasion of a recent inspection of the cemetery at Chittagong
I noted the following inscriptions:—

1.

To the Memory
of
CHARLES CROFTES ESQR.
Who died Chief of Chittagong.
in the year 1786
Aged 42.

SAML. OLDHAM.
Sculpt.

2.

Here lays
the Remains of
MRS. MARY ELLERKER.¹
who died October 18, 1776.
on the 25th Y. of her age.
She died belov'd by all.

3.

Sacred to the Memory
of
SUETONIUS GRANT HEATLY ESQ.
Senior Judge of the Court of Circuit at Dacca
who died on the 3rd of June 1794
and lies here interred
Aged 43 years.

4.

To the Memory of
CLARISSA STONHOUSE
Daughter of
John and Sarah Stonhouse.
Died the 25th April 1794
Aged sixteen months.

¹ See *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. IV p. 495, and Vol. VIII p. 110.



MEMORIAL WINDOW, CHRIST CHURCH, CHITTAGONG.
(Photo by the Rev. W. T. Millett.)



STATUE OF THE BUDDHA.
EXCAVATED AT CHITTAGONG WHEN PREPARING FOR
THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE HOSPITAL.

5.

Sacred

to the memory of

MRS. C. E. HAYWARD¹.

who died 15th Feby. 1845.

Aged 21 years and 6 months.

Her last words were

"Welcome sweet day of rest

That saw the Lord arise.

Welcome to the reviving breast

And these rejoicing eyes."

This monument is erected by

Her Affectionate and Disconsolate Father

Henry Randolph Esq.

6.

Sacred to the memory

of

GEORGE LYNCH COTTON.

Eldest son of the Rev. H. S. Cotton.

Ordinary of Newgate London

and late Chief Officer

Of the Ship *Machbar*,

who died at Chittagong

On the 19th September 1833

Aged 30 years.

Amongst other inscriptions I noticed one to Francis Whitworth Russell Esq., died 25th March, 1852, who, I take it, must be a kinsman to Rose Aylmer. A Rev. J. C. Fink lost two daughters, Mary Catherine and Sara Elizabeth Lydia, who died in May 1844, and both are buried here. Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Fink² buried here an infant son, Charles Alfred, in 1849, and a daughter, Julia Mary Eliza, in 1855.

I also noticed inscriptions to

Maria, wife of W. B. Buckle, B. C. S., died 9th May, 1861.

Brevet Captain Joseph Benyon, died 4 November, 1829.

Andrew Reid, died 1 March, 1823.

1. The Chittagong Marriage Register shows that George William Hayward married Clarentina Emma Randolph at Christ Church, Chittagong on 24th November 1841, the Rev. H. B. Shepherd "District Chaplain," performing the ceremony. A sister, Sarah Louise Randolph, married on the same day Edward Raymond Bolson.

2. Robert Archibald Fink, son of John Christopher Fink was headmaster of a Government School and married Miss Julia Mary Rogers at Chittagong, February 25, 1849.

Eveline Matilda Pargiter, daughter of the Rev. Robert Pargiter, died 30 February 1876.

Captain Peter Kincaid, died 9 May 1850.

Lieutenant William Dickson, died 31 August 1827.¹

Captain John Thomson, died 1 January 1821.

Harriot White, daughter of Colonel John White, died 12 August 1811.

Major Bradan, died 22 June 1837.

James Sprot, B. C. S., died 29 June 1813.

Hannah Rose, died 26 September 1774.

Mary Ann, wife of Ensign John Buller, died 26 May 1856.

Captain G. McBean, died 14 June 1828.

Robert Staunton, died 22 February 1822.

Joseph Smith, died 27 May 1794.

Marianne, wife of Captain William Sterling, died 1 January 1829.

Of Mr. Charles Croftes, whose epitaph has been reproduced above, a good deal of interest might be written. Croftes was one of the most intimate friends of Warren Hastings. The eleventh of the charges against Hastings at his trial was that in the year 1779, "he annulled the existing contract for the provision of bullocks, and concluded another with his friend Mr. Charles Croftes Esqr. upon wantonly extravagant terms." On this charge Hastings was found guilty by three and acquitted by twenty-three of his judges.

In 1774 Croftes was Sub-Treasurer at Fort William. In the year 1777 he held the post of Accountant-General to the Revenue Department—an office not to be confounded (as is often done) with that of the Accountant-General. We find one reference to him in *Grand's Narrative*: "While I remained in the family of Mr. Hastings I was in the habitude, with my friends, Major Palmer and Gale, to make occasional excursions at the end of the week on the river. Our rendezvous generally was either at the lamented Mr. Croftes' plantation at Sooksaugur in which he had introduced the growth of the sugarcane, or at Ghyretty House, the residence of M. Chevalier, the Governor of the French settlement of Chandernagore." The mention of the sugarcane plantation reminds us that, in addition to his work at the Revenue department, Croftes contracted for the rum supplied to the Company's Marine Service. On July 15, 1783, we find the agent to the Fleet seeking permission "to take over 600 leagues of rum from Mr. Croftes, having engaged to take over all that could be made at Sooksaugur for the use of the Fleet." Sooksaugur (Suksagar), be it said, is, or was (for Warren Hastings' house at that place has long years ago subsided into the river) on the banks of the Hughli, a

1. The only Chittagong inscription given in Dr. C. R. Wilson's *List*.

little above, and on the opposite side to, Bandel. The house and experimental cultivation grounds were perhaps in origin Hastings', and it seems to have been the favourite country-side retreat of "the elegant Marian," but early in 1784 it seems to have become Croftes' property, for we find Hastings on his way to Sooksaugur writing: "Poor Croftes, with the gout in his head, is, in defiance of it and my entreaties, hurrying after me, to make my reception at his house most welcome and salutary." A little later on, the Governor-General records: "I am, on the contrary, as well as I have been for many years, for when I landed at Sooksaugur on the 19th my health failed me, and my knees trembled with the walk to Croftes' bungalo." It may be mentioned that it was at Sooksaugur that Edward Wheler broke a blood-vessel and died on October 10, 1784.

In Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* (June 1781) Croftes appears as "Idle Charley, the Bankrupt merchant," but idle he can hardly have been if we consult the almost numberless letters in his hand to be found in the Mofussil collectorate offices. There cannot be the slightest doubt but that he was an exceedingly laborious and able Revenue official. It is curious that in 1781 he should have been hit off by Hicky as a "bankrupt merchant" for his bankruptcy does not seem to have occurred till 1785, when it befell in consequence of an unfortunate deal in muslins. The measure of Hastings' personal confidence in his poor gout-stricken friend may be judged from the fact that he selected him to be his wife's trustee in India. When Mrs. Hastings went home in 1784, it was arranged that no less than £5,000 should be paid to Captain Cooper of the *Atlas* for the accommodation of the Governor's wife and companions, and Croftes, who had charge of the negotiation, arranged that the skipper should receive as payment "muslins" of his manufacture, on the consideration that, as no commission would be charged thereon, the worthy captain would make a further profit of 25 per cent. on the bargain. The "muslins" sold for less than £600 for the sum originally fixed, and when Captain Cooper applied for compensation, Croftes was on the verge of bankruptcy!

Hastings left Calcutta finally on February 1, 1785. On September 9 of that year Croftes was appointed Chief and Collector of Chittagong. Sir H. J.S. Cotton, in his *Memorandum on the Revenue History of Chittagong*, records: "It will seem that he was failing in health, and resigned his Calcutta offices and endowments of his own accord in order to obtain a transfer to a settlement of established reputation. By a special order, dated 9th November, 1783, his own physician, Mr. John Williams, was permitted to accompany him to Chittagong on the salary of an assistant surgeon. Mr. Croftes must,

however, have been a great pecuniary loser by the transfer." Sir H. J. S. Cotton did not know of Croftes's bankruptcy as a private merchant. A nemesis followed Croftes to Chittagong. Sir H. J. S. Cotton goes on to say: "There was also another considerable inconvenience attaching to the Chittagong appointment at the period. I find that for three consecutive years, at least from 1783 to 1786, the exigencies of Government at the Presidency were so great as to require the immediate monthly remittance of the whole balance of cash in the treasury after receiving sufficient for the payment of the troops and for drafts in favour of the Revenue Committee. All other payments were suspended; *not even salaries could be paid*. Mr. Croftes, who had joined with other members of the Revenue Committee in issuing these instructions in 1783, when Mr. Irwin was Collector, was compelled to remonstrate against them in 1786, when he was himself a victim to their operation." It is not often that highly placed officials after having enjoyed the exhilarating delights of taking bird's eye views of the world beneath them have the further privilege of taking a worm's eye view from below—but that was a privilege which befell our friend Charles Croftes.

At Chittagong, Croftes had the honour to entertain at his house Sir William and Lady Jones. He completed the revenue settlement for the year 1786-1787. Sir H. J. S. Cotton writes:—"The character of Mr. Croftes' work is laborious and conscientious, although it is not altogether such as might have been expected from his experience and his own ability. His letters are a marvel of circumlocution, and his deference to authority and respect for the Revenue Committee are remarkable even in an age when official self-abnegation and abasement were more practised than they are in the correspondence of modern time. It was doubtless his bad health that affected the outturn of his work. He died at Chittagong on the 12th of September (1786), just a twelve-month after his appointment."

It will be interesting to notice the fate of that old house at Sooksagar where Hastings and his wife had so often resided. A wood-cut picture of the house derived from Colesworthy Grant's *Rural Life in Bengal*, has already appeared in *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. VI p. 162. Grant tells that "it was built by Warren Hastings as a country residence for himself and three other civilians, and for the purpose of their having an English farm where experiments in the growth of coffee and other products of that nature could be tried." Forbes in his *Oriental Researches* says "that it was an elegant house of European architecture, highly finished, and the grounds disposed with great taste." The name Sooksagar ("Dream of Delight") is probably derived from

an ornamental tank in the neighbourhood constructed by some wealthy Mahomedan native. The property fell into the hands of the wealthy merchant, Joseph Barretto, who is said to have lived there "like a prince," and to have erected a chapel, which his successor, M. Lauruletta, "noted for his hospitality and sporting propensities, converted into an abode for *ma-kouts* and fighting cocks." In 1792 the sugarcane plantation and rum factory were still flourishing and we are told that the place was styled "Chota Calcutta." Some sombre verses on the house as it stood in 1829

Silent deserted and sad

Where the dark tangled grass hides the serpents that hiss

And the jackals alone are now glad.

have often been quoted.

Philip Francis (he was not Sir Philip until 1806) left Calcutta on the 3rd of December, 1780. Fearing that his adversary would do him damage in England, Hastings sent a special messenger ahead of his foe. This messenger was John Shakespear, but lately Chief of Dacca, the father of John Talbot Shakespear who married Miss Emily Thackeray, and the great grand father of the chivalrous Sir Richmond Shakespear. Francis arrived at St. Helena on the 12th March, and was detained at that island for many months for want of a convoy to accompany his ship. The following letters have been copied for me at the British Museum.

St. Helena, 29th March, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

We arrived at this place the 15th after a passage of 3 Calendar months having touched at no other port. Our Captain (Abercrombie) was exceedingly anxious to have put into Platterburgh Bay, but was overruled by the other Captain under the influence of Mr. F. who was desirous of making the greatest despatch possible. This they will shortly repent. St. Helena can afford them no refreshment. Nay they must even want wood and salt provisions. The island can furnish neither—and as yet no advices have been received which can authorise the despatch of the ships for Europe. The supply of stores we brought has essentially benefited and relieved the place.

Our Fleet parted company in a gale of wind coming round the Cape in 40°—but we all made the island within three days of each other.

A Dutch ship having put in here to repair a leak, I have determined on proceeding with her to Europe as a circumstance that would be agreeable to you. We sail to-morrow and it is only to-day known to the Franciscans that I am going. He has prepared letters but does not despatch any particular person. I possess a copy of your letter to the Directors which if Mr. Sullivan etc., approve I purpose delivering in *as a duplicate*, but this will

depend upon the situation of things when I arrive. I am hopeful my going on before may be beneficial—there is no knowing when the Bengal Ships will get from hence. All the news here is of an old date, but it is still unfavourable to the English. Five outward bound Indiamen and fifty transports have been taken by the Grand Combined Fleet off Cape Finisterre and there is a whaling vessel come in yesterday who has brought a vague report from one of the ports on the Brasil Coast "that 6 outward bound English Ships for India had put in there with *some Great Man*, either a Governor or a General, on board who had shot himself." This is a strange unintelligible story—but doubtless ere this reaches you, you will have received authentic accounts of what is doing in Europe.

Dempster in the *Tryall* has not been in here. It is fortunate that I have copies of most of your consequential papers for the information of your Friends, and I trust I shall reach England with them safe notwithstanding I must go to Holland and probably may be *overhauled* by every Frenchman we meet—but I have taken precautions for securing my papers.

I have continued unwell during the whole voyage, but the St. Helena air has done me infinite service. I sincerely hope your good health and spirits continue and that this will find Mrs. Hastings perfectly well. I entreat you will make my best wishes acceptable to her—and that you will believe me undeviatingly.

Your attached and most affectionate,

Obliged Servant, ever,

J. Shakespear.

Little Gardiner is well. Pray, my dear Sir, oblige me by sending this to Croftes as my apology for not writing. My best compliments attend Mr. Sullivan.

2.

My dear Sir,

I am this instant arrived having been taken prisoner by the English Fleet out of a Dutch East Indiaman in which I had taken my passage from St. Helena.

I have only to wish you joy of *everything* which I do most cordially. Francis I left at St. Helena. I hear he is in general disesteem.

I am going to Town directly, and I shall give Mr. Sullivan my copy of your letter to the Directors.

I can pick up no intelligence here—but if the fleet continues to be detained by foul wind I will write you again. Once more I congratulate you—My utmost shall ever be exerted to prove myself,

Your most faithful,

J. Shakespear.

On June 13, 1796, at St. John's Church, Calcutta, the Rev. Thomas Blanshard married John Fendall,¹ senior merchant, in the Honorable East India Company's service to Mary Farquharson. The witnesses who signed the Register were—

Eliza Grant.—By birth a Miss Elizabeth Farquharson who had on August 3, 1787, married, at St. John's Church, Robert Grant, a Factor in the Honorable Company's Service.

Eliza Serena Hay.—A Miss Elizabeth Wagstaff married Edward Hay at St. John's on February 22, 1782.

Anna Eliza Farquharson.

Jane Louisa Debonaire.

R. Haldane.

Richard Goodlad.—Married at St. John's in 1784. (See *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. II. p. 169)

It will be of interest to follow up the issues of this wedding. Once again we are reminded of the solemn place St. John's Church holds in the history of so many English families connected with India. There were at least three children born—the youngest William, in due course became a Colonel in the 11th Hussars. Of the two girls—

Mary Fendall, born at Midnapur, 19 April, 1794, married in 1819 Sir John D'Oyly, Bart, mother of Sir Charles D'Oyly.

Harriot Fendall (born 8th November, 1793, died at Fyfield, Andover, Hants, 17th February, 1875), married George Powney Thompson (a son of George Nesbitt Thompson) and became mother of—

Sir Rivers Thompson.—Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

Maria Sophia Thompson.—who married Sir Richmond C. Shakespear.

The George Nesbitt Thompson of the preceding paragraph is the person of whom we read so much in *Warren Hastings' Letters to his Wife*. On the 30th July, 1791, G. N. T. married at Marylebone Church, Catherine Mary, widow of Henry Vansittart. This lady was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Powney,

1. John Fendall was buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, as the inscription shows:

Sacred to the Memory of JOHN FENDALL, Esq.
Member of the Supreme Council, Bengal, who
Departed this life November the 10th, 1845,
Aged 63 years.

Over the tomb of his wife is inscribed

Sacred to the memory of MARY FENDALL
The wife of John Fendall, Esq., who departed this
Life on the 8th September 1818.

some Madras friends of Warren Hastings. (*Vide* Sydney C. Grier's *Warren Hastings' Letters to his Wife*, p. 388). The monument to Henry Vansittart in the South Park Street Burial Ground bears this inscription:

Here lieth interred the body of
Henry Vansittart Esq.
Who departed this life the 7th October 1786,
In the 32nd year of his age.

In a note in the handwriting of G. N. Thompson, I read

"In a Bible belonging to my wife the following memorandum appears in the handwriting of her former husband.

Henry Vansittart and Catherine Mary Powney, married on Wednesday the 26th January, 1785, between 8 and 9 P.M. A boy born on the 10th July, 1784 Sat. 13. 4 P.M. Baptized by the name of Henry¹ on Wednesday night at 7½, 24th November, 1784. Godfathers: Warren Hastings and George Vansittart Esq. Godmother Mrs. Hastings.

To which is added this memorandum apparently in his widow's handwriting or her brother George:—

"A girl born on the 9th December, 1786. Sat. 2 A.M. Baptised by the name of Catherine on Wednesday night at 8½ o'clock 3rd January, 1787. Godfather George Powney and Godmothers Mrs. Casamajor and Mrs. Sarah Vansittart."

The Marriage Registers of St. John's (*See Bengal Past & Present* Vol. VII p. 171) show against the date 1785: September 7, the marriage of Mr. Benjamin Grindall, Senior Merchant, and Miss Charlotte Powney. Probably the marriage took place up-country, for the Chaplain notes, "Mr. Grindall's and Captain Scott's marriages in September were not known in time to me to be entered according to their exact date." Was this Miss Charlotte Powney a sister of Mr. Henry Vansittart?

Our readers in England would probably be surprised if they were informed that a not inconsiderable number of keen Indian students of history regard the tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta as a myth. I have asked a young Bengali student to state the grounds on which the story of the Black Hole is objected to. He writes:

1. "No mention is made of the Black Hole tragedy by any of the Muhammadan writers of Bengal, and specially by Golam Hossain. Golam Hossain has written about many iniquities of the Nawab Sirajudowlla, but

1. Died at Eglington Castle 22nd April, 1845. He married the widow of Sir Charles Turner, on 21st July, 1812, at Grosvenor Chapel.

why did he not mention the Black Hole tragedy? Let alone Golam Hossain, who was a Muhammadan and might be supposed to have concealed scandals of Moslems, but Haji Mustapha, the celebrated Frenchman, who translated Golam Hossain's work, does not seem to have admitted the reality of the Black Hole tragedy. He remarks with regard to the event:—"This event which cuts so capital a figure in Mr. Watts' performance is not known in Bengal." How would you explain the remark of Haji Mustapha?

2. "Even the contemporary Englishmen, who were the best authorities on the subject are silent on the point.

(a) After the capture of Calcutta by Sirajudowlla, when the English in Madras were planning schemes for the recapture of Calcutta, they never thought of the Black Hole tragedy—at least they are silent on the point in all their writings declaring the events of the times.

(b) At the request of the Madras Council, the Governor of Arcot and the Nizam wrote letters to Sirajudowlla interceding in the cause of the British. Even in that letter no mention is made of the Black Hole tragedy.

(c) Just before Clive and Watson came to Calcutta from Madras with retribution, Governor Pigott wrote an angry letter to Sirajudowlla. In that letter he has not made any mention of the Black Hole tragedy.

(d) Even Lord Clive on the eve of the battle of Plassey wrote a letter to Sirajudowlla. Even in that letter he does not make any mention of the event. Is not his silence very significant? The only Englishman who has made much of the Black Hole tragedy is Holwell, who had some personal grievances against Nawab. Interested witnesses should be distrusted."

Now, if the story of the Black Hole could be removed from the pages of history, no one would be more delighted than myself, and consequently if the few remarks I have to make on the arguments set forth above, meet with a convincing rejoinder I shall be very pleased. My fear, however, is that some of our younger students have not seen through the folly of certain Victorian literary men who passed off under the name of "history" attempts to refute the obvious or whitewash the unwashable.

Firstly, this is what Hajee Mustapha actually writes: "There is not one word here [*i. e.*, in Golam Hossain's text] of those English shut up in the Black Hole to the number of 131, where they were mostly smothered. The truth is that the Hindustanics wanting only to secure them for the night,

as they were to be presented next morning to the Prince, shut them up in what they heard was the prison of the fort, without having any idea of the capacity of the room, and indeed the English themselves had none of it." Haji Mustapha is then a witness that the tragedy of the Black Hole is authentic history. The passage our friend quotes is a part of Haji Mustapha's reflection "so careless and so incurious are these people."

As to Clive, in a letter dated July 30, 1757, he writes to the Emperor Shah Alam.

"The English, who as merchants were destitute of all implements of war, were easily defeated, and Siraja Dowla took and plundered Calcutta the 20th June, 1756, and all the great men and other Englishmen that fell into his hands were by his orders suffocated in one night" (Forrest: *Madras and Bengal Papers*, No. 203.) This is no doubt a reckless misstatement of fact, but it is so far as it goes, evidence to support the story of the Black Hole. That Clive, prior to Plassey, would have been reluctant to brandish the Black Hole scandal in the presence of the Nawab is evident from the following addressed to Mir Jaffar, on the field of Plassey, at 7.0. A.M. on June 23, 1757.

"Whatever could be done by me I have done. I can do no more. If you will come to Daudpore, I will march Plassey to meet you; but if you won't comply with this pardon me, shall make it up with the Nabob." (*Ibid.* No. 169).

The contention that "contemporary Englishmen who were the best authorities on the subject are silent on the point" is simply a wild misstatement. Let us leave Holwell, as a possibly prejudiced (!) person, out of account. We have to hand an account of the Black Hole tragedy by John Grey written in June 1756. The destruction of the English prisoners is recorded by Messrs. Watts and Collett in a letter to the Court of Directors in July of the same year. It is described by the Madras Government in a General Letter to the Court dated 13th October 1756. The theory that the Black Hole tragedy never really happened makes very light of the intelligence of one who deserves to be ranked in the very first rank of historical writers—Robert Orme, who was at the time a member of Council at Madras, and who derived his materials relating to Bengal from Lord Clive himself. What again should we have to think of the intelligence of Captain Ives? It may be added that we have narration of French contemporaries which support the narration of Holwell.* While so much has

* The Black hole incident is briefly mentioned in a French Official letter from Chandernagore dated 3rd July 1756.



OLD ENGLISH CEMETERY RAJMAHAL.

to be learned about the history of Bengal in the eighteenth century, it seems to me to be a very great pity that our Bengali students, to whom is accessible whole mines of unexplored wealth, should waste their time in following the bad example set them by English literary men miscalled "historians," and, more eminently, by German writers miscalled "critics."

The photos of the old English cemetery at Rajmahal have been sent me by the Rev. H. Perfect on behalf of some kind person unknown to me. How many graves there may have been in this burial ground I cannot say, but on the occasion of a recent visit I discovered ten only, and only three of these have inscriptions.

1.

HARRIETTE MATILDA HUISH

The beloved wife of
Lieutenant-Colonel
George Huish
Of the Bengal Army
February 5th, 1817.

2.

Sacred
To the Memory of
MR. JAMES SCOTT,
Son of the late
David Scott, Esqre.
Of the Civil Service
And Commissioner of Assam,
Who died on board his
Boat near Sikragally
On the 30th September, 1848,
Aged 19 years 4 months.
In the midst of life
We are in death.

3.

JOHN DONALDSON, Esq.,
Indigo Planter,
Who departed
This life at Rajmahal
On the 6th May, 1859
Aged 31 years.

I have to express my gratitude for the great kindness shewn to me when I was in Dacca last July by Khan Bahadur Sayid Aulad Hosain. The Khan Bahadur most generously gave up much of his valuable time to act as my cicerone, and under his skilled guidance I visited the historical memorials of the ancient capital of Bengal. By his kindness I am enabled to publish in the present number a portrait of the Vizier Ali. The stone bearing the inscription has long since now disappeared from the forlorn grave in the Khasi Bagan Mohammedan Burial Ground, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta, but the following translations are preserved for us in Vol. X (1820) of the *Asiatic Journal*.

Arabic couplet literally.

Truly the day of separation has rent my heart ; may God rend the heart of the day of separation.

Or, as it may be paraphrased.

The hours, my love, that bid us part,
Have paralysed this faithful heart,
And robb'd it of its rest ;
But soon shall the avenging pow'r
Annihilate each envious hour,
And give thee to my breast !

Translation of the Inscription in Arabic, at the top.

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate !
God ! and Mohummud, and Alee, and Fatima and Husyn and Hoosyn.
God ! there is no God beside him ! Mohummud the prophet of God !
Alee, the Vicegerent of the Lord and the successor of the Prophet.

In Arabic, on the sides.

Everything upon earth is perishable, but the countenance of the great and glorious God remaineth for ever ! O God, pardon and cover our transgressions : thou only art great and glorious and beneficent.

In Persian, in the body of the Inscription.

When the Vizier of Hindustan, Vizier Alee Asul Ja, quitted this place of vanity for the mansions of Paradise, I dived into the ocean of thought, in order that I might obtain pearl-containing the date of his removal, when suddenly my ears were assailed with the cry of "*Wae Durvegha !*" or "*Wo ! wo !*" from the race of genii, the human race, and from the feathered tribes !



THE VIZIER ALI.

From a collection of old paintings at Dacca.

Lord Clive's violent methods of "reforming" the Civil Service in 1765, are illustrated in "the Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell" now appearing in this Journal. It is curious to note that Mr. John Johnstone, on the 9th September 1765, was married by Chaplain William Parry to Miss Caroline Kenne, but unfortunately Johnstone had not obtained the consent of the Governor to the alliance. The result was that the Chaplain was summarily dismissed from the Company's Service. Archdeacon Hyde writes that "Parry continued at Calcutta in an anomalous position; for though finally dismissed, he never appears to have ceased to exercise his functions, nor to participate in the temporal privileges of his office." It was Chaplain Parry who, in May or June 1768 "consecrated" the new burial ground of "Park Street, South." He died in Calcutta on the 13th April, 1769. I do not know the name of the author of the remark quoted by Barwell "Violent Spirits are seldom true spirits," but it reminds me of Lord Acton's characterisation of Grégoire:—"He was a man of serious convictions, and as much sincerity as is compatible with violence."

To Mr. A. F. C. de Cosson we are indebted for a photograph of the portrait of J. Zoffany. This portrait belongs to the wonderful collection of portraits of artists painted by themselves in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. A mystery still hangs over the date of Zoffany's arrival in India. According to Carey (*Good Old Days of the Hon'ble John Company*), Zoffany arrived in India in 1780, according to Mr. H. E. A. Cotton (*Calcutta Old and New*) in 1784 and according to the *Dictionary of National Biography* in 1783. Zoffany's portrait of Sir Elijah Impey at the High Court is dated 1782.

I should like to say, that, as a consolidated Index to the first eight volumes of *Bengal Past and Present* is about to be published, in future issues references to past numbers of the Journal will be sparingly given, and biographical footnotes will not be inserted so frequently as has been done in the past.

CALCUTTA, }
October 7th, 1914 }

WALTER K. FIRMINGER

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—II.

IN the first instalment of these letters (*Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. VIII. Pt. II), no number was placed over a letter, dated 8th January, 1766. That letter should be marked No. XVIII, and the letter following XIX.

LETTER No. XX.

The incident of the supersession of the Bengal servants by four servants from Madras has been dealt with in *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. V. p. 194 *et seq.*

TO HIS FATHER.

Hond. & Dear Sir—

As the several occurrences from the violence of the ruling power cannot fail of becoming publick, it is almost unnecessary to trouble you or myself with a recital. I therefore beg leave to refer you to Mr. Leycester, who carries with him the proceedings *pro and con*. I shall just take notice that, without any shadow of advantage proposed to the Company, the most injurious attacks have been made on the character of every member of our prior Council in Calcutta—men whose reputations have hitherto been unblemished and seem to rise still the higher from the extraordinary measures that have been pursued in the attempt to depreciate. To illustrate this I have but occasion to remark the stretch of authority in the suspension of Mr. Leycester for a mere matter of opinion and freedom of sentiment, the unjustifiable treatment of Mr. Gray proceeding from the same cause, and his Lordship's insulting demeanour towards Mr. Burdett arising from a most ridiculous circumstance. How agreeable for reflection these instances of a most unparalleled vindictive assuming disposition must be to such as are pre-determined to support their integrity by a free communication of their thoughts, when it shall prove their lot to be called upon, is easily conceived, and men who scorn to make a base prostitution of their thoughts will enter with the utmost compunction into the elevated sphere that shall hourly expose them to insult and mortification and which the interposition of the Company's authority alone can possibly remedy.

The vacated seats at the Board being kept open give room to conjecture an abolition of the succession by seniority is intended; concurring circumstances strengthen this suggestion and those of any foresight wait in



RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ.
PORTRAIT BY SIR J. REYNOLDS.
(Note, Portrait of Warren Hastings behind the map.)

anxious expectation the event. It is indeed beyond my power to give you a true idea of the general dissatisfaction that reigns here. Could I, you would scarce credit the discription, so extraordinary is the change in the man to whom this Settlement has so frequently paid its debt of gratitude.

I was here interrupted by the receipt of letters from Madras the purport of which evince I have not err'd in my supposition. Four gentlemen from that Establishment, are invited to succeed to Council here, and are now actually in their passage down. Such a translation his Lordship disapproved of, in the strongest terms, from a Court of Directors, but proceeding from himself the impropriety of the step seems entirely to have been lost in a ridiculous opinion of his own importance, for he bids the Company not to hope from their servants that servile submission to their will and pleasure which he vainly expected should be paid to his vanity (as is evident from the enclosed copy of an address signed by all the Bengal servants), and nothing points out more strongly the sense entertained of this insult than the sentiments of those who are not directly injured by so unprecedented a measure. It is really incumbent on all who are the least connected with India affairs to use their utmost influence to put an effectual stop to the arrogant authority that has been assumed. If with a view to the Company's interests, why that solicitation to him the source of dependance from the Company?

Though no man is safe who gives Lord Clive cause for displeasure, yet the whole Settlement is so very much irritated, that a general resolution have been formed to hold no intercourse with his Lordship, but on points of business, and to disclaim all connections whatsoever with the gentlemen from Fort St. George.

Strachey, an old school fellow of mine, Secretary to his Lordship, favor'd me with a note the 13th, in consequence of which I waited on him, when he brake to me his Lordship's having heard of a remonstrance for the Court of Directors being drawn out, intended to be offered to the gentlemen in the service to sign, that if I had not signed it he would recommend to me not to do it, giving me to understand that the calling down the gentlemen from Madras was not intended (as) an injury to me. To the first part I replied: surely you have been misinformed, or is there really a remonstrance of such a nature going about town? "Having assured me there was, I told him that though there might be no intentional injury done me, yet if any grievance that affected the Service should at any time be represented, I would not scruple to set my hand to it." So that you must not wonder if I should feel the rod of power, and struggle some time longer in India.

I must here observe many gentlemen have been tampered with on this occasion, and one of them frightened into a recantation,* but happily for the

* This was G. Dacres.

whole every servant at the Presidency had sign'd to it and it was on the road to the Subordinates before intelligence was given his Lordship that the stigma is irrevocably fixed.

I enclose you a state of the Company's Revenues and Disbursements, which you may depend upon. It is true his Lordship computes the Collections of the year at 315 Lacks; but that is fallacious as he reckons on the full sum the rents are fixed at and puts an increase on Bengall of 30 Lacks more than ever was collected; and of Suja Dowla's 50 Lacks, as not more than 40 is to be paid within this year, he counts in 10 too much etc., etc. However, to shew how the three Croar 15 Lacks arise, I have annex'd his Lordship's statement.

By my enclosed letter to the Select Committee, you will perceive how much it is in the power of its members to render ineffectual our utmost industry through the means of the Country Governments; but, to give you a true idea, it is requisite I acquaint you with further particulars. When I was at Mootajeel with Mr. Sykes,* in November—among other proposals, he acquainted me of his desire to be concerned in the timber trade. I told him I had no objection, but flattered myself he would make me some consideration of the time I had laid out of my money, and that in such case I should with pleasure make over to him even half of my advances. This I suppose did not prove agreeable, for I was urged no more; however, not to be deficient, I wrote him from Maulda, advising him I had desired Mr. Barton to call upon him for 12,000 Rs. to be invested for his account, in that article. At this time Kishen Kinker, Mr. Sykes's Gomastah, was in Purnea; and soon after proceeded up for the purchase of wood. Being disappointed by my having pre-engaged the proper people, he wrote, as is evident, to his master, and his master to Sauchetroy and Souchetroy, to the Resident at the Durbar—a very pretty farce, and which I confess makes my blood boil not a little. This, however, at present, I appear to be ignorant of, as I do not deem it quite so eligible to oppose myself to a power capable of destroying all my future prospects. Kishen Kinker in Souchet Roy's address, you will observe, is mentioned as an agent of the Nabob's, though in reality Mr. Sykes's Gomasta. I wait with impatience the Committee's reply. Whether the pretext will be admitted or not; if it is, all my advances may be claimed under a similar plea and I interdicted all kind of commerce, for the Nabob may plead a necessity for this and then another article with equal justice and propriety, and lay the same prohibition he has presumed to do on one or every other branch of trade.

As I have lent to the amount of 12,000 Arcot Rupees at respondentia on the *Snow Success*, Captain David Read Commander, from this Port of Calcutta to the Port of Fort Marlborough, with liberty to touch at any port or ports

* Afterwards Governor of Madras and later a Member of Parliament and a Baronet.

within the Company's limits of trade, at the rate of 16 per cent., if the voyage be concluded, in 8 months from the 31st December, 1765 and if not concluded then a pro rata for such further time, as the vessel may be absent, in making her voyage;—I must request you will get me insurance for the whole amount of the above mentioned bond, with the premium of 16 per cent. which, at the Company's Exchange of 2 and 4 the Current Rupee, will be found to amount to one thousand seven hundred fifty-three Pounds, eighteen shillings and four pence three farthings sterling, (Sa. Rs. 1753-18-4½). The vessel was safe out of this river, and all well the last advices.—Let the insurance be made in the most ample manner possible.

Enclosed I send translate of the letter wrote by Mr. Sykes to Souchetroy of which in my address I have taken no notice nor do I intend it, unless urged by further attempts of that gentleman to prejudice my fortune to the advancement of his own. As it is my wish to live easy, and avoid, if possible, all dispute.

I am,

Honored & Dear Sir,

YOUR DUTIFULL & AFFECTIONATE SON:

CALCUTTA,

21 January 1766.

LETTER No. XXI.

TO HIS FATHER.

[Of no interest]

CALCUTTA,

1st January 1766.

LETTER No. XXII.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT.

Dear Beaumont—

The occasion for the enclosed copy of an address, from the servants here to the Court of Directors, I make no doubt will very much surprize you. It is a step so unprecedented and extraordinary, and so obviously calculated to fix the yoke of dependance on the Service, that all are justly alarm'd at the procedure, and wait in anxious expectation the decision of those they have been taught to look upon as their Masters. Whether it is for the interest of the Company that the head of their servants should assume such a power over the fortunes and prospects of their inferiors—dismiss, suspend, supercede at pleasure,—you will determine upon and should your sentiments differ from his Lordship's, your friends I make no doubt, will claim your attention and the consideration of the precariousness of their situations dependant on the capricious will of a Governor, induce you to use your utmost influence for

their relief, I refer you to Leycester. He has charge of a bottle of Otta from me and a little jar of Cossindey from Chaund. I hope both will prove acceptable.

An account of the Revenues and Disbursements of this Presidency goes under this cover. It is drawn out from the best information that could possibly be procured; and differs materially from what his Lordship counts upon, which is the full sum the collections are fixed at. It will be necessary to point out how this arises—1st, an increase of 30 Lacks is put on the utmost Cossim Ally ever collected from the Bengall districts. For one, and only one year, he collected 120 Lacks and all the rest of his Governments, from 112 Lacks to 114. In the next place he counts in the 50 Lacks stipulated to be paid by Suja Dowla, tho' 10 Lacks of it will not be paid till the next year. These, with some deduction for short payments in Bahar, will be found to reduce his Lordship's 3 Croar 15 Lacks to my statement. Now how with the annual expence his Lordship proposes, that debt at interest amounting to seventy Lacks, shall be paid off in the course of the year, is a mystery time will clear up.

Two chests of wine ship'd by *Stamforth and Gibbon* are arrived and sold for your account. The emeralds in my possession are, by the account you left with me, a consignment of Messrs. J. F. Duvals. As I have not the least prospect of disposing of them, I have wrote those gentlemen for their directions. Your marble slabs are still in the godown: nor have I the least hopes of getting rid of them, but by retail; and how long time that will take up in effecting you may easily conceive. I shall deliver over the papers etc. etc. to morrow morning to Watts.

That bond of Captain Macmath's found among your papers and which I renew'd afterwards R. B. account. A B appears upon inspection of the Company's books to have been twice paid, and Captain Macmath, who is now here having asserted the receiving of it, I have repaid it to the Company, as appears on the debit of your account current.

As Coral is and will remain in demand, you will perhaps think proper to engage in it. If so, under pretext of the Coral remittances, you may have a large part of your money got home by means of adding to the proceeds. I wish you all imaginable happiness. and am.

Dear Beaumont,

YOUR SINCERELY AFPECT. FRIEND.

CALCUTTA,
January, 1766.

LETTER No. XXIII.

TO JACOB MOSEH AND RAPHAEL FRANCO, ESQ.
Gentlemen—

Your Letter of the 19th February, 1766, per the *Campden* I have received. I am obliged by the satisfaction you are pleased to express, and shall be glad

of any future opportunities to convince you my attention to your interests is unabated. Coral of the higher colours still continue to be preferred, and, unless very large quantities be imported this season, a quick and good sale will await the importations of next year.

Should the pearls, relative to which you have express'd yourselves to Messrs. Morse and Farley of Fort St. George's, be sent to me, you may be assured of my endeavors to dispose of them to the best advantage, and when sold, that your interests shall be duly consider'd in the remittance to be then made to the above gentlemen; but, as there is no demand for pearl here at present, I shall acquaint those gentlemen with the state of the market, as it is possible they themselves may have a better prospect of disposing of them.

The situation of affairs here I make no doubt will afford you, Gentlemen, [as] much pleasure. As the stretch of authority in the appointments of four gentlemen from Madras to Council here may possibly surprize you. For, however, specious Lord Clive and the Select Committee of this Settlement may be in pleading the necessity of such a measure, yet, as the administration of affairs both of a publick and secret nature was with Lord Clive and his Select Committee, the injury done this Settlement appears the less warrantable; and, if there was just reason to alter the immediate succession to Council by seniority, why were not the unfit persons rejected and others on this Establishment prefer'd to them? This extraordinary occurrence I submit to your better judgements; and, as your connections with the English Salt India Co. must render you solicitous for it's prosperity, I have taken the liberty to notice this transaction to you—with extracts of a letter to the Direction, which though warm, will be found I believe very just.

MAULDA,
2nd September, 1766.

I am,
Gentlemen,
YOUR MOST HUMBLE SERVANT.

LETTER No. XXIV.

TO ANSELM BRAUMONT.

Dear Beaumont,—

I have had the pleasure to receive to this time two of your letters: one from Bath of the 11th December, '65, and one dated London 20th February, '66. I make no doubt you would have been glad of the whole sum I proposed remitting to you by the *Vansittart*, which every consideration has made me more anxious on account the disappointments you have met with than perhaps I should otherwise have been. You are now at so great a distance from me, and possibly so much a stranger to the system here pursued to

advance the reputation of the present administration, as not to know for a certainty that an entire stop has been put to the remitting of any cash thro' the channel of the English Company; but this is absolutely the case, and I have in consequence recommended to Watts to consider as the safest and best method the French channel. I by no means approve the Dutch, though it is disadvantageous it is safe however; and I would have him send you £10,000 that way. Last season I was under the necessity of adding a few thousands of Rupees to the produce of a little Coral I sold belonging to my Father. The only means I had of getting home that little part of your fortune as must appear sufficiently clear to you from my letter of.....

Since that time, I let Mr. Cole of Bencoolen have Rs. 12,000 at respondentia from me on my own account payable at Bencoolen, previously conditioning with him to remit you the amount from thence, relative to which I addresse'd Mr. Stocham [Graham?] Dunstan; and as soon as I receive advice that sum has been remitted you, I shall charge your account with it. Cou'd I have been on the least certainty of procuring you remittances from any other parts of India, I would have pursued the same plan with respect to those, as Bencoolen. I have wrote Mr. Spencer* at Bombay on the same subject and have requested him to draw on me for the amount of £1,5000 St., or as much as he can get home for me. Not that it is my intention to detain such a sum of your's, relying on his compliance with my request; but if Watts cannot get your fortune home to you this season, Mr. Spencer's friendship flatters me with some prospect of being enabled to do it through his means; and if your fortune is got home this season, which I shall endeavour at all in my power, Mr. Spencer's drawing upon me will enable me to assist my acquaintance or modern friends; for you must understand I have desired Mr. Spencer to make the bills payable to my Father—that I might draw on him in your favour, should you require it, or in favor of any other person.

I design this next month of November or December to visit Calcutta, as at that time my subordinarian concerns will better admit of my absence than any other period; when I will retrospect your affairs and confer the charge of them to such persons as Watts and I may approve, for the orders in the last General Letter oblige Watts to relinquish the Service with many others; it directing their servants who have received presents from the time of Meer Jaffir's deposition to refund such donations, and, on refusal, to forfeit the Service. You may be assured I will from [time] to time look into your affairs. It is the least I can do for a friend at such a distance, whose concerns, since they were entrusted to me, I have and shall continue

* J. Spencer, Governor of Bombay, had acted as Governor at Fort William in 1765.

to consider as my own. The marble slabs still rest in the godown, though Lord Clive, Carnac, Verelst, Sykes, have been separately solicited about them. I shall again address Verelst and Sykes, but I do not flatter myself with success, considering what a thing our Nabob is at present. If I receive their answers before I close this, you will have them for your perusal. The musters which you inform me the Nabob took of the slabs I imagine were returned, for neither Chaund nor Frank ever acquainted me of it. I mention it [to] Watts nevertheless, as it may possibly have escaped the memory of your Oracle that was—

The proportion of expences on the salt adventure with Batson you will find has been long since adjusted, and conformably to what you have wrote me on that subject. I am sorry to observe to you, Wood, as has been intimated to me, was himself the chief purchaser of the Salt; not that it has been sold under the market price but bought at a long credit, assessed before the market rose in a very extraordinary manner, and which must have been foreseen by him who could not have been ignorant that it would have answer'd your purpose just as well to have kept the salt little longer as to have sold at such a credit, but indeed Esqr. W.—has approved himself in many instances a very sneaking fellow.

With respect to Hardwicke's suffering me to pay the rent of the house, it was really owing to my obstinacy in not letting him do it. I acquainted him with your instructions respecting your landlord; and, as I had paid it, agreeably to the Indian notions, Hardwicke, I make no doubt, thought it might give offence importunately to insist on your being reimbursed by him. Therefore, as it is a matter of little consequence, remember it transacted in Bengall. I now proceed to your letter of February. With respect to the Madras remittance, Leycester will acquaint you with Bouchier's having genteely declined it's being made him, saying when it was necessary he wou'd draw upon Leycester; but he fear'd it was utterly impracticable to invest diamonds, recommending at the same time, a remittance to you by other means; and, as for bills by the *Bute* and ships since dispatched, they were not to be had, as noted already in the prior part of this scrawl. So much on business which I conclude with a promise to you of the corals. It is your part to prevent their falling into the hands of those harpies of the custom house.

I esteem myself very much obliged by the kindness of your intention in hinting to my Father the utility of furnishing me with money in my present situation. The difference of sentiment in men who have passed through similar scenes of life are no more extraordinary than their manners and faces. My Father who is a man of an excellent disposition and entertains the liveliest regard for his children, is cautious through disappointment: he has unprofitably

bestowed and entrusted my elder Brother with large sums ; and, as he is in some degree in the dark as to my procedure, I wonder not at his backwardness to part with what he thinks may prejudice the rest of his family and be no real benefit to me. A knowledge of the value of money, of course, creates in us some attachment to it. How far that attachment may extend in him it may be better for me to imagine than discuss ; however, let me beg of you never to solicit for me again, for I do not conceive it will ever be attended with success, and to tell you the truth my credit is pretty good—besides the more my fortune increases the less I shall stand in need of credit—You tell me by no means to leave off when I am in the road of getting : by this you mean (I conceive) to exhort me to the getting of children (or some thing worse by leading your life) after I have done with the getting of money—Your propensity to roving suits exactly with my disposition. I wish to God I was in a capacity to bear you company. I hope it will not be long. First, however, [?] but you talk of expences and I know not what about fortune too much in the Eastern stile, not to frighten me to a longer abode here than I possibly had intended unless it shou'd so happen that I be drove home.

With respect to your recommendations you may be assured they shall not pass unnoticed and those more particular shall claim the full attention you can wish them and your cousin Pinke you need not doubt will find me no other than the person you esteem. I have seen Mr. Gladwin ; he brought me a letter from my Cousin Browne on whose account (for I have a very great and real regard for her) I shall do every thing in my power to assist. He is at present with the Army, or more properly with one of the three Brigades into which the Army is divided, in quality of a Depy. Paymaster or Commissary. This you know is much out of my way and I cannot effectually serve him any other way than by making use of the little influence I may have with my friends to secure his advancement, when a vacancy shall happen and this, you may assure Mrs. Browne from me "I will not fail to do. The system of Government and extra [general] events I defer the relation of to another opportunity, as a mode lately adopted renders caution requisite." Adieu for the present and remember me to be

Dear Beaumont,

YOUR MOST SINCERE AND AFFEC. FRIEND.

MAULDA,

1st September, 1766.

P. S.—On reading over my letter, I find I omitted to assure you of my attention to what you direct respecting the balance paid by you to Rannie's Exor's and of course what was due to his Estate is now become yours, by your payment of it in England.

LETTER No. XXV.

TO MRS. FRANCIS CHAMPION, TO THE CARE OF MR. THOMAS CONWAY,
YORK BUILDINGS.

Dear Madam—

Your Letter on the 14th February I have received, and am much obliged for so particular remark of your esteem. Believe me I shall be happy in doing whatever is in my power to advance the interest of Mr. Conway, but the little connection I have with Calcutta will I am afraid render my endeavours for his advantage less effectual than if I was at the Presidency in person to convince him of the great regard I shall ever pay to your recommendation. I had flatter'd myself with the pleasure of celebrating your return to India long before this. My disappointment like that of your other Indian Devotees is render'd less tolerable to us from the cause to which you assign your detention in that Paradise we all wish to come to—it's very odd the difference, the peculiarity of dispositions, I do not recollect a single instance of unfashionableness I can charge upon any person except you, for where is that Lady who left India that ever was anxiously solicitous about coming out again? If you can mention one, I will promise you to give up to so strong an argument the strange notions (you may possibly have conjectured) I entertain of the *Beau Monde* of India.

I could not help smiling to observe you had metamorphosised my cousins into an Uncle and Aunt Brown. I hope the acquaintance may prove to your satisfaction. I remember them extremely affable and blest with excellent dispositions,—Mrs. Brown especially.

The news you have condescended to communicate relative to Mr. Tinker gives me much concern as I do not lightly contract or reject friendships. I should be sorry to have occasion given me to alter my opinion of that gentleman—I have not as yet had the happiness to receive the present you have been pleased to honor me with, nor has my Sister mentioned the least syllable of so obliging a testimony of your remembrance in any of her letters as yet received—the last dated the 30th November '65.

As no one can with more sincerity wish you the return of health and with it every happiness fortune can etc.—you will admit me I hope to the liberty of subscribing myself,

Dear Madam,

YOUR FRIEND AND SINCERE HUMBLE SERVANT.

MAULDA,
and September, 1766.

LETTER No. XXVI.

TO MR. THOMAS SMITH.

Dear Sir,—

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th of February last. You could not, you say, let the ships depart without

writing, which you hope I will excuse. The discontinuance of your favors, I frankly declare to you, I never can excuse and therefore if you have an inclination to oblige me, you must continue to communicate to me the news of your own and your family's welfare—for however acceptable I may deem such news from the pens of others, your's will ever render it the most agreeable to me.

Your son has long since (a twelve month) return'd to Bombay. I had not the pleasure to see him above once or twice, and that by mere chance as during his residence in Calcutta, I left my station on a visit thitherto for you will perceive by the date of my letters, I am far removed from the Presidency.

My honest friend, Ned, expressing a strong inclination to visit the warm climate of India, when I reflect on circumstances appears very natural. India and India affairs must with you, have been a frequent topic of conversation interested as you are by ties yet most tender and dear. I conceive him then to have form'd his ideas on the hopes and fears you from time to time have express'd, and that he dares boldly venture the shortest, though perhaps not the least difficult road in search of the blessings of a genteel competency; and pray present my most friendly wishes to Mr. Smith. They equally attend you.

I am, Dear Sir,

MAULDA,

YOUR AFFEC. AND OBEDT. HUMBLE SERVANT.

1st September, 1766.

LETTER No. XXVII.

TO MR. ISAAC PIZEY.

Sir,—

I am obliged by your letter of the 20th of February last advising of your having shipped on the *Pigot*, Capt. Richardson, a case directed to me and my brother. I hope I shall profit by your care and receive it safe. I am sorry to find my brother James has proved so unlucky as you are pleased to mention to me.

As it will give me much pleasure to hear of your prosperity, I must beg you to take the trouble to send me a letter now and then with news of the welfare of your family. My thanks are due for the concern you express for my prosperity and my brother's and wish it may enable me, some days or other, to convince you how much pleased I am with the attachment you have express'd for my father and his family. Remember me to your wife and be assured.

I am

YOUR VERY SINCERE WELL WISHER.

MAULDA,

2nd September, 1766.

LETTER No. XXVIII.

TO HIS FATHER.

Honored and Dear Sir,—

I have received the satisfaction you proposed me by your very kind letters of the 20th December, '65 and 6th February, '66—the letter with my account current to the 5th to enlarge on the pleasure I reap from conducting myself so as to gain my Parent's approbation and blessing will best be expressed by my continuing to be thought deserving by him. I hope I shall not fail in my endeavors to that end, but rather improve that love I am now thought worthy of by my constant attention to whatsoever shall be most agreeable to him. Acting up to this, I may be assured my wishes will not prove vain, and that my blemishes, such as they are, will be lessened, and a real error find palliation with him. The omission you are pleased to notice in my letter of the 31st of January, '65, (by observing it was reported Jaffer Alli Cawn died in that month) by a reference to the publick papers at the India House, you will find has no foundation. I left Calcutta the 5th of February for Maulda and on my way received intimation of the Nabob's death, which happened I think on the 6th of February, '65.* Of course the intelligence could not be convey'd in my addresses that preceded the occurrence. The books which are sent directed to me and my brother will afford me much entertainment. The ship they are on is not as yet arrived. I have sent down the receipt to my attorney, however, that no time may be lost in getting them up to me. H—U, tho' he in many instances puts a false gloss on Truth's, yet his works such as I have seen are very instructive and ought to be read with attention, by all who take up their residence in this part of the globe, more particularly by those who do not make merchandize their sole study which, on the footing the Company are at present, must be the case of the major part of your servants. By a letter from Mr. Spencer at Bombay, I am advised of his compliance with my request to him to remit you the amount of some opium I consigned him. The net amount sales by his letter appears to be Bombay Rupees four thousand eight hundred forty seven and forty-eight pies (By Rs. 4,847-48). I shall remit you a further sum from hence to answer such bills as I may have occasion to draw in the course of this season; which will be about £1,700 St. The various and contradictory reports relative to my affairs I am not much surprized at, as I have met with many losses in the course of my trade, subsequent prosperity, however, has amply repaired those, and I am happy by having it in my power to assure you. I am now possessed by a little independency, tho' some ungenerous attempts have been made by Mr. Sykes, in a mean under-handed manner, to turn to himself those advantages I reaped from my attention and labor. In this

* It occurred on February 5.

They breathe principles they do not possess the more easily to impose on the ignorant ; they pursue the dictates of resentment to the prejudice, if not to the utter ruin, of individuals ; and, in short, form the most unhappy composition of Government any set of poor people ever groaned under. The Decemvirs whose administration is handed down to posterity branded with infamy and disgrace, scarce proved so sore a plague to their fellow citizens ; and as they had their favorites who did not scruple to cry up their justice, moderation, and equity, is it then to be wondered at that the minds of men have undergone no improvement and that there are favorites or retainers still to cry up the most base, and defend the most flagitious acts ? No Government can be so wholly bad as not to afford some just ground for praise, and as merit, or what is generally stiled so, is frequently fortuitous, so folly and madness from disappointment will contribute to cast a splendor on every scene of violence, injustice and absurdity I have been a witness to. As a recital of facts will be hereafter presented to your view in a separate letter without any animadversions, and as you might possibly be pleased with my sentiments, I have given them here with the freedom and unreservedness of a son to his parent. The footing I am on with the several gentlemen in power may in few words be comprised, it is modern friendship without alloy. All letters I receive from them are in terms generous and friendly. I keep up the intercourse for my own sake, and flatter myself that to render the baseness of mankind subservient to my own well-being can never be perverted to a deviation from the principles of honour and justice ; to expose myself unnecessarily to the attacks of power may shew my weakness but not my virtue. The most prudent measure then in my opinion is to keep myself to myself nor give cause for umbrage, but live as quietly and as I am permitted at least till I am able to say as Galba's *Juveni portum, spes and fortuna valet.*

It gives me pleasure to observe you remark your being out of the Direction is by rotation, as it indirectly assures me of your intention to come in again this year. I think I have been guilty of a very great omission in my letter of last season in neglecting to acquaint you of a circumstance which people here seem now to think of great importance—a letter from the Shah (King) to the King of England convey'd by Capt. Swinton on a French ship with a Moonshee in quality of Pseudo-Embassador to our Monarch. This Moonshee is a fellow of mean character a servant @ Rs. 20 per month. The purport of the letter is apprehended to be a request for troops, and on compliance grants of consequence on the Shah's accession to the possessions of his ancestors through their means ; but for my part I look on it still as a mere complimentary letter, that the mysterious air with which it has been sent is solely calculated to awe the Direction, for it would be the height of villainy in his Lordship and Carnac to betray their Employers,

however specious that pretext they may advance in their vindication. So flagitious a measure, therefore, I can by no means bring myself to think them capable of, whatever may be the opinion of others, but as the secret is not as yet blown here, all is conjecture. I therefore refer you to the better informed in Europe for the whole of this mystery.

The general letter per *Lord Campden*, in consequence of some bickerings between his Lordship and Mr. Sumner, is the occasion of the latter's resignation, as it will be of his departure for Europe this season with the following gentlemen (I conjecture) Messrs. Playdell, Watts, Middleton, Marriott, and—towards the conclusion of the season, the Rt. Hon'ble and General Carnac—no less than seven of your Council. In such case, I may possibly be honored the next season, and if I have a real friend and the succession by seniority shall be disregarded, I may possibly step in this. Tho' I do not think this will be the case, as my anti-arbitrarian principles are too well known to commend me to so distinguishing a mark of their favor.

Present my duty to my Mother, my love to my brothers and to my sisters, for whose welfare and for your's, I will ever supplicate the Almighty.

I am

MAULDA,
1st Sept. 1766.

Much Hond. and Dear Sir,
YOUR VERY AFFEC. AND VERY DUTIFUL SON,

LETTER No. XXIX.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER.

Dear Leicester—

The subject I promised you to write upon from a steady pursuit of the same system of Government that prevailed at your departure is so very extensive that the small materials I have, owing to the mysterious manner in which public business is conducted, and the extraordinary care taken to keep their every proceeding from the inspection of the servants, renders the task I proposed myself, not only more difficult to me, but much less satisfactory to you. However let me proceed to acquit myself as I am able, and depend on meriting from you that remembrance my esteem has a right to claim.

The suspension of Majendie, the engagements previously entered into by the generality of the Servants respecting their deportments to Clive and his Committee in consequence of the injury the Service had really suffered are all fully known to you, as well as the measure pursued to put a stop (though too late) to the remonstrance transmitted to the Direction that being irremediable. The intimidating plan commenced with the above suspension and the deprivation of posts and offices of such as were in the least suspected of having been the promoters of the measure, was pursued with

an inimitable obstinacy or perseverance. All means, all methods were adopted to break the association; severity, kindness, violence, and these I am sorry to say it, have at last worked the effect. Yet in despite of all subjugating maxims, some sparks of British spirit remain, and I hope ever will remain unextinguished in every English Settlement. As all anti-arbitrarians have been more or less exposed to the mortification of experiencing themselves subject to a Tyrannick power by finding it exerted to their prejudice, I will frankly declare to you I have been greatly nonplussed by their extraordinary proceedings. The shortest method to acquaint you with the particulars that have pass'd between them and me is to enclose you a copy of the letters pro and con by which you may perceive how much inclined they were to ruin my fortune, and by denying me or declining to give me that protection I was entitled to, left me at the mercy of the Government. How I have defended my property from its attacks or disappointed the views of my friend Sykes to enrich himself at my cost by obtaining from the Board a grant to Mahmed Reza (or Sykes) of the exclusive rights to trade in timbers may be rather conceived than described. Let it suffice that my property though it has been invaded, is safe; that his Lordship in the month of May assured me the vesting the Government with an exclusive right to the timber trade should in no respect affect my advances. But such assurances you know, Leycester—(as witness my salt balances—not a seer yet recovered though I was promised justice in August '65) are mere assurances. However, I seemed contented, and by patience and modest representations, shall at last, I believe—be able to secure to myself the advantages I proposed to reap by such engagements. The base conduct of Sykes is so very striking that it must doubtless shock and anger you. It has been with the utmost difficulty I restrained the violence of my temper, and coolly replied to all their private letters, and by which you may see they were all pleased to stile themselves my friends, at a time, my ruin, how to accomplish it with a show of justice, was the subject of their deliberations. At last the Committee bethought themselves of an expedient to give a color to their proceedings—and if they cou'd not ruin my fortune, at least to put a stop to my acquisitions. Thus from facts falsely stated, conclusions as false were drawn, and to those gentlemen unacquainted with particulars, and seeming a kind of oblique reflection on me, as it implants a notion that I was one of those who had reaped exorbitant profits at the expence of the Company, and was at that time making a property of the Company in the provision of the timbers noticed in my first letter to the Committee. This is the natural construction of the reason assigned by the Committee for the extraordinary resolution they came to in vesting the Government with the exclusive rights to the timber trade. Such an infamous perversion of a fact is rendered the more atrocious

by their not transmitting me a copy of it, but bringing the matter before the Council without letting them into any particulars but the extraordinary No. 1. They sanctioned the proceedings in Committee by an absolute order to me of the 3rd March, which the Committee ushered in with a letter from themselves of the 28th February—obviously calculated to stop my mouth. In that they were mistaken. I replied to the Board's letter, animadverted on their orders breathing the spirit of the Committee, and, apprehensive they would not condescend to give me the explanation I requested, I gave them my sense of their order that it might be out of their power to lay the least circumstance to my charge for my interpretation, if the least forced they would doubtless have rectified and with a severe rebuke enjoin'd my observance. As I suspected so it happen'd; nay beyond what I suspected, for the Council by the 3rd Para. of their letter of the 14th April give me to understand that they looked upon Lord Clive and his Committee then at Mootajill the expositors of their Regulations. Shameful slavish baseness! Yet that is the only means to rise by, I at present perceive—long since foretold by you and pointed out in your letter, in Co. to the Direction—I noticed some lines before a seeming oblique reflection and wherein that reflection consisted, that it was render'd applicable to me from a false light thrown on a fact which I will now point out to you—The Company had made large purchases of timbers through their Storekeeper, Engineer and Buxey,* and these were the officers that supplied the Company at the advanced price noticed by the Committee. Yet that price was but the current price of Calcutta; but, as the Engineer reaped his advantage in private contracts first and in publick ones with Committee, of works subsequent to them, it is no wonder he shou'd make his indents for timbers to this Residency as small as possible, as what is generally stiled the emoluments of his post would have been greatly lessened. Thus it appears who the gentlemen were that supplied the Company with timber at an exorbitant rate, but it does nowhere appear that I was at the same time providing timbers for the Company, which timbers could not be charged at more than the expence of felling and transporting. Of course what advantage could accrue to me from investing for the Company, wood, petre, or cloth, I could not charge more than I gave. That wou'd have been a fraud which the piercing talents of the Committee would soon have discovered and not permitted to have passed unnoticed in a person they have shewn their inclination to prejudice if not ruin. Yet by the manner of ushering in their resolution they have insinuated as much as if I was making a property of the Company, for by mentioning no ones name and their expressions being general, they have vilely attempted to stigmatise my character; but, thank God, I never sold a timber of any kind to the

* Bakhai, in Anglo-Indian usage of the term, a pay-master.

Company, and those I have provided for them was provided in the same manner as their other investments from the first hands and as cheap as it is possible to procure them. I observed to you before that the Board had ratified [?] without making the least inquisition, the resolution of the Committee, that I had requested an explanation of their orders, giving them at the same time my idea of their extent and meaning and for which they were pleas'd to refer me back to the Committee. The Committee, as you may observe, took this affair under their consideration from the first, but chusing in the sequel to have the sanction of Council, the Committee usher'd in their Extraordinary Resolution with the extract of their proceedings, which, as they were well assured would meet the approbation of a sett of—I know not what to call them—(Councillors, if you please), this Extra with the Committee's previous resolution they did not suffer to be sent me. The members of the Committee—well knowing my spirit would never permit me to let such their indirect impeachment of my character lay unreply'd to. I, therefore, in hopes of drawing from the Council something relative to the Resolution of the Committee on which the Order of Council sent me was founded, (and which by the wording of their letter, they cautiously avoided giving me the least idea of) referred them to my letters to the Committee; this however without effect, and as I did not dare to notice the kindness of a friend in transmitting me the extract of the proceedings laid before the Board, lest I should involve him or myself by refusing to acknowledge whence I had the Extract, the only means I had of vindicating myself and exposing to the world the vileness of my enemies, proved of no signification. I did not chuse by refusing to satisfy the Board in the question they would certainly have asked and insisted upon (whence had I that extract or who betray'd or made publick the affairs of Government?) to have lost the Service myself, or by satisfying them to have been the occasion of my Correspondent's losing it. I pretend ignorance till I have an opportunity to assert my own innocence, and to point out this instance of their candor which I am resolved to do in the most publick manner, and as soon as possible, unless they have since, unknown to me, taken off the stigma their insinuation was calculated to fix. Further particulars with the attempts of the Government etc, are fully pointed out by the perwannahs and my public and private letters under this cover.

The next measure taken by the Rulers after this was the calling Charlton, Reed, Hare, Jekyll to Calcutta under pretext of there being too small a number of senior servants at the Presidency, and depriving Woodward of his post of Military Storekeeper, and Lambert of Storekeeper to the Works. In short every servant that had ventured to express detestation of the administration was marked and immediately stripped of all to their bare pay.

This severity was inflicted particularly on such servants as were supposed could least support it, whilst those that could, and had not appear'd very averse to sycophancy, were cajoled. Now many of the Senior Servants departing from what they had before approved, the association dissolved of course; when to!—the spirited Bengallers appeared in a body one morning at the table of their Lord and Master. Thus hypocrisy has triumphed over sincerity, and the objects of greatest detestation to the whole Settlement are regarded with an eye of complacency. "Violent spirits are seldom true spirits," an author has remarked. What concern it gives me to bear testimony to the justness of that remark you may imagine, but I must acquit my conscience, and frankly declare to you that thirst of arbitrary sway, venality of individuals, the prostituted slaves to power and avaricious dispositions may, in less time than men can well suppose, bring us all to destruction. What confidence, what reliance can there be placed in men devoid of principles, and who, like slaves, bow to an idol of their own erecting, whose power has its being in them and which alone affords him the same pleasure as Mr. Satan reaps—that is to plague all good men and reward and caress such in this world as are his votaries, being assured of their attachment and adherence to him in the next? You are now in a different world, there certainly being very little or no affinity betwixt this and Old England. In short, my Friend, I look upon you to be in the Elysian, myself in the Tartarean wilds, the ruler and guardian of the path to the Elysian, Cerberus constantly barking at every body and very loath to permit any to pass him. The second appears Sisyphus with a huge stone before him, the third Tantalus just within touch of his pippins; the fourth a greedy Midas with asses' ears, and the fifth, though not the last, of the group the everfamed Thersites; that Warrior of Warriors, distinguish'd equally by brazen lungs or nose of brass, which, as they fail not to shock and confound, have obtained him some trivial advantages in the fields of disputation. These for a time raised his reputation and he was as a light before us; he was followed for a time, but the occasional ray that illumined, or seemed to illumine, his countenance being once overcast, we immediately perceived our mistake, and that we were running after a mere *Ignis Fatuus*, that the fire which appeared to us was nothing more than refracted rays from polish'd brass, and that this was a mirror not a substance capable of taking in any object hideous or charming and of retaining it whilst present—a notable excellence and to the full as worthy of our respect as a dirty puddle shewing the glorious body of the Sun. I am too much incensed to give you with calmness in an uninterrupted chain the several occurrences as they have arisen and the causes to which they have been attributed.

The Military Association is one of that extraordinary nature I think it can scarce be paralleled, nor can the mad obstinacy of C. For after repeated appli-

cation and modest representations of the sad state to which they (the Officers) were reduced by the abolition of Batta, they determined (4 Months being elapsed from their first very earnest solicitation) to relinquish the Service in a body, unless their request should be granted. This was carried on with such secrecy that his Lordship had no notice of it until he was made acquainted the Officers had declined to take any pay for the month of May. Upon this followed letters from the 3 Brigades with their several Commissions. Col. Barker having refused to accept of those offered to him by the Officers of his Brigade, they were necessitated to forward them down themselves. It is impossible to point the different feelings of men on this occasion. His Lordship, who was then at Mootajill holding the poona,* set out for the army the 5th May, and wrote to all the Officers at Calcutta etc. places to join him on the instant. Invitations were likewise given to all free merchants and others to repair to his Lordship's standard and the Settlements, Bombay and Madras wrote to in the most urgent manner for officers and troops. It is surprizing his Lordship who saw plainly the imminent danger to which the Company's possessions would be exposed, with the lives and properties of every individual, yet persisted in his resolution at a time when the means to prevent the ill consequences that might have accrued from it was not in his power. Prudence would in all probability have induced others to temporise till the risk of enforcing their resolutions had been lessened. You, who know Clive's temper will not be surprised, at his chusing to hazard all on the turn of dye rather than his royal will and pleasure should be contravened. He proceeded up, and, with the perseverance or obstinacy of a Hero, dismissed the Officers of the Garrison of Mungheer,† and gave and promised the Seapoys and Europeans of the Garrison as much or more than the Batta to the Officers would have amounted to in two years; yet this would even have proved ineffectual, if the Officers that relinquished and were order'd down to Calcutta had not with the most earnest entreaties prevailed on the Sepoys to remain quiet. The Europeans did absolutely mutiny, but were prevented by a donation from proceeding to any lengths. The officers stationed at Patna and Illabas,‡ finding C—was either determined to perish or effect his purpose, and well judging the sequel of a general resignation from the spirit evident not only in the Black Troops but the very Europeans that form'd the

* *Poonid* (Hindi) a corruption of Sanscrit *Punyaka* (literally sacred (*punya*) day (*dha*))—In the lower provinces it is the day on which the revenue for the ensuing year is settled, or an annual meeting of the direct revenue-payers at the office of the chief collector, or of the cultivating tenants at the court of the zamindar to determine the amount of assessment is held, the assemblage of the rent-payers forming a kind of festival or holiday: the term is also applied to the day on which the first instalment of the annual rent or revenue is paid.

† Monghyr.

‡ Allahabad.

Garrison of Mungheer, they determined to keep in the service (unless his Lordship had determined to the contrary) and by that means prevent the mischiefs they saw impending the publick I believe was the sole consideration of their not having to a man relinquish'd (some exceptions ought to be made, however such as were in hopes of preferment and commands, had no friends in Europe, or any other possible means of obtaining a subsistence). I am pretty well assured likewise that when C's resolution was known which if opposed with equal obstinacy must render our very being in Bengal precarious, yet some entertained a notion of the diabolical alternative—assassination. This was overruled and submission prefer'd; but, should the Direction finally resolve to abolish Batta, I really think the best of their Officers will relinquish. His Lordship has buoyed them up with the hope of re-obtaining it for them, and they seem as if they waited only for a reply from Europe to take their final resolution. Many, no doubt, will stay but poor living and [in such] a depressed state, as it will put them below the level of a seapoy Black Officer, will render them the less respected, and in a little time (possibly) contemptible. Now whatever tends to lessen the importance of our European officers or men in the eyes of the Country Forces tends likewise to destroy the opinion we have grafted of their consequence and superiority. Of course measures that have such a tendency are not only impolitic but extremely pernicious, as they sap the very foundation of our being, in destroying the only influence we can hope to exist by. It is, therefore, my wish the Officers may have a reasonable Batta allowed them, or else that the Court of Directors keep up here a force of 10,000 Europeans at the least. So large a Black Force as is at present maintain'd, whether politick or not, will be manifested in time. As for my part, I look on the Company's tenure like that of a tyrant, who, fearing the worst from his subjects, is obliged to trust himself to the faith of a parcel of mercenary wretches, devoid of every principle, and as ready for a proportionable reward to cut their masters' throat as for a similar gratuity they were before ready to defend him. This is the real state of the Company; and, as revolutions are nowhere so rife as in these parts, God knows what extraordinary events, what sudden changes, may take place. I cannot help imagining these circumstances properly represented to the Direction would induce them to be more cautious, and though it may prove expensive the enlarging their European Force. Yet if the Company's possessions be worth the keeping, it is absurd to expose them in the manner they now are. Four and twenty thousand Blacks possessed of Europe arms and discipline, and bred up, as I may say, in our very camp, may with as much ease turn the handful of Europeans out of the country as they before were overcome by that handful of Europeans. I have almost lost my subject by this last digression; but—

to return to it—the disuniting the association of the officers will doubtless heighten the character of his Lordship. Men who are at a distance will not comprehend every spring of action. One story will be finely decyphered, and one alone, for freedom of speech is so bridled by the dread of ruin to every individual that no one will dare to speak his mind, much less declare his sentiments, to those who ought to be acquainted with them, otherwise than from report or private letters. The Settlement has unnecessarily been exposed to destruction, and we have to thank the Officers for safety though endangered through them, who (though reduced to indigence and a sort of slavery enough to exasperate the lowest of mankind) would not quit her in her urgent distress. This is evinced by the declarations subsequent intimating their resolution of returning to Europe, if they have not a sufficiency allotted them to exist on. From the very conduct of the Officers of the association, it was apparent they would, if possible, avoid coming to the last extremity, and that the refusal of their pay and tender of their commissions was solely to secure them from Court Martials, for by not receiving pay and throwing up their commissions it was impossible to sacrifice them (any of the heads) by Military Law, however arbitrary, as by the nature of the Company's service and tenure of their Commission, the Officers by not receiving any pay can immediately relinquish, whether their commissions be accepted or not by the Commanding Officer, so they be but tendered to him. The refusal of their pay and tender of their Commissions, ushered in their offer of serving in quality of volunteers till they knew the result of their application to his Lordship etc., and proposed to wait for it 15 days, and if in that period their services were not stipulated for with batta—his Lordship would have no one to blame but himself for their leaving the army to his and the Co[m]mittee's management. Yet the safety of the whole and the greatness of the danger with which they threatened to involve their pernicious master checked them in the execution of that design, as I have already noticed in my narration of this extraordinary event.

Just at the juncture the association was on the point of being made publick, and after many vague assurances in an indirect manner by which the army had been amused for 3 months, a report was spread that his Lordship designed to set aside a legacy of 7 Lacks left him by Jaffer Alli Cawn (a legacy I never so much as heard whispered of before the latter end of April) as a fund for the support of such Officers as should become unfit for the service. This, like the rest, would possibly have been look'd upon as mere words, had the report even reached the several Garrisons (which I can not find it ever did), nor had I the least intimation of its having been intended for such a purpose till after I had heard of the resolution of the officers, though I had 20 days before known the affair of the legacy. The absurdity of the thing! how it is to be

glossed over, God knows; but, if his Lordship is not swayed by too much avarice, it will gain him, should he have the good sense to execute what it is reported he has designed with it,—a great reputation, for the use to which the Legacy shall be appropriated will render men less or more inquisitive; when the end is good and of publick benefit. The obtainment of the means to effect that end will never be very scrupulously examined into, the most ridiculous vanity tending to the good of society is a benevolent disposition, thus the man who administers relief to the necessitous does a good action whether that good proceed from himself or through his means. I have heard C. has absolutely executed his design and appropriated the legacy to the support of invalided officers: if so—Batta becomes not very requisite to make the service valuable, a certainty in reverse, old age, or sickness is a sweet reflection, and whilst there is a competency the means of acquiring more may very justly be lessened. All Military Establishments point out the necessity of a provision being made for the helpless, it rests then on this point—whether it be better for the Company to make this provision or to continue the means to their officers.

Lieut. Petrie, from a report of his having been a great promoter of the association, on his arrival at Calcutta suffered a kind of imprisonment, Govr. Sumner having order'd a guard to await him, not chusing to take him from out of Mr. Johnstone's house, the door of which Johnstone had order'd to be shut to prevent the violence he was apprehensive might be offered his guest. Whether it was a necessary precaution I cannot determine, but in this affair you will find a second instance of a Justice refusing to take the deposition of a British subject. The particular circumstances which induced Mr. Marriott to reject Mr. Petrie's deposition are not known to me, and who to refer you to for information, I know not—except it be Mr. Johnstone, who may probably have it from his brother. Order being reinstated, his Lordship in June received Suja Dowla at Chupra—the Company's House near Patna. There the Vizier tarried some few days and on his return was accompanied with an order to Col. Smith to withdraw his troops to Patna. The Fort of Chunar is not yet evacuated, but is to be, and at which time I heard it whispered, it is to be dismantled. You will perceive from what I write that I have not been able to procure the proper materials, and indeed the publick proceedings are kept with such caution from the inspection of every servant that you must not be surprized at my entire ignorance possibly of many material points. The *Lord Campden's* letter is by all I have heard of it a very extraordinary production. It directs, at least as it is given out, the dismissal of every servant who has received any present from the time of Jaffier Ally's abdication and shall not bring those presents to the account of the Company. Now the

terms on which Clive and Sumner are, must in my opinion necessitate the latter to depart, this affording a just plea for retrospection which once commenced, Playdell, Marriott, Watts, and Middleton must feel the effects of, or shun by a timely resignation. Carnac certainly departs, and Clive, it is reported, will by the December ships. I must confess I reap an ill-natured pleasure in Sumner's fate, when I reflect on the double part that he has acted, and the whole of the servants were so thoroughly convinced of it that they have not scrupled to declare publicly they wished V*—had the chair in preference. I am now so heartily wearied that I must conclude, though I think I have a great deal more to say.

Remember that what I write is all an Enemy against the L-d can with any justice urge. The legacy is a fine field, and inspite of every act and caution that may be used, will hurt him very much.

Remember likewise that it is to my Friend, to you, that I write; that it is my intention, if permitted, to remain sometime in India, and that no one thing is so likely to prevent my executing that intention as a knowledge of my being the author of this. Fools when their follies past repent too late. My opinion of mankind is already bad enough; therefore, add not to it by slighting my injunction in discovering the author. Present my sincere wish that this [may] find Mrs. Leycester perfectly restored to health and that domestic happiness, the greatest blessing of life, render her days and your's, as far as our mortal state will admit, one uninterrupted felicity—

Do not forget my Cherry Brandy.

YOUR VERY SINCERE AND AFFECT. FRIEND.

MAULDA,

Dated 15th Sept. 66.

P. S. The Nahob Nazima Dowlat died the 8th of May in the afternoon and has his place fill'd by his Brother Syef o' Dowla.†

LETTER No. XXX.

The Rev. William Hirst, M.A., F.R.S., Peterhouse, Cambridge, the eminent Astronomer. See article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and consult Hyde: *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 127—33. Hirst, on his resignation of his chaplaincy at Calcutta sailed for England on the *Fantheu*. He perished with Vansittart, Col. Fordas and others on the *Aurora* in 1769. The "Mr. V." of this letter is Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal 1760—64.

To the REVD. MR. WILLIAM HIRST, to be left at Richard's,
Coffee house at Temple Bar, London.

* Verelet.

† Nazmu-d-daulah.

‡ Salim-d-daulah.

MAULDA,

The 7th September 1766.

I thank you for your letter of the 5th February, and am equally obliged to you as if I had received the prints etc., by the earliest ship. I have wrote to Bombay in consequence of the encouragement you have given me, and keep up my hopes of profiting by your kindness on the arrival of the *Devonshire*. Mr. Fleet was much mistaken when he acquainted you my privilege was filled up. A box of books and some little odd things just acquaints me of the remembrance of my friends and is all I have to expect this season, whereas my proper privilege is two chests or a chest and half I know not which, nor do I care, as I am not to benefit by it.

Lest you should forget the perspective machine I express my hope of finding it in the box; and, if it be not there, shall expect it by the very first ship of next season, as I shall Mr.—treatise on colours. I cannot recollect the genius's name for the life of me, and must therefore refer him to your acquaintance, and, if he is not of the number, to your enquiries and better knowledge of him.

I shall depend on your taste entirely for the disposal of the remaining sum and shall trouble you with all my wants in the gimcrack way. I wish it was in my power to oblige you. I thought once it had been, for I caught about three months ago a fly very much resembling in shape and size a June bug. Its color was rather lighter than the chestnut, a horn grew out of its nose about the fourth part as long as his body shaped like a scythe and within the curve jagged like a saw: but, like a fool, I put the insect into my penknife case which he demolished by the morning to my mortification and your disappointment.

To write you the strange the extraordinary occurrences of this world would take up sheets, and the facts would so astonish and concern you that you would excuse my taking notice of them to regain your charitable opinion of mankind; for you must be convinced from the bare detail of the suppression of every social virtue and the triumph of ambition, hypocrisy, and fraud. Whilst I write you I can scarce keep my temper subjected as I am to the lash of power. Mr. V.....'s administration is now adored, his private character has long gained the hearts of the Settlement, and upon comparison he is found no less perfect in his publick one. Those romantick notions which were inculcated by his opposers and served to inflame the inexperienced in that unhappy step the revolution are now exploded as incompatible with policy and Government. The Settlement now sees too late through the mist which has been so industriously spread for its deception, and, like a girl, whose head has been turned with romances, perceives its error and repents. For my part, I will acquit my conscience and frankly declare to you I believe

the whole community prays for his return. The discontented ass that prayed to Jupiter for a change of masters is very applicable this; is the third change and like the ass our burthen is become intolerable.

I beg of you to make my salam to Hancock and his lady and when you write let me hear of their welfare. Present my compliments to Messrs. Vansittart and Hastings and my most friendly wishes to Mrs. Champion when you see her. Did you know, Hirst, the anxiety your account of that little woman's health has given me, the pleasure you shall reap when it is in your power to acquaint me of its being re-established would be greatly enhanced. Excuse my scrawl and believe me your affectionate friend.

LETTER No. XXXI.

Tyso Saul Hancock, M.D. See an article by Sydney C. Grier in *Blackwood's Magazine*, April 1907: "A Friend of Warren Hastings" and Col. Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service*. Dr. Hancock died in Calcutta and is buried in the South Park Street Burial Ground.

MAULDA,

The 21st September 1766.

TO MR. TYSO SAUL HANCOCK.

DEAR HANCOCK,

I wrote to you by the *Admiral Stevens* to remind you of the sense I have ever entertained of your esteem and the hope I cherish of your continuing to indulge me with it. I confess I was much disappointed by your not favoring me with a letter by the ships of this season and the more so as your bad state of health when you left India had rendered me extremely anxious to hear from you. But England is such a benumbing clime that I supposed you are warming your fingers when in charity you should be writing to your friends. To enter upon the present topick of the times, and give you an idea of the agreeable prospect the system of Government affords your friends, would take up all my paper. Let it suffice that I say we are oppressed (for I cannot say ruled) with a rod of iron, and traduced, and belied in the most shameful manner whilst scarce a soul dares utter a syllable or assert the uprightness of his conduct lest he be sacrificed to the resentment so heinous a crime has hitherto never failed to draw. You will hear from others all the strange mischiefs we suffer—a painful repetition and consequently declined without any other apology by me. I hear from Beaumont the contests of Leadenhall have in a great measure subsided, but I suppose they will be once more renewed. The Settlement perceives now the loss she suffered in Mr. V. grown wiser by experience and reflects on his removal with the sincerest contrition, if he has the humanity I have ever supposed him he will forget as well as forgive and take-part with her in her distress, this will be a most

exemplary instance of generosity and cannot fail to make the most lasting impression.

I beg you will give Mr. V my sincere thanks for the favors he has conferred on me. I shall continue to remember and acknowledge them as such. Make my compliments to Mr. Hastings and believe me with wishes of happiness to you and Mrs. H. Dear Hancock, your sincere and affectionate friend.

LETTER No. XXXII.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, Esq

MAULDA,
The September 1766.

DEAR LEYCESTER,

The atts you took home you will oblige me by distributing in the following manner:

Mrs. Barwell ...	...	...	...	1
Mrs. Hancock ...	...	...	...	1
Mrs. Tinker ...	...	...	...	1
Miss. Barwell ...	...	...	...	1
Mrs. Browne (Foster's lane)	...	...	...	1
Mrs. Champion	...	...	...	1
Mrs. Beaumont	...	...	...	1
Colonel Draper	...	...	...	1

Send notes and make an apology to Colonel Draper for my not writing.

I am etc.,

LETTER No. XXXIII.

Sir William Draper, 1721-1787. See *Dictionary of National Biography*. Draper commanded the 79th Regiment, raised by himself, at the Siege of Madras in 1758-9. Captured Manila 1762. His later connection with Indian affairs seems to have been consistently ill-judged.

CALCUTTA,
The 20th September 1766

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER.

SIR,

Whether the freedom I now take will meet with your approbation, or you shall be pleased to recall to memory a person who has had the pleasure to accompany you on your first expedition to the East, time will point out. I need only assure you that, if I prove so happy as to be indulged with your correspondence and esteem I will attempt to be worthy of its continuance.

This introduction is not fraught with compliments, nor has eight years made me so far forget your character and disposition as to influence me to adopt that modern mode of commanding myself to your notice. Sincerity carries with it its own recommendation to you—especially who can distinguish between affected bluntness and hollow flattery. I have therefore barely expressed my wish of sharing your regard and of being re-admitted to the honor of your acquaintance, I am etc.

LETTER No. XXXIV.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. XXXV.

PROBABLY TO MISS MARY BARWELL.

MAULDA,

The 1st November 1766.

MY DEAR SISTER,

This serves to give cover to a Bill for £100 which you will apply for to Mr. Beaumont. He imagines it is your own money entrusted by you to my management. You have no occasion to contradict such a supposition, nor to give him an idea that you are indifferent whether it be or be not known; but rather give him to understand you expect silence, lest if it get to our father's ears he be displeased at such a disposal of your money, as you have not consulted him on the subject.

I have requested the favour of Mr. and Mrs. Watts to take over charge of two little parcels—one for yourself and one for Mrs. Browne. I hope they will arrive in safety that one for you and merit your acceptance.

I am, my dear sister, etc.,

LETTER No. XXXVI.

TO MRS. BROWNE.

MAULDA,

5th November 1766.

[Forwarding "a little tribute to the remembrance of old days past"]

LETTER No. XXXVII.

TO MRS. CHAMPION.

MAULDA,

10th November 1766.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. XXXVIII.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT.

MAULDA,
7th November 1766.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. XXXIX.

TO HIS MOTHER.

MAULDA,
1st November 1766.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. XL.

TO HIS FATHER.

MAULDA,
The 1st November 1766.

DEAR & MUCH HONORED SIR,

The great difficulty of remitting money has induced me to write to several gentlemen who have favored me with loans an apology for the disappointment it must prove to them. The letter for Mr. James Moore I have recommended to you; and beg, if he has not as yet applied to you, you will be kind enough to inform yourself from Mr. Hancock or Mr. Vansittart of the place of his abode, and send him my letter. The sum I should have remitted is £1,700; and, as I cannot procure bills for more than £1,000, I have laid aside my intention of drawing on you in favor of my gentlemen, for distinctions would have given offence, whereas a general request to pay the amount of my notes to their several attornies in India cannot, as matters are now circumstanced. Therefore any sums I may be able to get home, for I esteem myself now worth about £12,000 you will dispose off as you shall think most for my advantage. From the accounts I have heard I look towards Ireland where acres are not sold at so high a rate as in England. I hope to get home 4 or 5,000£ by the next year, that I may have some little matters secure the laying, out of which as I mentioned before is submitted to your maturer judgement.

I am etc.,

LETTER No. XLI.

TO EDWARD HARDWICKE ESQ.

MAULDAH,
1st November 1766.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. XLII.

MAULDA,

The 12th November 1766.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT ESQ.,

DEAR BEAUMONT,

I have the pleasure to enclose you extract of a letter which I flatter myself will afford you some satisfaction. I have drawn upon Watts for the amount of the respondentia, a statement of which I now present you with. As my Lord out of his great kindness has ordered me to Calcutta, I shall resume the management of your money matters there. I am sorry to acquaint you there is not the least prospect of the marble slabs selling, they are at Mootajell under the auspices of the Nabob Sykes and sent thither by Watts about the month of March last. It grieves me to notice that I have repeatedly recommended them to the above consequential genius; but, as he is in my opinion not very fond of conferring favors without a handsome feeling, I purpose to offer him 10^d/o if he will get rid of them.

I am etc.,

P. S. I send you by Watts 19 pieces of coraha.

LETTER No. XLIII.

TO STOKEHAM DONSTON & EDWARD COLES ESQS.,

BENCOOLEN.

MAULDA,

The 12th November 1766.

[Of no interest].

LETTER No. XLIV.

TO JAMES MOORE ESQ.

MAULDA,

12 November 1766.

[Of no interest]

LETTER No. XLV.

TO MR. WILLIAM HAY.

MAULDA,

12 November 1766.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. XLVI.

TO MISS MARY BARWELL.

MAULDA,

The 1st January 1767.

MY DEAR SISTER,

Your letter of the 6th December with a list of the books you have sent I return you my thanks for; and, whether they shall nor shall not prove an amusement, I am equally obliged by the kindness of your intention. At present I can form no judgement. I have been too much engaged to indulge myself with a perusal of any one of them, and my entire unacquaintance with them must plead my apology with you for not giving them those praises I conceive them to deserve. I could not help smiling at the reason you assigned for your injunction to Suray. When my brothers laugh they forget themselves and this great truth.

Content of spirit does from science flow
For its a godlike attribute to know

But as mistakes are daily committed through life, so custom (a second nature) renders us obstinate in error. Thus knowledge in your sex is condemned as ridiculous and absurd but for what reason I cannot divine, nor shall discuss. All I wish is that it may be pursued with prudence and used with discretion by those friends I hold dear. You, who are of the first of that number must consequently be particularly included in my wish—a wish that springs from the extensiveness of that affection which binds me to you and makes me desirous of uniting in you every possible perfection.

I send enclosed a letter I received a few days ago from young Atkinson. The precariousness of his situation gives me much uneasiness, and the more at this juncture as the prosperity I have been blessed with of late has diffused a spirit of envy and ill-will extremely destructive of that little interest I am now exerting for his preservation. You who do not know the various occurrences, nor the entire revolution of things in these parts, may possibly be at a loss in accounting for a change that affects me, but as your knowledge of the human heart will direct your judgement, I shall trust to you to assign a cause for my removal from this place, should I be removed, but I hope I shall not farewell for the present.

I am etc.

LETTER No. XLVII.

TO MR. JAMES MOORE.

MAULDA,

The 31st December 1766.

DEAR SIR,

A fatal stop to the usual method of remitting I was fearful had put it out of my power to comply with the tenor of my engagement; but, as that obstacle

is removed, I have the satisfaction not to disappoint you in your expectations—a thing I was very apprehensive of, which induced me to apply to your attorney here to receive the interest, likewise, if convenient the whole amount of the bond, as in all probability my being recalled to Calcutta would prove occasion for my drawing my concerns into a much narrower compass than if I had continued here. You will be pleased to send directions to your attorney in consequence whether at the expiration of the time you would chuse to have the whole amount remitted or lent to some one else; as I shall not have I believe further occasion for the money. You may however leave it in my option in case circumstances should alter and induce me to launch again into trade, a copy of my letter to my father and Mr. Beaumont as my attorneys I enclose which I flatter myself you will approve.

I am, dear Sir etc.,

LETTER No. XLVIII

MAULDA,
1st January 1767.

TO WILLIAM BARWELL & ANSELM BEAUMONT ESQS.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. XLIX.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT ESQ.

MAULDA,
The 1st January 1767.

DEAR BEAUMONT,

I promised to write you of India and of India affairs; but, secluded as I am, I find myself unequal to the task. You must therefore put up with a relation of some general and particular incidents, and thereon form your idea of the whole.

What particularly relates to me I transmit you a series of letters from and to the Board the perusal of which will evince the kindness I have experienced from the present system of Government—or, more properly, the formers of that system. I have wondered to see with what effrontery they can belye what they profess and at the very time they are trumpeting forth their own moderation and equity. The Settlement is groaning under their oppression and tyranny. One would be led to imagine from hence that equity and oppression and moderation and tyranny were synonymous terms. I sincerely wish they were, or that the feelings of my friends would permit them and me to think so from your own observation you must doubtless

be convinced of the general dispositions of men and that the haughtiest tho' at the head of communities is frequently obliged to condescend and consult the views of those they find necessary to promote their designs; and when this is really the case in governing any society, you will allow I believe, that it seldom or ever tends to the advancement of the publick Interest, be their plea ever so specious, be their proceedings attributed to whatever motives they please to attribute them to the robbing of individuals from a motive of publick spirit will always appear most absurd; and what is it but robbery to withdraw from individuals that protection under which they were encouraged to launch out into trade and to submit them to the mercy of a Moorish Government—a Government so totally dependant on our rulers that without liberty granted to his Excellency by those, or the signification of their pleasure, to him his Excellency would not so much as presume to hurt the least hair of an Englishman's head—how far less attempt to ruin him. I am well apprized that arguments of the greatest strength may be advanced to point out the necessity of the present system and the advantages to result from supporting the Moorish Government in a seeming independance. The justness of those I shall not question, but shall only observe that the advantages proposed from this mode of Government require too great a degree of perfection in those gentlemen who may be at the head of this Settlement; for by men of vindictive spirits and arbitrary principles such a system as the present may be turned to the worst purposes of oppression, and that men are vindictive, that men are selfish, and that men love power, every one who has had the least experience or knowledge of the world will allow. I will venture then to affirm our present Government excellently calculated to fix the yoke of slavish dependance; for, let me ask, who is there that will dare to breathe a wish or utter a thought that may render him obnoxious to a man or set of men who have it in their power to ruin all his future prospects: and, if he is blest with affluence, and has mercantile connections in the country to reduce him from that happy state to indigence, and yet this is a very natural consequence whenever this Settlement shall be cursed with a villain who shall act behind or hide behind such a skreen as is this same Moorish Government. In such case where then is the poor undone sufferer to seek redress? Is it in our Courts of Justice? No. Is he to look for it from the Board? Yes. And the Board possibly shall so far heed his representations as to sacrifice a worthless Phonsdar or a Zemindar as the scapegoat, and this is all the recompence for plundered property. Yet at least my shortsight points out to me no other; and, if this is deemed the consequence of giving umbrage to an English Nabob, every man must live enslaved by the dread of impending ruin that this is the case at present it is not necessary to imagine all things require him to bring them to maturity as does every system in its progress to perfection.

There is one particular regulation likewise that I think a very great grievance; it is, if a man is in the service of the Government, you must apply to his Excellency, from whom alone you are to obtain redress whilst that man remains in the service of Government. The reason for my stiling this grievance is because I cannot obtain justice upon my application, though the justness of my pretensions may appear under the hand of the person complained against; and, if I solicit the man's dismissal from his employ, my request will not meet with compliance, but be put off with some frivolous excuse or other. Or I will enquire into the matter. I speak this from experience and I do intend to entertain the publick with a series of letters on this very subject where this grievance will appear in its full light; for his Excellency, not only allows my claim to be just, but promises to oblige the person to make good my demand—a promise not yet executed, whatever may have been his intentions. Some of my private letters on this subject will more fully explain this matter, and these if, I have time, I will enclose for your information.

Another very great grievance to the Settlement in general is the loss of property in not making good the restitution, or more properly in cheating the fund of 5 lacks, which, if I am not mistaken, was paid into the treasury through some blunder by the Nabob's people in the month of June 1765; and, as the Company was at that time in need of money it was converted to their use, and afterwards entered I think in the books of the Treasury as a loan from his Excellency. If you enquire of George Gray relative to this matter I believe he can inform you, for I think I heard him one day take notice to Mr. Sumner that some money belonging to the restitution had been received into the Treasury. Remind him of the months of June and July the time his Lordship departed for Eliabad,* for he possibly may forget the circumstance of my being present. By what motives his Lordship can have been actuated in this affair I cannot conceive. I flatter myself, however, he will be disappointed, and curse himself heartily for having so little consulted the good of our community.

The victory gained by his Lordship over the military will possibly do him much honor. The association of officers from your knowledge of the corps is not so very extraordinary, and I make no doubt they have met with encouragement, or the association would never have been so general. That this encouragement proceeded from the civilians, as his Lordship roundly asserted, is a circumstance that I very much doubt—I ought to say do not believe, yet I hear they, the civilians, have been condemned in a General Letter by the first ship of this season. In consequence of that I send the

* Allahabad.

enclosed to Mr. Verelst to vindicate myself at least from such an aspersion. Whether the caution was or was not necessary, the General Letters from the Direction must point out. Farewell. Give me in return your sentiments of the system in Europe. I am dear Beaumont, yours etc.,

LETTER No. L.

TO HIS FATHER.

MAULDA.

The 1st January 1767

Honored and Dear Sir,—

In my letter of the 1st September I proposed to give you a relation of facts; but, secluded as I am from the world, I find myself very unequal to the task. Be pleased then to accept my intention of reciting the several incidents which have occurred in the time of his Lordship's Government; admit a citation of the few I am acquainted with an apology for my not being more full and general. I shall begin then where I broke off my narration in the above noted letter, and speak first of matters that more particularly relate to myself.

I had scarce time to send my letter to be in readiness for the *Lord Camden's* packet when all my hopes of continuing here were exploded and the certainty of the intelligence I had received of his Lordship's intention to remove me from hence rendered beyond a doubt by a letter from the Select Committee. I have already remarked to you with what difficulty I had to that time maintained my station, and have hinted to you the person whose kind offices I conceived tended to do me this prejudice. It is sufficient then to say the end he purposed is effected, and that I am ordered to Calcutta. Nevertheless I am buoyed up by my expectations, and promise myself some advantage from the approaching change; for though I may be a little chagrined at Mr Verelst's not espousing my part with that warmth I expected from his friendship, I cannot but make great allowances where I consider how he himself has been circumstanced, for he has had a great game to play and must necessarily have acted with the greatest circumspection to secure to himself that favour of which he is now to reap the sweets; and this consideration from the little knowledge I have of mankind, induces me to acquit him; for I do not expect any man, however much he may be my friend, to sacrifice his particular and greater views to my interests, especially in an instance like this by which a friend enables himself to repair my disappointment and more effectually to promote my interests. The proof is now to come, and should I be deceived in the main, patience and perseverance must make up to me his want of sincerity.

You have perused I hope the several letters that have passed between the Select Committee and me on the subject of the wood trade, and have likewise observed in course of those letters the abolition of the only power I had—that of granting dusticks to facilitate the Company's as well as my own private business, as well as my having pointed out to the Gentlemen the delay which, in consequence of that regulation, would burthen the publick business, and that to this truth they at that time chose to be blind. I urged it, therefore, no further; but some months after, when the regulation had taken place, in order to obviate the imputation of neglect from the publick business not being executed with that dispatch as formerly and, to shew the partiality of a resolution, which I conceived to be particularly levelled at me, I explained in the most explicit manner to the Board the clog it would prove to the publick business, and drew a comparison between this and their other subordinates; that every person might have a clear view of the particular injury I seemed by the regulation designed to labor under. This had in a degree the effect, for, though the Board did not revoke their former orders, they evaded them by decreeing I should have blank dusticks for my occasions and in what number I deemed necessary upon my application to the Chief at Cossimbazaar for them. So that my good friend, Mr Sykes, was disappointed in his intention to render me in a manner dependant on his factory. My letter and the Board's answer on this subject I enclose a copy for your better information.

After this another essay was made to take from me the advantages which I had proposed to myself by my engagements for timber. The prelude to this was some letters I received from his Excellency* about boats. The drift of these I presently conceived, and immediately resolved to turn the evil I apprehended to be hatching if possible on my enemies. To this end I took the very first opportunity that afforded and stopped a whole parcel of boats said to belong to his Excellency's servants, and at the same time addressed Mr. Sykes upon their destination. This, as I knew it, would furnish me on the instant with the proof requisite for my full vindication; I have made use of it accordingly; and since that I know of no attempt to depreciate me in my publick capacity in the eye of the Direction. My friends whoever they are have been baffled in their views to enrich themselves at my expence, though my property, subjected as it is to a Moorish Government, is far from being so safe as I could wish it. My conduct however I flatter myself I have secured from being tainted by invidious reflections with which the Committee's last letter teems, and which my reply I hope in every respect, not only invalidates, but shews it its native colors. Had I not been a good deal irritated with them, prudence would possibly have induced me to have left out a sentence the

* i. e. the Nawab.

severity of which escaped me when I made my reply. It is "and make my property as much the object of your care as my reputation it is of mine"; this, I confess, appears not very becoming, though in other respects I hope you will think I have acquitted myself with temper and moderation. As the Select Committee have not to this time honored me with their answer to my reply, I can only send you a copy of their letter and of mine, and it is my hope that they will neither give me more the trouble to write or you to read anything so disagreeable.

Another address of mine on a subject very different to that just mentioned goes enclosed. It appears to me to be the aim of Lord Clive and the gentlemen who acquiesced to his measures to paint the servants of the Company in as odious colors as possible, and from thence draw the necessity of the supercession they have been pleased to make in your service. I shall not animadvert on his Lordship's and the Committee's having delegated to themselves a power I conceive to be vested in the Direction alone and in no respect transferable. I shall only remark that insinuations the most fallacious have been advanced, that the whole Settlement has been branded with a most unbecoming brand of acrimony, and the faults of some few individuals charged upon the body of your servants. For this extraordinary method of proceeding his Lordship and the gentlemen plead in excuse their tenderness to those persons they deem unfit to succeed; and make a display of this their moderation by saying that, had they been more particular, it must have drawn immediate ruin on the heads of those whose incapacity or want of integrity had given rise to their censure. I am surprised, nay I am confounded, to think how men can be guilty of such abominable absurdities, and, at the very time they censure publicly, avow themselves the patronizers of knaves and blockheads; else why are not both, if both there be in your Service, presented to the publick eye, but screened by being blended with men who neither want capacity or integrity. They I make no doubt esteem themselves very much considered by his Lordship's and the Select Committee's tender regard for the unfit persons and think themselves very happy in being thus associated under one general appellation.

To confound innocence with guilt, to brand a whole community for the failings of a few of its members, by a publick declaration of the actual existence of those failings, and yet to screen the individual persons from the lot they ought in consequence to experience is esteemed compassion, and moderation and generosity. Then what is not compassion, moderation or generosity, I am at a loss to determine.

By the latter ships of the last season a general depravity of manners and principles was alleged by the Committee in excuse of their proceedings. To strengthen that allegation another charge is exhibited in the General Letter

by the *Campden*. Whether that be true or not, I cannot take upon me to determine the prior. The tenor of each man's conduct would either admit as just or condemn as false, but the latter is my opinion claimed the particular notice of every one, as it was grounded on an occurrence that had really happened, and was made the incentive to that occurrence.

By a copy of my letter to Mr. Vereist you will perceive that determined as I was to invalidate the charges as far as it might involve me, I did not chuse to give his Lordship, or the other gentlemen, any cause of umbrage, but took a method that left it in their option, either to make an exception, or with the charge exhibited to transmit my particular vindication. I had already been superceded by the gentlemen called down from Fort St. George. I had received intimation that there was some thing still further to be carried into execution; and, though I did not imagine my letter would cause any alteration in the plan his Lordship and the other gentlemen might chuse to adopt, yet it would certainly point out the injury I in particular should suffer by any future supercession to which the last charge against your servants might be rendered a plea. Urged by this reason, I resolved not to be silent; and you, I hope, will think I therein demeaned myself with equal propriety and discretion. Charges are still talked of, but what or who are to be affected by them is beyond my knowledge.

The Military Association in consequence of the abolition of batta will, I conceive, gain his Lordship much honor and go far beyond any of his other transactions. Everyone must allow his conduct through the whole of that affair remarkably spirited; and, whatever people may say of his rashness or obstinacy (for both are attributed to him), in persisting in his purpose, they must nevertheless allow he has happily accomplished it. The charge of rashness and obstinacy brought against his conduct in that affair is founded upon this—that as he had it not in his power to apply an effectual remedy to the evil without his good fortune he therefore should by all means have temporised until he had been put into a capacity by the arrival of a proper number of officers from the other presidencies, whereas the mode he adopted unnecessarily exposed the Settlement to an imminent danger, though there is certainly some truth in this allegation, as is evinced by the difficulty with which his Lordship prevented the breaking out of a mutiny at Munghcer; yet not to have acted as he did might have proved an encouragement to future transactions of this nature, for to temporise in things of this kind shews an unbecoming apprehension in any Government, and betrays a weakness that should ever be cautiously concealed.

When the Association was made publick and his Lordship was hastening to join the army, I paid my respects to him on the road, and was sometime—I believe the space of an hour, with him in conversation, during

which time he mentioned every circumstance of the Association and asked me if I had heard or know of any subscription being set on foot by the Civil Servants for the support of such officers as should relinquish. From this question I am apt to think something of the kind has been talked of, if not proposed by some unthinking young servant, else the question would never in my opinion have been asked. For, without intimation received, it is not probable it should have occurred to him in the course of conversation. As I was expatiating on the subject of the officers' batta, I was agreeably surprised by his Lordship with the intimation of his having set aside seven lacks of rupees—a legacy left him by Meer Jaffer for the support of such officers as should be worn out in the service. The whole was to be lodged in the Company's treasury as a growing fund to be applied solely to that purpose and the annuities fixed, which were very handsome indeed to be paid to those gentlemen entitled to them in Europe.

In this case the continuance of the batta is far from being necessary. A genteel competency in old age, or when rendered by the chance of war unfit for service is a pleasing reflection. It is more than most soldiers are blest with and I believe it is the utmost the generality of them look for.

What is before related was the declared intention of his Lordship. Eight months are since elapsed. Whether then it is or it is not to be executed, time must determine, for eight months is a long period for any intention of this nature to lay dormant. If it is executed, it will gain him great repute, if it is not, and he takes the money himself, the acquisition must infallibly blast his name for ever, for the use to which he appropriates this seven lacks will render men more or less inquisitive and censorious. Presents are not allowed of, the receiving any is held criminal; but a legacy may possibly be admitted when it tends to the publick benefit, but that it will be approved of; should it go into a private purse, is a circumstance I must very much doubt. As his Lordship has taken his passage on the *Brittania*, he will in all probability leave us this month, and then this affair will be cleared up to me, and of which you may easily inform yourself from the publick proceedings to the dispatch of that ship.

His Lordship I have already remarked had brought the association of the officers to a happy issue, but resentment in the sequel, with the assumed zeal of some gentlemen for the publick service, has tarnished the conclusion with very extraordinary acts of violence and despotism, such as the confinement of an officer continued after the sentence of court martial had been executed. The remarkable severity shewn to and rigorous confinement of Captain Parker, a gentleman acquitted of the charge brought against him by a Court Martial ill disposed towards him, and the forcibly dragging away and sending on board of ships two other officers on their refusing to quit the Settlement for Europe

agreeably to a Resolution of the Board's which had been signified to them a course of proceedings that can gain the gentlemen concerned in them no manner of credit, and consequently might as well have been let alone; for, though they may have prejudiced individuals, they have in no respect tended to the advancement of the publick tranquillity.

No extraordinary occurrence but that you have been already informed of has in any respect affected the servants on your civil establishment. The subjugating maxims that were adopted have been attended with extraordinary success, for there is not at this present time a civilian that sits at the Council Board, or any servant below that rank, who dares so much as hint his disapprobation of any measure, without being prepared to encounter suspension the consequence of such temerity—a consequence that I myself have not only apprehended but have been threatened with by his Lordship for demeaning myself as he says improperly towards the officers of his Excellency's Government. What his Lordship means thereby it is impossible for me to point out, the charge is so generally laid. All I know of the matter is that I have never had any connections with the officers of the Government* further than my station and the publick business rendered necessary. Then if I who have made the Company's concerns the object of my attention, who have never received a present, who have never rented lands under the Government, or lent any sums of money at interest to the zemindars contrary to the orders of the Court of Directors, if I thus fenced am exposed to threats and under apprehension of finding a boundless authority exerted to my prejudice, imagine under what a slavish dread others differently circumstanced must labor under.

Further means are still devising. I am informed to render the link of dependance the gentlemen would fix more firm and lasting. This is nothing less than to strike off the inland trade and to throw that valuable branch into the hands of the Jentoo merchants. The spring of this resolution if taken, be it ever so well glossed over with appellation of the publick good, must very soon appear. No one will imagine that gentlemen whose hopes of obtaining affluence are solely confined to the advantages accruing to them from their trade will sacrifice the better half of those hopes. The vague plea then of consulting the good of the country will never pass with men who have seen the least of the world, for they will immediately, and rightly too, conceive that something substantial has been or is to be reaped by the gentlemen who may be the planners and promoters of this scheme. I said I think rightly conceived; yes, for if such a scheme is effected, the whole inland trade (through the connection that will necessarily subsist between some of

* *i. e.* the Nawab's Government.

the leading men and his Excellency) must fall entirely to the share of those leading men, whilst every other gentleman in your service stands excluded. For it is those leading men alone that can venture their property under a borrowed name, as they alone can protect it from the impositions daily practised by the officers of the country Government and be sure of redress in case any of their agents be rifled or obstructed.

The loss of duty from the inland trade being in part enjoyed by the English gentlemen is the reason intended to be assigned should the scheme of exclusion take place, and it may possibly be further alledged that such prohibition becomes necessary for the encouragement of the Jentoo merchants who now constitute a part of the same Government and whose traffick must consequently bring in a large additional sum to the revenue, and that after all every person is free to carry on the inland trade on the same footing as the Jentoo merchants. People who are unacquainted with the country and ignorant of the nature of its trade, will in all probability admit this reasoning to be just; but those gentlemen who have their knowledge from experience know too well the Moorish system of Government ever to admit it, for the fallacy is so obvious that it must immediately strike them. Thus suppose the trade equally open to European and native, the former no longer enjoying the privilege of a dustick but obliged to pay his way from chokey to chokey, and in carrying on his trade under a necessity of combating the united influence of the country (circumstances that must at last overwhelm him and oblige him to desist) whereas the native is acquainted with the manners and customs of the country, is subject but to one Government, knows some of the principal men in that Government, and is connected with others. This influence, with a sum of money properly applied, keeps him from being preyed upon by the petty tyrants of each little district, and enables him to carry on his business with some degree of security and advantage, whereas the Englishman, by being put, as it is explained, upon the same footing as a Jentoo, is subjected to a Government, is perfectly ignorant of, and is exposed to every exaction of the chokeys, for should he refuse to answer their demands his goods must lay exposed to all the accidents of weather for at least six weeks before he can receive the news or make application and procure redress. I shall therefore venture to affirm this equitable mode of putting an Englishman and Jentoo on the same footing in trade is nothing less than totally excluding the former from any share. If a duty is necessary, it is very extraordinary the Gentlemen of the Council seem inclined to chuse a method that cannot possibly answer the end they propose (I mean if they propose to raise the revenues), at the same time that it must greatly hurt the servants. Why should Englishman, if they chuse to engage in the inland trade be subjected to the Moorish Government, or why be denied the privilege of a dustick in the carrying it on? Is it not as easy to collect a

duty on the English inland trade when application is made for the dustick as it is to submit the collection of it to the officers of the Government? It would be beneficial to the country in general if the present mode of collecting the duties was exploded, and a system more durable as it should be more just adopted. At present I can affirm, and so I believe will any person that knows the least of this branch of the revenue, that not above one fourth of what is collected can possibly be received into the Nabob's treasury, for the collection of the duties in almost every district is arbitrary.

The enhancing the revenue of the country which appears the great aim of Lord Clive will be found, I believe, in a year more the cause of its being greatly diminished, for the country has absolutely been plundered by those who have been appointed to make the collections—I mean particularly the provinces of Purnea and Dinagapore. A statement of the collections stipulated for the Company and collected by the Phowdsar of the former district you will find enclosed where no less than the exorbitant sum of three lacks and twenty thousand rupees appears the clear gain on the exactions of eight months. This man paid to his Excellency, or to his creatures, Rs. 40,000 for the purchase of the post he holds. I have transmitted the account to Mr. Verelst, and you will find annexed to it the copy of an extract of my letter to that gentleman. To have sent it to the Board without first knowing it would be agreeable would have been rendering the account liable to a refutation. For in matters of this nature it is very easy for a publick body to set an enquiry on foot and place matters in a very different light to that in which they ought to be viewed. You must be sufficiently convinced it is not very agreeable when we wish men not to be over inquisitive about matters in which they have no immediate concernment that they should attain some knowledge of them; and it must be still further from agreeable when, instead of keeping that knowledge to themselves, they are induced to promulgate it whatever be their motives. This consideration appeared to me too just not to be attended to and, after the instances related, I make no doubt you will think my precaution in not having laid the account before the Board far from unnecessary.

From this little sketch you will plainly perceive the footing on which the collecting the revenue is at present. A Phowdsar upon his acquiescing to make up the collections [to] such a sum as the Government may think proper to stipulate is let loose upon the country, and as his employ is seldom of any duration (at least no period is fixed) it is in his own option to quit or in the option of others to remove him from it at any time. Under such circumstances it cannot be expected that a Phowdsar will act with moderation or be determined by propriety. He will make up his collections at any rate, he will take from those who have it to give him and without the least regard to grants even he himself may give; he will demand of the unhappy farmers double rents, and, on their non-compliance, he will not scruple to turn out whole

families destitute to wander up and down the country for subsistence, having first seized their little all to himself. And as the end to which such proceedings tend must be obvious to every one, I confess I am the more surprised that no remedy has been applied, or that the encroaching evil seems not so much as to be attended to. It therefore behoves more those gentlemen who have the direction of affairs at home to fall upon some system that may ensure them the continuance of the advantages they now reap, and not leave it in the power of any Governor to set off his administration with a dazzling display of immediate pecuniary advantages procured to his employers,—advantages far from substantial as they exist but for a year and are followed by consequences of the worst nature to the country.

You will be kind enough to excuse my sending you this scrawl and believe me to be with the most filial respect, etc.

P.S. In the hurry of writing I find I have neglected to notice a circumstance deeply felt by the Settlement in general it is not less than the loss of property from a stop being put to the payment of the restitution and which the last letters from the Directors not only approve but enjoin. Such sentiments and proceedings little speak the paternal care of masters to servants, and must as little tend to impress on the minds of the latter respect for any interests but their own, left destitute and deprived as they now are of their just due, their properties lost, and lives exposed so recently, and with such success for your benefit. Witness the thousand advantages that have accrued to the Company since the expulsion of that bosom snake the Nabob Cossim Ally.

This instant is arrived news as unexpected as agreeable. I give it you in the very words of my correspondent "Joy to you my friend on the event of this day, this important day, which assures us of the departure of his Lordship about the 15th instant, of Mr. Cartier's coming down from Dacca to join our friend Verelst in the publick administration and of your being nominated to succeed Mr. Cartier. This I am requested to inform you of by Mr. Verelst as a reward he has procured for that merit he thinks justly your due, but at the same time bids me to tell you to bury in oblivion the many disagreeable complaints between you and the Government and I several of which (however) he can by no means justify you in, but on the contrary thinks you very culpable, whatever justice you may have in some respects on your side. He therefore desires you will trouble yourself no more with matters of so disagreeable a nature to the publick, your friends, and even your own interests, but exert your acknowledged abilities in the proper natural sphere appointed you"

[To be continued.]

The Members' Note-Book.

MR. WILMOT CORFIELD writes:—

"Pleasant visits to Chandernagore were recalled to memory by my discovery in the Naval Museum at Greenwich, when last there, of an important historical oil painting of considerable size, apparently painted very many years ago, which should be of interest to members of the C. H. S. and especially to residents at Chandernagore. It hangs in the "Vanguard Room" and bears the following inscriptions on the frame:—

"Part of the Squadron under the Command of Vice-Admiral Watson of Chandernagore supporting the land attack by Colonel (afterwards Lord) Clive, 13th February 1757.

H. M. S. <i>Kent</i>	64 guns	Vice-Admiral Watson.
" <i>Cumberland</i>	70 "	Rear Admiral Pocock.
" <i>Tiger</i>	60 "	Captain Thomas Latham.

"Presented by Mrs. Leedham White, Hewshott House, Liphook, Hants":

"The painting has every appearance of being an attempt at a faithful depicting of the action at Fort Orleans, and is of all the more value in as much as early views of Chandernagore and its neighbourhood are by no means numerous. Its history might be worth ascertaining, and a reproduction in *Bengal Past & Present* worthy of editorial consideration.

"I bought the other day for my Indian print collection a curious black and white drawing entitled *The Bengal Doombah among the Tombs*. It is well drawn and represents a large handsome sheep with the face of a European, curled horns, and heavy tail; there are also a few white sheep in the background. The animal is standing in a European graveyard among tombs of the kind to be found in Park Street. Size about $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Printed by C. Motte, 23, Leicester Square, and published by Thos. McLean, Haymarket, 14th August, 1830. Underneath the title is the following inscription:—

"This most extraordinary species of sheep is to be found in Bengal in the East Indies, though where they originally came from Natural Historians have been unable to ascertain. They are somewhat larger than the generality of English sheep which they always butt

at and attempt to drive out of the field when they graze together, though they are naturally more timid and will run away immediately should the others stand; they are also remarkably frightened at the report of a gun, and have been known on such occasions to run very fast indeed in spite of their large hind parts which, of course, very much impede their pace. They are not generally white like the English sheep, but are to be seen of all colours.

N.B.—The one that this drawing was taken from was a *Black Sheep*.

Mr. Corfield adds: "The caricature is unsigned but somewhat in the style of 'H. B.' (Hablot Browne the father of 'Phiz' of Dickensian fame), and asks for further information about the 'Bengal Doombah.' The likeness might be intended for that of Lord Bentinck. Distant hills in the picture would at first seem to suggest an environment strange to a Park Street or Cassim Bazar foreground, but a few hills more or less due to the imagination of a Leicester Square or Haymarket artist need not perhaps be taken seriously.

"I read somewhere that a fine portrait of the late Lord Minto has been secured for the Calcutta Club. Not very long ago I bought at auction a charmingly unique portrait of his Lordship as "Roley" by Leslie Ward ("Spy"), the original painting for *Vanity Fair* cartoon of 1905.

I also recently added to my Calcutta collection a print of "The Auckland Hotel" at the time of the Mutiny, and (in nine folios on stamped paper) a contemporary extract of the Will of John Warren of Twynning, Gloucestershire (proved on 25th January 1777), in which he devises his estate in trust to "my—dear—Nephew—The—Honourable—Warren—Hastings—now—or—late—Governor—of—Bengal—in—the—East—Indies—my—cousin—John—Warren—of Twynning—~~aforsaid~~—Gentleman—&—Walter—Dewguard—of—Tewkesbury—&c., &c.,—as "Executors—of—this—my—last—Will—and Testament." I also recently acquired an original signed, sealed and stamped agreement by Thomas Warren of Twynning for the mortgage of certain property there to Thomas Hartolbury, dated 11th December, 1755.

MR. A. F. C. DE COSSON writes:—

"JOHANN ZAUFFELY (or Zoffany) was the finest portrait painter who ever visited India. He was born at Ratisbon in 1733, and was a Bohemian of Speer. He went to England in 1756 and to India in 1783, staying there 7 years till 1790. He died 10 years afterwards at Strand-on-the Green, near Kew, in 1810. His Indian pictures were mostly groups of striking portraits of persons at that time in Calcutta and Northern India, viz:

Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Fight.
The Embassy of Hyder Beck
The Tiger Hunt, and
The Last Supper, in St. John's.

This portrait of Zoffany was painted by himself and is full of character. It shews him, probably after his return from India, a man of good nature, his life nearly spent, but well spent. It hangs in the Uffizi at Florence.

I also send you an old colour-print of "A North View of the India House, Leadenhall Street," as it appeared in Charles Lamb's days."

A Member writes to us :—"An illustration of the tomb of Mary Ann Beckett at Pir Pahar, Monghyr, appeared in *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. VI facing p. 379. I send you a photo taken by myself of the interior of the tomb."



INDIA HOUSE, LEADENHALL-ST. IN THE DAYS OF CHARLES LAMB

The Secretary's Notes.

AS it has been decided to publish a consolidated index of the eight volumes of *Bengal Past & Present*, indexes to Volumes VII and VIII will not be separately issued. The consolidated index is in the press and will be distributed with the next issue to the members of the Calcutta Historical Society and the other subscribers of the *Bengal Past & Present*. The title page and contents of Vol. VIII are now sent out with this number.

Of the several interesting manuscripts found among the literary remains of Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee, the following letters written by the great Kristo Das Pal, editor of the *Hindu Patriot*, are worth publishing, as they afford interesting glimpses into the editorial direction of a great Indian newspaper. Dr. Mookerjee and Kristo Das Pal were very familiar friends—in fact they were like Beaumont and Fletcher. They knew each other from their boyhood, and all through the great sphere of practical life, their friendship remained unbroken. The footnotes were added to the letters by Dr. Mookerjee.

No. 1.

Calcutta, 19th August, 1862.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

It is strange that I have not had a line from you since you left us for Lucknow.* Are you in the land of the living or are you lost in the sweet

* Dr. Mookerjee writes thus in his Diary of 1862:

Baranagore, 5th April, 1862.

After dinner, before going to town: Nearly 10 A.M.

I proceed to Lucknow on the 15th as Assistant Secretary to the British Indian Association of Oudh and sub-editor of the *Samachar Hindustanee* on Rs. 300—three hundred a month. I am waiting only for the advance of a month's pay to complete my preparations. I have, however, apprized my family of my intention. I am not in the habit of sounding people on any subject before it is time, but in the present case there was no help for it. True if Dakshina Baboo (afterwards Raja Dakshina Ranjan Mookerjee) breaks his engagement I fall into a very disagreeable position disappointing the hopes of both self and friends. But suppose I had been silent till the moment of my starting, my family might have insuperable difficulties in any way so as to prevent my journey altogether. And then how impossible is it to allay suspicions before imminent preparations, and how easy preparations when assisted by one's family! For the rest, my most intimate friends only are aware of the great exodus contemplated.

company of Lucknow Begums? Really your silence is unaccountable, and shall I say it unpardonable? I tell my sincere opinion when I say that you are doing brilliantly in the *Samachar Hindoostani*.* It is a great thing Lucknow has got you at the present crisis.

How do you enjoy the row with the *Reformer*?† Pity that we have not got your "cudgel." The convert is really running mad. Can't you put him to right from Lucknow? We thought of telegraphing you for your restorative. Your "Tenth Avatar"‡ was received here with great delight. The *Field* and its reformer richly deserved every word that you said in regard to them. The fellow—beg your pardon—the phrenologist has come out again in the garb of "Brahmacharjea," in the columns of the *Field*. This time our friend Mitra No. 3 has kicked [him] out from editorial precincts, and oh! what a reason does he urge.

Any news in [your] quarter of the world? I am quite well, and hope you are the same. Pray, don't forget to write to me as often as you can make it convenient to do so. Kindly remember me to Dakhina Baboo§ and oblige.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

* An English weekly newspaper of Lucknow now no more, then under my editorial charge. The English organ of the Talooqdars (the British Indian Association of Oudh), it was the *Hindoo Patriot of the Province*.

† A defunct weekly newspaper edited by the Rev. Lal Behari Day, then of the Free Kirk Mission, since of the Government Education Department, now retired. The *Indian Reformer* under Mr. Day and the *Hindoo Patriot* under Babu Kristodas Pal, were at furious war. The latter editor was evidently uncomfortable under the unsparring attacks of the renowned journalist. I, too, who preceded Pal in the editorship of the *Hindoo Patriot*, had had my journalistic quarrel with the same editor of the *Reformer*, and the weapon named by Pal alludes, if I remember rightly, to a Bengali proverb I aimed at him.

‡ "The Tenth Avatar" was the title of an article in my weekly, which created a great sensation in Bengal. It exposed a silly hero-manufacture which was in progress among a clique of clever men in Calcutta. The *Indian Field* was a Calcutta weekly newspaper of the day, then under the conduct of the dismissed Presidency Police Magistrate, Kinsory Chand Mitra. The "*Field's* reformer" was the same as the Tenth Avatar whom I exploded from Lucknow. The "phrenologist" was the same too, as well as the "Brahmacharjea." He was at the time one of the principal writers on the *Indian Field*. He caused no small curiosity by the story of the trials and sacrifices of a nameless Bengali reformer, of his final triumph and heroic modesty. Who was this great man? was asked in every society. Many were the surmises hazarded. Almost every native organ had its theory. But the identifications were all off the mark. It was reserved for the *Samachar Hindoostani* of Lucknow to make the true hit. This discovery so humbled and annoyed the editor of the *Field*—the Mitra No. 3 of Baboo Pal—that he would have none of it—in his editorial columns at any rate. He allowed his contributor to pursue the game in the correspondence part only of his paper, in which the letter appeared under the *nom de plume* of "Brahmacharjea."

§ The late Baboo afterwards Raja, Dakhinarunjun Mookerjee, Talooqdar of Oudh.

No. 2.

28th November, 1864.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I am glad to learn from Jotindra Baboo* of your safe return to Calcutta and the great benefit your health has derived by the short change. He was telling me that you really enchanted him with your "Lucknow stories." Was it in the manner of the Moor when he wooed Desdemona? I should very much like to hear them, but let me tell you that I have not the heart of a Desdemona to give you. Would you kindly look in one of these days either at my home or office when you come to town?

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 3.

No. 1, Larkin's Lane, 19th July, 1865.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

You must have seen in the last number of the *Patriot* an article on the House of Juggut Sett. I have supported the claim of your protégé. I hope you like the spirit of the article.

Pray, where's your promised article on the capitalization of the pension of the Native Princes? You are still, excuse me for saying this, what you were before, that you are always forgetful and seldom care to fulfil what you promise. I hope however you may still muster some energy to indite the article.

I am exceedingly sorry to inform you that Fraser has not yet remitted to me the arrears of the Nawab Nazim's subscription. I don't know [whether] you made any enquiry into the matter after your return to Moorshedabad. This is the memo of the arrears:

	Rs.	As.
Subscription due from August 1864 to December 1864,		
inclusive of postage	6	5
Price for extra 12 copies of the <i>Patriot</i> containing		
the article on the Agricultural Exhibition ...	6	0
	Rs.	12 5

Will you have the goodness to see to the remittance of the above amount? I don't know whether I may have the pleasure of again booking His Highness's name as a subscriber of the *Patriot*.

I am pretty well. I hope you are the same. Excuse haste.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

* Now Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore, Bahadoor, K.C.S.I.

No. 4.

28th July, 1866.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Save me from a Brahman's curse, but fortunately for me the Kali Yug Brahman is a *dhora*.* You may well be angry for stopping the paper to your address, but haven't I a good reason to be angry too? How often did you promise to write and did you ever fulfil your promise? You know diamond cuts diamond, and so we are at quits. But you promise to be a true friend not only to my humble self, but also to the *Patriot*, and I will also promise to be faithful to you. I have ordered the issue of the paper to you again, but I hope you will shake off your indolence and be a man. I need hardly add that you can give proofs of your manliness only by writing in the *Patriot*. Really it distresses me to see the fine flower of your talents wasted in the wilderness of the Nizamut. Send me an article at least once a month, and it will be an assurance to me that you are still in the land of the living. As for your brother Brahman of Benares, I am obliged to him for his kind offer, but I do not issue the paper *gratis* to any correspondents. In fact I am embarrassed with letters [for publication] so much so that I am obliged to reject ten for one I insert.

I am quite well and hope you are the same. Work, work, work is my lot. I don't know how long I shall be able to go on at this rate. It is very trying for a Bengali. When do you come to Calcutta next? I hear you were here for a few days but didn't condescend to pay me a visit. Heartless wretch!

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 5.

Thursday, [28th February, 1867.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is Coomara Swamy's Haris Chandra.† He is very anxious that it should be reviewed in the next *Patriot*. I trust you will make it convenient

* *Dhora* or rather *dhora* is the harmless water-snake of Bengal. My correspondent facetiously notices my complaint of the stoppage of the complimentary supply of the *Hindoo Patriot*.

† *Arichandra, the Martyr of Truth: A Tamil Drama*. Translated into English by Mutu Coomara Swamy, Mudaliar, Barrister-at-Law, of Lincoln's Inn; Member of Her Majesty's Legislative Council of Ceylon, and Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1863.

This book, which, though published so many years back, was presented to the Continental Indian press so late as in February 1867, during the translator's Indian tour, was reviewed in the *Hindoo Patriot* on the 4th March, 1867.

to do the needful. Of course you will not fail to advert to his doings in England and Ceylon.

If you write an article on the Murderous Outrages Bill, please see me before you do so.

Where's the other article?

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 6.

7th March, 1867.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I am not certainly responsible for what people may in ignorance say about your relations with the *Patriot*. When I requested you to assist me in my editorial labours I did not say that you were to take any body's place. Neither did I think it worth while to tell you what J—used to draw. It is superfluous for you to urge your superior literary claims on one who has been an intimate friend from early school days, and who perhaps knows more than any body else, need I add who appreciates your literary merits. Pray, don't disturb your mind with comparisons which are always "odorous!" I hope you will do me the justice to think that I shall be the last person to render your position in any case dishonourable or disagreeable.

I was about sending your honorarium for the last month, but delayed simply with a view to consult your own wishes. You know well that the *Patriot* depends entirely upon its own resources, and I told you at the time when I asked your aid that I could not remunerate you *adequately*. In fact it must be more a work of love than of money. Both for the sake of Hurish and of my humble self, you would not, I flattered myself to think, refuse to assist me in preserving the character and usefulness of the *Patriot*. And your answer did not discourage me. J—used to get Rs.....a month, and besides literary contributions used to pass the paper every week. Of course you cannot undertake that drudgery, nor did I expect it. You are quite right in saying that I asked you to write two articles or four columns on an average every week, and I believe your contributions for the last month have been at that rate. Of course one cannot always limit himself to four columns, sometimes it may be more and sometimes less. And you who know so well editorial exigencies must make due allowance.

As for remuneration, you must excuse me if I cannot pay more than.....Rs. a month, and this I can give only by straining my means.

I hope you will not reject this sum, though I know you are above considerations of Rs. Ans. and Pies. I take the liberty to send per bearer Rs.....that is, Rs.....for February and Rs.....for the last week of January, and shall thank you to acknowledge the amount.

I do not see why you should feel such a false delicacy in coming to my office. It is always useful to discuss questions, though of course I have every confidence in you to think that you will not fail to do justice to the subjects you may take in hand. Those who know us, know also that we are friends—in fact as some people used to say in the College, Beaumont and Fletcher—and I cannot understand why your visits to me should be open to misconstruction.

I was thinking of asking you to take up Phear's lecture on Art Education, and I am glad that you have done so. Please try to give "copy" to-morrow. I am devilishly busy owing to legislative work. I will write on Saturday. I could scarcely snatch five minutes during the whole day to write this letter. Excuse haste.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 7.

28th March, 1867.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Will you write on the Mysore question? Yesterday's *Daily News* contains the debate in the House of Commons on the subject. While congratulating Lord Cranborne on his decision *not* to annex Mysore, we must deprecate the policy of practically deferring the solution of the question till the young prince attains the age of 20 years. We cannot also reconcile his assertion that the treaty is not binding on the Government beyond the life time of the present Rajah with the fact that it is to continue till sun and moon will exist. If you can look in at the Association I can shew some passages bearing on this point. Pray, have you finished the small notices?

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

P. S.—The *Morning Star* takes a proper view of the debate.

No. 8.

Wednesday, 27th March, 1867.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Malleson* is not here, and I have not consequently received his pamphlet. Here is [the] last number of the *Edinburgh* which contains the much talked of

* Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., the historian, then Guardian of the minor Maharaja of Mysore.

article on the Foreign Policy of Sir John Lawrence. Of course we must support the "masterly inactivity" of Sir John, simply because it is not mischievous. I believe that you are [aware] that the article is popularly attributed to Mr. Wyllie, the Foreign Under-Secretary and a promising Competition-wallah.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

P. S.—I trust you will give "copy" to-morrow.

No. 9.

4th April, 1867.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I see you have not noticed Lobb's Abercrombie.* Please dispose of it this week.

Where is your Stamp article?† We must give one. If you write one column, I will write another. I hope you will also give a column and a half on the employment of Indian troops in British colonies.‡

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 10.

[April, 1867.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I am sorry to hear of the occurrence of an accident to you. Pray, what is it? I have given Lal Behari's book§ to Deben for transmission to you. Can't you write one article this week?

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 11.

Saturday, [February, 1867.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is the reply of the Secretary of the Medical Association. You can give a paragraph if you like but in dignified style.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

* Reviewed in the *Hindoo Patriot* soon after.

† See the *Hindoo Patriot*, April 15, 1867.

‡ I gave more than double the quantity on the subject, under the head of "The Military Position of England," in the issue of April 8, 1867.

§ This refers, I believe, to the Rev. Lal Behari Day's *Antidote to Brahminism*, afterwards reviewed.

No. 12.

Wednesday, [March, 1867].

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I sincerely hope you will make it convenient to let me have the review Thursday morning *pos*[itively]. I shall thank you to write the other art[icle]. But if you make the Punjab Outrages Bill your text, I fear you will not have the advantage of the Select Committee's Report before you. That Report will be submitted at Friday's meeting. Why not defer that subject till next week, and select some other topic for the present issue?

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 13.

Saturday, April, [1867].

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

The Punjab Murderous Outrages Bill did not pass Council yesterday. So you can dress up your article and send it to me.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 14.

Friday, 7th June, [1867].

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I see you have not finished "Maunbhoon."* But don't spin it out long. Here is a Bengali drama, which please *do* review next week. It is by a friend; praise it if you find any merit; if not let him off gently. Don't forget to notice Kedar's "Goutama" † next week.

Your small para: and notice of *Chitrabilas* must stand over till next week.

I am sorry I can't see you this week. Will you be visible next week? I hope you will correct your proofs to-morrow. Why don't you come to Mackertich's? ‡

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

* My article on "Maunbhoon" appeared on June 10, 1867.

† This was a little work by Bahadur Kedar Nath Dutt, Deputy Magistrate, a well-known Vaishnava author.

‡ Mr. Mackertich was a respectable solicitor to whom I was articled.

No. 15.

Saturday, 6th July, [1867].

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

The author of * * * * *Natuck* has been dancing attendance daily. Please review his book this time. If you can't give a column, give at least three-quarters or so. Perhaps you have not read the book. If not, why not translate some of the best passages, and that will fill [a] column. Anyhow you must give a column. I can't apologize to him any more. Please reply.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 16.

13th August, [1867].

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is your last month's allowance (... rupees). Please say "received." I hope you will write on Cashmere this week. Pray, have you thought of any subject?

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No 17.

[September, 1867.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is a report of the Debate on Ayrton's resolution on Indian administration. Will you please give a thundering leader* upon it? Show up the shortcomings of the present system, and support Ayrton so far as we consistently can. I agree with Laing that there should be personal responsibility, but not under a patriarchal system. Public opinion as an instrument of good government should be advocated.

Do you wish to say something on the Moulvi's production? Yesterday's *Daily News* had a good article. But you must rewrite your last article. I

* A "leader" I did give, as required, and a long one too, of nearly three and a half columns, but whether or not it contained electricity or had the capacity of thunder, is more than I can say. Thunder or no thunder, it was perused with interest by the officials and with some enthusiasm by the non-official community. This article, headed "English Attention and Indian Administrative Reform," appeared on September 30, 1867.

think you should be brief and direct. In cases of this kind we should not indulge in sentiment or rhetorical flourish. What do you say? Eh?

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

P. S.—I will write on the Budget debate. More hereafter. Please give the article to-morrow pos[itively].

No. 18.

[December, 1867.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is Rs.being your allowance for the last month. Please acknowledge the receipt of the amount.

I was put to great inconvenience last week by your letting my people know at the eleventh hour your inability to write. Pray, how many articles will you write this week? I have a very good theme for you. The Government of India has published the opinions of its officers on the comparative merits of English and Native [administration]. I will send the brochure to you to-morrow.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 19.

Saturday, [1867.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

It is very desirable that an article should appear on the comparative merits of British and Native administration. Pray don't fail to write one on the subject and hand it to the bearer.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 20.

[1867.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I send herewith the Famine Report, also last month's allowance which please receive and acknowledge. Kindly send the articles by the bearer and oblige.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 21.

Wednesday, [1867].

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Like a good boy I hope you will redeem your promise this week and give "copy" early. Will you please write an article on Justice Phear's lecture, particularly on the exhibition made during discussion without, however, being severe? You have, I believe, other subjects in hand. Excuse haste.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 22.

January, [1868].

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I believe you will review the Bengalee books this time which I sent you on Monday last.

I hope you will continue your article on Native and British rule. Will you write anything on the Entrance Examination? I trust you will write an article on the Indian Civil Service in reply to the *Friend*.

Pray, give "copy" early. This is my eternal request.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 23.

17th March, 1868.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here are five currency notes for Rs. covering your allowance for February which please receive and acknowledge.

Will you please review the new books awaiting disposal? Jotindra expects a review of the Musical Notations by Gossain.* I hope you will not make a short work of it like *Malati Madhavi*.†

Have you texts for leaders? If not, I shall be happy to note down a few.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

P. S.—How do you like my reply to the *Friend* in this morning's issue?

* *Aikatanik Smaralipi*. By Khetra Mohan Goswami, Calcutta, 1868. Pandit Khetra Mohan Goswami was a musician long in the service of Kristodas Pal's "Jotindra," now Maharaja Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore, &c., &c.

† This was literally meant. As the review of *Malati Madhavi* was nearly a column of the paper in which it appeared, Pal "hoped" for, as Maharaja Jatindra Mohan Tagore "expected" a far longer and more elaborate notice of Gossainji's System of Notation of Hindu Music. Accordingly, this latter work, called *Aikatanik Smaralipi*, was reviewed in the *Hindu Patriot* of the 6th April, 1868, the notice extending to some columns.

No. 24.

3rd April, 1868

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I saw A... yesterday and he told me that he had not heard of the arrangement you alluded to. He will nevertheless write to Cashmere and let me know the intentions of the Maharajah.

Pray, have you written anything? Give "copy" early. I expect two articles.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 25.

[June, 1868].

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I send by the bearer Rs. ... for May last.

Will you review this week Hunter, and give a short leader on Garu's pamphlet? Please also finish the article on Maine. I must repeat my eternal request for "early copy."

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 26.

[July, 1868.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I hear you have severed your connection with the———. Have you accepted any new engagement?

There are some arrears on your hand. You have not noticed Garu* or given a second notice of Hunter† as promised. Here is Miss Carpenter's lecture‡ at the E. I. A. Will you please hang a leader upon it?

If you are at leisure, can't you look in at mine one of these evenings?

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

* Pandit Lingam Lakshmajī Pantu Garu, an accomplished Southern scholar, who had published a Letter to the Secretary of State on Indian Administration. I was for sparing this flimsy production, but after constant reminders at length noticed it in an article, "A Madrassee on the Indian Topics of the Day," which appeared on the 2nd November, 1868.

† The second notice of Hunter's *Sural Bengal* appeared in the *Hindoo Patriot*, August 3, 1868.

‡ Lecture at the East India Association in India after her return.

No. 27.

Wednesday, [29th July, 1868.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Our explanation has had the desired effect. I saw Captain Fenwick, who as an English gentleman at once offered to support me. His editorial of this morning is very fair. The *Indian Daily News* has not said anything, but has simply published our statement. I hope he is now ashamed of what he wrote yesterday. I am thinking of giving an article on journalism in India in the strain you incidentally suggested yesterday.

I send herewith a few pamphlets which please review. Will you be so good as to let me [have] to-morrow the second notice of Hunter, and finish the editorial on Garu's pamphlet? The accompanying number of the *Delhi Gazette* contains a paper on Representation in India, which suggests a good text for a leader.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 28.

6th October, 1868.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

As my father [is] suffering seriously from dysentery, I issued the paper last week with great difficulty. He is still laid up. Will you be so good as to relieve me this week as much as you can? You have yet several books to review, please dismiss them with short notices. Here is another which please review in the regular way.

Can't you give me some leaders? You can select your subjects. If you come to town please see me and I will suggest texts if required.

I hope you enjoyed to your heart's content the holiday excursion.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 29.

Thursday, [1868.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I forgot to write to you yesterday that when I returned home on Tuesday I found that the Cholera article had been broken up. Your letter was too late. If you wish to have it set up for a pamphlet I shall be happy to give

the needful orders. In that case I think the matter should be set up in small pica. Please drop a line in reply.

"Copy" on the Nawab Nazim?

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 30.

Thursday, [1868.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

In the N. W. P. they are speaking of a vernacular University. The time has not come for it, and if the cry means supersession of English education it is suicidal. Will you please give a leading article on the subject and oblige?*

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL.

No. 31.

[1868.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

The *Friend* endorses the *Englishman's* condemnation of the *Patriot's* article on Vernacular University. I send the page of the Serampore paper which contains a correspondence between Smith and Banerjea† on the so-called Anglo-Oriental Movement. I hope you will enlarge on the subject and shew up our enemies. Please write another article and finish "copy" to-morrow.

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL.

No. 32.

Thursday, [1868.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I have much pleasure in sending by the bearer Rs.....for the last month. Pray, will [you] give a review of Hunter's, and write two or three leaders on the late Nizam, the Kappurthalla case and Dinker Rao's case? I shall feel highly obliged if you will kindly give "copy" early.

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL.

* If I gave one article to "oblige" him, I wrote many to please myself—in the general interest.

† Dr. George Smith, then editor of the *Friend of India of Serampore* and the *Banerjees*.

No. 33.

Thursday, [January, 1868]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Pray, how are you doing? When you have been able to finish the Begum article,* I have no doubt you are much better. If you can write this week, kindly finish the reviews which are overdue. But do not trouble yourself if you are not fit for work. Please drop a line to say how you are doing.

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL.

No. 34.

12th January, 1869.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Saraswati Pooja takes place on Sunday next, and I therefore wish to close the paper on Saturday. Will you kindly give "copy" early? You have yet to review Rajkrishna's Poem† and here is Hunter's last,‡ which please notice. Will you give a leader on any subject you like? I forward by the bearer a currency note of Rs.....for the last month.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 35.

To the Hon'ble Raja Sheoraj Sing Bahadoor, C. S. 1.

19th January, 1869.

DEAR SIR,

Allow me to wait on you with a copy of the British Indian Association's Memorial on the Native Marriage Bill, which I promised to you the other night. I have spoken to my friend Bahoo Sambhu Chunder about it.

Believe me, yours very faithfully,
K. D. PAL.

No. 36.

Friday, [February, 1869.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is a currency note for Rs.....for the last month, which please receive and acknowledge.

* A long article of some pages of the *Hindoo Patriot*, afterwards reprinted in pamphlet, on the career of the then recently deceased Sekundra Begum of Bhopal.

† *Yantrana Uddyana*. By Rajkrishna Mookerjee. M. A., B. L. (afterwards the lamented Government Bengali Translator). Reviewed on the 8th March, 1869.

‡ Dr., now Sir, W. W. Hunter's *Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India*.

Pray, where is your review of Hunter's* non-Aryans and your leader on [the] Land Improvement Bill?†

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL.

No. 37.

22nd June, 1869.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is a letter from Hunter‡ to you. He lately asked me the name of the author of the Review of his Non-Aryan Dictionary in the *Patriot*, and I gave it. I hope you do not object to it.

Your "Peregrinations§ No. 2" is a tremendous affair, my printer says that it will make some six or seven columns. As you write by fits and starts and you don't mind sketching the places you have visited, but give sentimental essays, please drop the subject and give things that are sober and practical. Don't laugh at me for saying this, for in these matter-of-fact days mere sentiment, I need hardly tell you, is thrown away.

The "Battle of the Alphabets"|| has appeared, When will you send No. 2? The earlier you send it the better.

The weather is very hot. Strange to say that we have had very little electricity this time. I hope the present heat will not be the precursor of a drought—for next year will be the Centenary of the Great Famine of 1770.

I am quite [well] and trust you are the same. I wish you would come back as early as you can. Why don't [you] discourse on Northern Indian politics? You are too idle for anything in this active world!

I have paid Jogesh Rs.....on your account.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

* *A Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India*. By W. W. Hunter. The review appeared in the *Hindoo Patriot* shortly after.

† Mr. (now Sir) John Strachey's North-Western Provinces Land Improvement Bill, which afterwards matured into Act. The leader called for appeared in the *Hindoo Patriot*, later in the month.

‡ Dr. (now Sir) W. W. Hunter. As I was at the time travelling in the Upper Provinces, his letters were sent to the editor for proper direction.

§ "Peregrinations of Sambo Nigger" meant to describe my travels in Northern India. Unfortunately, only a single instalment of the sketches appeared in the *Hindoo Patriot* of the 26th April, 1869.

|| A series of long articles on the subject of a medium for the official language in Upper India. The first, more than 5 columns long, appeared in the *Hindoo Patriot* of the 21st June, 1869, the second, over 3 columns, on the 25th August.

P. S.—I have written to the Postmaster-General about Bholanath's Travels.

To Baboo Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee,
Kashipore,
in the District of Mooradabad, N. W. P.

No. 38.

10th August, 1869.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Will you review the *Calcutta Review* this week? If you do not require the *Review*, please let me have it back, as a friend wishes to see it. Kindly also return the files of the *Patriot* for 1861, 1867 and 1868.

Have you got any other subject in view? Please let me know. The *Englishman* has reprinted the second article on the Mahomedans* to-day and also the *Examiner*,† and the *Daily News* publishes a letter on the same.

If you meet Sreenath Baboo‡ please tell him to see me.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 39.

12th August, 1869.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I have much pleasure in sending by the bearer Rs. for July, which please receive and acknowledge.

Pray, have you written anything? Kindly let me have "copy" by the bearer. Be so good as to return me the files and the *Calcutta Review* if done with.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

* My article "The Mahomedans and their Elevation," over four columns long, in the *Hindoo Patriot* of August 2, 1869.

† The now defunct *Indian Examiner*, established with great éclat by Major (George Roe) Fenwick, a brilliant penman and raconteur as well as *bon vivant*, against his former employers of the *Englishman*, of which he had been the magnificent editor.

‡ Baboo Sreenath Mookerjee, a Bengali Brahman with a strange history, who, beginning as one of the poor yet native boys of Lord Auckland and Mr. Hay Cameron (most of whom rose to distinction in the medical profession, the late Dr. Bholu Nath Bose, who took his degree at Edinburgh, foremost of all), after many vicissitudes and once a miraculous escape from an alligator before the river-stairs at Khordah, his native place, ended as a clerk in the Bengal Secretariat, and is now retired on pension.

No. 40.

7th September, 1869.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

As I expected, your article on the Mahomedans has raised a great outcry. The *Indian Examiner* has come down upon the *Patriot* to-day. But we needn't mind it. All that we need see is that our reply should be logical, temperate and truthful. Pray, have you finished? Don't put off to the eleventh hour, as the whole paper is then put to great inconvenience.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 41.

9th September, 1869.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I must send the files you require from home. Pray, where is the Association's file for 1867? You told me that it was in Baranagar.

If you have written the review of Wheeler, kindly let me have it and oblige.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 42.

Friday, [October, 1869.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Pray, have you been able to write anything? Kindly give a review of the *Calcutta Review*. Please take up Wheeler* as early as you can. Have you thought of any other subject?

Will you have the goodness to let me have back the Association's file of the *Patriot* for 1867?

I hope you are quite well.

I am yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 43.

[31st January, 1870.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Baboo Jotindro† has requested me earnestly to review this book‡ in the next *Patriot*. Could you manage to do so and oblige?

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL.

* Talboys: *Wheeler's History of India from the Earliest Ages*. Vol. II reviewed on the 25th October, and on the 13th, 20th and 27th December, 1869.

† Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore, Bahadoor, K.C.S.I.

‡ *Sangitamar*. (A Treatise on the Hindu Music). By Khetra Mohan Goswami. Calcutta, 1868. Reviewed 7th and 21st February, 1870.

No. 44.

[January, 1870.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I have much pleasure in sending by the bearer Rs...., i.e., Rs.... balance of November, and Rs.... for December, which please acknowledge.

A daily paper* is going a-begging. Have you got a capitalist friend to take it up and are you prepared to assume editorial charge? More when we meet.

I have not received "copy" for I believe the last four weeks! I hope you are in good health.

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL.

No. 45.

10th March, 1870

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I herewith enclose a letter from Mr. Lobb. He suggests that the question of the Philosophy Course in the University studies be discussed in the *Patriot*. Will you kindly take up the subject? I have been expecting your leader on McMinn's pamphlet.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 46.

5th April, 1870.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

You need not be so ceremonious with me. I am always ready to do any little service to you, and I can assure you that whatever little it is in my power to do proceeds from love and not from any other consideration.

I have not pecuniary relations with many, and I cannot understand how the general public have "no confidence in my financial moderation." I am as you know a poor man, and cannot spare much for others, in fact you do not know how many hangers-on there [are] on me, chiefly poor relations and neighbours.

If you refer to my management of the paper I cannot help standing on my terms. In the first place I do not like to lower the credit of the paper by lowering our terms, and in the next place if I were not circumspect and careful, the *Patriot* would not be solvent for a day. You know well under what [difficulties] native journalism labors.

* The paper referred to was, if I remember aright, the *Indian Mirror*. Nothing came of the negotiation.

Pray, what did you say at the Social Science Association? The *Englishman* of this morning has an insinuation against you.

I hope you will give the article on the Nawab Nazim early this week.

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL.

No. 47.

26th April 1870.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I expected the 2nd article on the Nawab Nazim last week. Will you let me have it early this week?

I send herewith the last *Calcutta Review*. I shall thank you if you will kindly review it this week. I don't like that we should appear last on the field after others had said their say.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 48.

Saturday [February, 1867.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I have much pleasure in sending per bearer....your allowance for January. Please acknowledge the receipt of the amount.

*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*

Will you please stop at Calcutta

*	*	*	*	*
---	---	---	---	---

I will also require your assistance in passing the paper. Pray, do not disappoint me. A line in reply will oblige.

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL.

No. 49.

3rd June, 1870.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I called on you Wednesday, but could not find, and have also been [now] disappointed.* But I understand that you were similarly at mine last evening.

* This letter was written and left at my town residence in my absence

I wanted to tell that your article on Keshub, though truthful, is not such as should come from the *Patriot*, for it is now held that the *Patriot* is bound to defend and glory in every native, whoever he may be or whatever his deserts. I do not, however, [wish] to allow such a grand thing as the article is [to remain] unpublished. I have therefore taken the liberty to put it under the head of Correspondence, for which I hope you will excuse me. All that I want is that it should come to light of publicity.

Will you kindly send a review of Mahendra's last number of the *Journal of Medicine*?* It is getting late.

I want to take a holiday on Sunday. Will you kindly furnish "copy" to-day and oblige?

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL.

No. 50.

20th June, 1870.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I have much pleasure in sending herewith a currency note for Rs.....for the last month, which kindly receive and acknowledge.

I expected the para. about the *Pioneer's* onslaught last week, but as you did not take the trouble to write it, I think we had better pass it over. It has not attracted attention.

Will you please give this week an article on the Education question and a review of Bankim's book,† which I find you have totally overlooked? I am very busy on account of the coming meeting and shall feel much obliged if you will kindly relieve me for these two weeks. I hope you will remember my standing request—*Write early*.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 51

[1870.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Three of my peons have been stricken with fever, and hence no one could go to [you] yesterday. I send by the bearer the proofs, and shall thank you to let me have the same back corrected. I hope you will also kindly give "copy." I dare say you have texts to write upon. Will you give an article on Cabul politics?

* The *Calcutta Journal of Medicine*. Edited by Mahendra Lal Sircar, M. D.

† *Kapalikundala*. By Bankim Chunder Chatterjee, (Deputy Magistrate.) A historical romance in Bengali—the second of the series of novels with which this distinguished writer—the *Doyen* of Bengali authors—has enriched the literature of his mother-tongue and his country's vernaculars. It was reviewed in the *Hindus Patriot* of 1870.

CONTENTS.

LIST OF ARTICLES.

	PAGE.
I. THE LETTERS OF MR. RICHARD BARWELL—III ...	147
II. CHRISTIAN TOMBS AT BANKIPORE AND PATNA ...	176
III. THE CALCUTTA TOWN HALL ...	181
IV. THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE ROSARY, MURGHUHATA CATHEDRAL, CALCUTTA ...	192
V. MARRIAGES IN CALCUTTA, 1713—1754 ...	217
VI. MADAME D'ARBLAY AND CALCUTTA ...	244
VII. LEAVES FROM THE PRESIDENT'S NOTE-BOOK ...	250
VIII. REVIEW ...	258
IX. REPRINT OF A RARE PAMPHLET ...	259
X. MARRIAGES IN CALCUTTA, 1713—1754—II ...	282
XI. SECRETARY'S NOTES ...	285

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	TO FACE PAGE.
1. ROBERTS OF KANDAHAR, PRETORIA AND WATERFORD ...	} FRONTIS-PIECE.
2. EXTRACT FROM REGISTER OF BAPTISMS ...	
3. MONUMENT TO LORD CLIVE, WHITEHALL ...	154
4. ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL, MURGHUHATA ...	198
5. BUST OF FIRST LORD MINTO IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCH ...	216
6. LADY CANNING MONUMENT, ST. JOHN'S CHURCH ...	250
7. DITTO. DITTO. DITTO ...	252
8. SHOWERS MONUMENT, ST. JOHN'S CHURCH ...	254
9. LADY CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH—ZOFFANY'S ALTARPIECE ...	256
10. SAMBHU CHANDRA MOOKERJEE AND KRISTO DAS PAL ...	285



ROBERTS OF KANDAHAR, PRETORIA AND WATERFORD.
Photo by Messrs Bourne and Shepherd, India.

1833	February 29	Bliss, Catherine died.	March 24/1834 of age	Daughter of John Thomas, husband of Mary	Mr. & Mrs. Richard	J. Robinson James Henry Chapman
1835	January 7	Richardson	12 August 1835 at Madras	Daughter of George Rogers Widow of George Rogers of Madras, 1st wife.	Mr. & Mrs. Richard	J. Robinson James Henry Chapman
1836	January 5	Thomas & David Presb. Baptists by Rev. D. White at Madras	18 September 1835 at Madras	Son of Mr. Thomas (Richard) Lieut. Col. Thompson (Capt.) and of Elizabeth his wife.	Mr. & Mrs. Richard	Henry Foster James Henry Chapman
1838	January 5	Harriet, daughter of Thomas	18 December 1838 at Madras	Daughter of Mr. Thomas (Richard) Lieut. Col. Thompson (Capt.) and of Elizabeth his wife.	Mr. & Mrs. Richard	Henry Foster James Henry Chapman

EXTRACT FROM THE REGISTER OF BAPTISMS, ST JOHN'S CHURCH, CALCUTTA.

Photo by the "Statesman."

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—III.

LETTER No. I.

TO MISS MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 15th March, 1767.

My Dear Sister,—

YOUR letter per the *Mercury* of the 16th of May last has given me all that satisfaction you kindly proposed to let me reap from your affectionate attention. A dejection of spirits, I cannot but remark, derogates from that philosophy I conceived you mistress of. However pleasing the cause to which you attribute it, my affection for you will not permit me to taste the sweet untinged by the bitter. I will confess to you it is my wish ever to be possessed of your tenderest regard; it is nevertheless my wish that that should be conducive to your happiness, and that no chimerical ideas should arise therefrom to embitter one single moment of your life, so far as this is possible for human nature to comply with. You must indulge me by not raising up in your mind the apprehension of evils that you have no cause given you to think do exist. I am much obliged by the receipt you enclosed for me, but I flatter myself the goodness of my constitution will render your friendly precaution unnecessary.

I am much surprised at the dilatoriness of Capt. Morris in the sale of the goods I sent home, as it would certainly be more to my advantage to sell them at any rate than to have them spoiled in a warehouse and by that means lose the whole. Farewell for the present from, etc.

P.S.—I send through Mr. Beaumont a little otta for your acceptance.

LETTER No. LI.

TO HIS UNCLE.

CALCUTTA,

The 15th March, 1767.

TO RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ.

Honored and Dear Sir,—

I have the happiness to acquaint you of the safe receipt of your very affectionate letter per the *Mercury* packet, dated the 15th May, 1766, with

copy of that per *Devonshire*. I need not say I felt severely on your's as well as on my own account the loss of so dear a friend to me as my Aunt; and, if anything could have more endeared her memory to me than the kindnesses I had long since experienced, it may be the tender regard expressed by those friendly wishes for my prosperity uttered in her last moments. But let me drop this too affecting subject, and reap that sensible satisfaction the assurance of your love affords me, and to return you my thanks for every testimony I have experienced of your affection towards me. Accept then all I have to offer (my thanks), and rest assured my grateful heart must ever esteem and honor you, in the just degree the obligations you have conferred merit of me. My love to Mr. Browne and wishes for your's and his felicity. Conclude me, my dear Uncle, etc.

LETTER No. LII.

TO HENRY VANSITTART, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 12th March, 1767.

Sir,—

By Captain Howe I have taken the liberty to send for your acceptance two small vials of otta. However trifling this my little present, it is still testimony of the grateful sense I shall ever entertain of the favors by me experienced during the latter part of your Government. My best wishes await you.

I am etc.

LETTER No. LIII.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT AND RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQUIRES.

CALCUTTA,

14th March, 1767.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. LIV.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT AND RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQUIRES.

CALCUTTA,

14th March, 1767.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. LV.

THOS. HOWE, COMMANDER OF THE "NOTTINGHAM," TO RICHARD BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

14th March, 1767.

[Relative to shipping of goods to England.]

LETTER No. LVI.

Invoice of piece goods ship'd with the *Nottingham*, value Arcot Rupees. 40,856-9-0 and 13,828-10-3.

LETTER No. LVII.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT AND RALPH LEVCESTER, ESQS.

CALCUTTA,

The 26th March, 1767.

Gentlemen,—

I enclose you a letter from Captain Howe of the *Nottingham*, enclosing receipts for a parcel of goods I have shipped on him. Copy of his letter in answer to me points out the particulars of our engagements and the latitude I have allowed him to judge for; and, to consult our mutual interest, I must request of you, Gentlemen, to keep this transaction to yourselves and to assist Mr. Howe with your advice in finishing the sales, or in points in which he may ask it of either of you. Should any accident happen to Mr. Howe, you are in such case to apply to his family. Excuse the trouble I give, and make me easy by your consideration.

Bills of this date in favor of Mr. William Magee I have taken the liberty to draw payable 365 days after sight. You will be pleased to honor them; and, if you have not sufficient to answer their amount from the sales of the goods by Mr. Howe, be kind enough to redraw if possible on me. Otherwise I will send you a further remittance, from which please to pay yourselves the amount, of any advance you make on my account with interest calculated at the rate of the interest here.

I am etc.

P.S.—The allowance of 10 per cent. for running the merchandise from the Downs to be made if necessary.

P.S.—I have given directions to my Father for the insurance of £5,000 and should the *Nottingham* not be arrived when this reaches you you will be pleased to insure the further sum of £3,000.

LETTER No. LVIII.

Whereas Richard Barwell in the service of the Hon'ble English East India Company in Bengall did borrow and receive of Mr. James Moore the sum of £5,000 for the lawful payment of which the said Richard Barwell did enter into a certain bond or obligation, dated the 30th June, 1765, an attested copy thereof under the seal of the Mayor's Court Calcutta is hereunto annexed whereby the said Richard Barwell became bound in the penal sum of £10,000 for the payment of said principal sum of £5,000 and all interest to grow due thereon to the said James Moore his executors, administrators, assigns or certain attorney in manner as therein is mentioned and whereas the said James Moore is since dead having William Magee, Esq., an executor and trustee of his estate and effects and being desirous for the benefit of his relations and others interested in this said will to finally settle his affairs in India, and the said Richard Barwell is willing and desirous to pay the said principal sum of 55,000 and interest due on the said receipted bond and whereas there is this day due and owing on the bond for interest 5,900 which together with the principal sum of 55,000 make up together the sum of £5,900. Now know ye that the said Richard Barwell hath this day delivered unto Bryant Scotney and Robert Sanderson of Calcutta, Esq., the lawful attorneys of the said William Magee three bills of exchange all of the same tenor and date upon Anselm Beaumont and Ralph Leicester, Esq., for the said sum of £5,900 payable to the said William Magee or order a true copy thereof is under written we do hereby acknowledge to have had and received the same which when paid agreeable to the tenor thereof will be in full discharge and satisfaction of the receipted bond and we do hereby for the said William Magee executor of the said James Moore deceased, release, acquit and discharge the said Richard Barwell from all further interest, cost and charges that might arise or accrue touching the matter and things contained in the said bond provided nevertheless and on condition nevertheless that the said Bills of Exchange be duly accepted and paid agreeable to the tenor thereof. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this 26th day of March one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven. Calcutta, the 26th March, 1767.

[Then follows the Letter of Exchange mentioned above.]

LETTER No. LIX.

TO THE HON'BLE MR. THOMAS HOWE.

CALCUTTA,

The 28th March, 1767.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. LX.

CALCUTTA,

The 3rd April, 1767.

TO JOHN SPENCER, ESQ.

Dear Sir,—

I have deferred so long to pay you my respects that I am almost ashamed to appear before you and possibly might not, could I suppress the sentiments I entertain of your kindness experienced. You see, Sir, I presume a pardon for my silence without any other pretension than my desire to be deemed worthy of it and the.....I build on your esteem to be thought so.

The many disagreeable occurrences since we were favored with your administration, though not less frequent since the departure of my friend Mr. Leycester, have not (though possibly they deserved to have been) the subject of much alteration; nor must that surprise after the extraordinary measures adopted, the new modelling the Council, etc., etc., the suspending all such from posts, offices, etc., and even the Service when warmed at any time they were so unfortunately imprudent as to blurt out their sentiments. It makes me laugh, though at the same time I must confess myself grieved to observe many of my brothers (and in high stations) duly attending to the times and modelling their ideas and demeanor to the superior powers, conscious as if innocence was no defence against the arts of calumny nor—to our property; but, as this is what I cannot so readily acquiesce to, it is possible I may be lost among the excentricks. However, as I do not wish to lose the Service, I should be sorry to give cause of umbrage by word or deed, whilst (consistent with the character I have and wish to maintain) I may avoid it. Your regard then, Sir, I confide in the free communication of my sentiments on objects as they appear to me; and, as this is enclosed to Mr. Beaumont, I have requested that gentleman to submit the perusal of the papers I transmitted him to you. My last address, copy of which goes enclosed, points out pretty strongly the neglect of those gentlemen who stile themselves my friends. They have amused me in a most extraordinary manner, and, had I not urged a decisive answer in the most express terms, I should have been deprived of the opportunity I have embraced to undeceive the Court of Directors with respect to the weight of their recommendations in my behalf. The service I rendered the Company's I was under a necessity of pointing out myself; for, though I was honored by a private encomium on my attention, yet when I urged their publick notice of it, they did not vouchsafe to favor me with any answer, and finding the Gentlemen had taken no notice of me in their General Letters, I was loth, as you may imagine, to have my services buried in oblivion, and therefore

resolved to be in a manner trumpetter of my own merits. Believe me, this did not proceed from any motives of spleen or vanity, but from a principle of justice due to myself.

I am in such confusion and hurry to return to settle my affairs, for which I am allowed but one month, and the necessity I am under to communicate this last testimony of kindness to my friends obliges me to be concise; but, as you will be fully acquainted with particulars from my friend Mr. Beaumont, I need not be guilty of repetition here. Believe me, Dear Sir, etc.

P.S.—Excuse my requesting your influence in favor of a young gentleman of my acquaintance. The gentlemen of the Committee threaten to send him home, and the enclosed are the replies he has made to the letters sent him by their Secretary.

LETTER No. LXI.

CALCUTTA,

The 3rd April, 1767.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT ESQ.

Dear Beaumont,—

I cannot but return you my acknowledgements for your friendly epistle of the 14th May, 1766. I wish sincerely it was in my power to give you all that satisfaction I am desirous relative to your affairs in Bengall, the charge of which rests once more with me, and you may be assured shall be attended to with the pleasing anxiety of a friend. Your marble slabs, as neither of your friends in power interest themselves, remain a heavy article. What was in my power I have done, and though disappointed, I am still thinking of those hard stones, and have obtained a promise from honest Rumbold to get rid of 50 or 100 slabs, which, as soon the rivers open, I shall send him, and would recommend it to you to insure from Mootajil to Patna, as the article is valuable and the weather boisterous in June and July, besides the violence of the current. I recommended in the most pressing terms to Messrs. Watts the Madras remittance, and why he did not make it he himself will acquaint you. For my part I think Mr. Bouchier has all along thrown cold water upon that measure, and I imagine it solely proceeds from the numberless engagements he has contracted that he has so long delayed drawing on your attorneys. He was ready enough to direct Mr. Russell to accept the £1,000 for bills on Madras which you designed for Mr. Pink, but money for diamonds is what in my opinion Mr. Bouchier did not chuse to be troubled with. Sincerity! the more I see of mankind the more I doubt thy existence. However I remitted Arcot Rs. 10,000 and he must now either fulfill or forfeit his word to you.

The exchange is lowered to $\frac{2}{3}$ for Company's Servants, and $\frac{2}{1}$ for the Gentlemen out of the service; and, even at that rate, no bills procurable. I beg of you to write me fully about remitting your money as I am certain you will get if any but trifling remittances in diamonds. I send you a copy of my letter to Mr. Bouchier that you may see my earnest desire to give you satisfaction.

The papers I enclosed you you will make Mr. Spencer acquainted with. The letter for him is to that purpose. Extracts of what I wrote my Father goes for your perusal and Mr. Spencer's. I am now going back to Maulda for the adjustment of my private affairs and shall return the 15th of next month. I have been appointed to the Chiefship of Dacca, as appears on the minutes of Council the 20th January, and my nomination erased and omitted in the Fair Proceedings. I have been amused to this time with.....It is to take place as the sequel proves by Kelsall's appointment. In consequence of which, I addressed to the Board the enclosed, that the Court of Directors might judge of the treatment I have received and of what weight the recommendations they favor their servants with may at times prove. You see likewise I was obliged to be the trumpetter of my own merits; for, though I was honored enough by private encomiums on my attention, yet when I urged the public notice of it, I was not so much as favored with an answer. In justice to myself, therefore, I could not be silent, but claim, you perceive, that regard that should have been voluntarily paid me. As I am stinted in time, excuse me. If you can assist me with your influence in favor of Mr. Atkinson by getting him appointed to his station again at Bencoolen, or by procuring him free merchants' indentures, you will oblige, dear Beaumont, etc.

P.S.—The Bill in favour of Mr. Kingston being returned to me, I have drawn another for that £100 payable to my Sister.

Sd. R. B.

P.S.—Your may depend I will get 20 or 30,000 Rs. more to Madras in a month.

(Enclosure.)

THE HON'BLE CHAS. BOURCHIER, ESQ.

Sir,—

This gives cover to a Bill for Rs. 14,000 and agreeably to the directions from Mr. Beaumont of this season earnestly pressing that the full sum you proposed investing for him in diamonds be sent you. I hope I shall shortly

have it in my power to forward you Bills, to the further amount of Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 30,000.

CALCUTTA,

The 2nd April 1767.

LETTER No. LXII.

TO HIS FATHER.

CALCUTTA,

The 4th April, 1767.

TO WILLIAM BARWELL, ESQ.

Much Honored and Dear Sir,—

Your favors by the *Mercury* are arrived safe, and claim my particular thanks. The notice you take of your declining health gives me much concern. I flatter myself, however, my prayers will be so far granted as that I shall still be blessed with a welcome from my Parent after a few years longer absence from him. As for myself I am far from enjoying so good a state of health as heretofore, being troubled much with an overflowing of the bile, which has been greatly increased by a constant application to the desk and the vexation I have lately undergone. My temper, which is not the most moderate, is too susceptible of injuries, and so difficult do I find the task to curb it that I must confess to you my constitution suffers in the combat. I am in hopes, however, that time and experience will render me more indifferent, and enable me to laugh at the views of mankind, their fraud, their hypocrisy.

The several papers with extracts have been transmitted [and] I suppose read. In this is a supplement. The promise of Mr. Vereist and the appointment to Dacca was merely to amuse; and, as I have been fooled by vain professions, I have taken the liberty to point out in my last letter to the Board their superlative impartiality and their regard to the recommendations of the Court of Directors. You perceive likewise I have taken the liberty to trumpet forth my own merits. This I was obliged to do in justice to myself; for, however honored I may have been by private encomiums on my attention, yet when I urged and urged that publick notice might be taken of it to enhance my credit with my employers, I never was favored with an answer, but found myself trifled with in the most knavish degree. In short I do not expect to be treated with the least degree of candor, nor have my just pretensions regarded in the present system of things.

I have desired Mr. Elias Abraham, if he finds any stores proper for the Europe Market, to purchase for my account, and make the consignment



MONUMENT TO LORD CLIVE - WHITEHALL. - BY JOHN TWEED ESQ.
Photo sent by Wilmot Corfield Esq.

to you and Mr. Beaumont. Excuse my conciseness, as I am much stinted in time, and be assured I am, etc.

LETTER No. LXIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 4th April, 1767.

Dear Leicester,—

From my last you would suppose me by this time at Dacca; but so far am I from it that it is a great favor, as I am told, to be permitted to return to adjust my affairs at Maulda. In short I perceive I have been most ingeniously amused to my utter confusion and my friend Sykes' great satisfaction. You must understand that that Genius, on his return to the city last month, prevailed on Mahomed Raza Cawn to write Mr. Verelst acquainting him he heard I was to be appointed to the Chiefship of Dacca; that, as he imagined I must be embittered by the disputes relative to the timber trade, he did not suppose I should use my utmost endeavours in giving him and his officers all the trouble in my power, and that therefore he requested I might not be trusted with the charge of the Dacca factory. No publick notice is taken of this letter, as it was wrote in a private capacity to Mr. Verelst, nor should have become acquainted with it, if it had not been for Mr. Nabookissen.* You perceive by my last address to the Board, I was necessitated to trumpet forth my services to the Company, for, though Mr. V [erelst] was lavish enough in private encomiums on my attention, yet when I urged him to take public notice of it, I found him disposed to trifle with me. O! man! man! Farewell I cannot afford you a line more. I am etc.

P.S.—Kellsall appointed to Dacca. The Revenues dwindle this year: the Company's Debentures reduced 40 lacks since your departure. The investment 50 lacks, but that sum not all to be deemed profit. The invoice from Europe being about 14 lacks and the Bills drawn about 15, so there remains about 21 the remittance to China 25 lacks. This shews the statement you have in your possession just, as far as it is possible, considering how many months of '65 and the year '67 are here lumped together.

N.B.—The advantage arising appears 86 lacks, but this does not proceed from the late acquisitions entirely, as you must allow some profit on the 14 lacks from Europe, the duties etc.

LETTER No. LXIV.

TO HIS FATHER.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th September, 1767.

Honored and Dear Sir,—

I have received your letters dated the 20th and 21st December, 1766, and 16th January, and 13th February 1767.

* Maharaja Naba Krishna Deb Bahadur, founder of the Sovahazar Raj Family of Calcutta.

Was I not in a manner convinced by the instances of your paternal care that you are fully assured of the tenderness of that affection with which I have ever been animated and bound to you, (for I will not speak of what is my duty), I should without a doubt be more solicitous that you became acquainted, and believed me burdened with the concern I now feel at what you write regarding your health. The fear of losing, and the hope of retaining, what men hold dearest is the only just picture I can give you of my feelings and those I submit to your imagination. You know I love and honor you.

The hint recommended respecting my brother James' interests I have pursued, and sixteenths to the amount of half a ship may be depended on from me. The more shares I can get taken here will prove, I suppose, the more agreeable to you. In that opinion I propose to engage as many gentlemen as I can to take shares; but, as your letter on this subject reached me not to days ago, I cannot be positive how many one sixteenths will be taken beyond the half or eight sixteenths I have already said you may depend upon.

How much I deserve the reflection your fondness and anxiety to see me returned to England has drawn upon me I shall leave to you to determine. I shall not pretend, however much you may be displeased at my negligence or illfortune, to puff of my labours by declaring to you that I have filled my purse at a time it is in reality almost empty. No, I honestly confess my own acquisitions are small, and that this has chiefly arisen from a mode of thinking so extensive that I cannot confine my views to self: and indeed so contracted is that centre, that pass the bounds of it every moment of my life in despite of your precepts of discretion you inculcate and which my own knowledge of the depravity of human nature bids me be attentive to. Then why am I not, and whence springs this weakness, you possibly expect me to solve; but as I fear I cannot do it to your satisfaction, however well I may acquit myself to myself, I will say nothing on the subject. I let my brother Roger speak in my defence, and submit to be judged by you whether in not having been wanting to him I have been wanting to myself.

The present you make me of £1,000 to reimburse the loss suffered on the *Muzadavad* I receive with thankfulness and pleasure. Believe me I did not think you under any obligation to make good to me that loss. I expected indeed that you would, but not from any opinion that I had a right to place such burden on you without you yourself should be pleased to admit it, and as of this you must have been convinced from the several letters I have previously wrote. I can now only say that the consideration you have made me shews the expectations I had found to be just, and that my confidence in your kindness has been well founded.

The *Respondentia* sent on the *Success* has been received, and as the underwriters for the last six months have been at no risk, the property

having long before that risk could commence been arrived, the premium, I should suppose, is to be refunded agreeable to usage, and which on such occasions is done for the consideration of half per cent. to the underwriters. If so please to place what may be recovered to my credit.

The several papers relative to the timber affair having been already submitted to your perusal, I have no occasion to remark on the treatment I experienced from the gentlemen in power on that occasion. But what irritates me most is the gross imposition I suffered in being deprived of my right for trusting to the absolute assurances given me of my being nominated to Dacca. I neglected to claim on my own behalf the appointments to which my juniors were at that very juncture advanced. Of this I must complain, as I deem it an artifice extremely ungenerous and mean. At present I see no probability of a change in my situation, though I must confess I heartily wish it, as Calcutta is extremely expensive, and trade at present does not afford the means to support it. To engage in an illicit commerce under the sanction of a black merchant's name is not in my opinion eligible. It is a measure that cannot be revoked and when once taken must render you the slave to Power, to the attacks of which it lays every one concerned so extremely open that none will be so hardy to whisper even a thought that may grate on the ear of a Governor. If this is the end purposed by the Directors, prohibitions are certainly politick, but in ever other respect prohibitions are not only impolitick but pernicious—nay even in the above cited cases it is pernicious, for in all transactions abroad "*audi alteram partem*" is absolutely necessary that the Gentlemen in England form a just idea of them.

I enclose my address to the President and Council on a measure that has served but to fan the dying embers of discontent, with my note to the Secretary in consequence of the verbal message in answer, whether in order to suppress any thing that might tend to invalidate the general charge of disrespect or to prevent others of the servants from putting what was advanced in general terms to the test, I cannot determine for my part. You perceive I was determined not to be involved in this this general concession as it is called, but in reality not made by above one half the servants. No names however being mentioned, the whole are in a manner made guilty of what I defy the Gentlemen of the Committee to prove against 10 of those servants—I mean insolence to their superiors.

In May last when I was at the City* I found my brother under some perplexity. He had some time before been indiscreet enough to give umbrage to Mr. Sykes by too great freedom of speech, and unfortunately

* i.e. Murshidabad.

erring, as young men at times will do, Sykes seized the occasion to vent his malevolence. Poor Roger conscious of a breach of decorum in having tampered with one of his damsels, immediately apologies to Sykes for the trespass he had been guilty of, but he, instead of overlooking that in Roger he had overlooked in numberless visitors before, and being content with the apology made, he took advantage of the general terms in which that apology had been worded and most ungenerously turned it to his prejudice, using it as a means to condemn him, and to draw the most severe censure that could be passed on a conduct ever so atrocious. It instantly occurred to me the man who was mean enough to do this was through paced in every species of misrepresentation and capable of proceeding to the greatest lengths to accomplish his views. I, in consequence wrote to Sykes, which letter was signed by Roger, sent, and produced the effect which I then foresaw: the publick censure was erased, and Roger is now at a place called Jungheepore; from thence you will receive copies of the letters proper for your information and proper to insure your pardon for the transgression those recited. I shall take my leave for the present referring to my next letter the story of the times. In this I must however remark, in answer to part of your postscript to yours of the 13th February '67, that the natives are but tools in the hands of your Governor and tyrannise only when they are abetted by him or your Resident at the Durbar. My love and duty await you and my mother, and my most tender affection my brothers and sister.

I am etc.

LETTER No. LXV.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th August, 1767.

TO THE HON'BLE HARRY VERELST, ESQ., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR,
ETC., GENTLEMEN OF COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,—

A summons signed by Mr. Droz, your Secretary, directed without distinction to all the gentlemen in the Company's service below the rank of Counsellor, and accompanied by the several extracts there mentioned to be sent for their perusal, indicates a displeasure conceived at the impropriety of conduct or behaviour observed by some gentlemen (who I am ignorant) towards the Right Hon'ble the late President, the Hon'ble the Members of the Select Committee, and the four gentlemen from Madras at present members of your Council.

As the above citation seems particularly pointed, whence a concession to the Gentlemen I have just mentioned is thought necessary, I do presume

it cannot be meant to extend where no offence hath been committed. Now as I flatter myself the late the right Hon'ble President did not, and that none of you Gentlemen will except to the propriety of my deportment towards you, so I hope my attendance on the 24th will be dispensed with.

I have, etc.

(Copy.)

Dear Sir,—

The other day when I had the pleasure of your company I think you acquainted me the Government had desired you to return my address, dated the 20th ultimo, on the concession required of the several gentlemen in the service and that he assigned for reason the summons however general it might be did not nor was meant to include me and that consequently there was no occasion for my addressing the Board. If I am mistaken in reciting any of the above particulars your correcting them will be deemed a favor by yours, etc.

September 13th, 1767.

(Copy.)

Dear Barwell,—

Your man left me very busy yesterday at the Council House without getting any answer. All that the Governor told me was to return your letter to you, adding that it was unnecessary as you was not on the spot at the time the Coventry scheme took place, it could not be supposed you was concerned therein. By mistake I tore the letter for which I beg your excuse. I am, etc.

Monday Morning.

SIMON DROZ.

LETTER NO LXVI.

TO HIS FATHER.

CALCUTTA,

20th September, 1767.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER LXVII.

The 20th September, 1767.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.

My dear Leycester,—

I have received your letter of the 7th November '66, and 27th February '67. My letters of last season I flatter myself will invalidate the charge of

ungraciousness you bring against me, and convince you I would have wrote by the last ships of that season in which you left us, had I anything material to have addressed you, or had I conceived you would have deemed my silence unkind. You know, Leycester, the sincerity of my attachment: let that plead in my excuse for any little omission I may at times be guilty of, and preserve to me your friendship amidst the changes I daily observe.

Your Razgunge concerns have been all wound up this some time, so that you need be under no apprehension on their account, in consequence of the extraordinary orders per *Mercury* orders (that I suppose you now look on as a mere bugbear meant but to startle a dreaded opposition from you and your brother victims to despotism). You will find I, and I alone in Calcutta, have avoided the enforced concessions from the servants, and will perceive by my letter to Droz and his answer thereto how much it has been the aim of the present Administration here to avoid bringing to the test the injurious reflections they have on mere surmise cast upon their fellow servants. I must remark to you the concession made is general; and, as no names are mentioned, the gentlemen who have been content with a verbal assurance of their not having been included are in reality not distinguished. I am far from approving of the advantage that might be taken by any individual from his situation at the time his Lordship and the Select Committee were pleased to be offended at the Servants, remonstrance, and to swell into crimes every idle story that could in the recital be turned to their prejudice, yet I think it necessary and what every man owes to himself to demand a proof of his guilt, else he acknowledges himself to be justly condemned. With this view I addressed the Board, as is apparent from my having avoided the least hint to my situation, though Mr. Secretary is pleased to allude to it. This allusion I deem extremely ungenerous, as it makes so particular an exception to the gentlemen residing in Calcutta, and might with the greatest propriety have been avoided. But I suppose it is predetermined by the party to make some use of the concession obtained, and to support their allegations against the servants by not admitting any plea but such as may be entirely fortuitous, though they must be conscious at the same time of their incapacity to prove what they have alledged but by inference.

The directions you require about the otta were sent last year. As for the disposition you write me you had made of part, I can only say that it is judicial, and consequently approved. For the commission expected I can do nothing less than present a *carte blanche*, for should I request any cherry brandy in return, it is possible I may be unheeded. Our present Counsellors' wives look with disdain on little people like me, forgetting that pride is the bane of pride and deprives them of that very admiration they covet.

I am glad to hear of the welfare of your little family, and that you think Mrs. Leycester's health amended. I hope the next ships will give me the news of its perfect re-establishment. I shall most sincerely rejoice in such addition to your mutual happiness. I shall send Beaumont and you a joint letter of attorney, as I have some remittances to make that require his or your assistance. Beaumont will take upon himself the trouble, but, for fear of accident, I thought it prudent to join you with him. Farewell for the present. I am, etc.

LETTER No. LXVIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 31st August 1767

TO WILLIAM BARWELL, JUNIOR.

Dear Brother,—

You afforded me a most sensible pleasure by writing to me the 22nd of February last. Let me hope you will continue to indulge me, for it is the sole satisfaction I at this distance can enjoy from your affection.

The news you communicate of our Father's ill state of health I might in reason have expected from his advanced age, but my love, which speaks in my attachment to all that is his, renders me extremely uneasy. I not only dread the loss of a parent in his death, but am apprehensive of consequences that may attend the future pursuits of my dearest friends (my brothers). The notions they have formed of life and your known indolence of temper really alarm me, and would much more so had I not a preknowledge of the worth and goodness of heart you possess. This it is that in some measure calms my fears, and induces me to hope you will not suffer a listless indifference to usurp that friendly benevolence due from brother to brother. Consider, my dear friend, no society can exist without a head, and that should fate deprive us of a parent it will become your part to render that loss to those who shall be most helpless as light as possible. I here take my leave of a subject too affecting to dwell on; and, as I trust your good sense cannot but apologise for a freedom I would if less interested in your happiness have avoided, so I will not trouble you or myself by an attempt to vindicate the love the duty that has incited me to be thus explicit. Believe me at all times, dear Brother, etc.

LETTER No. LXIX.

CALCUTTA,

The 28th August, 1767.

TO MR. JOHN BARWELL.

Dear Brother,—

Your letter, dated the 22nd February, 1767 was delivered me by James. I return you my thanks for the votes of the House. They in my opinion prognosticate much evil to the Company and what good to the nation time must unravel. I do imagine all the boasted advantage that is to accrue to the Revenue of Great Britain at the expence of the Company, as it is here repeated, may in one-fourth degree come up to the least sanguine expectations that appears to be formed by the gentlemen in England. The arguments in defence of property against power as advanced in the publick papers may do very well in your clime, but I assure you they are of no weight here. They just serve to divert my spleen. I laugh to observe the distinction made by my Hon'ble Masters in the West, when at the same time, for their extraordinary conduct in the East, they alledge no other excuse to their depressed and their injured servants than this—the power, gentlemen, is with us and we will have it so. Thus imperious to their inferiors they denounce, obey, or starve! Should the power then, that is by far more superior to them than they comparatively are to their own servants, adopt their maxims, with what propriety could they object to such justice? The laws they themselves have made let them be judged by, and the nation shall condemn them from the words of their own mouths. They have declared they rule by the measure of their own wills, regardless of the rights and privileges that have so long been enjoyed by their servants, for some they deny and others they revoke as too great indulgence. With what propriety the Parliament may act towards the Company as the Directors act towards their servants, I leave to your discussion, and with it a subject that but reminds me of the thralldom I am under a necessity of struggling with.

The vessell on which I let the Respondentia is arrived safe, and the money received by my attorney at Bencoolen. As I had no risk for the further term of one-half year added to the first of one year, I do suppose that it is to be repaid me.

As every clime will admit of some degree of happiness, I believe I enjoy as much in this as a person of the least sentiment of feeling can possibly do. As for health or fortune—neither are to my wishes. They are both, but the latter particularly, of a very consumptive habit. However whilst I take care of each and continue to keep matrimony at my arms length, I shall not doubt of doing well. You will perhaps remark the flesh

is weak and cannot be depended on. Reason also is powerfull and may be depended upon. Our Brother Will, I am sorry to find, continues in his infatuation. I wish that he would exert himself and that you would instigate him to the exertion. The polluted fetters he is bound in reflects highly on his good sense, and the best method in my judgment to break them is to engage him in his favorite diversions. Let him indulge, but let it be with vanity. See what that may effect. I write him by this conveyance. How he will think of my letter I do not know I hope for the best. I am, etc.

LETTER No. LXX.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th September, 1767.

TO MISS FRANCES BARWELL.

Dear Sister,—

Your very pleasing and most affectionate letter of the 20th of last January was welcomed a few days ago. I am rejoiced fortune has favored me so much as to bring me the agreeable news of your recovery as soon as I had the mortification to learn that you had been indisposed. Otherwise I might have severely felt the anxiety of a brother whose constant wish is your happiness and welfare.

The little Sophia, though a stranger to the person of me her brother, must not be so to my name. You, her little nurse, I trust will teach her to lisp it to know she has such a brother who will ever be the general yet warm friend of his dear relations, and as such deems it an essential to his happiness both to cherish and protect her. I need not urge that equal affection to you who are now a competent judge of that extensive regard so necessary to be taught in all families, and which is the only means to perpetuate the harmony that alone renders indissoluble that connection which should bind every branch of the same family. I shall take the liberty to present you with a piece of muslin by the Chief Mate to the *Lord Holland*, Mr. Carr. The muslin lace my mother writes for, having been given away by me, my want of foresight can be no ways apologised for than by your acceptance of this muslin. Adieu.

I am, etc.

LETTER No. LXXI.

TO HIS UNCLE, RICHARD BARWELL.

[No date.]

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. LXXII.

CALCUTTA,

The 15th August, 1767.

TO THOMAS RAITTE, ESQ.

Sir,—

I am favored by yours of the 13th October '66 your omitting to send me a copy of the decree obtained by the sufferers at the capture of Calcutta in '56 and indeed all the Gentlemen concerned in that restitution. Being guilty of a like omission, I have it not in my power to write you anything agreeable on that subject. A copy of the Register to our Mayor's Court, his answer to my enquiries I have thought proper to enclose for your satisfaction. If any orders have been transmitted relative to the payment of this restitution so long withheld by the Company, it has not as has been promulgated, and indeed I apprehend nothing but the decree of Chancery will enforce its payment.

I shall always reap a pleasure in the execution of the commands of any gentleman connected with my friend, Mr. Beaumont, and shall esteem it a happiness to be one in the circle of his acquaintance. As such I flatter myself you will in future treat me, and rest assured I shall be interested in the performance of what you may please to enjoin.

I am, etc.

(Enclosure.)

Sir,—

I received yours telling me that a decree hath been obtained in the Hon'ble the High Court of Chancery in England by the sufferers at the capture of Calcutta in 1756 against the Hon'ble Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies for payment of the restitution money received by their agents and detained in their treasury at Fort William in Bengal, and desiring to know if such decree had been transmitted to me or to the Hon'ble the Mayor's Court at Calcutta at Fort William aforesaid, and send this to acquaint you that no such hath been transmitted to me or to the Hon'ble the Mayor's Court; and am, etc.,

(Sd) JOHN HOLME

CALCUTTA,

The 15th August, 1767.

LETTER No. LXXIII.

CALCUTTA,

[No date.]

TO MRS. CHAMPION.

Dear Madam,—

Your letter of the 21st December '66 I received from the hand of Mrs. Mapletoft. The news therein communicated of your worse state of health proves a very great affliction to me. No wonder of this when you reflect my esteem is formed on your perfections and the many amiable qualities I know you to possess. As the admirer of these, without any other bias, I must be anxious for your safety, and proffer up my prayers to restore you to health, and happiness, and to your friends, if this be the just tribute to perfection. Without any particular personal attachment, it is easy to conceive how I must be affected, and how much more solicitous I must be for your recovery than the generality of those who rank themselves your friends.

As Colonel Champion is gone for Europe, and I believe with a full intention of returning to Bengall, it is a doubt with me whether, in spite of your ill health, you will not chuse to accompany him. Till I am ascertained of this, it will be needless to write, as there is so great an uncertainty of letters ever reaching you in England, and in the expectation of paying my personal respects to you here, I defer my request of an explanation of the paragraph at the conclusion of your friendly epistle. However at a loss I may be for the one exception you make, the little box you favored me with by Miss Keene I have long since acknowledged, and have carefully preserved. The other present I requested, if not too great a favor, I hope you will indulge me with.

The news of India (as far as it affects your friends as it is alone interesting) I shall comprise in what relates to them. Mrs. Mapletoft enjoys her old flow of spirits and enhances through her own sprightliness the amiableness of her family. Miss Irwin I have heard great encomiums on, and which, if just, I think the little beauty and accomplishments she possesses far exceeded by the excellence of her disposition. But this lady is not known to me, therefore the character I have here given you of her is from the mouths of others; but, as I have no reason to conceive them partial, you may, if you please, rely on the picture. Skinner, who has been all along the selected man (with the town), seems very indifferent, and suffers much in the opinion of those gentlemen who chuse to judge for others never for themselves. However he is likely to have the character of insensible fixed on him, and irrevocably, if he does not soon declare himself her admirer, and commence

his addresses with all the stupidity of form. I shall say nothing on Indian courtship or the captivating charms of an Indian's person. Men are said to be men all over the world without any exception having as yet been made that I know of, nor will I be so bold in opposition to this general opinion to broach the crude notions I may have formed on a residence of 10 years in this hot country, but really I think I find a very great alteration in myself. I begin at least to think every day the state of bachelor more and more eligible. If you can tell me whence this proceeds, your penetration will much oblige me, for I have no distaste to matrimony, yet do not find myself inclined to marry. From what I have wrote you may judge your old acquaintance in tolerable health. Please to present my compliments to the Colonel and be assured I remain, dear Madam, etc.,

P.S.—Mr. Charlton has disappointed me of the phillagree egg I commissioned him to get made for your ladyship.

LETTER No. LXXIV.

CALCUTTA,

[No date.]

TO GEORGE GRAY, ESQ.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. LXXV.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th September 1767.

TO JAMES BARTON, ESQ.

Dear James,—

It is so long a time since I had the pleasure to receive a line from you that I almost despair of again reaping that satisfaction. I cannot, however, attribute this seeming unfriendly silence to a want of attachment. It would be condemning you on a single instance that may be well accounted for other ways. Therefore, without calling in question your regards, I presume I may take notice of that degree of indolence of which William and I at times complain to each other. We call you lazy chap, a man of pleasure, country squire, and a thousand such names. Inconsistent as those may be, they serve to absorb our spleen, for, after railing in this manner, at a proper period we are in perfect charity with you again.

William and I have lived in perfect harmony ever since your departure, and I hope we shall for ever be happy in each others esteem. I do not know whether he has acquainted you with the kind offices rendered us by Sykes, who I believe stiles himself your friend. If he has not, it will here suffice to say that the loss of our stations at Malda was solely owing to the all grasping avaricious disposition of that very same Sykes.

The many instances of overbearing power, conspicuous in the late transactions here, I dare affirm has claimed your notice. At least they have made noise sufficient to demand the attention of every one who has connections in the East, and to claim their apprehensions for the prosperity of their friends. Such times, such manners, such principles, dear James, could you be a witness to, would fill you with astonishment. The utmost depravity of the human heart to the observing eye appears in a thousand circumstances. In short, the whole Machivalian system stands confessed to publick view, and I may say in colors the most infamous, for the absurdities and blunders of our eastern politicians serve just to display the villany of that system in the most striking hatefull manner possible. If you see Leycester you may inform yourself of particulars.

I send you enclosed copy of the decree against Mamoo Catoon, executrix and wife to the late Petruce Wiscan. As she is possessed of money herself, she must account by what right she holds it; if in her husband's that property must make good your demand, and in my opinion she can hold it in no other.

Remember me to your family and be assured I rest, dear James, etc.

LETTER No. LXXVI.

CALCUTTA,
[No date.]

TO THE REVEREND MR. WILLIAM HIRST.

Dear Hirst,—

Your letters the 1st dated the 24th March, 1766, the last dated the 28th February '67, reached me within six weeks of each other. The box mentioned to accompany the former under care of Mr. Bevans is safe arrived and merits all can say to the credit of your attention and which in my opinion is so great an obligation upon me, and so pleased am I with the friendly regard you have shewn me, that prompted by inclination, I resolve to claim the exertion of it in future. A Bill for £30 is enclosed to that end. As a remembrance you will receive from Mr. Carr, Chief Mate of the *Lord Holland*, a little bottle which you may christen the rose of fellowship.

As I should be very much mortified to receive thanks, especially from a man I esteem, when I thought it in justice not due to me, I cannot pass over unnoticed how far I have had it in my power to express the regard with which I shall always receive your recommendations. My inability to promote the views of Messrs. Thomson and Bevens gives me real pain; but, as I am certain you never purposed their advancement by me, when I cannot consistently prove instrumental thereto, I with the less compunction acknowledge their views incompatible with the commerce I am engaged in; but, if the little interest I at any time shall possess, can be made conducive to their interests, you may be assured it shall be exerted to their benefit. Thus then a dinner and handsome words is all I have as yet been able to afford them.

I am glad to observe you continue happy in your connections with Mr. Van [sittart], whose worth we in these parts so unanimously proclaim. Believe me your good sense would have been greatly decry'd had the value you justly place on his friendship been less. As it is I honor your discernment in the degree adequate to the merit of the character you extoll, and which I must admire in spite of turbulent faction, party rage, or the violent efforts of interested and rapacious men. The remark you favor me with on the last chapter of Luke¹ does very little credit either to the principles or doctrine of that divine. The word of truth you say was not in him and that therefore his preaching has been naught. I say that had he been stoned for such presumption it would have been a happiness. The song of the martyr would not then be known the voice of the preacher, such is the agreeable distinction betwixt the harmony of sounds and the discord of words. There for I pray you let it be done! eradicate the seeds of discord. I wish you more happiness than it is possible to experience here or anywhere indeed in a state of dependance. My regard to Mr. Van [sittart] and Mr. Hastings, and when you see Hancock do not forget to make my acknowledgements to his lady and himself. For the present I take my leave.

I am, etc.

List of books wanted.

Dryden all his works in pocket volumes.

Otway Do

Rowe Do

Locke Do usually in three volume folio.

The India pamphlets hitherto published bound up together in parchment and the last Charter to the Company.

¹ Perhaps a reference to Luke Scrafton.

N. B.—(I except to Mr. Van's *Memorial* in 3 volumes, as I have that by me, the others are all dispersed. You must know the impossibility of keeping by one a six penny publication).

LETTER No. LXXVII.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th September, 1767.

TO MISS BARWELL.

My dear Sister,—

I am set down to acknowledge I cannot say to reply to your very kind letters of the 7th November, 1766, and 20th February, 1767.

I return you thanks for your friendly condolence; but, as no merchant is exempt from losses, it is his particular business to look forward and not to brood over a past evil. Such I deem the accident which you notice, and as such at the time it occurred, I was inwardly concerned for it. What you have heard of my Father's intention to make up to me the amount I had suffered by that misfortune is very true. He has been obliging enough to present me with £1,000 to indemnify me in part for my loss by the shipwreck of the *Muxadanad*—a consideration by which I think myself highly favored. The extract you make from my letter of the 28th November, 1765, alludes to the cash paid you by Captain Morris, and which, had he left England before, he had had an opportunity of selling the goods, would have been paid to you in the manner pointed out by me. In that letter it being a part of my instructions to Captain Morris to disclose this transaction to Mr. Barton, if the goods were not sold at the time he would leave England, otherwise not to mention it to him,—a precaution I thought necessary, as I did not know how soon a ship might have been procured him, and in that case it was absolutely requisite a proper person should be authorised to settle my accounts and pay you your dues,—a person that might be depended on and who would keep the transaction a secret from our family.

Your lottery ticket, the prelude to your sentiments on economic prudence, diverted me not a little. Not that I think the reasons urged in support of those sentiments weakened by the contract: far from it. I allow them equally forcible and just and as such I must approve. I am only struck with the frailties of our nature to which we are some times complainant, but whilst we are not so in too great a degree. The reflection consequent will be a real amusement. However I promise on my part to be as discreet as I can, and to have that amusement as seldom as possible; and then, on my arrival

in England, which may be in some years, you seem to purpose me a constant subject for reflection—a subject of which I have at present no idea, and if I remain in the same mind I shall not attempt to acquiesce. The tenderness of friendship may in my opinion be experienced without the risk of forming new connections, especially in such a family as ours. Some one of us it is necessary should extend our views, and be at liberty to promote the welfare of the whole. I do not mean by this that ourselves are to be the last considered, but that ourselves be not too much considered.

The disagreeable situation of young Atkinson, which my last letters made you acquainted with, is in no respect amended. He is still threatened by the oppressive hand of power, and, unless free merchants' indentures are procured and sent to him, it is possible he may be sent to Europe. You must know it is a standing order from the Company, that if any other servants shall quit their service at the Presidency and repair to another, that servant shall be sent to Europe. This order, while it is obsolete, has been revived with respect to Atkinson. I am sorry to remark to you that he is a very young man not conscious of his own want of importance when he is the object of offended power, and that he is by far less cautious than what the times absolutely require. That he is clever at his pen he has yet to satisfy me of, but not that he has tolerable parts which reading and application may improve. In short, my dear Sister, he is a man of a very common genius, yet sufficiently capable of plodding through life with success in the business he is engaged in (the law). You might possibly express at this your surprise, but that must arise solely from your too high opinion of the talents of his brother practitioners. Contract then your idea of their capacities and the wonder will vanish.

In consequence of what you write, I shall expect to see Miss At[ki]n[s]o[n] by the first ships of the next year, and you may be satisfied she shall be placed in a family you would wish. His sister Nancy, if Mr. Barton's sister is pleased to take a voyage to the East, may very well accompany her, and indeed the opportunity is such that I think you ought not to let it slip. For the purpose I enclose bills to the amount of 150 pounds sterling, and do intend to increase that remittance by the latter ships. Mr. Hunt, the distant relation to the At[ki]n[s]o[n]s little merits the honor of contributing to the welfare of a family he has so long neglected. However in that particular your own discretion will guide you; it is a common observation that the good that courts us ought not to be rejected.

My Father, who is conversant with the world, and whose sentiments of mankind are founded on experience, I do suppose, would not have trusted to the promises of any man in my favor could he himself have promoted my interests in England. That not being in his power, I am obliged by his

recommendation of me to Mr. Beecher, who, I am convinced, will do everything he can to assist when I apply to him. He has already expressed to me his inclination so to do. But I am convinced the times admit not the exertion of his influence on my behalf, and he too, I believe, is convinced from concurring circumstances. I wish you every happiness, and am, &c.

LETTER No. LXXVIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th September, 1767.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQ.

Dear Beaumont,—

I have received your letters of the 9th November, 1766, and 23rd February 1767, with letters to Mr. Watts of the 12th, 26th, and 28th, November and 16th December, 1766.

In reply to the thanks you are pleased to give me for the remittance made through my Father, I can assure you I feel all the satisfaction you purposed me by your approval of my endeavors; and, as actions best speak our solicitude for the interest of our friends, I could have wished to have given you a further proof by this ship of my desire of fulfilling your request. For remittances I have taken hitherto every opportunity to execute your instructions. Bencoolen speaks my success in a small degree, and Bencollen only, as you may perceive by Mr. Watts' account current to the 12th February last. My applications at every other Presidency—Bombay especially, for I relied much on Mr. Spencer—have proved fruitless. The letters from Mr. Chevalier you will find enclosed; and, as for the Dutch cash, it has been long very long full and is entirely engaged for the next year. However I am still in hopes from the French quarter, as I do suppose they are not so full of cash as they pretend. With respect to Respondentia none is sought after, nor is it a method I would adopt on your behalf, without your particular injunctions, unless an opportunity afforded by a foreign bottom with the circumstances of some English gentleman going a passenger and the goods becoming security for payment of the Respondentia note. In such case indeed I should think myself authorised, and would advise you in time to make insurance. Lest I should not have been sufficiently explicit on the subject of remitting by Respondentia, and why I did not chuse to do it by these commanders and officers of our Company's ships, I must remark that these commanders and officers leave it not in my choice, for they are so far from wanting money that there is scarce a man of them but what

has orders intent to solicit the Council here for bills. This made me think of a foreign bottom, and induced me to mention under what circumstances I should deem myself authorised to risk your property in a Respondentia bond. The French you will perceive have reduced their exchange, and altered their former terms. It is now to be in the option of their Company whether they shall pay in three months or twelve, allowance interest if they chuse to defer it the other nine months at the rate of four per cent. per annum, and all their bills made payable at Paris; so that, if the bills are negotiable at two shilling and a penny in London, you will be well off. To proceed now to the other part of your letters.

The article paid Magee was I believe on account of some insurance in which, there being a salvage, your proportion of losses amounted to Rs. 356-14 only. I recollect ordering payment of that sum and thus much of the relative circumstance. I wait for Plowman's answer respecting the 901-4 paid in by him and brought to your credit by Leycester. You will possibly find enclosed Plowman's explanation for he will probably send it me in writing. Chaund's interest bond amounting to 2,206-8 is credited for in your accounts current the 4th February, 1765, viz., February 2nd by cash received of Chand his bond given for the rice purchased of Mr. Adams. Your proportion with interest is 2,213-8-9 consequently the bond being paid, I could not deliver it to Mr. Watts with the other papers. Your Restitution dividends in the enclosed account current to the 1st interest will be found duly accounted for. A remittance has been made to Madras and to the utmost I could procure before the close of the season, I only wish diamonds to the amount my have been sent you.

What you mention respecting Graham and his letter respecting Batta, and the emoluments of the Midnapore Chiefship can proceed only from your being unacquainted with many material points. You cannot suppose he would, unless drove to it, have given up those emoluments reaped to his time. It is an absurdity you will find free men guilty of, but Watts has, as I am informed unbosomed himself to the Lord or Mr. Verelst and previous to Graham's letter. The consequence of which, as I understand, was the immediate appointment of a supervisor preacquainted with every circumstance and probably determined thereon to advance his own reputation. If this was the case, and you in Graham's situation, you possibly would have acted like him. Some letters of his on the subject go enclosed to enable you to form a just notion of his conduct.

You need be under no apprehension with respect to the threats industriously propagated by the Direction. Who will dare to execute their orders for attaching property at their will and pleasure sufficient to authorise the commission of robbery, or must they have the sanction of the law for their

proceedings? Therefore rest easy convinced, the order sent out is a mere bugbear.

The recommendations relative to remittances, etc., I shall nevertheless be attentive to. I return you many thanks for the sweetmeats by Mr. Carr, and beg you will make my lowest salam to the Bibby Browne. You will receive some things from Chand and otta from me. The Banian shirts you may as well get made in Europe, the cloth that sold for 7 now selling for Rs. 14. The corals shall be sent you by the *Elgin*.

I was going to conclude, but thought it necessary to send you for your perusal my address on an extraordinary occasion to the Board. The concession that has been made is general; and, as no names are mentioned, the gentlemen content with the verbal assurance of its not extending to them are in no respect distinguished. The advantage which some individuals have taken and pleaded in their excuse—their different situation at the time his Lordship and the Select Committee were pleased to be offended at the servants remonstrance, I by no means approve; and indeed it will little avail such as have but urged it in their defence verbally. For my part I deemed it sufficient to look upon myself as innocent, and have as publicly declared that I know not of any crime charged or proved upon me. Thus much is certainly implied by my letters, and to that I should alone have been answered, instead of adding, as the Secretary has done, a circumstance foreign to my question to his Honor, etc.

Remember me to all my friends, and be assured I am with the greatest attachment, etc.

(Enclosure.)

CHANDERNAGORE,

The 2nd July, 1767.

TO MR. JOHN PADDY AT CALCUTTA.

Sir,—

In answer to your letter of the last 30th I request you will tell Mr. Barwell that I am always very ready to comply with his demand for to remit his money at our Company's Treasury, in order to insure Bills of Exchange by the ships of this season; but he must afford no delay to send up what sum he propose himself, as several gentlemen at Calcutta have their money ready for their own remittance, and you may be sensible that who pay sooner must get the preference, because we have time to employ the money in goods for the dispatching of our ships. The condition we give this year is as follows:—

The Bills to be delivered by our first ship, which we intend to dispatch on the next month of December. When the sum is paid, then we made

three parts, for which we deliver bonds by three ships the one for the December month, the other for January, and the third for February. The exchange is 27 pence for a pound sterling, and the money payable at Paris at three months or a year by allowing one interest of four per cent. At these conditions you may send the sixty or eighty thousand rupees you mention for account of some gentlemen.

I am sincerely yours,
(Sd.) CHEVALIER

(Enclosure).

CHANDERNAGORE
The 14th August 1767.

TO RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ.

SIR,—

I wish it would be in my power to oblige your banyan about the remittance of his money to Mr. Beaumont or other gentlemen; but our business being stopped in every part of the country, and being impossible to us to provide goods till the gentlemen of the Board at Calcutta afford some redress, we can't accept money for Bills without knowing what use we may do with it. If for the time to come we are under necessity to borrow some, you may be assured I will give you notice of it.

I am etc.,
CHEVALIER.

[Here follows a statement of Barwell's account with Anselm Beaumont, amounting to Current Rupees 1,15,779-14-7.]

LETTER No. LXXIX.

CALCUTTA,
The 20th September, 1767

TO MR. THOS. SMITH.

Dear Sir,—

I have the pleasure to acknowledge myself indebted to your kindness for your letters dated the 1st January last. The intercourse of friends at so great a distance as we are situated be it ever a trivial, must in my opinion I speak from my own feelings—afford a most agreeable source of reflection. Former scenes of life rise to the mind, and a thousand little incidents each

of which contribute to heighten our satisfaction that you may conceive me to experience at this instant.

The worthiness of Joe, for he bears a very good character, must doubtless make up to him the loss of his friend Mr. Spencer, by attracting the attention and fixing the regard of some one other great man on his side of India, who may wish to promote merit, but cannot have the encouragement of it more at heart, than the late Mr. Spencer had. You must excuse this digression made in favour of a gentleman whose memory I revere.

I am obliged for the pleasure you express at the intimation you received of my prosperity and only wish I could confirm what my friend Joe wrote relative to my late situation. The idea of advantage which was then raised to my detriment you will find has been effected, and that my remove is in consequence. The great imaginary profits it was said I made attracting the notice of Mr. Sykes, Resident at the Durbar, and inspiring him with the desire of taking those to himself.

As the opposition at the election of Directors in April last in all probability lays open the whole scene of Indian policy and accounts for actions the propriety of some of which I must confess myself even now at a loss to determine upon it would be presumption to attempt there the discussion of them. Permit me then to refer you to several publications on India transactions for such information as you may wish to obtain.

My compliments to Mrs. Smith and Ned with the heartiest wishes for your and yours prosperity.

I am, etc.

[To be continued].

Christian Tombs at Bankipore and Patna.

THIRD ARTICLE.

ON communicating with the Rev. Fr. J. Chrysostom, O. C., about his collection of inscriptions from the Patna Cathedral, I was disappointed to hear that he had copied only the inscriptions belonging to members of the clergy. Had I known this, when I passed through Bankipore and Patna in 1913, I should not have spent my time in the English Cemetery near the Patna Cathedral. If anyone of the Members of our Society follows up our suggestion about the Patna and Bankipore Cemeteries, and wishes to enrich our Review with a large amount of unpublished materials, let him not forget the many inscriptions inside and outside the Patna Cathedral.

To incite him to do the needful, here is a passage about the Patna Cathedral and the Cemetery surrounding it, which we extract from the life of Dr. A. Hartmann, Bishop of Patna, by the Rev. Fr. Anthony Mary, O. C. (Calcutta, P. S. D'Rozario, 1868, pp. 293-296). I need only remark that the remains of Bishop Hartmann were removed from the Patna Cathedral to St. Joseph's Convent Chapel, Bankipore, in May 1867. It may not be known generally that the cause of the saintly Bishop's beatification is now being examined.

"Not far from the grave of the Swiss Bishop,¹ repose the remains of the Rev. Father John Mary, O. C., from Brixen, Prefect of the Thibetan Mission, who died in the year 1770, after having for 20 years worked at the conversion of the Gentiles. Brief and touching is his eulogy in the mortuary register: *Multis fatigatus laboribus, exantlatis periculis diutinis, attritus infirmitatibus, caritate fervens; cujus mortem Christiani, gentiles, et mauri deplorant.* (Tired out by many labours, and continued perils which he had undergone, worn out by sickness, burning with love; whose death Christians, Pagans, and Mussulmans bewail). Let us pass over to another tomb containing also the relics of an Apostle, Rev. Fr. Eustachius, O. C., from Cassinis. The following short praise is connected with his name: *Per annos novem indefessus laboravit, verba, exemplo, et scriptis, in erudiendis Christianis fidelibus, et pro conversione infidelium: cum ipsis laboribus praedicationis jam esset*

¹ Dr. A. Hartmann, O. C.

exhaustus, die 26 Augusti, 1778, animam Deo reddidit. (For nine years he laboured with unflagging zeal, by word, by example, and by his writings, in the instruction of the Christian community, and for the conversion of unbelievers: [293] when he was now exhausted by the very exertion of preaching, he yielded up his soul to God on the 26th August, 1778). One step further, and we are bending over the sepulchre of a third valiant champion of the Christian faith, the Rev. Fr. Joseph, from Rovato, who laboured in the mission, of which he was Prefect, during 24 years. He died on the 13th December, 1786, and the following words in the mortuary register contain a short account of his rare qualities: *In omnibus vere filius P. N. Seraphici S. Francisci, vir integerrimus in omni probitate. In qualitate Præsfecti institutus, prudentia, justitia, mansuetudine, discretionis et humilitatis laude munus exercuit. Plures infideles ad orthodoxam fidem convertit.* (In every respect truly a son of Our Seraphic Father, St. Francis, and a man most perfect and upright. Having been advanced to the post of Prefect, he discharged his duty with prudence, justice, meekness, and praiseworthy discretion and humility. He converted several unbelievers to the True Faith).

"Another saintly priest shares with Dr. Hartmann the repose of a glorious sepulchre. Dr. A. Parietti, from Milan, Superior of the Central Bengal Mission, who had come to Patna to restore his health impaired by long apostolic labours. But God had decreed to grant him that vigour which never decays; he died at Bankipore in the month of November 1864. Further on, there lie the remains of another priest, the victim of Christian charity, Rev. Fr. Augustin, O. C., who died in Gazeepore in 1860, whilst assisting the soldiers attacked by that dire Asiatic scourge, the cholera.

"Let us now quit the sacred precincts of the lofty Cathedral, to direct our steps towards a spot that offers us sweet attractions, awakens sublime thoughts, and excites feelings, varied and tender like the flowers that ought to adorn it. Here rest the heroic Virgins, spouses of Christ, who, after having abandoned parents and friends, and the smiling hills of their native Bavaria, hurried hither to promote the great work that Bishop Hartmann had commenced. Like tender flowers [295] transplanted from a temperate climate into the torrid zone, they soon faded away, and died.

"Rest in peace, noble Sisters! Well deserved is your rest after your many toils! Repose here in peace near the Father whose labours you have shared, whose burden you have alleviated. What a sweet meeting here on the day of Resurrection! What tender reciprocal congratulations then! What a delight to see the joys commencing here where hardships took their end! O! arise, glorious shepherd, with thy golden curved staff; arise above the smoking ruins of an accursed city, and wing thy way to the Pastor of Pastors,

And you, tender, pure, snowy lambs follow him in his etherial course, and sit ever happy at the feet of St. Agnes, whose virginity and martyrdom you have so nobly imitated.

"What are those numberless little hills, rising like the wavelets of a lake when the breeze ruffles its surface? They are the graves of the little pagan children whom the hand of mercy has withdrawn from infidelity. On many of them the waters of spiritual regeneration have been poured by the very hand of the saintly Bishop who now reposes so near them. He delighted to be with children and now he rests in their midst. Their guileless spirits sport at his feet with those crowns they have so easily won, as they thank him without ceasing.

"But shall we count one by one all the graves that rise here? How different the nations whence they originated? Here lies a Chinese convert near a Hebrew who has confessed the name of Christ; there a soldier from the Green Island next to a negro from Mozambique; further on, a German adventurer at the side of a French Chevalier. Portuguese, Indo-Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, Native Christians, they all rest here. What a diversity in their names! Roch, Lanlais, Frenai, Lebon, Lefevre, Durosier, Carville, Toussaint le Corse, Philippier, Penon, Boilard, le Vacher, l'Epinette, Breton, Echer, Riffer, Balth, Robinson, McGiver, di Colpi, d'Almeida, de Camera, de Souza, de Sylva, de Braganza, de Rozario, de Cruz, de Mello, Diez, Pinhero, etc., etc. On the last day the Patna Cemetery will present, on a small [296] scale the solemn scene of which the whole world shall be the theatre; for what is the world but an immense necropolis?"

Father Chrysostom kindly gave me a copy of those of his inscriptions which refer to Bengal. The following two are from the *old Patna Cathedral*:—

1. DR. ALBINUS PARIETTI / Mediolanensis Diocesis Presbyter / C. Bengalen. Miss. Superior / XLV annos natus / Plurimis Annis periculoso morbo / Patientissime tolerato / In ista Missione solamen petiit / Et in Domino generose vitam finivit / Pridie Kal. Decembris A. D. 1864. / Dolentes Amici D. D. D. / R. I. P. /

2. Hic Quiescit / Revdus. AUGUSTINUS A STO. STEPHANO / Siculus Ord.: Capuc.:um. / Missionarius Apos.:cus. / Qui Cholera morbo infectis / Assistens ejusdem victima / Obiit Aprilis 1860 / Aetatis 33. /

Two other inscriptions are from the *Bankipore Catholic Church*. They are both commemorating Dr. Hartmann. The former lies over his tomb; the latter is inscribed on a tablet.

1. Exuviae hic jacent / Illmi. et Revmi. D. D. A. HARTMANN, O. C. / Derbensis Episcopi / Et Vicarii Apostolici Patnensis / Qui Coorjee cessit e vita / VIII Kalas Aprilis MDCCCLXVI. / In thee who art God the Father's Son / Safe he who lies beneath this stone. /

2. To the Memory of the late / Right Rev. DR. HARTMANN / Bishop of Derbe Vier: Apse: of Patna / Count of the Sacred Roman Empire and / Prelate Asst. to the Pontifical Throne / His Successor Dr. P. Tosi, O. C., Bishop of / Rodhiopoli and His Clergy with the aid of / A. Almeida, Esq., an admirer of the Deceased / Erected this Tablet. / The Capuchins, the Mission of Patna, / The Roman Catholic body at large / Lament and will long remember / The Venerable Cenobite, the zealous Pastor, / The Bombay Canon Laws' Vindicator, / The defender of the Sacredness of Marriage. / May he still Bless from Heaven / His Friend, institutes and flock. / He was born at Lucerna in Switzerland / On the 26th of February 1803 / Consecrated Bishop on the 5th November 1846 / Departed from this life on the 24th April 1866. /

The Bishop's death is thus recorded in the Patna Burial Register, now in the Allahabad Cathedral Archives.

Anno Domini 1866, Die 24 Aprilis, Illms: et Revmus. Dominus Anastasius Hartmann, de Lucerna Cappuccinus, Episcopus Derbensis, et Vicarius Apostolicus hujus Patnae Missionis, Assistens solio Pontificio, Comes Romanus, Ex-Procurator Missionum Ordinis S. Francisci Cappuccinorum, 63 annorum aetatis in Domo Episcopali (vulgo Coorjee) plenus meritis in communione S. Matris Ecclesiae, animam Deo reddidit. Cujus corpus die 26 hujus sepultus est in Ecclesia Patnae prope Altare Majus. Adm. Rev. P. ri Antonio Maria confessus, die 24 hujus, Sanctissimoque Viatico refectus, et Sacri Olei unctione eadem die roboratus Infirmitas¹ Colica decessit. Requiescat in Pace.

(Sd.) FR. VINCENTIUS CAPPUCINUS.

Our next inscription comes from *Coorjee*, near Bankipur.

BRODER SILVESTER, O. C., / Died / Sept. 14th, 1892. / Age 37 years / R. I. P. /

Four other inscriptions to Capuchin Priests sent us by Fr. Chrysostom, O. C., are to be seen in the *Catholic Church at Bhagalpore*.

1. In pious Memory of / the / Reverend FATHER / JOHN BAPTIST / of the Isle of Gilio, Capuchin / of the Roman Province. / He was a Zealous Priest / And warm friend. / Died at Bhagalpore the 1st July 1849. / Aged 38 Years. /

2. In Memory / of / Reverend FATHER DAVID / of Cesena / Capuchin / Who died August 29th, 1851. / Aged 32 Years. /

3. Sacred / To the Memory of / Rev. FR. RAPHAEL, O. C., / of Geisenhausen in Bavaria, / Who died at / Jamalpore / on the 15th Aug: 1866 / Aged 45 Years. / R. I. P. /

¹ Infirmitate (?)

4. Sacred / to the / Memory of / The Very Revd. FATHER VINCENT,
O. C., / Roman Catholic Chaplain / of Bhagalpore and Jamalpore. / He was
born in Sicily at / "Petraglia Sottana" on the / 25th September 1826, ordained
Priest / on the 6th October 1850 and died / at Jamalpore on the 10th
December 1879. / An exemplary Pastor & Father / To the poor, a true
and sincere Friend, / Much loved, Respected and esteemed by all / Who
knew him. He departed this life / Deeply regretted by his Congregation /
And by a numerous circle of friends. / May His Soul rest in Peace. /
This Tablet is erected as a last tribute / of affection by his sorrowing
Children. /

Our President, the Ven'ble the Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, remarks in
Bengal : Past & Present, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 35, that I did not mention the
monument to the officers who perished in the Patna Massacre of 1763.
The reason is that the monument is not in the Cemeteries I visited. The
inscriptions which our President quotes from the *Bengal Obituary* are
probably in what I called the English Cemetery, Patna, and from which
I took *all* the inscriptions up to 1800. In future, when inscriptions are
published, it will be necessary to insist that their provenance be indicated
more precisely than has been done hitherto in our obituaries. E. A. H.
Blunt has set a good example in his *List of Inscriptions on Christian
Tombs in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1911.

H. HOSTEN, S.J.

The Calcutta Town Hall.

OF the very few century-old buildings which still stand in Calcutta, Town Hall is one. The following are some of the details of its early history which can be gleaned from records.

The British inhabitants of Calcutta resolved in their two meetings, held respectively in 1793 and 1804, to erect marble statues of the Marquises Cornwallis and Wellesley in some conspicuous part of the Town of Calcutta.

The statue of the former nobleman was received from England some time before the meeting of 1804 but it was not erected in consequence of there being no suitable building for the purpose; it being considered unsafe to place marble statues in open air in a climate like that of Bengal. Accordingly the Committee appointed to carry out the Resolution of 1804 suggested to Government, in the following year, the expediency of constructing a Town Hall, for the reception of the statues, out of funds to be raised by means of public lotteries. The above suggestion was approved by Government, and the Committee were requested to carry it into execution in communication with certain Officers of Government.

The lotteries* were accordingly instituted, and sufficient funds for a commencement having accumulated in 1806, plans and estimates for the Town Hall were sanctioned in 1807, and Colonel J. Garstin, the Chief Engineer, was entrusted with the construction of it. The building was commenced on the 1st December 1807, and completed in 1813, when it was placed under the charge of a Committee of Management, called the Town Hall Committee, and one Mr. William Hastie was appointed steward under the orders of the Committee. The records in hand do not show the original cost of the building. In 1814 the erection of certain out-offices, and the improvement of the southern entrance to the hall by railing off a portion of the Esplanade in front of it, were sanctioned; the former work was completed in 1815 at an outlay of Company's Rupees 15,000, but the latter was subsequently abandoned.

Towards the beginning of 1815 apprehensions were entertained in regard to the safety of the building, owing to the great spring in the boarded floor of the second storey, caused by the beams having been placed at considerable distances from each other. A Committee of Engineers was appointed to inspect the building, who suggested a plan for remedying the

* See article on *The Town Hall Lotteries*, *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. I.

defect; but, as it involved a considerable expense, which the Government could not be expected to meet, the public were consulted as to the best mode of raising the necessary funds. Nothing, however, was done till 1818, when it was discovered that several of the pillars in the upper hall had suffered injury, in consequence of their having been built of bad materials. Accordingly the building was put in thorough repair in 1818-19,—the pillars in question were re-erected, and additional beams introduced under the boarded floor. The expense of re-erecting the pillars was borne by Colonel Garstin, according to the terms of the agreement originally entered into by him. In 1817 some additional out-offices were erected, at a cost of Rupees 3,820. In 1819 the Town Hall Committee recommended some further additions to the out-offices, but the recommendation was not complied with. The above disbursements would appear to have all been made from the Lottery Funds. The next repair was given to the Town Hall in 1824, under orders from the Military Board. There are no papers to show when subsequent repairs were made; but it is probable that, like other public buildings, the Town Hall was repaired quadrennially. In 1844 it was brought on the roll of Public Works under the charge of the Civil Architect.

FURNITURE.

In 1814 Government sanctioned an estimate amounting to Rupees 90,750, for completely furnishing the Town Hall. The glass-ware was to be purchased in England,* and chairs, etc., in this country,—on this latter account a charge of Rupees 3,056 was passed in 1814. In the following year thirty-six lustres, viz., 12 of 12 lights, 12 of 8 lights, and 12 of 6 lights each (which were brought to the order of a party who had intermediately deceased), were purchased for about Rupees 37,000; but, as fears were then entertained about the safety of the building, the purchase of the rest of the furniture was postponed. In 1817 the Town Hall Committee requested the permission of Government to complete the furnishing of the hall; but were informed, in reply, that the state of the Lottery Fund at the time did not admit of a compliance. In consequence of the above, Mr. Hastie, the steward, furnished the hall at his own expense, in order to render it suitable for the public entertainments, etc., in which he was allowed the exclusive privilege of supplying provisions and other requisites.

The whole of Mr. Hastie's property having been removed from the Hall after his death in 1819, the Committee again urged upon Government the necessity for completing the furniture at the public expense; but as the extensive works then in progress for improving the town of Calcutta required the whole of the funds derived from the Town Hall Lotteries, as well as from those established for the purpose of making such improvements,

* This plan was subsequently given up.

Government was unable to sanction the expense. In October 1823, thirty more lustres were purchased for the Marble Hall for the sum of Rupees 9,000. With the exception of the sixty-six lustres and chairs abovementioned, the furniture has been successively kept up by the stewards.

PUBLIC PROPERTY.

In 1849 the following furniture were in the Hall belonging to the public, and to Mr. J. Spence, the then Steward:—

List of Articles in the Town Hall received from Mr. Prewitt, belonging to the Government.

Upstairs.

12—12 Light lustres.

12— 8 ditto

12— 4 ditto

Below.

12— 6 Light lustres.

12— 5 ditto.*

Pictures.

Lord Lake.

General Hewitt.

Sir Charles Metcalfe.

A marble bust of the Duke of Wellington.

Lottery platform, complete.

Punkah and table, complete.

Two commodes.

Two chamber stands.

Fifty arm chairs.

In the Godown.†

Sundry boxes belonging to the Lottery Committee. A paper almirah in the Lottery Committee's Room. Pictures since placed in the Town Hall—

Of Her Majesty Queen Victoria,

His Royal Highness Prince Albert.

Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore.

Statement showing the value, etc., of Furniture in the Town Hall, belonging to Mr. J. Spence.

	Rs.	As.	P.
Amount value of furniture purchased between the			
1st November, 1836 and 30th April, 1838	29,602	0	2

* There were six other lustres of this description which are not accounted for.

					Rs.	A.	P.
Amount value of furniture purchased in May	...				426	11	0
" " " " June	...				308	13	0
" " " " July	...				213	9	9
" " " " August	...				41	0	0
" " " " September	...				13	0	0
" " " " October	...				14	8	0
" " " " January 1838	...				36	8	0
" " " " February	...				128	6	0
Total	...				30,784	7	11
Amount value of twenty-nine packages of glass-ware imported from England for the use of the Town Hall	...				3,200	8	0
" value of twenty-five packages of crockery-ware imported from England for the use of the Town Hall	...				5,000	0	0
" value of a set of dining tables, from Messrs. Shearwood and Company, for the use of the Town Hall	...				1,500	0	0
" 1 set of plated-ware from Messrs. Tulloh and Company, (14 in number)	...				1,050	0	0
" 1 set of plated-ware from Messrs. Tulloh and Company (14 in number)	...				1,050	0	0
" 1 set of plated-ware from Messrs. Tulloh and Company (18 in number)	...				1,050	0	0
" 1 mahogany circular table	...				165	0	0
" 2 venison dish covers	...				100	0	0
" 8 casks containing earthen-ware	...				1,350	0	0
" table ornaments	...				80	0	0
" 300 single and 100 arm cane-bottom chairs	...				1,222	13	0
" 4 plaster-of-Paris figures	...				60	0	0
" 20 couches, each value Rupees 75	...				1,500	0	0
" 8 plated dishes from C. Hogg	...				1,000	0	0
" plated-ware and glass	...				1,602	0	0
" canopy of throne	...				1,000	0	0
" Invoice ex-Tudor	...				2,550	8	3
" a plate glass (not yet arrived from England)	...						
£90, calculating Exchange and charges	...				1,000	0	0
Total	...				54,215	5	2

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

As already stated, the Town Hall was originally placed under a Committee. This Committee consisted of three Members, *viz.*, Major A. Hennessy, Mr. A. Trotter, and Lieutenant J. S. Brownrigg, with Mr. C. Seymour as their Secretary. They were entrusted with the general superintendence and care of the building, and empowered to allow the public the use of it under certain rules approved of by Government; but, in every case requiring expenditure of public money, they were to obtain the previous sanction of Government. On the 2nd May, 1815, the Committee were directed to forward all bills for contingent charges incurred by them for the care of the Hall to the Civil Auditor, with a view to that Officer obtaining the sanction of Government to them, along with other contingent charges of the Department.

In October 1817, Major-General John Sullivan Wood was appointed to be President, and Mr. C. Trower, Captain Montague, and Mr. A. J. Macan to be additional Members of the Committee; who were authorized to decide all questions in regard to the Hall, excepting those of more than ordinary importance. This Committee was dissolved in 1824, and their duties transferred to the Committee for the improvement of the City of Calcutta, better known as the Lottery Committee.

The Government Lotteries having been abolished in 1843, and the Lottery Committee consequently dissolved, they were permitted to make over charge of the records connected with the Town Hall to the Collector of Calcutta, and the Sub-Treasurer was directed to pay the steward's salary (which was the only monthly charge on account of the building), debiting the same to the Lottery Fund until that fund shall have been exhausted.

From this period the building was under the sole charge of the steward till 1844, when it was placed under the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta.

ESTABLISHMENT.

The Establishment originally sanctioned by Government for the care of the Town Hall was as follows:—

	Per mensem.
	Rs.
Mr. William Hastie, Steward	250
1 Tindall	5
4 Khalassies, at Rs. 4-8	18
1 Bheestee	5
2 Durwans, at Rs. 5	10
2 Mehters, at Rs. 4	8
1 Bricklayer Mistry	5
2 Peons for the Committee's Office, at Rs. 5	10
TOTAL	311

To the above was added a writer on Rupees 30 per month in January 1814, for the purpose of arranging the records of the Committee's office.

After the edifice was made over to the Lottery Committee, the Establishment stood thus in 1829:—

	Per mensem.
	Rs.
1 Steward	250
1 Tindall	5
4 Khalassies	18
1 Bheestee	5
2 Durwans	10
2 Sweepers or Mehters	8
1 Bricklayer	5
Addition salary to Mr. Fordyce, Clerk of the Lottery Committee	20
1 Writer	30
1 Sircar	10
2 Peons	10
Total	371

It does not appear when the sircar at Rupees 10 per month was permanently added to the Establishment; but that, in 1815, the entertainment of one sircar and of three or four lascars was temporarily sanctioned for looking to the erection of certain out-officers then in progress. In 1829 the services of the writer, sircar, and two peons were dispensed with, and the salary of the steward was reduced from Rupees 250 to 150. The allowance of Rupees 20 per month to the clerk of the Lottery Committee probably ceased with the dissolution of that body, but the records do not show when this reduction was made, or when Government ceased to pay for the Establishment of servants, as would appear to have been the case from a statement furnished in 1846 by Mr. J. Spence,* the then steward.

The allowance of Rupees 150 per month continued to be drawn by Mr. Spence till March 1844; when, on his proceeding to England, he was permitted to make over charge of the hall to his partner, in the firm of Spence and Company, Mr. G. R. Elcock on condition of his drawing no pay for the office. On Mr. Spence's return from England in 1846, he resumed the office of steward and applied for the salary formerly attached to it, but his application was negated in consideration of the profits derived by him from the privilege of supplying provisions, etc., to parties held at the hall, and of his having once resigned that salary.

* Founder of the well-known Spence Hotel of Calcutta.

The following was the Establishment entertained by Mr. Spence in 1849:—

				Per mensem.		
				Rs.	A.	P.
4	Khalassies, at Rs. 7-2	...	...	28	8	0
4	Bearers, at Rs. 6-4	...	...	25	0	0
1	Mehter	...	...	5	0	0
1	Bheestee	...	...	6	0	0
	Choonawallah	...	...	6	8	0
	Carpenter Mistry	...	...	10	0	0
	Mally	...	...	4	0	0
2	Coolies	...	...	10	0	0
2	Peons	...	...	14	0	0
1	Butler	...	...	14	0	0
1	Khidmutgar	...	...	7	0	0
Total				130	0	0

USES OF THE TOWN HALL.

The following rules were passed in 1814 for the admission of the public into the Town Hall:—

FIRST.—The Marble Hall shall be open for the reception of all visitors desirous of seeing the Statues every day (excepting Sundays and days on which the building may be preparing for public purposes) from 8 A.M. to 4 P.M.

SECOND.—Merchants or other individuals, desirous of having the use of a separate room for transaction of business, may be accommodated with the occasional use of the southern rooms on the same floor, on application to Mr. Hastie at the Town Hall.

THIRD.—In all such cases priority of application is to have the preference, should there be more than one meeting proposed to be held on the same day.

FOURTH.—The upper storey of the Town Hall is not to lie open to indiscriminate access, but Mr. Hastie is authorized to allow the rooms to be viewed (under the limitations as to time specified in the first Article) on application to him for that purpose.

FIFTH.—Applications for the use of the Town Hall for the purpose of General Meetings of the inhabitants, or for considerable entertainments on great public occasions, shall be made to the Committee through the Secretary.

SIXTH.—The persons applying for such permission shall defray every expense incurred on such occasions, and shall be responsible for expenses which may be necessary for repairing the house or furniture in consequence of such meetings or entertainments.

In 1817 the Town Hall Committee were authorized to make such alterations in the above rules as might, from time to time, appear advisable.

Besides the purposes mentioned in the above Rules, the building was also used for the drawings of the Government Lotteries, the meetings of the Lottery Committee, and the accommodation of the Calcutta Society Library.

INCOME.

It was at first in contemplation to let the godowns forming the casement storey of the Town Hall to the Commercial, Military and Marine Departments of Government for the storage of articles belonging to them, but this plan seems to have never been carried into execution; and, from the uses since made of the building, no income appears to have been derived. The following is an extract from the Lottery Committee's Report, dated 26th August, 1829. "Adverting to the second query, we are not aware that the building can be made a source of income in aid of the Lottery Funds through the use at present made of it, that is, we do not think that the public can fairly be called upon to pay for the use of what may be considered to be their own property."

EXPENSES ON ASSESSMENT AND REPAIRS

The Town Hall was assessed at Sicca Rupees 300 per quarter. In 1831 the Officers of Pay and Account were directed to carry the amount to the credit of the Assessment Accounts debiting it to the Lottery Funds from which all charges on account of the Town Hall would appear to have hitherto been made. As the balance of the Lottery Fund was made over to the Council of Education for the construction of the Fever Hospital, the Sub-Treasurer on the 27th November 1849 desired to be informed how the Assessment Bills for the building were to be discharged. A balance of Rupees 99-10-6 only then remained in his hands on account of the Lottery Fund.

On this reference the Bengal Government remarked as follows:—

MINUTE BY SECRETARY J. P. GRANT*:—The Assessment Tax on the Town Hall used formerly to be paid out of the Lottery Committee Funds, of which there was a large balance. But that balance has now been made over to the Fever Hospital. The Sub-Treasurer writes to know how he is now to pay the assessment. I have had a Note made, showing who build the Town Hall, and how it has been managed, which His Honor will see under this slip.

* John Peter Grant afterwards Knighted and Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The preparation of this Note has taken some time, as the papers were not all in this Office. The result is that it seems that there is no help for it, but Government must pay the assessment and all other charges of the Town Hall out of the General Revenues. It yields no profit.

REMARKS BY THE DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF BENGAL. There seems no other alternative that I am aware of than for Government to pay the assessment.

J. H. L.*

The 28th November, 1849.

The following were the expences incurred by Government on account of the Town Hall from 1860 to 1865:—

	Repairs and im- provements.	Municipal Assess- ment.	Total.
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
1860-61	... 1,058	1,800	2,858
1861-62	... 1,613	1,800	3,413
1862-63	... 572	1,800	2,372
1863-64	... 1,202	2,400	3,602
1864-65	... 2,237	2,400	4,637
Total	6,682	10,200	16,882

On the 5th October 1865 the Government of Bengal made the following proposal to the Chairman of the Justices of the Peace for the town of Calcutta for the transfer of the Town Hall to the latter:—

"A proposal has been under the consideration of Government for raising funds for the maintenance of the Town Hall, by charging a fee of Rupees 100 for the use of the Hall for all concerts, balls, dinners, and other purposes of amusement or professional emolument, the gratuitous use of the building being restricted to cases of a purely public or charitable description. With reference to this proposal, it has occurred to the Lieutenant Governor that the charge of the Town Hall, which has hitherto been in the hands of the Commissioner of Police, might, with advantage, be made over to the Justices of the Peace for the Town of Calcutta for the use of the town; the cost of its improvement, repair, &c., being borne by the Municipal Funds, and the Justices making such arrangements as, while affording the public the free use of the Hall for all legitimate purposes, would provide an income sufficient to meet the charge. From a statement prepared by the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, of the number of concerts held in the Town Hall during the past year, that Officer has ascertained that, had the proposed fee been charged the return would have amounted to Rupees 6,800. I am to request

* Major-General Sir John Hunter Little, K.C.B.

that you will be so good as to lay this proposal before the Justices, and report, for the information of Government whether they are willing to agree to it, and if so, the specific terms on which they would suggest that the transfer should be made."

In reply Mr. R. Turnbull, then Secretary to the Justices of the Peace for the Town of Calcutta wrote thus agreeing to the transfer on certain conditions:—

"I am desired by the Chairman of the Justices to state that your letter No. 5947, dated 25th October last, respecting the transfer of the Town Hall to the Justices, was laid before the Justices at a special General Meeting held this day, and it was resolved "that the Justices, on behalf of the town, should accept the charge of the Town Hall, on condition that the proprietary right in, and charge of, the Town Hall, and all buildings, out-offices and premises attached thereto, together with any furniture or other property contained therein, not being private property, should be made over to the Justices, who should have the sole and uncontrolled management thereof."

The matter was referred to the Government of India for final sanction which was accorded on the 13th February 1866 when the Governor-General in Council agreed "to the transfer of the Town Hall, and all its appurtenances, to the Calcutta Municipality, to be held by the Justices as Trustees for the town, on condition of their keeping it in repair, and for the purposes for which it has heretofore been maintained; and on the understanding that, until other arrangements can be made, the lower floor will continue to be occupied by the High Court, on the payment of a fair rent by the Government to the Municipality."

The last Commissioner of Police of Calcutta who held charge of the Town Hall was Mr. V. H. Schalch.

References to the early history of the Calcutta Town Hall are to be found in the under-mentioned records of the Bengal Government:—

Public Consultation, 30th July 1813, No. 32.

"	"	28th January	1814, Nos. 64 to 68.
"	"	2nd August	" " 31 to 33.
"	"	9th "	" " 28 to 31.
"	"	23rd "	" " 19 to 22.
"	"	25th October	" " 21 to 22.
"	"	3rd January	" No. 58.
"	"	2nd May	" Nos. 24 to 26.
"	"	26th January	1815, No. 65.
"	"	30th September	" Nos. 26 to 28.
"	"	9th January	1818, " 56 to 57.
"	"	30th "	" " 18 to 19.

Public Consultation,	27th February	1818,	Nos. 35 to 36.
"	"	17th April	" " 28 to 29.
"	"	1st May	" " 24 to 25.
"	"	24th December	" " 38 to 39.
"	"	29th January	1819, No. 63.
"	"	5th February	" Nos. 73 to 75.
"	"	19th "	" " 9 to 10.
"	"	21st May	" " 32 to 34.
"	"	2nd June	" " 26 to 27.
"	"	19th September	1817, " 21 to 24.
General Proceedings,	17th June	1844,	Nos. 15 to 16.
"	"	29th July	" " 25 to 26.
Public Consultation,	28th January	1814,	Nos. 64 to 68.
"	"	27th May	" " 28 to 31.
"	"	13th August	1813, " 25 to 26.
"	"	2nd May	1813, " 24 to 26.
"	"	3rd October	1817, No. 3.
Judicial Proceedings,	17th July	1843,	Nos. 60 to 61.
"	"	21st August	" " 99 to 100.
General Proceedings,	29th July	1844,	" 25 to 26.
Public Consultation,	13th August	1813,	" 25 to 26.
Public Consultation,	15th September	1829,	" 44 to 45.
Public Consultation,	24th January	1814,	" 64 to 68.
General Proceedings,	11th March	1844,	" 82 to 84.
General Proceedings,	25th November	1846,	" 49 to 50.
Public Consultation,	28th January	1814,	" 64 to 68.
Public Consultation,	28th November	1817,	" 30 to 33.
"	"	January	1814, " 64 to 68.
Criminal Consultation,	1st March	1831,	Nos. 39 to 40.
"	"	3rd May	" " 39 to 40.
"	"	14th June	" No. 40.
"	"	13th September	" " 42.

An illustration of the South View of the Town Hall appeared in Volume one of *Bengal Past and Present* of 1907.

S. C. SANIAL.

The Confraternity of the Rosary, Murghibata Cathedral, Calcutta.

IN the Archives of His Grace the Archbishop of Calcutta, I find an old register which once belonged to the Confraternity or Guild of Our Lady of the Rosary, established in 1764 in the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, Murghihátá, Portuguese Church Street, Calcutta.

Some of the first pages have been damaged by white ants, but it is possible to reconstruct nearly every passage missing. The contents are mostly in Portuguese. Its chief interest and value lies in the list of Brothers, Sisters and Office-bearers of the Confraternity from the year 1764 to the year 1819.

We wish to save from further vicissitudes, by making them public, the names of the chief Catholic families of that period; but, as Portuguese, once the *lingua franca* of Bengal, is no longer understood here, we are obliged to translate.

Description of the MS.—2 foll. blank + 3-20 foll. + 2 foll. blank; foll. 7v, 8v, 9v, 13v, 14, 13v, 14, 18r, 20v are also blank: (32 cm. x 20 cm.) Foll. 3r, 18v, 19 are in English, the rest is in Portuguese.

Contents.

Fol. 3r,

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARRY [*sic*] OF ROZARIO OF CALCUTTA.

Sunday the 12th March 1797 being the Second Sunday in [Len]t the First Brick was laid of the Calcutta Roman [Catholic] Church by the Reverend Fre Joaquim de S^{ta} [Ritta], the present Vicar of this place.¹

Consecrated.

On Wednesday the 27th November 1799 about 8 O'Clock in the Morning our Church was Consecrated by Rev. Fre Francisco de Santa Maria Prior and

¹ The register was therefore begun in 1797, since this is the last year when we find Friar Joaquim as Vicar in Calcutta.

Acting Vicar of this place. After the Consecration a simple Mass was said by him, and in the Evening an Elegant illumination and Oratory¹ were performed. The next Morning a Solemn Mass was said by the said Revd. attended with Complete Musick and Salutes.²

Fol. 4r.

REQUESTS (pencoes) of the Confraternity, which must serve as a reminder to the Brothers Treasurers to have them annually fulfilled by the Very Rev. Fathers Vicars of the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, beginning from the year—[blank] to 1814, and extracted faithfully by me³ from the Registerx (Livros dos Assentos).

Establishment of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary of Calcutta, made by the Very Rev. Father [Cae]tano da Madre de Deos, Vicar Commissary and [Provis]or of the Bishopric of Mailapore, on the 25th October, 1764.⁴

The Very Rev. Fathers of the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary of Calcutta, with the Choir Master included, will receive from the (Mestre da Capella) Confraternity of the said Lady their quarterages, in Arcate Rupees ... 62 8 0

on condition that they will keep the following foundations, to wit:—

1. Our Lady's Purification, on the 2nd of February.
2. Our Lady's Annunciation, on the 25th of March.
3. Our Lady's Visitation, on the 2nd of July.
4. [The feast of] the Patriarch St. Dominic, on the 4th of August.
5. Our Lady's Assumption, on the 15th of August.
6. Our Lady's Nativity, on the 8th of September.
7. Vespers of the first Sunday of October, and the next day Solemn Mass, Sermon, Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, and Procession; at the end of the Mass, Benediction.
8. All the First Sundays of the months, Procession of Our Lady, after which High Mass (*Missa cantada*).⁵

¹ Oratorio, concert.

² On big feasts it was a Portuguese custom to have salutes of guns. Some Churches had small mortars for the purpose. The custom still survives in many parts of India and Ceylon.

³ The remainder of the register up to Fol. 45r is in the writing of Cornelius Urag, President of the Confraternity in 1814.

⁴ The date 1764 was added later in pencil.

⁵ The Masses are here distinguished as *solemn* (High Mass with Deacon and Subdeacon), *cantada* (the ordinary High Mass with one Priest), and *resada* (Low Mass).

9. All the Saturdays of the year, High Mass (*Missas cantadas*), and, during the Mass, the Litany (*Ladilha*), and, at the end of the Mass, *Salve*, after which *Mother of God* (*Mãe de Deus*).¹

Fol. 4v.

10. The Feast of the Confraternity with a Novena will be celebrated in November. In the morning, High Mass; in the evening, *Salve*, Procession within the Church; at the end, Instruction. This will be observed during the Novena; on the Saturday evening, Vespers, Procession outside the Church; the next day, Solemn Mass, Sermon, Exposition until evening, when there will be another Sermon; at the end, Procession and Benediction.²

On January 15, 1802, it was decided by the Council of the Confraternity that at the death of the Brothers the actual President and..... [*Mordama?*] there will be a small Service (*Officio pequeno*), and at the death of the Brothers the [actual?] Office-bearers, there will be a High Mass at which the Brothers will be present.

2nd November, 1804.

Decided by the Council of the Confraternity concerning the funerals of the Poor Brethren:—

For the Father who accompanies	...	[Rs.] 6 0
For the Pobres ³ and the grave-digger	...	2 0
For the bier (<i>tumba</i>)	...	1 0
For the Cross and the Candles	...	1 8
For a Mass	...	1 0
For the Sacristan (<i>Sacristão</i>)	...	1 0
For 1 Knell	...	1 0

[Total] [Rs.] 13 8

8th January, 1809.

Decided in Council to pay annually to the *Mestres*⁴ Andre Rodrigues, Dionizio de Faria and their successors as a remuneration for their trouble

Sicca Rupees ... 100

¹ There is question here of two prayers beginning with the above words.

² Lady Patroness, as she is now called. *Lit.*: great lady.

³ *Lit.*: poor men. They are the low-caste Eurasians, or Native Christians, who do the menial work at funerals, carrying the coffin and lowering it into the grave.

⁴ *Lit.*: master; whence the present *masters*. Probably there is question here of choir-masters; the word is used also in the sense of "schoolmaster," and, on the Dacca side, for "Catechist." It is possible that the Confraternity kept 2 Catechists for instructing the poorer people and children in the Catechism.

Fol. 5r.

Bequests for Masses and Services (Offices) and other Pious works, which the Benefactors left in the Confraternity Fund, and are to be complied with in accordance with their wishes, as appears from the said Registers, all which was extracted for the guidance of the Brothers Treasurers.

Number of Low Masses

to be said annually.

1st November, 1774.

	LEGACY of Agostinho de Mello	Arcaat Rupees	1,000
6	The interests to be applied yearly for 2		
16	Services at 12 Rs each, and [for 16] Low		
	[Masses], and the rest for the benefit of the		
	[Confraternity].		40

3rd February, 1782.

	LEGACY of Manuel Pereira	Arcaat Rupees	300
18	The interests to be applied for 18 Low		
	Masses at one Rupee		18

15th December, 1782.

	LEGACY of Antonio Gould	Arcaat Rupees	1,000
4	The interests to be applied for 4 Services, 1		
9	at 24 Rupees, and 3 at 12 Rupees, and the		
	rest for the benefit of the Confraternity.		60

24th July, 1789.

	LEGACY of Gracia de Rosario,	Rupees	5,000
	Rupees 200 of interest to be paid yearly to		
	her; the interest of Rupees 500 for the Poor;		
3	3 Low Masses to the intention of Maria de		
	Rosario, and the rest for the benefit of the		
	Confraternity.		

18th June, 1810.

	LEGACY of Viloria de Covito,	Rupees	300
	Carried over Rs.	7,600	181

Rupees 2 to be paid to her monthly during her lifetime; after her death, Rs. 100 to be remitted to the Confraternity of Bandid; other Rs. 100 for the benefit of this Confraternity, and other Rs. 100 will remain in the said Confraternity, the interests of which will be applied yearly for [8] Low Masses to her and her husband's intention.

14th May, 1811.

	LEGACY of Antonio da Costa	Rupees	[1,000]
	The interests to be divided yearly into 4		
	parts, viz. —		
11	1. Part for 2 service of Rupees 12 and 8		
	[Low] Masses		20
	2. Part for the Poor, Orphans and Widows.		
	3. Part for the benefit of the Confraternity.		

Fol. 5v.

Number of Low Masses
to be said annually.

8th December, 1806.

	LEGACY of <i>Francisco Maroon</i>	... Sicca Rupees	15,000
	The interests to be applied yearly as follows:—		
	3 Novenas at 60 Sicca Rupees each, viz.,		
	1 to our Lady of the Rosary, 1 to our		
60	Lady of Carmel and 1 to our Blessed Lord		
	(<i>o Senhor Santissimo</i>) ¹	180	
36	12 Small Services	144	324
	1/3 for Alma to Orphans and Widows, and		
	the rest for the benefit of the Confraternity.		

8th April, 1809.

	LEGACY of <i>Rosa Surin</i>	... Sicca Rupees	54
2	The interests to be applied yearly to 2 Low		
	Masses of one Rupee	...	2

11th December, 1812.

Decided unanimously in Council to pay to
the Very Revd. Fathers Vicars for 9
Instructions, as a reward for their labours,
which instructions had been discontinued
for want of a Preacher.

Carried over 45
Sicca Rs. 23,654 520

31st December, 1814.

Fol. 6r.

	LEGACY of <i>Yuana de Lima</i>	... Sicca Rupees	1,995
	The interests to be applied yearly as follows:		
6	one-third for 2 Services at 12 Rupees (one		
	for her intention, and one for her Parents),		
15	and 15 Low Masses	...	39
194	Total.	[Total Sicca Rupees]	25,649 559

[Fr. N. Hengesch, S. J., has added here: "Two Masses *pro defunctis* were added in 1900.
N. Hengesch, S. J. (*Vide* correspondence with the Very Rev. Fr. V. Marchal, V. G.)"

From the correspondence inserted at this place, it appears that these 2 additional Masses
pro defunctis are to be said yearly for Mrs. Barbara Ferrão Pereira. Out of the total of 194 Masses,
20 are now said yearly in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, 40 in honour of the Bl. V. M., and
134 *pro defunctis*.

Owing to the depressed condition of the finances of the Confraternity and the small number
of the clergy attached to the Cathedral, His Holiness the Pope in an audience held on January 11,
1898, commuted the Confraternity obligations for Masses and Services thus: 4 private Masses
for each first-class Solemn Mass; 3 private Masses for each second-class Mass, and 2 private
Masses for each third-class Mass. This gives us the total of 194 private Masses worked out
by Fr. N. Hengesch, S. J., in our left-hand column].

¹ i.e., to the Blessed Sacrament.

Fol. 6v.

ANNUAL ESTIMATE OF THE FUNDS OF THE CONFRATERNITY
OF OUR LADY OF THE ROSARY OF CALCUTTA.

Debit.

	Yearly sums to be received.	Total.
Interest on Sa. Rs. 40,000 @ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ %	2,400	
Rent of the Houses in Mangoe Lane No. 13, @ Rs. 105 per month	1,260	
Rent of the Houses in Sukia's Lane No. 15, @ Rs. 12 per month	144	
Rent of the Houses in Sukia's Lane No. 21, @ Rs. 6 per month	72	
Contributions from the Brothers and Sisters per year ...	100	
		3,976

Fol. 7r.

Credit.

Date in the Register.	For Monthly Alms.	Monthly. [Rs.]	Yearly.
8 Jan. 1809	Gracia Cardozo Widow	... 8	
5 Nov. 1809	Isable McFarson do.	... 10	
	Maria De Souza do. († Oct. 30, 1815)	... 10	
	Juana Leytao do.	... 8	
31 Mar. 1806	A. E. Martyr do.	... 8	
14 Dec. 1806	Jeronimo Miranda do. [sic]	... 6	
8 Jan. 1809	Marcalina Gomes do.	... 6	
25 Oct. 1809	Rosa Valentino [sic] de Couto do.	... 6	
[?]	Maria Collinha do.	... 8	
[?]	Paula Lois do.	... 6	
[?]	Saly Friend Spinster, blind	... 6	
17 Nov. 1805	Caetano Pereira Married man	... 5	
7 Aug. 1814	Maria Cardozo Widow	... 4	
	Luzia Maria De Rosario do.	... 4	
8 Jan. 1809	Maria de Silva do.	... 4	
do.	Ritta Siquira do.	... 4	
6 Oct. 1810	Cleofas Neves do.	... 4	
do.	Anna Drake do.	... 4	
8 Jan. 1809	Emengilda de Rosario do.	... 4	
8 Jan. 1809	Maria Ignacia do.	... 4	
do.	Maria Berington [Bevington?]	do.	... 4
do.	Catharina Fernandes do.	... 4	
	Sacristan and Pobre ¹	... 3	
8 Jan. 1809	Luzia de Rosario do.	... 2	
21 Dec. 1812	Luzia Williams do.	... 2	
9 Sept. 1810	Antonia De Rosario do.	... 2	
do.	Anna Soquera do.	... 2	

¹ We may suppose that the Sacristan and the Pobre, his assistant, received their monthly remuneration for their work in the Church in connection with the Confraternity.

<i>Date in the Register.</i>	<i>For Monthly Alms.</i>	<i>Monthly.</i> [Rs.]	<i>Yearly.</i>
8 Jan. 1809	Anna Guales do.	4	
5 Nov. 1809	Isabel McFasson (account of the Bandal Confraternity)	6	
[Total] Sa. Rs.		148	1,776

Fol. 8.

*The following Brothers Office-bearers were elected by the majority of votes to
celebrate the Feast of Our Lady of the Rosary of Calcutta during the
coming year 1814.*

<i>President</i>	... Brother Cornelius Urage.
<i>Treasurer</i>	... Brother Jose Pereira.
<i>Secretary</i>	... Brother Gelermo Gill.
<i>Procurator</i>	... Brother Andre Heberlet.
<i>Lady Patroness</i>	... Sister Paula Yong [sic].
<i>Brothers of the Council</i>	(Irmãos da Mesa).
	Francisco Rodrigues.
	Jose Francisco Serad.
	João Laimon.
	Charles Cornelius.
	Jose Gonsalves.
	Thomas De Monte Sinans.
	João Cardozo.
	Bernado Hart.
	Pascoal D'Silva.

*Council of Our Lady of the Rosary,
Calcutta, 23rd December, 1813.*

Fol. 9r.

*Catalogue of the Brothers and Sisters of the Confraternity of
the Most Serene Lady of the Rosary in Calcutta. Collected from
the Registers since the Establishment of this Confraternity.
By CORNELIUS URAGE, President. Anno Domini 1814.*

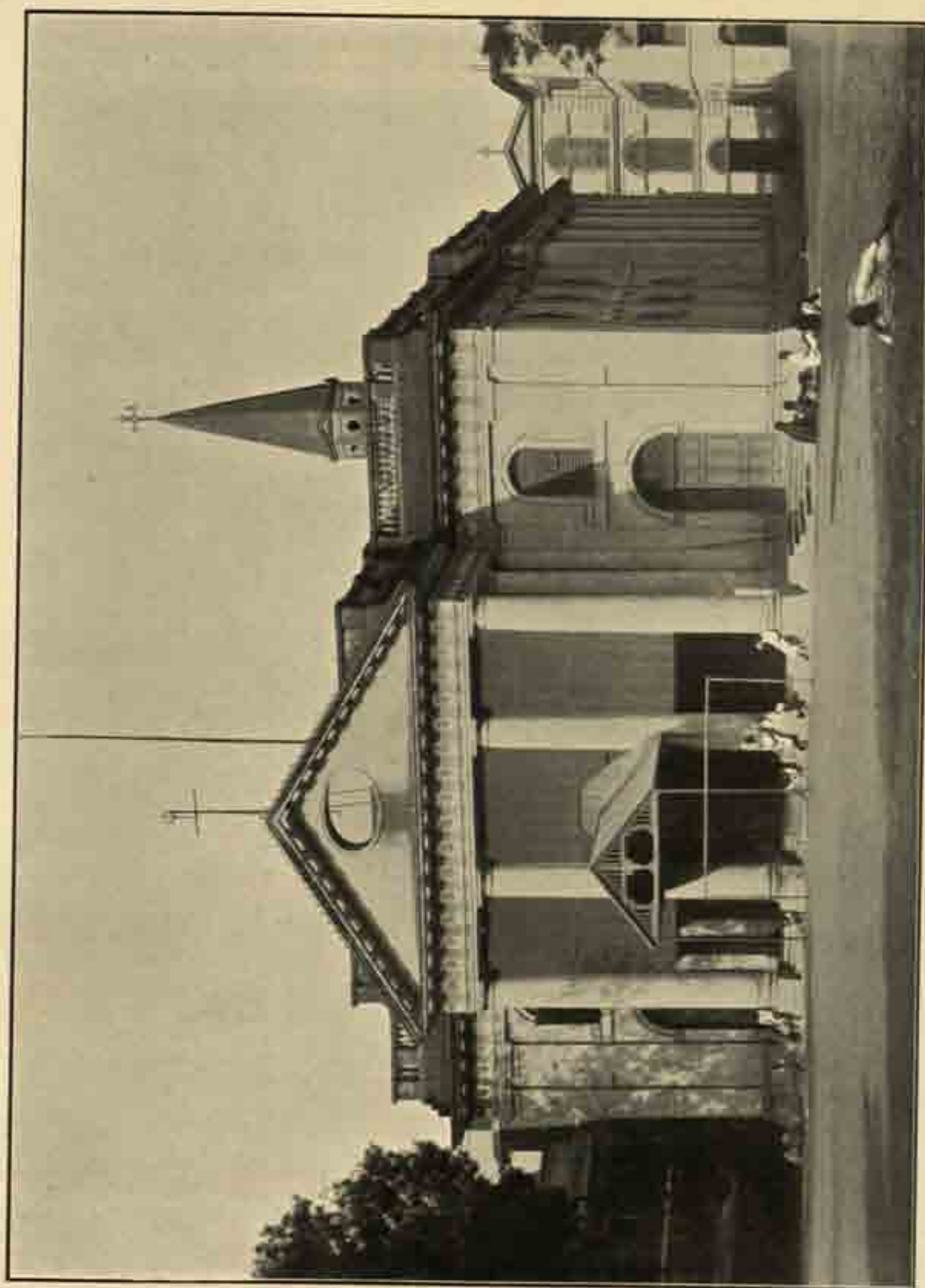
Fol.
10r.—12r.

[This catalogue runs beyond 1814, up to the end of 1815. We copy the names as they stand, even with their manifest mistakes of spelling. The spelling of many of the Portuguese names is, in fact, very corrupt. We might say the same of the Portuguese grammar of the foregoing pages.]

The list was drawn up by Cornelius Urage after the method then current in Portugal and other parts of Europe, (i.e., in the alphabetical order of the Christian names. Even so, the order of the Christian names is not purely alphabetical, but partly chronological, all the names beginning, say, with A being given according to the dates of their co-optation to membership. This process has the advantage of showing readily the membership under a given year, and for this reason we have kept it.)

BROTHERS.

1. Antonio De Couto, Jr.	... 27th November 1764	Died.
2. Assenço De Rosario.	... 22nd February 1765	do.
3. Antonio De Oliveira.	... 22nd May 1765	do.



THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL, MURCHIHATA, CALCUTTA.

Photo by Messrs Harrington and Blee.

4. Augustus Carella.	...	3rd January 1766	Died.
5. Antonio De Canto, Sr.	...	30th November 1766	do.
6. Agostinho De Oliveira.	...	26th December 1766	do.
7. Andre Pereira.	...	4th January 1767	do.
8. Antonio José De Souza.	...	4th April 1767	do.
9. Andre Moreno.	...	9th December 1777	do.
10. Agostinho Gilli.	...	10th January 1779	do.
11. [—?—] Pereira.	...	3rd December 1779	do.
12. An[toni]o Gomes.	...	11th February 1783	do.
13. Agostinho Lobo.	...	14th December 1787	do.
14. Antonio De Rozario.	...	6th March 1789	do.
15. Alberto De Malla.	...	7th December 1789	do.
16. Antonio Colapo.	...	1st December 1791	do.
17. Andre De Munte.	...	9th November 1792	do.
18. Antonio De Costa.	...	7th December 1792	do.
19. Antonio Gomes.	...	3rd December 1799	do.
20. Antonio José D'Souza Santos.	...	3rd December 1799	do.
21. Antonio Lourenço Barretto.	...	19th August 1801	do.
22. Alberto Da Cruz.	...	15th March 1802	do.
23. Antonio Vicente Pereira.	...	6th May 1802	do.
24. Alberto Mendes.	...	6th April 1803	do.
25. Andre Domingos.	...	17th November 1803	do.
26. Alexandre De Moyra.	...	13th December 1803	do.
27. Antonio Da Costa.	...	5th December 1806	do.
28. Antonio Maria Vas.	...	5th December 1806	do.
29. Antonio Caetano Lackersteen.	...	4th December 1807	do.
30. Agostinho De Silva.	...	16th December 1808	do.
31. Agostinho Gomes.	...	10th January 1809	do.
32. Andre Haberlot [sic].	...	1st April 1809	do.
33. Antonio Meneses.	...	20th September 1809	do.
34. Antonio Gonsalves.	...	8th December 1809	do.
35. Andre Rodrigues.	...	7th December 1810	do.
36. Antonio Christofor.	...	22nd December 1811	do.
37. Alexandre Rodrigues.	...	16th December 1814	do.
38. Antonio Rodrigues.	...	9th December 1813	do.
39. Bonifacio Rodrigues.	...	29th November 1764	do.
40. Bernardo Luis.	...	20th May 1780	do.
41. Bonifacio Rodrigues.	...	3rd February 1782	do.
42. Bendeito Roberto.	...	21th November 1783	do.
43. Bernardo Hart.	...	1st December 1797	do.
44. Beaventura José Gomes.	...	28th November 1800	do.
45. Bernardino De Souza Santos.	...	22nd November 1803	do.
46. Constantino Vogle [—Vogel].	...	21st December 1763	do.
47. Clemente Cardoso.	...	22nd May 1777	do.
48. Casimiro De Rozario.	...	6th March 1789	do.
49. Charles Cornelius.	...	27th September 1796	do.
50. Carlos Fernando Leal.	...	30th December 1777	do.
51. Cornelius Urge.	...	1st December 1777	do.
52. Caitano Pereira.	...	5th December 1800	do.
53. Constantino Thimotheo Martyr.	...	1st October 1802	do.

34.	Caltano Agostinho Vas.	...	2nd October	1806	
35.	Constantino Mendes.	...	22nd April	1809	Died.
36.	Constantino D'Silva.	...	13th December	1811	
37.	Candido Mannel.	...	25th March	1813	
38.	Diogo Santiago Barretto.	...	6th December	1781	do.
39.	Domingo Leitão.	...	30th May	1790	do.
40.	Domingo Gomes.	...	4th March	1792	do.
41.	Domingo Rodrick.	...	9th June	1794	do.
42.	Diogo Manuel Henriques.	...	2nd December	1794	
43.	Daniel Gomes.	...	28th November	1800	do.
44.	Domingos Jose.	...	4th December	1802	
45.	Domingos Rodrick.	...	7th December	1804	
46.	Domingo Matheus.	...	16th December	1815	
47.	Emanuel Soveral.	...	1st February	1765	do.
48.	Esteval Marcos De Alerim.	...	12th May	1771	do.
49.	Esteval De Couto.	...	9th December	1777	do.
50.	Esteval William.	...	21st November	1780	do.
51.	Francisco De Mello.	...	2nd December	1764	do.
52.	Francisco De Almeyda.	...	13th December	1765	do.
53.	Fre Luis De S. Anna.	...	2nd December	1766	do.
54.	Francisco Xavier.	...	4th December	1766	do.
55.	Francisco Pereira.	...	4th January	1766	do.
56.	Francisco Xavier Fernando.	...	2nd December	1767	do.
57.	Francisco Escanes Leal.	...	22nd April	1769	do.
58.	Florentino David D'Couzo [sic].	...	30th November	1770	do.
59.	Fre Philip De S. Theresa.	...	27th February	1774	do.
60.	Francisco Duval.	...	6th October	1775	do.
61.	Francisco Marcos.	...	1st December	1775	do.
62.	Francisco Bernardo.	...	1st December	1775	do.
63.	Fre Felix de Conceição.	...	9th December	1777	do.
64.	Fre Abraham de São Lourenço.	...	9th December	1777	do.
65.	Fre Joaquim de Madre de Deos.	...	16th January	1779	do.
66.	Francisco Thomudo.	...	18th March	1781	do.
67.	Fernando Peris.	...	6th December	1781	do.
68.	Francisco Ferraó.	...	15th December	1784	
69.	Fre Andre de S. Rosa.	...	14th December	1787	do.
70.	Francisco De Vaz.	...	16th November	1788	do.
71.	Fre Manuel da S. Joaquim.	...	7th December	1789	do.
72.	Francisco X. Dalgado.	...	29th November	1792	do.
73.	Francisco Carneiro.	...	11th October	1793	do.
74.	Fernando De Cruz.	...	17th May	1802	do.
75.	Francisco Andre.	...	10th January	1803	do.
76.	Fre F. de S. Jose.	...	12th November	1803	do.
77.	Francisco Rodrigues.	...	4th December	1807	
78.	Francisco Xavier Henriques.	...	6th December	1808	
79.	Fre F. dos Prazeres.	...	16th December	1808	do.
80.	Fre Antonio de S. Rita.	...	16th December	1808	do.
81.	Francisco Innocencia.	...	8th December	1809	
82.	Francisco Peres.	...	8th December	1809	
83.	Fre Simão de S. Agostinho.	...	9th September	1810	do.

104. Francisco Pereira.	... 24th November 1810	
105. Francisco Pereira.	... 13th December 1811	
106. Francisco Madeira.	... 30th April 1814	
107. Francisco Gonçalves.	... 4th November 1815	
108. Gabriel De Santos.	... 9th December 1785	Died.
109. George Rebelo.	... 20th October 1803	do.
110. George Andrews.	... 8th December 1808	
111. Guilherme Gill.	... 16th December 1808	
112. Guilherme D'Souza.	... 31st October 1812	
113. Henrique Pereira.	... 4th January 1797	do.
114. Henrique Cornelius.	... 5th December 1804	
115. Henrique Alexander.	... 5th December 1806	
116. Hilario Cornelius.	... 20th September 1809	
117. Ignacio De Freitas.	... 5th December 1765	do.
118. Ignacio Vaz.	... 30th November 1770	do.
119. Ilacio De Consolação.	... 6th April 1777	do.
120. Ignacio Correa.	... 20th May 1785	do.
121. Ignacio Merranda.	... 3th September 1813	do.
122. João Lovo.	... 1st December 1764	do.
123. João Simmerman.	... 3rd January 1766	do.
124. Jose Caliano Seixas.	... 14th March 1767	do.
125. Jose Gill.	... 20th June 1767	do.
126. Joseph Phillips.	... 17th January 1768	do.
127. Joseph M. Quirby.	... 13th March 1768	do.
128. Jacob Shaviet.	... 1st May 1768	
129. João F. Serrão.	... 3rd December 1768	do.
130. João Da Cruz.	... 24th March 1770	do.
131. João D'Castro.	... 30th November 1770	do.
132. Jose Malquet.	... 22nd December 1771	
133. João Da Costa.	... 31st October 1772	do.
134. João Devant.	... 31st October 1772	do.
135. James Carnes.	... 8th December 1773	do.
136. João Pinto.	... 8th December 1773	do.
137. João Ferrão.	... 28th November 1776	do.
138. João De Almeida [sic].	... 10th January 1779	do.
139. João Laimon.	... 10th December 1779	
140. Jose De Souza.	... 10th December 1776	do.
141. Jose Gill.	... 10th December 1776	do.
142. João Da Costa.	... 10th December 1776	do.
143. Jeronimo Luis.	... 25th December 1776	do.
144. João D'Souza.	... 20th May 1780	do.
145. João De Moira.	... 31st August 1780	do.
146. João De Rozario.	... 1st February 1781	do.
147. João Clinton.	... 18th March 1781	do.
148. João Cardozo.	... 6th December 1781	
149. Jose Ferrão.	... 15th December 1782	do.
150. João De Santa.	... 21st December 1782	do.
151. João Baptista Joania.	... 21st November 1783	do.
152. João De Pênia.	... 17th March 1785	do.
153. Jeronimo De Miranda.	... 27th September 1785	

154.	José Paulino Sequeira.	...	8th December 1785	Died.
155.	José Lopes Pereira	...	8th December 1786	do.
156.	Jose Philips	...	16th February 1787	do.
157.	Jemima De Malto.	...	2nd December 1787	do.
158.	José Shervellac.	...	7th December 1787	do.
159.	Jose Barretto, Jr.	...	9th December 1787	
160.	José Cornelius.	...	4th December 1789	
161.	José Sousa.	...	9th December 1789	do.
162.	José Rodrigues Viana.	...	29th November 1791	do.
163.	Jose Bernardo Dalgado.	...	29th November 1792	do.
164.	Jose Pereira.	...	7th December 1792	
165.	José Cornelius.	...	3rd October 1794	
166.	José Soares.	...	9th December 1799	do.
167.	José Rodrigues Viana.	...	29th November 1791	do.
168.	Jose Bernardo Dalgado.	...	29th November 1792	do.
169.	Jose Pereira.	...	7th December 1792	
170.	José Cornelius.	...	3rd October 1794	
171.	Jacob De Mello.	...	28th November 1794	
172.	Joaquim Jose De Quadros.	...	30th September 1798	
173.	Joaquim Jose D' S. Santos.	...	3rd December 1799	
174.	Jose Aleixo.	...	4th December 1801	do.
175.	José Rebeiro.	...	4th December 1801	
176.	Jose Rebeiro.	...	4th December 1802	do.
177.	José Gomes.	...	4th December 1802	do.
178.	Jose André.	...	4th December 1802	
179.	José De Rozario.	...	4th December 1802	
180.	José Seyer Jebb.	...	4th December 1802	
181.	Jose Joaquim De Silva.	...	10th January 1803	
182.	Jose Goncalves.	...	25th August 1804	
183.	José D' Rosario.	...	5th November 1804	
184.	José De Silva.	...	13th December 1805	
185.	Jose Leal.	...	13th December 1805	
186.	José Savage.	...	13th December 1805	
187.	José Laimon, Jr.	...	5th December 1806	
188.	José André.	...	5th December 1806	
189.	José Rodrigues.	...	25th October 1807	
190.	José Leito.	...	7th April 1808	do.
191.	José Jose Berry [Berry ?].	...	16th December 1808	do.
192.	José Fernandes.	...	20th September 1809	do.
193.	José Rodrigues.	...	13th December 1811	
194.	José D' Rozario.	...	13th December 1811	
195.	José Da Cruz.	...	1st June 1811	
196.	José Martin.	...	18th April 1812	
197.	Juliano D' Cruz.	...	11th December 1812	
198.	José Roberto Kallall.	...	11th December 1812	
199.	José Henrique Martin.	...	1st July 1815	
200.	José Antonio Rebeiro.	...	15th December 1815	
201.	Lucas D' Couta.	...	2nd December 1766	do.
202.	Luís Arnal.	...	4th December 1766	do.
203.	Luís Da Costa.	...	4th December 1766	do.

204. Lourenço Pecocho.	... 3rd December 1769	
205. Lourenço Rasmus.	... 9th December 1770	Died.
206. Luis Cardozo.	... 31st October 1772	do.
207. Luis Cardozo.	... 5th October 1776	do.
208. Lazaro De Olivera.	... 10th January 1779	do.
209. Luis Vardonsel.	... 29th September 1786	
210. Luis Barretto.	... 9th December 1797	do.
211. Lourenço Machado.	... 4th December 1802	
212. Lourenço Madeira.	... 4th December 1802	
213. Lourenço Pereira.	... 14th December 1806	
214. Luis Cornelius.	... 25th October 1807	do.
215. Luis Carvalho.	... 16th December 1808	
216. Luis De Souza.	... 18th July 1814	do.
217. Luis Antonio dos Remedios.	... 16th December 1814	do.
218. Manuel Godinho.	... 7th February 1768	do.
219. Manuel D'Silva.	... 8th December 1769	do.
220. Manuel Forestry.	... 6th October 1770	do.
221. Matheus Gill.	... 10th January 1779	do.
222. Manuel Joaquim Mascaranhas.	... 1st April 1780	do.
223. Manuel D'Rosa.	... 25th May 1780	do.
224. Manuel Pereira.	... 6th December 1781	do.
225. Mariano V. Rodrigues.	... 3rd February 1782	do.
226. Manuel S. dos Remedios.	... 8th December 1786	do.
227. Matheus Cranenburgh.	... 16th November 1788	
228. Manuel De Souza.	... 12th February 1789	
229. Mathens Pedro Dessa.	... 6th December 1793	do.
230. Mariano Marcos.	... 11th December 1795	
231. Miguel Faria Furtado.	... 27th September 1799	
232. Manuel Antonio D'Silva.	... 28th November 1800	do.
233. Mariano Salvador.	... 28th November 1800	
234. Marcos Lackenstein.	... 15th March 1802	
235. Manuel De Jesus.	... 10th December 1802	
236. Manuel Martins.	... 10th December 1802	
237. Matheus W. Mendes.	... 26th October 1803	do.
238. Manuel João Mascaranhas.	... 31st March 1806	
239. Miguel Soaris.	... 8th December 1809	do.
240. Manuel De Rosario.	... 16th May 1812	do.
241. Manuel Gomes Cardozo.	... 16th December 1814	
242. Nicolao Botelho.	... 4th December 1766	do.
243. Nicolao Kamp.	... 1st February 1768	do.
244. Nicolao Gomes.	... 29th March 1811	do.
245. Nicolao De Rosario.	... 13th December 1811	?
246. Pedro De Couto.	... 15th October 1765	do.
247. Pascoal Pessoa.	... 26th December 1766	do.
248. Pedro Ferrad.	... 14th March 1767	do.
249. Philip Leal.	... 28th November 1767	do.
250. Paulo Secions.	... 29th July 1773	do.
251. Pascoal Baptista.	... 15th December 1782	do.
252. Pedro Rodrigues.	... 1st November 1789	do.
253. Philip Santiago.	... 1st December 1791	do.

254. Pedro Daniel De Couto.	... 7th December 1792	Died.
255. Philippe De Souza.	... 3rd December 1799	
256. Pedro Pinto.	... 15th March 1802	do.
257. Paulo Da Cruz.	... 4th December 1802	do.
258. Pedro De Rosario.	... 25th August 1804	do.
259. Pascoal De Silva.	... 17th November 1805	
260. Pedro Hypher.	... 5th December 1806	
261. Pedro Fernandez.	... 16th December 1808	
262. Pedro Castello.	... 16th December 1814	
263. Romaldo Johnson.	... 29th December 1764	do.
264. [Rober]to De Oliveira.	... 6th December 1781	
265. Rafael Jose De Quadros.	... 1st December 1791	do.
266. Ricardo Jose Bello.	... 1st December 1791	do.
267. Raymundo Da Costa.	... 5th December 1800	do.
268. Roberto Doucet.	... 9th September 1810	
269. Simplicio Dos Santos.	... 1st December 1780	do.
270. Salvador Mercado.	... 4th December 1784	
271. Simão Lopes.	... 1st December 1785	do.
272. Samuel Jones.	... 31st October 1796	
273. Simplicio Victorio.	... 13th August 1797	do.
274. Santiago Andre.	... 5th December 1806	
275. Silvestre De Silva.	... 15th October 1811	
276. Simão Gomes.	... 16th December 1814	
277. Thomas Griffith.	... 17th December 1765	do.
278. Thomas Foreaty.	... 9th December 1767	do.
279. Thomas Callier.	... 27th September 1796	do.
280. Thomas York.	... 5th December 1806	do.
281. Thomas D' Monte Simas.	... 5th December 1806	
282. Timothy C. Martyr.	... 10th July 1813	
283. Valentino De Couto.	... 1st November 1765	do.
284. Xavier Mendes.	... 28th January 1815	

SISTERS.

285. Antonia Daniel.	... 29th November 1754	Died.
286. Anna Griffith.	... 2nd December 1766	do.
287. Anna Del Mora.	... 4th January 1767	do.
288. Anna Maria De Seixas.	... 14th March 1767	do.
289. Anna Cortly.	... 8th November 1767	do.
290. Anna Presentina.	... 28th November 1767	do.
291. Antonia Gould.	... 29th November 1767	do.
292. Antonia Cole.	... 3rd December 1767	do.
293. Anna Garrotte.	... 13th December 1767	do.
294. Andreza Gomes.	... 13th December 1767	do.
295. Aguida Rodrigues.	... 1st February 1768	do.
296. Anna Terranean.	... 17th November 1768	do.
297. Anna Swallow.	... 17th November 1768	do.
298. Antonia Milheira.	... 17th November 1768	do.
299. Anna Martins.	... 10th December 1768	do.
300. Anna Foreaty.	... 6th October 1770	do.
301. Anna Presentina.	... 11th December 1773	do.
302. Anna Rebelira.	... 2nd October 1774	do.

303. Anna De Monte.	... 1st December 1774	Died.
304. Antonia Martins.	... 28th November 1776	do.
305. Aguida Valente.	... 6th November 1777	do.
306. Anna De Rosario.	... 9th December 1777	do.
307. Anna Luisa De Rosario.	... 10th December 1779	do.
308. Amelia De Coneto.	... 29th December 1780	do.
309. Anna Kerseley.	... 8th December 1780	do.
310. Anna Leal.	... 9th December 1780	do.
311. Anna Soares.	... 21st December 1782	do.
312. Antonia Gomes.	... 19th November 1783	do.
313. Anna Paris.	... 10th December 1784	do.
314. Anna Sequiera.	... 9th December 1785	do.
315. Anna Blackford.	... 1st December 1786	do.
316. Apollina Garrett.	... 1st December 1786	do.
317. Antonia Xavier.	... 9th December 1787	do.
318. Anna Da Silva.	... 1st December 1788	do.
319. Anna Darlington.	... 5th March 1789	do.
320. Agostinho Soares.	... 9th December 1789	do.
321. Albina Pereira.	... 2nd December 1790	do.
322. Anna Duques.	... 29th November 1791	do.
323. Anna Vitoria.	... 1st December 1791	do.
324. Anna Maria.	... 29th November 1792	do.
325. Antonia Bobalo.	... 7th December 1792	do.
326. Antonia Willoughby.	... 6th December 1793	do.
327. Anna Lunas.	... 28th November 1794	do.
328. Anna De Rosario.	... 2nd December 1794	do.
329. Anna De Rosario.	... 11th December 1795	do.
330. Anna Drack.	... 2nd December 1796	do.
331. Anna Rebeira.	... 4th October 1798	do.
332. Anna Isabel Martins.	... 30th November 1798	do.
333. Anna Piona.	... 4th December 1798	do.
334. Angelica De Rosario.	... 23th December 1798	do.
335. Antonia Fernandes.	... 2nd October 1799	do.
336. Anna Beeryly.	... 3rd December 1799	do.
337. Anna Mendes D'Souza.	... 5th December 1800	do.
338. Anna C. Haradale.	... 5th December 1800	do.
339. Anna Maria D'Souza.	... 27th November 1801	do.
340. Anna Fernandes.	... 4th December 1801	do.
341. Anna Bryan.	... 4th December 1801	do.
342. Anna Mallena.	... 4th December 1801	do.
343. Anna dos Remedios.	... 1st October 1802	do.
344. Albina Pereira.	... 1st October 1802	do.
345. Anna De Cruz.	... 4th December 1802	do.
346. Anna De Cruz.	... 4th December 1802	do.
347. Anna Maria Sequera.	... 4th December 1802	do.
348. Andreza De Cruz.	... 10th January 1803	do.
349. Anna Wilkins.	... 16th October 1803	do.
350. Anna Pereira.	... 2nd March 1804	do.
351. Anna Argotte.	... 5th December 1804	do.
352. Anna Correa Robertson.	... 16th December 1804	do.

353.	Angelica D'Rozario.	...	17th December 1803	
354.	Aguida Da Costa.	...	5th December 1806	
355.	Anna Waldane.	...	5th December 1806	
356.	Anna Rodrigues.	...	25th October 1807	
357.	Anna Huwie.	...	4th December 1807	
358.	Anna Maria Wesp.	...	4th December 1807	Died.
359.	Antonia Costenho.	...	16th December 1808	
360.	Antonia Carvalho.	...	16th December 1808	do.
361.	Anna Gualila.	...	16th December 1808	
362.	Aurelia Suzana Mendes.	...	25th March 1810	
363.	Anna Holland.	...	5th September 1810	
364.	Anna White.	...	6th October 1810	
365.	Anna Sprenger.	...	24th November 1810	do.
366.	Aurora De Silva.	...	7th December 1810	
367.	Anna Fernandes.	...	13th December 1811	
368.	Anstansia De Silva.	...	13th December 1811	
369.	Anna Maria De M[onte] Sinaes	...	27th December 1813	
370.	Anthony Motery.	...	10th April 1813	
371.	Anna De Rozario.	...	20th November 1813	
372.	Anna Gomes.	...	17th December 1813	do.
373.	Anna Martin.	...	16th December 1814	
374.	Anna Maria Gonsalves.	...	16th February 1815	
375.	Anna Maria Silvestre.	...	28th October 1815	

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE FAMILY NAMES.

[The chief interest of the previous list is in the family names; hence, we have thought it necessary to compile an alphabetical list of the family names. We affix to each name a number which refers the reader back to the number and particulars of our first list. This new list keeps to the spelling of the first.—H. H. S. /.]

Foll.
151—17v.

138.	Abeu, João de.	251.	Baptista, Pascoal.
174.	Aleixo, Jose.	21.	Barretto, Antonio Lourenço.
68.	Alerim, Estevão Marcus de.	58.	Barretto, Diogo Santiago.
115.	Alexander, Henrique.	159.	Barretto, Jose (Jr.).
72.	Almeyda, Francisco de.	210.	Barretto, Luis.
95.	Andre, Francisco.	336.	Bearsly, Anna.
188.	Andre, João.	266.	Bello, Ricardo Jose.
178.	Andre, Jose.	82.	Bernardo, Francisco.
274.	Andre, Santiago.	191.	Bevry (?), João Jose.
110.	Andrews, George.	315.	Blackford, Anna.
351.	Argotte, Anna.	242.	Botelho, Nicolao.
202.	Arnal, Luis.	341.	Bryan, Anna.

* The list of *Irmãs* or Sisters stops at the end of the letter A. It is evident from the greater number of entries for the *Irmãs* under A that the women-members were much in excess of the men, which was to be expected.

279. Callier, Thomas.
47. Cardozo, Clemente.
148. Cardozo, João.
206. Cardozo, Luis.
207. Cardozo, Luis.
241. Cardoso, Manuel Gomez.
91. Carneiro, Francisco.
135. Carnes, James.
360. Carvalho, Antonia.
215. Carvalho, Luis.
262. Castello, Pedro.
131. Castro, João, d'.
4. Cavella, Augustus.
36. Christofer, Antonio.
147. Clinton, João.
359. Coetenho, Antonia.
292. Cole, Antonia.
16. Colaço, Antonio.
308. Couto, Amelia de.
119. Consolagão, Ilario.
49. Cornelius, Charles.
114. Cornelius, Henrique.
116. Cornelius, Hilario.
160. Cornelius, João.
165. Cornelius, João.
170. Cornelius, João.
214. Cornelius, Luis.
120. Correa, Ignacio.
289. Cortij, Anna.
354. Costa, Aguida da.
27. Costa, Antonia da.
133. Costa, João da.
142. Costa, João da.
203. Costa, Luis da.
267. Costa, Raymundo da.
18. Couto, Antonio de.
1. Couto, Antonio de (Jr).
5. Couto, Antonio de (Sr).
69. Couto, Estevo da.
201. Couto, Lucas d'.
226. Couto, Pedro da.
254. Couto, Pedro Daniel de.
283. Couto, Valentino de.
78. Couzo, Florentino David d'.
227. Cranenburgh, Mathews.
22. Cruz, Alberto da.
348. Cruz, Andrea de.
345. Cruz, Anna de.
346. Cruz, Anna de.
94. Cruz, Fernando de.
130. Cruz, João da.
195. Cruz, João da.
197. Cruz, Juliano d'.
257. Cruz, Paulo da.
92. Dalgado, Francisco X.
168. Dalgado, Jose Bernardo.
163. Dalgado, Jose Bernardo.
285. Daniel, Antonia.
319. Darrington, Anna.
229. Desso, Mathews Pedro.
134. Devent, João.
25. Domingos, Andre.
268. Doucet, Roberto.
330. Drack, Anna.
322. Duques, Anna.
80. Duval, Francisco.
261. Fernandez, Pedro.
340. Fernandes, Anna.
367. Fernandes, Anna.
335. Fernandes, Antonia.
192. Fernandes, João.
76. Fernando, Francisco X.
88. Ferraó, Francisco.
137. Ferraó, João.
149. Ferraó, Jose.
248. Ferraó, Pedro.
296. Ferryneau, Anna.
300. Foresty, Anna.
270. Foresty, Manuel.
278. Foresty, Thomas.
117. Fretes, Ignacio do.
231. Furtado, Miguel Faria.
293. Garretto, Anna.
316. Garretti, Apolinia.
10. Gill, Agostinho.
111. Gill, Guilherme.
141. Gill, Jose.
125. Gill, Jose.
221. Gill, Mathews.
218. Godinho, Manuel.
31. Gomes, Agostinho.
294. Gomes, Andreza.
372. Gomes, Anna.
312. Gomes, Antonia.
18. Gomes, Antonio.
12. Gomes, An(toni)jo.
44. Gomes, Beaventura Jose.
63. Gomes, Daniel.
60. Gomes, Domingo.
177. Gomes, João.

244. Gomes, Nicoláo.
 276. Gomes, Simão.
 374. Gonsalves, Anna Maria.
 34. Gonsalves, Antonio.
 107. Gonsalves, Francisco.
 182. Gonsalves, Jose.
 291. Gould, Antonio.
 286. Griffith, Anna.
 277. Griffith, Thomas.
 361. Gualla, Anna.
 32. Haberlot, Andre.
 43. Hart, Bernardo.
 338. Harndale, Anna C.
 62. Henriques, Diogo Manoel.
 98. Henriques, Francisco X.
 363. Holland, Anna.
 357. Howie, Anna.
 260. Hypher, Pedro.
 101. Innocencia, Francisco.
 180. Jebb, João Syer.
 235. Jesus, Manuel de.
 263. Johnson, Romaldo.
 272. Jones, Samuel.
 151. Jonnis, João Baptista.
 64. Jose, Domingos.
 243. Kamp, Nicoláo.
 198. Keisall, João Roberto.
 309. Kerveley, Anna.
 29. Lackersteen, Antonio Caetano.
 234. Lackersteen, Marcos.
 187. Laimon, João (Jr).
 139. Laimon, João.
 310. Leal, Anna.
 30. Leal, Carlos Fernando.
 77. Leal, Francisco Escenas.
 183. Leal, Jose.
 249. Leal, Philip.
 59. Leitaó, Domingo.
 190. Leitaó, João.
 13. Lobo, Agostinha.
 271. Lopes, Simão.
 122. Lovo, João.
 327. Lucas, Anna.
 40. Luis, Bernardo.
 143. Luis, Jeronimo.
 211. Machado, Lourenço.
 106. Madeira, Francisco.
 212. Madeira, Lourenço.
 342. Malima, Anna.
 132. Malquez, Jose.
 57. Manoel, Candido.
 81. Marcos, Francisco.
 230. Marcos, Mariano.
 324. Maria, Anna.
 373. Martin, Anna.
 196. Martin, João.
 199. Martin, João Henriques.
 299. Martins, Anna.
 332. Martins, Anna Isabel.
 236. Martins, Manuel.
 53. Martyr, Constantino Timotheo.
 282. Martyr, Timothy C.
 238. Mascarenhas, Manuel João.
 222. Mascarenhas, Manuel Joaquim.
 66. Mathews, Domingo.
 15. Mello, Alberto de.
 71. Mello, Francisco de.
 171. Mello, Jacob de.
 157. Mello, Jeronimo de.
 24. Mendes, Alberto.
 337. Mendes, Anna d'Souza.
 362. Mendes, Aurelia Suzana.
 55. Mendes, Constantino.
 237. Mendes, Matthews W.
 284. Mendes, Xavier.
 33. Meneses, Antonio.
 270. Mercado, Salvador.
 121. Merranda, Ignacio.
 298. Milheira, Antonio.
 153. Miranda, Jeronimo.
 17. Monte, Andre de.
 303. Monte, Anna de.
 143. Moita, João de.
 369. Monte Sinaes, Anna Maria de.
 281. Monte Sinaes, Thomas de.
 287. Mora, Anna del.
 9. Moreuo, Andre.
 304. Morina, Antonia.
 370. Morery, Anthonia.
 26. Moyra, Alexandre de.
 6. Oliveira, Agostinho de.
 3. Oliveira, Antonio de.
 208. Oliveira, Lazaro de.
 254. Oliveira, [Roberto] de.
 301. Peagentina, Anna.
 204. Pocachy, Lourenço.
 152. Penha, João de.
 344. Pereira, Albica.
 321. Pereira, Albina.
 7. Pereira, Andes.

1. Pereira, (—1—).
359. Pereira, Anna.
23. Pereira, Antonio Vicente.
54. Pereira, Caltano.
75. Pereira, Francisco.
104. Pereira, Francisco.
105. Pereira, Francisco.
111. Pereira, Henrique.
164. Pereira, Jose.
169. Pereira, Jose.
155. Pereira, José Lopez.
213. Pereira, Lourenço.
224. Pereira, Manuel.
102. Perra, Francisco.
313. Peris, Anna.
87. Perra, Fernando.
247. Pessoa, Pascoal.
136. Phillips, Jose.
126. Phillips, Joseph.
333. Pina, Anna.
136. Pinto, Joao.
235. Pinto, Pedro.
290. Prezantina, Anna.
172. Quadros, Joaquim Jose de.
265. Quadros, Rafael Jose de.
127. Quereby, Joseph M.
205. Rasmus, Lourenço.
302. Rebelra, Anna.
331. Rebelra, Anna.
109. Rebelra, George.
173. Rebelra, Joao.
200. Rebelra, José Antonio.
176. Rebelra, Jose.
343. Remedios, Anna Joa.
217. Remedios, Lula Antonio de.
226. Remedios, Manuel P. de.
325. Robalo, Anthonia.
352. Robertson, Anna Corea.
44. Roberto, Bendetta.
61. Rodrick, Domingo.
65. Rodrick, Domingos.
295. Rodrigues, Aguida.
37. Rodrigues, Alexander.
35. Rodrigues, Andre.
356. Rodrigues, Anna.
38. Rodrigues, Antonio.
41. Rodrigues, Bonifacio.
97. Rodrigues, Francisco.
184. Rodrigues, Joao.
193. Rodrigues, Joao.
162. Rodrigues, Joao Vianna.
167. Rodrigues, Joao Vianna.
225. Rodrigues, Mariano V.
252. Rodrigues, Pedro.
59. Rodriguez, Bonifacio.
223. Roza, Manuel d'.
353. Rozario, Angelina de.
306. Rozario, Anna de.
328. Rozario, Anna de.
329. Rozario, Anna de.
307. Rozario, Anna Luiza de.
334. Rozario, Angelica de.
371. Rozario, Anna de.
14. Rozario, Anthonio.
2. Rozario, Amengio de.
48. Rozario, Camimiro de.
183. Rozario, Joao d'.
179. Rozario, Joao de.
194. Rozario, Joao d'.
146. Rozario, Joao de.
240. Rozario, Manuel de.
245. Rozario, Nicolao de.
258. Rozario, Pedro de.
233. Salvador, Mariano.
253. Santiago, Philip.
108. Santos, Gabriel de.
173. Santos, Joaquim Jose d' S.
269. Santos, Simplicio dos.
186. Savage, Joao.
250. Seclons, Paulo.
288. Seixas, Anne Maria de.
124. Seixas, Jose Caltano.
314. Sequeira, Anna.
154. Sequeira, Joao Paulino.
347. Sequeira, Anna Maria.
129. Serraó, Joao F.
180. Seyer Jebb, Joao.
67. Soveral, Emmanuel.
128. Shavies, Jacob.
152. Shervellher, Joao.
30. Silva, Agostinho de.
318. Silva, Anna de.
368. Silva, Anastasia de.
366. Silva, Aurora de.
56. Silva, Constantino d'.
184. Silva, Joao de.
181. Silva, Jose Joaquim de.
219. Silva, Manoel d'.
232. Silva, Manoel Antonio d'.
259. Silva, Pascoal de.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 275. Silva, Silvestre de. | 90. Vaz, Francisco de. |
| 375. Silvestre, Anna Maria. | 118. Vaz, Ignacio. |
| 123. Simmsman, João. | 162. Viana, João Rodriguez. |
| 239. Soutis, Miguel. | 167. Viana, João Rodriguez. |
| 339. Souza, Anna Maria d'. | 323. Victoria, Anna. |
| 337. Souza, Anna Mendes d'. | 273. Victorio, Simplicio. |
| 8. Souza, Antonio João de. | 46. Vogle, Constantino. |
| 112. Souza, Guilherme d'. | 355. Waldane, Anna. |
| 144. Souza, João d'. | 358. Wesp, Anna Maria. |
| 150. Souza, João de. | 364. White, Anna. |
| 140. Souza, Jose de. | 349. Wilkins, Anna. |
| 316. Souza, Luis de. | 70. William, Estevão. |
| 228. Souza, Manuel de. | 325. Willoughby, Antonia. |
| 253. Souza, Philippe de. | 317. Xavier, Antonia. |
| 20. Souza, Antonio João d' Santos. | 74. Xavier, Francisco. |
| 45. Souza, Bernardinho de Santos. | 280. York, Thomas. |
| 365. Sprenger, Anna. | |
| 320. Soares, Agostinha. | <i>Priests.</i> |
| 311. Soares, Anna. | 89. Fre Andre de Sa Roza. |
| 161. Soares, João. | 100. Fre Antonio de S. Rita. |
| 166. Soares, João. | 81. Fre Felix de Conceição. |
| 997. Swallow, Anna. | 99. Fre Francisco dos Prazeres. |
| 86. Themudo, Francisco. | 96. Fre Francisco de S. Jose. |
| 51. Urage, Cornelius. | 85. Fre Joaquim de Madre de Deos. |
| 395. Valente, Aguida. | 73. Fre Luis d' S. Anna. |
| 209. Vardoncel, Luis. | 91. Fre Manuel de S. Joaquim. |
| 28. Vaz, Antonio Maria. | 79. Fre Philip de S. Theresa. |
| 54. Vaz, Caitano Agostinho. | 103. Fre Simão de S. Agostinho. |
| | 84. Padre Abraham de S. Lourenço. |

APPOINTMENTS OF THE OFFICE-BEARERS AND LADY PATRONESSES
(MORDAMAS) FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
CONFRATERNITY OF OUR LADY OF THE ROSARY
OF CALCUTTA A. D. 1764.

[N.B.—The 1st name indicates the Vicar of the Church; the 2nd, that of the President; the 3rd, of the Treasurer; the 4th, of the Secretary; the 5th, of the Procurator; the 6th, of the Mordama or Lady Patroness.]

1764.

Fre Caitano da Madre de Deos.
Do. Do.
Luis De Costa.
Antonio De Couto, Jr.
Antonio De Couto, Sr.
Joanna Gonsalves.

1765.

Fre Caitano da Madre de Deos.
Do. Do.
Luis De Costa.
A. D' Couto, Jr.
A. D' Couto, Sr.
Joanna Gonsalves.

1766.

Fre Luis da Santa Anna.
Antonio D' Couto, Sr.
H. Pereira.
Thomas Griffith.
J[os]e D' Costa.
Anna Griffith.

1767.

Fre Luis da Santa Anna.
A. D' Couto, Sr.
H. Pereira.
Thomas Griffith.
J[os]e D' Costa.
Anna Griffith.

1768

Fre Manoel, *Procurador*.
H. Pereira.
A. D' Couto, Jr.
L. Picachy.
J. Lova [= Lovo].
Anna Cortly.

1769

Fre Manoel, *Procurador*.
Thomas Griffith.
A. D' Couto, Sr.
Andre Pereira.
Francisco Pereira.
Antonia Daniel D' Couto.

1770

Fre Joao de Santo Gelermo.
A. D' Couto, Sr.
L. Picachy.
Francisco Mello.
Pedro Ferrao.
Luzia D' Couto.

1771

Fre Joao de São Nicolao.
A. D' Couto, Jr.
H. Pereira.
F. Pereira.
A. Joao D' Souza.
Leonora Jacob.

1772

Fre Joao de São Nicolao.
H. Pereira.
A. J. D' Souza.
Estevas Marcos D' Alencar.
Joao Simmerman.
Joanna Peter Gregory.

1773

Fre Joao de Sta. Anna.
L. D' Costa.
H. Pereira.
Manoel Foresty.
Andre Pereira.
Anna Foresty.

1774

Joao de Santa Anna.
F. Pereira.
Manoel Foresty.
Augustinho Cavella.
Marco D' Alencar.
Dominga D' Rocha.

1775

Fre Verissimo da Madre de Deus.
Manoel Foresty.
Pedro Ferrao.
Joao Cantano D' Seixas.
Andre Pereira.
Antonia Gold.

1776

Fre Verissimo da Madre de Deus.
Pedro Ferrao.
L. D' Costa.
A. Pereira.
J. F. Serrao.
Anna Turenau.

1777

Fre Verissimo da Madre de Deus.
Thomas Griffith.
Manoel Foresty.
J. F. Serrao.
Joao D' Costa.
Philadelphia [= Philadelphia] Bondfield.

1778

Fre Felix da Conceicao.
Manoel Foresty.
Pedro Ferrao.
Clemente Cardozo.
A. Pereira.
Rita Griffith.

1779

Fre Felix da Conceicao.
A. J. D' Souza.
Fre Felix.
Pedro Ferrao.
Padre Abrao.
Catarina Gill Ferrao.

1780

Fre Manoel de N[ossa] S[enhora].
L. Picachy.
D. Couto.
Joao D' Abreu.
Lucas D' Couto.
Isabel Jebb.

1781

Fre Joao de São Nado [F].
A. D' Couto.
Pedro Ferrao.
Augustinho Gill.
A. Pereira.
Beatriz D' Souza.

¹ From the Registers I find that the name should be Fre Joao de S. Nicolao.

1782.

Fre Luis de Santa Anna.
 Bonifacio Rodrigues
 A. J. D' Souza.
 L. D' Couto.
 Padre Abruó.
 Luiza Picachy.

1783.

Fre Luis de S. Anna
 Pedro Ferraó.
 F. Pereira.
 J. Simmerman.
 Bernardo Luis.
 Maria Rodrigues.

1784.

Fre Francisco de Santa Maria.
 A. Pereira.
 L. Picachy.
 F. Daniel.
 S. D' Santos.
 Rosa D' Cruz Grant.

1785.

Fre Geronimo da Purificação.
 A. D' Couto.
 João D' Abreu.
 M. V. Rodrigues.
 Thomas Pereira.
 Eulalia Eaton.

1786.

Fre Geronimo da Purificação.
 João D' Abreu.
 Augustinho Gill.
 Augustinho D' Covito.
 J. F. Serraó.
 Maria Brightman.

1787.

Fre Joze de Santa Ritta.
 Augustinho Gill.
 F. Daniel D' Couto.
 João de Penha.
 Thomas Pereira.
 Rozalia de Abreu Ferraó Barretto.

1788.

Fre Joze de Santa Ritta.
 L. Picachy.
 João D' Penha.
 Thomas Pereira.
 Ignacio Correa.
 Philipa Madeira.

1789.

Fre Joaquim de S. Joze.
 P. Leal.
 C. Cardozo.
 S. D' Santos.
 Pedro Andre.
 Elizabeth Toyne.

1790.

Fre Joaquim de S. Joze.
 C. Cardozo.
 João D' Abreu.
 F. D. De Couto.
 Thomas Pereira.
 Maria Carry.¹

1791.

Fre Joze De Graça.
 J. D' Abreu.
 F. D. D' Couto.
 Ignacio Correa.
 Cassimiro D' Rozario.
 Margarida Sepandro.

1792.

Fre Joze D' Graça.
 A. J. D' Souza.
 Augustinho D' Covito.
 Me. Sr. Dos Remedios.
 João Lemon.
 Antonia da Costa.

1793.

Fre Joze da Graça.
 Augustinho D' Covito.
 Philippe Leal.
 Cassemira D' Rozario.
 Joze Phillip.
 Rosa Gill dos Remedios.

1794.

Fre Joaquim de Santa Ritta.
 Phillip Leal.
 S. D' Santos.
 João Laimon.
 M. Cranesburgh.
 Thereza Daniel D' Couto.

1795.

Fre Joaquim De S. Ritta.
 S. Dos Santos.
 Me. Dos Remedios.
 M. Cranesburgh.
 Francisco Vas.
 Anna Luiza Sherman.

¹ Probably a mistake for Carey.

1796

Fre Joaquim De S. Ritta
L. D' Couto.
C. D' Rosario.
Jose Pereira.
Pascoal Baptista.
Rosa Smith.

1797

Fre Joaquim De S. Ritta.
F. D. D' Couto.
João Abreu.
Jose Phillips.
Albert D' Mello.
Luzia D' Santos.

1798

Fre Christovão de Assumpção.
A. D' Couto.
A. J. D' Souza.
Alberto D' Mello.
Raphael Jose D' Quadros.
Rosa Maria Cornelius.

1799

Fre Christovão.
João D' Abreu.
P. Leal.
Jose D' Souza.
Domingos Gomes.
Luzia Dobby.

1800

Fre Christovão.
Francisco Marcos.
Jose Pereira.
Domingos Gomes.
Jacob D' Mello.
Rezalia Pied Jarrello.

1801

Fre Manoel do Cenaculo.
João Laimon.
A. D' Couto.
Jose C. Ferrão.
Bonifacio Rodriguez.
Rosa Grant.

1802

Fre M. do Cenaculo.
Jose Pereira.
C. Cornelius.
A. L. Barretto.
Samuel Jones.
Joanna Bowers.

1803

Fre M. do Cenaculo.
C. Cornelius.
Jose Ferrão.
S. Jones.
João Cornelius.
Maria D' Rosario.

1804

Fre Luis de Conceição.
Jose Ferrão.
S. Jones.
João Cornelius.
João Ferrão.
Maria Ferrão.

1805

Fre Luis de Conceição.
S. Jones.
João D' Abreu.
João Ferrão.
M. W. Mendes.
Anna Maria D' Souza.

1806

Fre Luis de Conceição.
Fre Francisco de São Jose.
João Ferrão.
M. W. Mendes.
Jose Gonsalves.
Maria Marcos.

1807

Fre Manoel D' Rosario.
João Ferrão.
Jose Pereira.
Jose Gonsalves.
Charles Leal.
Philadelphia Jones.

1808

Fre Manoel D' Rosario.
Jose Gonsalves.
C. Cornelius.
João Cardoso.
M. Lackerteen.
Maria D' Rosario.

1809

Fre Manoel D' Rosario.
J. F. Serrão.
Jose Pereira.
Thomas de Monte Sinas.
Pascoal D' Silva.
Maria Gonsalves.

1810.

Fre Francisco dos Prazeres.
M. Lackersteen.
C. Cornelius.
Pascoal D' Silva.
Francisco Rodrigues.
Beatriz Carnegie.

1811.

Fre Francisco dos Prazeres.
Thomas D' Monte Sinnes.
Joze Ferraó.
Francisco Rodrigues.
C. Urage.
Catharina Baptista.

1812.

Fre Francisco dos Prazeres.
M. Cranenburgh.
Joze Pereira.
C. Urage.
B. Hartt.
Maria Falofil.

1813.

Fre Luis de Santa Ritta.
Francisco Rodrigues.
M. Lackersteen.
B. Hartt.
Gilermo Gill.
Ehelina Greenway.

1814.

Fre Joao de Santa Ritta.
Cornelius Urage.
Joze Pereira.
G. Gill.
A. Huberlet.
Paula Young.

1815.

Fre Luis de Santa Ritta.
Pascoal de Silva.
C. Cornelius.
H. Alexander.
Albert de Cruz.
Clara Rolao.

1816.

Fre Luis de Santa Ritta.
C. Cornelius.
S. Jones.
F. Innocencia.
Joao Savage.
Maria Marcos.

1817.

Fre Luis de Santa Ritta.
Samuel Jones.
Guilherme Gill.
Joao Savage.
Jose Leal.
Anna Maria Gonsalves.

1818.

Fre Luis de Santa Ritta.
Gilermo Gill.
Joao Savage.
Jose Leal.
Fernando De Cruz.
Thereza Ferraó.

1819.

Fre Luis de Santa Ritta.
Joao Savage.
Philip Leal.
Maria[no] Marcos.
M. J. Mascarenhas.
Mariana Kerder(d'jene).

Fre Manuel de Santa Theresa was appointed
Vicar of Nossa Senhora do Rosario of Calcutta
on—[blank] February 1819.

Fol. 18v. On Tuesday, the 13th June, 1809, the first Stone was laid of the Roman Catholic Church of the N^a. S^a. de Dores Church of Boytuckkhannah by Mrs. Gracia Elizabeth the Founder, and on the 30th of June, 1810, the same Church was consecrated by the Revd. Father Fre Francisco de Prazeres, Vicar of the Calcutta Church.

On the 9th February, 1822, the first Stone was laid of the Roman Catholic Church to be built at Dum-Dum by the Revd. Father Fre Manuel de Sta. Thereza, Commissary and Vicar of the Roman Catholick Church of N^a. S^a. do Rozario of Calcutta.

Fol. 19r. *New Church at Bytackanna of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Doris.*

The First Brick was laid at the Roman Catholic Church of Bytackanna of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Doris on the 13th June, 1809, and Consecrated on the 30th June, 1810.
Mrs. Grace Elizabeth Founder.

To The

RIGHT HON^{BLE} GILBERT LORD MINTO, GOVERNOR-
GENERAL, &C., &C., &C.

My Lord,

The new Church sanctioned by your Lordship to be built at Boituckkannah being now completed, and it being intended to Consecrate her on Saturday next at the hour of about 6 in the Evening, we entertain a hope that your Lordship will be pleased to honor us with your presence on the occasion.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most
faithful servant,

CALCUTTA,

(Signed) GRACE ELIZABETH.¹

the 27th June 1810.

Fol. 19v.

Government House, 29th June, 1810.

MRS. GRACE ELIZABETH.

Madam,

I have had the honor to receive your Letter of the 27th Instant, and beg leave to congratulate you on the completion of a work which bears testimony so strongly both to your piety and Liberality. I am extremely sorry that circumstances will prevent me from attending the consecration of the building to-morrow, but I beg you to be assured of the satisfaction with which I see the munificence of a Lady

1. A copy.

extend the means of celebrating the Christian rites, with becoming decorum in this Country.

I have the honor to be,
Madam,
Your obedient humble servant,
(Signed) MINTO.¹

Fol. 20r. APPOINTMENTS AS OFFICE-BEARERS AND LADY PATRONESSES TO
THE CONFRATERNITY OF NOSSA SENHORA DE DORES IN
THE BYTUCKANA CHURCH AT CALCUTTA, SINCE
ITS FOUNDATION.

(The Novena begins in the Month of September.)²

1814.	1817.
[Blank] Vicar.	[Blank] Vicar.
J. B. Cornelius.	Pascoal De Silva.
C. Cornelius, Sr.	J. Marcado.
Jose Pereira.	Francis Cornelius.
P. D' Silva.	Mathew Cranenburgh, Jr.
Maria de Monte Sinas, Sr.	Joanna Bowers.
1815.	1818.
[Blank] Vicar.	Fre Jose de Sta. Tereza.
Philippe D' Monte.	Charles Corneilus, Jr.
[Jose] Pereira.	Francis Cornelius.
[P.] D' Silva.	Mathew Cranenburgh.
J. Marcado.	Charles Gomes.
L. Cornelius.	Anna Weltzen. [Wilton?]
1816.	1819.
[Blank] Vicar.	Fre Manuel de S. Tereza.
Peter Hypher.	...
J. Pereira.	M. Cranenburgh.
J. Marcado.	...
Francis Cornelius.	...
M. Carnegie.	...

H. HOSTEN, S. J.

[The End.]

¹ A copy.

² Cf. our note about the order of the names at p. 210.

³ Only 2 names: the rest is blank.



BUST OF THE FIRST EARL OF MINTO IN ST JOHN'S CHURCH, CALCUTTA.

Photo by Messrs Harrington and Blee.

Marriages in Calcutta. 1713—1754.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE original Registers of St. Ann's Church, Calcutta, perished during the Siege of Calcutta in 1756. In the year 1890, the Rev. H. B. Hyde (at that time Senior Chaplain of St. John's Church: afterwards Archdeacon of Madras), while on furlough, copied in a very beautiful hand and on parchment, the extracts from the Registers which were periodically despatched from Calcutta to the Court in England and are still preserved at the Record Department of the India Office. Mr. Hyde's copies are preserved at St. John's Church, where in 1910, they were copied for the Calcutta Historical Society by the late Mr. E. W. Madge. Mr. Madge and the present Writer had already commenced the annotations, but unfortunately the manuscript disappeared with other papers belonging to the Society, when Mr. Madge died in 1913. At times when I have been too tired to do ought else but work of a mechanical kind, I have made the copies from which the present instalment of the early marriage Registers have now been printed. I have avoided adding notes in the case of several persons where names have been frequently mentioned in *Bengal Past and Present*—such names for instance as William Barwell, Roger Drake, Richard Becher, etc., etc.

The Burial Returns will have to be dealt with by selection, as it would be impossible to find space in *Bengal Past and Present* for long lists of private Soldiers and Seamen. The Marriage entries are given in their entirety. References have in most cases been made to the Burial numbers. It may be pointed out that the numbers do not appear in the Registers but are given here for convenience of reference.

It will be noticed that Mr. Hyde failed to obtain copies of the marriage returns for the years 1718-20 inclusive. The following entries I have obtained from the consultations printed in the late C. R. Wilson's unpublished third volume of *Early Annals*.

1718. September 15.—Mr. Michael Cotesworth Junior Merchant, to Mrs. Elizabeth Penuse.

1719. May 14.—Thomas Beaver, "who keeps a Punch Home in this place to Mary Garden," "Widow to Captain Gorden."*

* Mary Gordon came out from England in 1713 to join her husband John Gordon. In December Gordon killed Andrew Macdowall, Mate of the *Charleston*, in a quarrel, and was in consequence sent to England to be dealt with by the Court of Directors. Burial No. 119.

May 20.—Mr. William Cowley* Factor to Mrs. Jane Harris.

August 6.—Captain John Hill, Commander of Ship *Cardigan* to Mrs. Catharine Cross by the Hon'ble Samuel Feake Esqr. President, etc.

1720. April 21.—Mr. Thomas Coales, Writer, to Mrs. Mary Mackdonell.

November 26.—Mr. Henry Harnett† Factor to Mrs. Ann Barlow.‡

The reader will perhaps need to be cautioned that "Mrs." in Eighteenth century is often used to denote a young unmarried lady of quality. "Miss" appears but rarely in these early registers.

For information as to Chaplains the reader is referred to Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal* and for Surgeons to Col. Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service*. The Consolidated Index to Vols. I-VIII of *Bengal Past and Present* should also be consulted.

The Register here given departs from the original in that I have arranged the dates according to the years and have not given the duplications in the original.

Please note a cross-reference from Nos. 121 to 134.

W. K. F.

1. 1713. September 13.—Thomas Gumpter, a Corporal, and Rosa a Portuguese.
2. October 6.—John Cassell¹ and Mary Graden².
3. November 26.—Wm. Short and Sarah Cornelius.
4. 1714. June 9.—William Hopkins³ and Ann Greenwich, a widow.
5. June 27.—Henry Webb and Mary Chamberlain⁴.
6. November 23.—Edward Hastings⁵ and Gratia, a Portuguesee.
7. December 24.—Thomas Dixon and Martha Hill.
8. 1715. January 15.—Thomas Fairweather and Sarah Short⁶.
9. February 9.—Isaac Barclay and Mary Hill, a Widow.

* William Cowley died September 29, 1719.

† Henry Harnet, son of Captain H. Harnet, appointed writer November 15, 1715. Came to India on the *Cardigan* in 1713.

‡ Ann Barlow. See below No. 93.

¹ John Cassell, Pilot. Died August 2, 1725 [Burial No. 234].

² Mary Graden: the name seems to have been Graton. The will of her former husband, Paul Graton, a French sailor, is given by Wilson (*Early Annals*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 117-119. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 127-30, 134, 168, 169-70, 215, 257). See below No. 62, 186, 239.

³ William Hopkins: for his license to hold a "Punch House," see *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 270. Ann Greenwich, probably the relict of Geo. Greenwich, Boatswain in the Pilot Service.

⁴ "Thirdly I give a bequest unto Mrs. Mary Chamberlain the sum of 500 Rupees with all her Joys or Jewells." Will of Bernard Laidman, Inhabitant of Calcutta, 14th December 1712.

⁵ Master of Arms, died May 25, 1719.

⁶ Sarah Short, see No. 3.

10. February 25.—Henry Frankland⁷ and Mary Cross.
 11. March 31.—John Eyre⁸ and Philadelphia Fleetwood.⁹
 12. April 12.—William Hopkins¹⁰ and Mary Gurly.
 13. June 15.—John Tawk and Mary Butcher.¹¹
 14. November 24.—John Middleton and Eustalia Mesura.
 15. 1716. May 20.—Collier and Elizabeth Cropply,
 16. September 1.—Thomas Cook¹² and Avarina Child.
 17. November 6.—Richard Bass¹³ and Elizabeth Fisher.¹⁴
 18. 1717. June 17.—John Stackhouse¹⁵ and Elizabeth Harnet.¹⁶
 19. October 5.—Mr. Saml¹ Brown¹⁷ and Catherine Thourogood.¹⁸
 [No entries 1718-20].
 20. 1721. February 10.—Mr. John Eyre¹⁹ and Martha Rainbow.²⁰
 21. 1722. April 3.—Mathew Hanson, Sergt. and Elizabeth Nonise.
 22. " 18.—Edward Bowman, Sailor, and Judith, Jailor.
 23. " 19.—Jacob Jacobson, Soldier, and Augusta De Cour.
 24. " 21.—Andrew Kennedy, Soldier, and Susanna Willmington
 25. " 27.—Ahasuerus Guysburse, Soldier, and Mary Domingo
 Rivere.
 26. May 11.—Andrew Johnson, Soldier, and Lucy D'Acosta.
 27. " 14.—William Miller, Soldier, and Christiana Roize.
 28. " 16.—Jacob Brincoe, Soldier, and Susanna Carvallie.

⁷ Vide Appendix A. Among the passengers on the *Cardigan* 1713. "Mrs. Mary Crosse by order of Court, 10th December." Wilson *Op. Cit.* p. 342.

⁸ John Eyre arrived in India June 14, 1701. At Ballasore 1716. Storekeeper 1718. Burial No. 166. Will in Wilson *Ibid.*, Vol. IV.

⁹ Philadelphia Fleetwood. The Burial Returns: 1713, November 3. "Mrs. Philada Eyre, dyed at Ballasore." She was a widow with two children when she married Eyre.

¹⁰ See notes No. 3 and 4.

¹¹ Mary Butcher, Burial No. 50, April 13, 1716. Samuel Butcher (Burial No. 20) buried July 18, 1714.

¹² Thos. Cook perhaps Cooke. See Wilson: *Op. Cit.* Vol. II. pp. 181 and 251. Avarina Cooke, Burial No. 317.

¹³ The will of Richard Bass, Mariner, is in the unpublished Vol. III. of Wilson's *Annals* pp. 131-2. Burial No. 129.

¹⁴ Elizabeth Fisher. See Appendix C.

¹⁵ John Stackhouse. See *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. VIII, p. 112. Burial No. 191. See below No. 92.

¹⁶ Ellenbeth Harnet, daughter of Capt. H. Harnet. Burial No. 192.

¹⁷ Samuel Brown arrived, 17th August 1710, Zemindar or Collector of Calcutta, 1714, Bakshi 1716, Warehouse Keeper 1717. Sent to Patna 1718. Burial No. 150.

¹⁸ Catherine Thourogood. Of the passengers on the *Cardigan* 1717 was "Mrs. Catherine Thourogood by order of the Court, 12th December."

¹⁹ See above No. 11 and Note 8.

²⁰ Martha Rainbow: perhaps a daughter of John Rainbow the Senior Member of the Prior Service in 1711. Burial No. 190, December 22, 1722. Mrs. Martha Eyre. Burial No. 316.

29. June 22.—Garret Major, Soldier, and Lucy De Rodrigo.
 30. " —Lawrence Johnson, Soldier, and Rosa De Rozario.
 31. August 1.—William Gammon, Sergeant, and Martha De Rozario.
 32. " —William Johnson, Free Merchant, and Alice Pemberton.
 33. 1723. January 27.—Nicholas Johnson, Soldier, and Mary Dez.
 34. February 1.—Samuel Newton,²¹ Pilot, and Margaret Betty.
 35. March 17.—Mr. George Mandeville, Factor, and Mrs. Mary Cooke.
 36. April 14.—Alexander Ramsey, Sailor, and Elizabeth Lewis.
 37. " 15.—Mr. Thomas Joshua Moore, Factor, and Mrs. Anne Cooke.
 38. " 16.—Capt. Theophilus Gammon²² and Mrs. Sophia Deane.
 39. " 30.—William Pairbone, Soldier, and Rosa De Rosaro.
 40. June 12.—John Ray, Sailor, and Rosa De Rosaro.
 41. " 19.—Captain Henry Cave²³ and Mrs. Elizabeth Fagnal.
 42. July 3.—George Palfey, Mariner, and Rosa Cole.
 43. " 28.—Joseph Diamond,²⁴ Mariner, and Mrs. Jane Smith.
 44. August 12.—Jacob Oausthock, Inhabitant, and Mary Wallis.
 45. October 14.—Christian Anderson, Mariner, and Elizabeth De Cruz.
 46. " 30.—Christopher Curson, Clerk, and Lucy Gunn.
 47. November 25.—Mr. Richd. Bouchier,²⁵ Free Merchant and Mrs. Sarah Hawkins.
 48. 1724. January 20.—Capt. Thomas Stewart and Mrs. Mary Thorne.
 49. March 25.—Christor. Haygor, Soldier, and Rosa D'Silva.
 50. June 21.—Capt. Thos. Dixon and Mrs. Jane Cowley, Widow.
 51. July 18.—John Gallant, Soldier, and Ann Andies, Widow.
 52. October 16.—Phillip Parsons,²⁶ Mar., and Natalia Hill.
 53. " 28.—Stepn. Cooper, Sergt., and Mary Duck, Widow.
 54. November 9.—Capt. Edward Armstrong and Mrs. Sophia Gammon.²⁷

²¹ Samuel Newton. See Burial No. 183.

²² See Wilson, *Op. Cit.* p. 215 for Gammon's promotion in 1714 from Sergeant to Ensign. See below No. 55. Burial No. 208.

²³ Captain H. Cave. Burial No. 298. Elizabeth Fagnal, see Nos. 207 and 221.

²⁴ Joseph Diamond. Burial No. 389.

²⁵ Richard Bouchier. See below No. 223 and *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. VIII, p. 181.

²⁶ Phillip Parsons. See below No. 85.

²⁷ Sophia Gammon. See above No. 38. Capt. Armstrong. Burial No. 447.

55. November 10.—Capt. Richard Thelwall²⁸ and Mrs. Betty Goodlad.²⁹
56. 1725. February 5.—Mr. Edward Pomfret and Mrs. Elizabeth Bass³⁰ were married by Mr. Lloyd.
57. " 15.—Adam Wright and Elizabeth Pamphillon were married by Mr. Lloyd.
58. April (1726). 25.—John Trusty, Sergeant, and Katherina were married by Mr. Oldmixon.
59. May 24.—John Chowdhary, the Governor's Servant, and Madalena were married by Mr. Oldmixon.
60. June 15.—John Ashley, Soldier, and Cristina Miller, Widow, were married by the Rev. Mr. Sawbridge.
61. August 2.—Mr. John Cock and Mrs. Ann Aslin, Widow, were married by the Rev. Mr. Sawbridge.
62. " 5.—Major Richard Hunt and Mrs. Mary Cassells,³¹ Widow, were married by the Rev. Mr. Sawbridge.
63. 1726. September 12.—John Badman, Sergeant, and Ann Skinner, Widow, were married by Gervas Bellamy.
64. " 13.—James Ramsay (Capt. Small's Servant) and Susanna (Capt. Hurd's Servant), were married by Gervas Bellamy.
65. " 19.—Edward Armstrong, Ensign, and Mrs. Ann Rix, were married by Gervas Bellamy.
66. October 4.—Captain Charles Ward and Mrs. Mary Dean were married by Gervas Bellamy.
67. December 1.—Thomas Cahill, Company's Joyner, and Ann Glover, Spinster, were married by Gervas Bellamy.
68. " 8.—William Rumbould, purser of *Ye King George*, and Dorothy Mann, were married by Gervas Bellamy.
69. 1726. January 3.—Mr. Thomas Coales,³² Secretary, and Mrs. Elizabeth Blake, Widow, were married by Gervas Bellamy.

²⁸ Capt. Richard Thelwall. See below Nos. 92 and 128. Gertrude his former wife died July 25, 1724. Burial No. 214.

²⁹ Betty Goodlad. Burial No. 130.

³⁰ Mrs. Elizabeth Bass. See below Appendix C.

³¹ Mrs. Mary Cassells. See above Note 2.

³² Mrs. Elizabeth Coales, Burial Nos. 222 and 400. Thomas Coales perished in the Black Hole.

70. January 5.—John Aloffze³² and Elizabeth Swallow³⁴ were married by Gervas Bellamy.
71. February 10.—Ephraim Roberts and Elizabeth Wright were married by Gervas Bellamy.
72. " 13.—Thomas Pattison and Ann Guttaridge³⁵ were married by Gervas Bellamy.
73. March 4.—Antonio Rozardy and Isabel Jevan, both servants to Mr. Bouchier in Council, were married.
74. April 26.—Mr. William Haskoll,³⁶ Factor, and Mrs. Mary Trobrydg were married.
75. " 28.—William Ellord, Soldier, and Margaret were married.
76. May 18.—James Cage, Sergeant, and Mary Pamphillon³⁷ were married.
77. " 17.—Mr. Charles Hampton in Council and Mrs. Martha Vesey were married.
78. July 12.—Lawrence Ousterman and Mary Jacobs, both servts. of the Fiscall at Hughley, were married.
79. August 7.—Capt. James Broadbrook and Mrs. Elianor Willowbuss were married.
80. October 9.—William Herin, Soldier, and Roza were married.
81. " 27.—Joshua Hepworth, Corporal, and Ann Badman³⁸ were married.
82. November 3.—William Arnold, Soldier, and Pasquol Everett were married.
83. " 23.—Thomas Morgan, Soldier, and Frances Debosh were married.
84. December 30.—George Trivithwick³⁹ and Catherine were married.
85. 1737. January 18.—Philip Parsons, Mariner, and Ann Hosier were married.
86. February 15.—Mr. Francis Russell,⁴⁰ 2nd of Cossimbazar and Mrs. Ann Gee.

³² John Aloffze, Surveyor of Works. See Wilson, *Old Fort William* Vol. 1, 125. See below No. 100.

³⁴ On a later page "Mary Swallow." Burial No. 325. "Mary Ahfra." August 15 1725.

³⁵ Ann Guttaridge. On a later page Guttridge.

³⁶ William Haskoll, Burial No. 351. Mary Trobrydg, see below No. 111.

³⁷ Mary Pamphillon. See below No. 124.

³⁸ Ann Badman. See above No. 63.

³⁹ Trivithwick. Perhaps Truderrick. See below No. 139.

⁴⁰ Francis Russell. See Appendix B.

87. March 16.—Joseph Deanoit and Mary de Rosarey.
 88. " 26.—Martin Bunhouar and Barenick Leaderego.
 89. July 27.—Mr. Robt. West and Mrs. Mary Tompson.
 90. August 11.—Edward Clarke, Mariner, and Rachael Shee.
 91. " 16.—Mr. John Fullerton and Mrs. Judith Weston.
 92. " 17.—Captain Richard Thelwall⁴¹ and Mrs. Mary Prissick.⁴²
 93. " 27.—Mr. John Stackhouse in Council and Mrs. Ann Harnet.⁴³
 94. September 18.—Mr. Samuel Greenhill and Mrs. Elizth Russell.
 95. November 13.—Mr. Josiah Holmes⁴⁴ and Mrs. Mary Russell.
 96. " 17.—Christian Charles, a Dutchman, and Ann a Blackwoman.
 97. " 29.—Bartholomew Jackson, Sailor, and Rebecca Huggins.
 98. December 1.—James Wills, Sailor, and Ann, a blackwoman.
 99. 1728. February 13.—Mr. Thomas Harding and Mrs. Elizabeth Mallet.
 100. " 14.—Mr. John Allofze and Mrs. Susanna Basby.
 101. " 17.—William Young and Flora Morley.
 102. " 18.—James Meredith,⁴⁵ Sergeant, and Susanna Tayler.
 103. May 28.—John Jones, Soldier, and Catherine Vallance.
 104. July 31.—Capt. John Kelsall and Mrs. Alice Masculine.
 105. August 25.—Andrew Young, Sailor, and Frances, a blackwoman.
 106. September 8.—Govin Harrob, Sailor, and Natalia Gammon.
 107. " 18.—Mr. Samuel Fazakerley⁴⁶ and Mrs. Sophia Gee.
 108. " 18.—Captain Robert Mylne and Mrs. Elizabeth Fisher.
 109. October 24.—John Nicolas and Julian, a blackwoman.
 110. November 13.—Daniel Pain and Johanna Courey.
 111. " 13.—Mr. Samuel Harrison and Mrs. Mary Haskoll.
 112. " 24.—Mr. Gervas Bellamy, Chaplain, and Mrs. Dorothy Pomfrett.

⁴¹ Capt. Richard Thelwall. See Nos. 55 and 128.

⁴² Mary Prissick. Burial No. 349. See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. II, Pl. I, p. 331.

⁴³ The widow of Henry Harnet, Junior.

⁴⁴ Josiah Holmes. See below No. 161.

⁴⁵ James Meredith. See below Nos. 208 and 239.

⁴⁶ A. Charles Fazakerley died at Cassimbazar. Mrs. Sophia Gee, Burial No. 490.

113. December 10.—Charles Smith and Jude Bowman.⁴⁹
 114. " 11.—Samuel Banks, Sergeant, and Ann, a black-woman.
 115. " 17.—John Parsons, Mariner, and Mary Beal.⁵⁰
 116. 1729. February 15.—Mr. William Bruce, Senior Merchant, and Mrs. Frances Wynn.
 117. " 15.—Mr. Wm. Barwell, Secretary, and Mrs. Eliz. Eyre.
 118. " 25.—Capt. Richd. Gosfright of Ship *Fordwich* and Mrs. Cath. March.
 119. April 24.—Stephen Boyd, Ensign, and Frances Owen.
 120. May 6.—John Martin, Soldier, and Lazara Hart.
 121. July 21.—Capt. Isaac Devernen and Mrs. Eliz. Wynn.
 122. October 12.—Capt. Wm. West and Mrs. Jane Diamond.⁵¹
 123. November 21.—Capt. Saml. Sutcliffe and Mrs. Sarah Swallow.⁵²
 124. December 4.—Aaron Anderson and Mary Cage.⁵³
 125. " 29.—Michael Henshaw, Sailor, and Grace Miors.
 126. 1730. January 6.—William Pearson, Govr's. Servant, and Henretta Bodycam.
 127. " 17.—Charles Hunnings, Pilot, and Johanna Barnes.
 128. March 13.—Capt. Richd. Thelwall and Mrs. Rebecca English.
 129. June 2.—Thos. Benbow, Mariner, and Martha Southen.
 130. July 14.—Capt. Thomas Garland⁵⁴ and Mrs. Lucy Rigby.⁵⁵
 131. " 16.—Capt. Richd. Pearce and Mrs. Anen Shiers.
 132. October 24.—Mr. James Ross, Inhabitant, and Mrs. Johanna Hopkins.
 133. November 23.—Capt. John Fenton and Mrs. Han Rochester Feddree.
 134. " 26.—Mr. Solm. Margas, Senior Merchant and Mrs. Eliz. de Varenne.
 135. December 2.—Matt. Wastell, Esq., and Mrs. Priscilla Kemp.

⁴⁹ Jude Bowman. See above No. 22.

⁵⁰ Mary Beal. Perhaps the widow of William Beal, Surgeon. Burial No. 303. See below Nos. 196 and 271.

⁵¹ Mrs. Jane Diamond. See above No. 43.

⁵² Sarah Swallow. See below No. 326.

⁵³ Mary Cage. See above No. 76.

⁵⁴ Capt. Thomas Garland. Burial No. 422.

⁵⁵ Mrs. Lucy Rigby. See below Nos. 163, 277 and 297. On Sept. 2, 1760 she married Capt. David Downes. For Capt. Rigby, see Burial No. 21.

136. December 16.—Robt. Townsend, Sailor, and Julia Smith.
 137. " 29.—Benj. Tongate, Sailor, and Rebecca Rosara.
 138. 1731. January 4.—Henry Temerson, Sailor, and Isabella Rosara.
 139. " 26.—John Williams, Sailor, and Catherine Truderrick.
 140. February 7.—Francis Vanes, Inhabitant, and Martha.
 141. " 14.—Adam Dawson, Inhabitant, and Sarah de Rosara.⁵⁶
 142. " 14.—George Holmes, Sailor, and Mary Ross.
 143. April 24.—Thomas Fardinand and Julia.
 144. May 18.—Christopher Farley, Soldier, and Maria Barretta.
 145. July 25.—John Bishop,⁵⁷ Mariner, and Ann Seerhaud.
 146. " 31.—William Barnet, Sailor, and Pasqual de Rosara.
 147. August 26.—Mr. James Mill, Factor, and Mrs. Elizath Kemp.
 148. September 24.—Clare Bream, Sailor, and Rosa Mananer.
 149. October 9.—Mr. William Weston, Junior Merchant, and Mrs. Mary Ballandine.
 150. November 9.—Mr. Thos. Eavens, Mariner, and Mrs. Teresa Warham.⁵⁸
 151. " 12.—John Lowden, Sailor, and Johana Rosara.
 152. " 12.—James Matthews, Sailor, and Viviana Rosara.
 153. " 21.—Mr. Wm. Barwell, Secretary, and Miss. Ann Atkinson.
 154. " 28.—Mr. Alexander Cottle, Senior Merchant, and Judith Southern.
 155. 1732. January 17.—Mr. Henry Light, Mariner, and Mary Dawson.
 156. February 28.—Capt. Wm. Holcombe and Mrs. Eliz. Tuddree, Widow.
 157. June 11.—Thos. Hoy, Sailor, and Johanna de Montee.
 158. " 22.—John Hunter, Mariner and Eliz. Horsley.⁵⁹
 159. July 11.—Richd. Sampson, Mariner, and Catha. Jones.
 160. August 21.—Charles Jenkins, Sergt. and Ann Hipworth.
 161. September 11.—Mr. Josiah Holmes and Mrs. Martha Seagrave.⁶⁰
 162. November 5.—Hendrick Christian and Christiana Rozara.
 163. December 31.—Capt. Andrew Glen and Mrs. Lucy Garland.

⁵⁶ Sarah de Rosara. See below Nos. 160, 169 and 221. Adam Dawson, Burial No. 491. He was the Company's boatswain.

⁵⁷ John Bishop. Burial No. 629.

⁵⁸ Mrs. T. Warham. See below No. 188.

⁵⁹ Eliz. Horsley. Burial No. 746.

⁶⁰ Martha Seagrave. Burial No. 619.

164. 1733. January 2.—Anthony Dipping,⁶¹ Surgeon, and Margaret Morpew.
165. " 21.—Mr. George Gray, Surgeon, and Mrs. Isabella Grayham.
166. " 23.—William Miller, Pilate (*sic*) and Ignatia de Rozara.
167. February 18.—Emanuel Aquiers, Merchant, and Anna Waughmuck.
168. June 1.—Oliver Berntson, Soldier, and Christiana Rozara.
169. September 17.—Capt. Robt. Hamilton and Mrs. Johanna Lequest.
170. October 26.—Mr. John Duce, Mariner, and Mrs. Rachael Clarke.
171. November 21.—Capt. Edwd. Frederick Read and Mrs. Cathar. Wren.
172. " 25.—Capt. Jas. Parker and Mrs. Unita Ture.
173. December 19.—Mr. Thos. Warrick, Mariner, and Margaret Dipping.
174. " 31.—Robert Bailie, Soldier, and Sally.
175. 1734. January 24.—Mr. John Jackson,⁶² Junior Merchant, and Mrs. Eliza Belenden.
176. " 27.—Geo. Groshier, Sergeant, and Catherine Trusty.
177. April 7.—Samuel Lane, Inhabitant, and Sarah Lansdell.
178. " 14.—Francis Read, Inhabitant, and Mary Phenuse.
179. May 8.—Francis Craigs, Sailor, and Francis Page.
180. " 14.—Francis Renolds, Inhabitant, and Sarah Dawson.
181. June 4.—Wm. Hunt, Mariner, and Rosa Gregory.
182. " 5.—Matthis Hanson, Soldier, and Maria Fonsake.
183. July 1.—Philip John Matthins, Sailor, and Maria de Rosara.
184. August 18.—John Hobbs, Mariner, and Rosa Dolgortah.
185. September 8.—Mr. Charles Addams, Merchant, and Mrs. Mary Buttolph.
186. November 1.—Capt. Andrew Sheppard and Mrs. Mary Cassells.
187. December 8.—John Tomlinson, Mariner, and Sophia Willabuss.⁶³
188. 1735. January 15.—Mr. Ralph Johnson,⁶⁴ Merchant, and Mrs. Teresa Eavens.

⁶¹ Anthony Dipping. See below No. 173. Burial No. 502.

⁶² John Jackson, Collector. See Wilson: *Old Fort William*, Vol. 1, p. 201.

⁶³ Sophia Willabuss, Burial No. 677.

⁶⁴ Ralph Johnson. Burial No. 744.

189. April 7—Thomas Scales, Inhabitant, and Sarah Dawson.
 190. August 18.—Capt. Alexander Baxter⁶⁵ and Mrs. Sarah Jones.⁶⁶
 191. October 6.—Anthony Bodily,⁶⁷ Sailor, and Money Sugars.
 192. " 13.—William Colhourne and Anne Perarah.
 193. November 3.—Nicholas Rasmus and Isabella de Coasta.
 194. " "—Mr. John Beck, Mariner, and Catherine Love.
 195. 1736. January 6.—Capt. James Barton and Mrs. Ann Pierce.
 196. May 2.—Mr. Anthony Bodily⁶⁸ and Mrs. Mary Parsons.
 197. " 9.—Mr. John Searle⁶⁹ and Mrs. Louisa Maria Teresa Orme.
 198. " 23.—Capt. Charles Clark and Mrs. Francis West.
 199. June 13.—William Dent, Sailor, and Susanna Julius.
 200. " "—Mr. George Williamson and Mrs. Anne Jones.
 201. " 30.—Mr. Daniel Mahoney and Mrs. Rachel Dupparus.
 202. July 26.—Capt. Reeve Jobbins and Mrs. Sophia Wyn.
 203. August 22.—Capt. Rob Hamilton and Mrs. Catherine Read.
 204. October 2.—Capt. Edward Emyan and Mrs. Amy Ann Russell.
 205. " 20.—Capt. John Lloyd⁷⁰ and Mrs. Margaret Louisa Orme.
 206. " 30.—Patrick Lockington and Flora De Rozario.
 207. November 18.—Mr. William Archdeacon, Mariner, and Mrs. Elizabeth Cave.
 208. December 7.—Mr. James Meredith and Mrs. Louisa Maria Teresa Searle.
 209. 1737. January 26.—Capt. Robt. Turpin and Mrs. Mary Atkinson.
 210. October 26.—Mr. David Welsh, Inhabitant, and Mary his wife.
 211. 1738. February 22.—William Hillman, Mariner, and Cathrine, a Country Woman.
 212. " 27.—Mr. Will^m Barwell in Council, and Mrs. Eliz. Peirce.
 213. March 31.—John Vane, Inhabitant, and Luzeah Fernoldes.
 214. June 28.—Mr. Tho. Gregory Warren and Mrs. Martha Forster.

⁶⁵ Capt. A. Baxter. Burial No. 504.

⁶⁶ Sarah Jones. See below No. 219.

⁶⁷ Anthony Bodily, Mariner. Burial No. 630.

⁶⁸ John Searle. Burial No. 630.

⁶⁹ L. M. T. Orme. Memorial Tablet in St. John's Churchyard. See below No. 208.

⁷⁰ Capt. J. Lloyd. See Wilson: *Old Fort William*, Vol. 1, p. 156-164.

215. July 30.—Mr. John Halsey in Council⁷¹ and Miss Ann Cooke.⁷²
216. August 24.—John Ellis, Inhabitant, and Ann Jackson.
217. September 16.—John Brown, Soldier, and Lucy Ford.
218. October 9.—Capt. Samuel Lutton⁷³ and Mrs. Barbara Coward.
219. " 24.—Capt. Richard Riccards and Mrs. Sarah Baxter.
220. November 14.—Michd. Field and Archangle.
221. 1739. January 26.—Jona. Ranson, Mariner, and Mrs. Eliz. Archdeacon.
222. February 6.—Benjamin Stanley, Soldier, and Rozina.
223. " "—Mr. Richard Bouchier, Merchant, and Mrs. Eliz. Badman.⁷⁴
224. " 11.—Edward Handle,⁷⁵ Inhabitant, and Mary Mac-kerbin.
225. April 8.—Mr. Robt. Eyre, Merchant,⁷⁶ and Mrs. Mary Kemp.
226. July 21.—Mr. Joshua Beal and Mrs. Rebecca Seal.⁷⁷
227. September 14.—William Chapman, Mariner, and Mary Hampton.
228. October 31.—Jeremiah Lawrence, Mariner, and Clara Williams.
229. November 10.—Mr. Benjamin Cross, Mariner, and Mrs. Sarah Worrell.
230. 1741. April 29.—John Dougall and Henrietta Spok.
231. August 18.—Thos. Davis and Eliz. Wood.
232. November 5.—James Cook and Rachel Mahoney.
233. " 28.—Samuel Auger and Anna, a Country Woman.
234. 1742. April 4.—John Aston, Pilot, and Mary Ward.
235. " 12.—John Eliot and Annah, a Country Woman.
236. May 25.—Mr. Jos. Briggs, Compy.'s Servant, and Mrs. Mary Worrall.
237. August 29.—Benjamin Jones and Isabella, a Country Woman.
238. November 28.—Capt Robert Leonard⁷⁸ and Cath. Clarke.

⁷¹ John Halsey, Collector of Calcutta.

⁷² Miss Ann Cooke. See below No. 276.

⁷³ Lutton. See below No. 326.

⁷⁴ Elizabeth Badman. Evidently not the E. Badman of No. 244.

⁷⁵ Edward Handle, Scavenger of Calcutta and Surveyor.

⁷⁶ Robert Eyre. Burial No. 680.

⁷⁷ Rebecca Seal. See below No. 246.

⁷⁸ Capt. Robt. Leonard. See No. 277.

239. December 21.—Mr. Jas. Meredith and Mrs. Mary Shepard.
 240. 1743. January 10.—Mr. Roger Drake,⁷⁹ Comp's Servt., and Mrs. Mary Coates, Married. by Gervas Bellamy, Chaplain.
 241. September 4.—Tho. Blany, Inhab. and Mary Asselin, by Gervas Bellamy.
 242. October 6.—Capt. Jno. Thorpe and Mrs. Eliz Smart. Married by Robt. Wynch, Chaplain.
 243. " 9.—Jno. Hendrick, Soldier, and Roza, a Country Woman by Gervas Bellamy.
 244. 1744. January 5.—Capt. Thomas Fenwick⁸⁰ and Mrs. Eliz. Badman, married by Gervas Bellamy.
 245. " 29.—Edward Charman and Maria De Monti by Gervas Bellamy.
 246. February 16.—Mr. George Male and Mrs. Rebecca Beale by Gervas Bellamy.
 247. May 27.—Peter and Catherine, Country People, by Gervas Bellamy.
 248. October 3.—Thomas Wooley, Sailor, and Ann Gunby by Gervas Bellamy.
 249. November 3.—Mr. Perry Purnell Templer, Merchant, and Miss Frances Crook⁸¹ by Gervas Bellamy.
 250. " 3.—Mr. James Twiss and Mrs. Mary Bramble, Spint., by Gervas Bellamy.
 251. " 30.—Mr. Thomas Holmes, Merchant, and Lady Ann Russell by Gervas Bellamy.
 252. December 4.—Mr. Robert Robertson and Jane Broadbrook, by Gervas Bellamy.
 253. 1745. February 5.—William Farrier, Soldier, and Maria Rozaro, Country Woman, by Gervas Bellamy.
 254. July 22.—Capt. James Irwin and Mrs. Mary Palmer, by Gervas Bellamy.
 255. September 11.—John Thompson, Mariner, and Julianna Senagate, Spinster, by Gervas Bellamy.
 256. " 21.—Thomas Jones, Soldier, and Sarah Solley, County Woman, by Gervas Bellamy.
 257. December 18.—Joseph Ransom, Soldier, and Antonia, Country Woman, by Gervas Bellamy.

⁷⁹ Roger Drake, President of Fort William in 1752-7.

⁸⁰ Capt. Thos. Fenwick. Biographical Note in Wilson: *Old Fort William*, Vol. 1, p. 196.

⁸¹ Frances Crook. "Begum Johnson." See below Nos. 281 and 311.

258. December 19.—Rowland Ingle, Soldier, Susannah, Country Woman, by Gervas Bellamy.
259. " 21.—Lemerson Phromerine, Soldier, and Catherine de Rozara, Country Woman, by Gervas Bellamy.
260. 1746 January 16.—Peter Connel, Corporal, and Mary de Rozario, by Gervas Bellamy.
261. April 3.—Richd. Huff, Sailor and Anne de Rozario, by Gervas Bellamy.
262. " 7.—Edwd. Holden Cruttenden and Elizabeth Jedderie by Robert Wynch.
263. June 12.—Jno. Ellis, Inhabitant, and Esperance Glan, Widow, by Gervas Bellamy.
264. July 14.—Jeremiah Raven, Governor's Servant, and Natalia, Country Woman, Gervas Bellamy.
265. " 31.—Joseph Thompson, Governor's Servant, and Susan Causea, do., by Gervas Bellamy.
266. September 14.—Jno. Askin, Inhabitant, and Mary Humphzys, Widow, by Gervas Bellamy.
267. November 14.—Jno. Stevens, Governor's Servant, and Maria de Rozara, by Gervas Bellamy.
268. " 17.—Jno. Smith, Pilot, and Elianor Mann, by Gervas Bellamy.
269. December 9.—Joseph Porter, Mariner, and Ann Ellis, Widow, by Gervas Bellamy.
270. " 27.—James Twiss and Elizabeth Phillips,** by Robert Wynch.
271. 1747. February 11.—Humpy. Bellamy²³ Esqr., and Mrs. Mary Parsons.
272. March 6.—The Hon'ble Jno. Forster,²⁴ Esqr., and Miss Alice Pattison.
273. April 20.—Mr. Thos. Cooke and Miss Sarah Corsley Mason.
274. " " —Mr. Geo. Gray and Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson.
275. " 27.—Robert Cotterel, Corporal, and Mary, a Country Woman.
276. May 26.—Mr. Thos. Burrow, Company's Servant, and Mrs. Ann Halsey.

** Elizabeth Phillips. See below No. 351.

²³ Humphrey Bellamy, Member of Council in 1748. Went Home 1749. Perhaps a brother of Chaplain Bellamy.

²⁴ John Forster. See Wilson: *Old Fort William*. Vol. 1, p. 201, dated March 1748.

277. September 16.—Capt. Robert Leonard and Mrs. Lucy Glenn, Widow.
278. 1748. May 17.—Nicholas Vanderval, Soldier, and Antonia a Country Woman.
279. June 16.—Edward Eyles,⁸⁵ Esq., and Mrs. Mary Gumley, Widow.
280. August 16.—John Challenor, Soldier, and Anne, a Country Woman.
281. November 2.—Mr. James Altham and Mrs. Frances Templer,⁸⁶ Widow.
282. " 8.—Lochwick Laod, Mariner, and Sarah Hoolt, Spinster.
283. " 14.—Capt. James McKin and Mrs. Mary Man.
284. " 26.—Joseph Swerb, Soldier, and Susannah, a Country Woman.
285. 1749 January 1.—Mr. Thos. Holme, Inhabitant, and Eleanor Gunby, Spinster.
286. " 5.—William Carr, Soldier, and Anna, a Country Woman.
287. " 19.—Peter Noke, Esqr., and Mrs. Elizabeth Fisher,⁸⁷ Widow.
288. April 1.—John Cooke, Pilot, and Mary Johnson, a Country Woman.
289. " 17.—Thomas Gregory, a Sloopsman, and Dominga Kenny, Country Woman.
290. June 3.—Martin Mackman, Soldier, and Anna d'Cruze, Country Woman.
291. " 5.—William Parlor, Soldier, and Dominga, Country Woman.
292. " 5.—William Graves, Soldier, and Lucey, Country Woman.
293. " 14.—Anthony Panover, Soldier, and Reba Rosara, Country Woman.
294. " 20.—John Griffiths, Corporal, and Johanna De Rosaro, Country Woman.
295. " 21.—James Bailie, Soldier, and Flora De Rosaro, Country Woman.

⁸⁵ Edward Eyles. Appointed Governor. 1782, but went home.

⁸⁶ Mrs. Frances Templer. This is the famous "Bagum Johnson." See below No. 31.

⁸⁷ Mrs. E. Fisher. See Appendix C.

296. July 12.—Mr. Thomas Sewel, a Lieutenant, and Mrs. Millicent Knipe, Inhabitant.
297. " 31.—Captain David Clayton,⁸⁸ and Mrs. Lucy Leonard, Inhabitant.
298. August 5.—John Weatherley, Soldier, and Roza, Country Woman.
299. " 19.—John Hill, Soldier, and Maria D'Rozara, Country Woman.
300. September 5.—James Norton, Corporal, and Agnes, Country Woman.
301. " 14.—Mr. Henry Kelsall, Company's Servant, Mrs. Isabella Crooke, Inhabitant.
302. " 18.—John King, Sergeant, and Mary, a Country Protestant.
303. " 25.—Mr. James Valicourt,⁸⁹ Company's Servant, and Mrs. Mary Conset, Inhabitant.
304. October 9.—Richard Bowler, Sergeant, and Rachel, a Country Woman.
305. " 10.—Joshua Bowers, Soldier, and Frances, Country Woman.
306. " 10.—Mr. John Bonjannier and Catharina Johanna Conset, Inhabitants.
307. " 19.—Samuel Brannock, Soldier, and Mary, a Country Woman.
308. " 21.—Daniel Burgiss, a Sloopsman, and Maria D'Rosara, a Country Woman.
309. November 14.—William Anderton, Soldier, and Betty, a Country Woman.
310. " 18.—Mr. John MackDonald, Surgeon, and Mary Askins, a Country Woman.
311. " 24.—William Waits, Esq., and Mrs. Altham, Widow.
312. 1750. January 2.—Abraham Tattue, Soldier, and Florinda a Country Woman.
313. " " 7.—Mr. Robert Sanderson,⁹⁰ Lieutenant in the Honourable Company's Service, and Miss Mary Coles, Inhabitant.
314. " 9.—Abraham Curry, Soldier, and Esperance, a Country Woman.

⁸⁸ Capt. D. Clayton, died 31 July 1749.

⁸⁹ James Valicourt, perished in the Black Hole.

⁹⁰ R. Sanderson, the father-in-law of Richard Barwell.

315. January 21.—Thomas Wilson, Soldier, and Dominga, a Country Woman,
 316. " 30.—John Belguard, Serjeant, and Maria de Rozara, a Country Woman.
 317. February 8.—Martin Costelly,⁹¹ Inhabitant, and Anna, a Country Woman.
 318. March 25.—Henry Huse, Soldier, and Flora, a Country Woman.
 319. " 28.—John Angel, Soldier, and Mary, a Country Woman.
 320. " 29.—David Thompson, of the Sloops Service and Anard Hinde, Widow, a Country Woman.
 321. April 2.—Cornelius Megee, Soldier, and Flora, a Country woman.
 322. " 6.—John Henry Cruse, Soldier, and Roza, a Country Woman.
 323. " 15.—William Bowler, Soldier, and Mary, a Country Woman.
 324. May 16.—Henry Baker, Soldier, and Roza, a Country Woman.
 325. " 16.—William Lambeth, Corporal, and Bettanah, a Country Woman.
 326. " 19.—Captain Samuel Lutton, and Mrs. Sarah Sutcliffe.
 327. " 22.—Edward Cormick, Soldier, and Altey, a Country Woman.
 328. " "—Edward Langley, Soldier, and Anna, a Country Woman.
 329. June 2.—James Harrison, Soldier, and Susanna, a Country Woman.
 330. " 10.—Francis Gaskins, Soldier, and Maria de Rozara, a Country Woman.
 331. " 19.—Thomas Darmar, Soldier, and Catharina de Rozara, a Country Woman.
 332. " 23.—Stephen Borrow, Mariner, and Joanna de Coenne, a Country Woman.
 333. August 18.—Mr. John Bristow,⁹² Surgeon, and Elizabeth Mackey.
 334. September 19.—Francis Drake, Corporal, and Susannah Rozara, a Country Woman.
 335. October 7.—Anthony Johnson, Soldier, and Julia, a Country Woman.
 336. " 9.—Peter Conner, Mariner, and Ann Cahil, Inhabitant.

⁹¹ Martin Costelly. See Wilson: *Old Port William*. Vol. 11, pp. 151-7.

⁹² John Bristow. See Crawford: *History of the Indian Medical Service*. Vol. I, pp. 164-7.

337. November 6.—William Holiday, Corporal of Capt. Fenwick's Co., and Francisca, a Country Woman.
338. " 24.—Johannes Vanderburg, Soldier, and Pasca Sylvara, a Country Woman.
339. December 3.—John Johnson, Soldier, and Lizarda, a Country Woman.
340. " 7.—James Fitzgerald, Corporal, and Anna, a Country Woman.
341. " 12.—Albert Grasfield, Soldier, and Anna, a Country Woman.
342. " 17.—James Cushion, Seaman, and Roza, a Country Woman.
343. 1751. January 7.—Wm. Bradford, Corporal, and Johanna, a Country Woman.
344. " 7.—John Dollinson, Seaman, and Bertise, a Country Woman.
345. " 18.—Mr. John Cook,⁹³ Company's Servant, and Miss Sophia Jacobs.
346. March 5.—Patrick Cromey, Mariner, and Mary Cooke, a Country Woman.
347. " 13.—Nathaniel Kerfoot, Mariner, and Mary Davis, a Country Woman.
348. April 21.—Robert Wilson, Soldier in Capt. Clayton's Company, and Mary, a Country Woman.
349. May 3.—John Standard, Drummer in Capt. Saunderson's Company, and Maria, a Country Woman.
350. June 5.—John Green, Corporal in Capt. Fenwick's Company, and Antonia, a Country Woman.
351. " 20.—Mr. Wm. Dumbleton,⁹⁴ Inhabitant, and Mrs. Elizabeth Twiss, Widow.
352. " 25.—Nicholas Tyson, Sergeant-Major, and Catherine Love, Widow.
353. July 18.—Mr. John Putham, Surgeon, and Mrs. Esther Pomfret, Widow.
354. " 30.—Daniel Steel, a Sloopman, and Lucy Rozara, a Country Woman.
355. September 10.—Capt. Charles Douglas, and Mrs. June Goring, widow.

⁹³ John Cook survived the Black Hole.

⁹⁴ Wm. Dumbleton perished in the Black Hole.

356. October 26.—Gregory Dellabar, Soldier in Capt. Fenwick's Company, and Johanna, a Country Woman.
357. December 14.—Paul Richard Pearks, Esqr., and Mrs. Adriana Cecilia Verelst.
358. " 21.—Capt. Wm. Bonady, and Mrs. Martha Harding.
359. " 30.—James Smith, Mariner, and Isabella de Rosaria, a Country Woman.
360. 1752. January 2.—James Higgenson, Mariner, and Elizabeth Man, a Country Woman.
361. " 11.—Richard Dean, Mariner, and Ursula Pollock, a Country Woman.
362. February 4.—Mr. James Macpherson, Inhabitant, and Mrs. Henrietta Merrick.
363. March 30.—Mr. Wm. Macket,²⁵ Company's Servant, and Mrs. Ann Carteret, Widow.
364. April 9.—Barnet Lively, Soldier in Capt. Minchin's Company, and Maria, a Country Woman.
365. " 12.—John Gerloff, Soldier in Capt. Clayton's Company and Maria a Country Woman.
366. " 27.—John Allenson, Mariner, and Jane Dent, a Country Woman.
367. " 29.—John Laughwat, Soldier in Capt. Fenwick's Company, and Madalina, a Country Woman.
368. May 1.—John Bloom, Soldier in Capt. Fenwick's Company, and Cecilia de Rosara, a Country Woman.
369. " 9.—John Dormer, Soldier in Chaise Company, and Rosa de Rosara, a Country Woman.
370. " 11.—Richard Hobbs, Soldier in Capt. Saunderson's Company, and Maria, a Country Woman.
371. June 21.—Leonard Weldenhoff, Soldier in Capt. Fenwick's Company, and Maria a Country Woman.
372. August 3.—Frederick Gross, Soldier in Capt. Fenwick's Company, and Maria a Country Woman.
373. September 20.—Capt. James M. Kie and Ann Dutton.
374. " 30.—Mr. Thos. Swaine and Mariner, Martha Collins.
375. November 9.—Capt. Edward Roche and Domingo.
376. " 13.—Gasper Schink, a Swiss Soldier, and Anna de Rosario.

²⁵ Wm. Macket. Captain of the Militia. Wilson: *Old Fort William*. Vol. II, pp. 52, 62, 81, 90 and 131.

377. November 20.—Gabriel Addams, Soldier in Capt. Fenwick's Company, and Antonia.
378. " 21.—Frederic Caubow, Soldier in Capt. Minchin's Company, and Anna Susanna.
379. " 29.—Richard. Becher, Esq., and Miss Charlot Golightly.
380. " 30.—Peter Jenvey, Sergeant of the Train, and Anna, a Country Woman.
381. December 19.—Philip Kerms, Soldier in Capt. Clayton's Company, and Anna, a Country Woman.
382. 1753. January 5.—Hump. Ralph, Soldier in Capt. Minchin's Company, and Isabel, a Country Woman.
383. February 19.—Richard Deane, Mariner, and Catherine Sheldrake, a Country Woman.
384. March 4.—Oliver de Gue, Soldier in Capt. Fenwick's Company, and Johanna Vail, Country Woman.
385. " 5.—Abraham Helm of the Train and Catherina a Country Woman Protestant.
386. " 26.—Mr. Wm. Maguire,⁹⁶ Company's Servant, and Mrs. Lucy Fytche, Widow.⁹⁷
387. " 31.—The Rev. Mr. Robert Mapletolt, Chaplain, and Mrs. Sarah Irwin, Widow.
388. April 5.—Rowland Bross of the Train and Ann, a Country Woman and Protestant.
389. " 23.—Lucas Ramquin of the Train and Natalia, a Country Woman.
390. " 24.—Christian Frederick, Soldier in Captain Minchin's Company, and Anna de Rosario, a C. Roman.
391. " 24.—Vanto Pararo, Soldier in Capt. Fenwick's Company, and Jacoba de Rosario, a C. Roman.
392. May 4.—John Rowe, of the Train, and Maria de Rosario, a Country Woman and Protestant.
393. " Cornelius Tanboven, of the Train, and Francisca de Rosario, a Country Woman and Protestant.
394. " 6.—Erasmus Peters, of the Train and Manona, a Country Woman and Protestant.
395. " 13.—Balsor New-house and Francisca de Rosario, a Country Woman and Protestant.
396. " 21.—Joseph Hadly, Sergeant in Capt. Minchin's Company, and Johanna de Rosario, a C. Roman.

⁹⁶ W. McGuire. See notices in Wilson: *Old Fort William*.

⁹⁷ Lucy Fytche. Perhaps the widow of William Fytche, Sheriff 1745; Governor 1752. Died August 8, 1742.

397. June 16.—John Readhead, Soldier in Capt. Fenwick's Company, and Thomasa, a C. Roman.
398. July 6.—John Beergrave of the Train and Roza Maria, a Country Woman and Protestant.
399. August 7.—Derick Vander Hol, of the Train, and Catherina, a Country Woman and Protestant.
400. " 10.—Peter Bacon of the Train and Maria a Country Woman and Protestant.
401. October 5.—Jacob Muirs, Soldier and Rosa, a Country Woman.
402. " 7.—Nicholas Parrot, Soldier and Catharina, a Country Woman.
403. " 14.—Richard Gill, a Corporal, and Rosa, a Country Woman.
404. December 10.—Julian Gulian, Soldier, and Maria, Country Woman.
405. 1754 January 15.—Peter Cary, Mariner, and Mary,** a Country Woman.
406. February 10.—Daniel Whaley and Ann Percival, Inhabitants.
407. " 24.—John Jewrin, Soldier, and Maria De Rosario, a Country Woman.
408. " William Lyng, Inhabitant and Francis, a Country Woman.
409. " 25.—Richard Little, Corporal, and Anna, a Country Woman.
410. June 24.—John Gould, Mariner, and Henrietta Pearson, Widow.
411. August 13.—George Downing, Mariner and Elizabeth Lewis.
412. " 16.—Christopher Fields, Soldier, and Rosa, a Country Woman.
413. October 11.—John Bruce, Corporal, and Adda Davenport, a Country Woman.
414. November 2.—Alexander Berkely, Mariner, and Catharina, a Country Woman.
415. " 18.—Jacob Goingstone, Soldier in Capt. Buchanan's Company, and Mary, a Country Woman.
416. " 20.—Robert Ranson, of the Sloop Service, and Susanna, a Country Woman.
417. December 3.—Fabian D'Montago and Phabe, a Country Woman.

** Mary Cary survived the Blackhole. See Consolidated Index, *Brigal Past & Present*, Vols. I-VIII.

APPENDICES.

A.—HENRY FRANKLAND, GOVERNOR OF CALCUTTA, 1726—1728.*

Sir Thomas Frankland, of Thirkleby, in Yorkshire, the head of the ancient Frankland family in the seventeenth century, was created a Baronet by Charles II. at the Restoration in 1660. His eldest son, Thomas, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Russell and Lady Frances, and sister of Governor John Russell of Calcutta. They had numerous children, of whom Henry Frankland, their fourth son, was born in the year 1684. At the end of the year 1707, he was elected a factor in the service of the East India Company, and arrived in Bengal on January 14, 1709. He did not remain long in Calcutta; but was sent, at the end of March, to Patna, where he remained more than four years, making good use of the opportunities afforded by that station for learning the language and the political methods of the country. At the end of the year 1713, he returned to Calcutta, having been appointed ninth member of the Council.

At the beginning of the next year, the Council at Calcutta took into its serious consideration the constitution of the embassy, which it was intended to send to Delhi to represent the grievances of the English throughout India. The matter had hung fire for many years, owing to various causes too tedious to relate, and had only reached the stage of practical politics with the establishment of Farrukhsiyar as Emperor of Hindustan. A minority in the Council wished to place Frankland at the head of the embassy, not only on account of his high character and acknowledged ability, but especially because he was one of the few Englishmen in Bengal who had a good knowledge of Hindustani. But the majority in the Council objected to his appointment for the curious reason that he was too good, and made John Surman "chief of the negotiation" instead. They contended that any embassy to the Mogul Court would be exposed to great indignities, to which a man of Frankland's position could not submit. "Whoever the great Mogul is pleased to honour with leave to appear in his presence," they said, "will, after he is disarmed, be admitted into a courtyard, where he must stand exposed to the weather, whatever it may happen to be, at the appointed distance, which will be out of hearing a word the King shall speak; when, looking out at a window a story high in his palace, every man in sight of him must stand with his arms a little crossing on his stomach, and his toes close together, without presuming to look up. When the King goes from this window, a curtain is let fall, and every man in the courtyard shuffles away without observing any order. This is a account of the reception the King will give; but his Ministers generally admit foreigners to sit cross-legged in their presence and talk to them, but scarcely of their business, for that must be treated by means of their under-officers." Such is the official reason assigned for not putting Frankland at the head of the embassy, but there were doubtless private considerations also at work. Surman was unmarried and had no ties; but Henry Frankland, though still single, was engaged, and expected to be married in less than two months. So John Surman, only yesterday a writer and the son of a coach-builder, was sent to the Court of the Mogul to win a name in the history of British India; and Henry Frankland, sixth in the Council, and great-grandson of Oliver Cromwell, because of his dignity and honour, remained to help in keeping shop at Calcutta.

On February 25, 1714, Frankland married Mary, the daughter of Alexander Cross, a Bengal merchant. In 1715, he became eighth in Council and Secretary; in 1716, seventh and Collector of Calcutta; in 1717, sixth and Paymaster. During these years two children were born

* From an article on "Descendants of Oliver Cromwell in Calcutta, Part II," by C. R. Wilson. *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1900.

to Henry and Mary Frankland—Charles Henry, baptized on June 6, 1716, and Harriot, baptized on June 13, 1717. Meanwhile their father had amassed a large fortune, and wished to return to England. In these days furlough was unknown, so on January 19, 1719, Frankland resigned the Company's service. In the same month, he sailed for England on the *Grankham* with all his family and a Eurasian nurse, Diana, who looked after the two children.

Some time soon after his arrival in England, Frankland must have purchased from Sir Willoughby Hickman the estate of Mottessea in Nottinghamshire, and here for a few years he settled down. But, like many other Anglo-Indians, he must have soon begun to feel a strong desire to return to India; for, in 1722, both Henry Frankland and John Surman were re-admitted to the service of the Company, and were appointed respectively third and fourth in the Council of Bengal. Henry Frankland sailed on the *Dorsetshire*, having with him his youngest brother, Robert, who went out as a free merchant, and arrived in Calcutta at the beginning of August.

At the beginning of 1723, he was, at his own request, sent to Cassimbazar to be chief of the English factory there. Cassimbazar, being close to Murshidabad, the seat of the Government of Bengal, the English Agent at that factory was brought into close diplomatic relations with the Nabob, and the position was consequently regarded as second only to the governorship of Calcutta. For this important post no better man could have been appointed than Henry Frankland, for his command of the language and his good breeding made him a *persona grata* with Murshid Quli Khan, and were of great advantage to the cause of the English. Though not always able to check the progress of rival commercial enterprises, he was yet able through his influence to advance and extend the operations of his own Company. Factories were re-established at Dacca and Maldah, and excellent relations maintained with the Country Powers.

At the end of the year 1725, in view of the impending vacancy of the governorship of Fort William, Frankland returned to Calcutta. Before leaving Cassimbazar he asked for an interview with the Nabob; but Murshid Quli Khan was extremely ill, and, in fact, not far off his death. The old man could only send a message to say that "as he had always been, so he should always continue to be a friend to the English."

On Sunday, January 30, 1726 John Deane, Esq., President for Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, having their liberty to return to England, took his passage on the *Eyles*, and in pursuance of their orders delivered up their cash and all under his charge to Henry Frankland, Esq., appointed to succeed him, and the balance of the cash account, amounting to Rs. 1,50,081-4-6, together with all the royal firmanis, papers, etc., were delivered over to the new Governor.

One of the earliest measures carried out by Frankland as Governor is characteristic of his friendliness towards the Country Powers. The abuse of *dastaks*, or the passes which were granted by the English to secure the free passage of their merchandise through the country, which many years later led to the Pataas massacre and the war with Mir Kasim, was already a subject of complaint at Murshidabad. In order to prevent "this most pernicious evil," it was again ordered by the Council that no *dastaks* should be granted except for *bona-fide* Englishmen's merchandize, and for the better enforcement of this regulation it was ordered that an exact account should be taken of the different sorts of goods for which *dastaks* were given; that all such goods should be landed at the Company's warehouse, and not removed from thence on any pretence whatsoever without the permission of the Governor; and that all goods brought into the warehouse should be on their arrival entered into a book kept by the warehouse-keeper for that purpose. These orders were effectual just so long as Governors and Councils were vigilant and in earnest.

But the most important question with which Frankland had at this time to deal was the question known as the "Ostenders." For some ten years past, the merchant of the Austrian Netherlands had made more than one successful venture with ships fitted out for Bengal, and had become anxious to claim a share in the commerce of the East. In 1724, on applying to the Government of Murshidabad and to the Court of Vienna, Murshid Quli Khan assigned them the

village of Bankibazar,* fifteen miles above Calcutta, for a factory, and the Emperor granted them his letters patent authorizing them to trade to the East Indies under the denomination of the "Ostend Company." This Company, as Sir William Hunter has pointed out, was by no means the insignificant corporation described by Carlyle, which merely "had the honour to be." It set to work with vigour to establish itself in Bengal, where it undersold the other Europeans, and consequently rose quickly in estimation. In two years the mud-huts at Bankibazar became brick houses, and the factory was fortified with walls and bastions, and a deep dock opened into the river for ships and sloops of considerable burden. In 1727, the jealous protests of the English, French, and Dutch compelled the Emperor to withdraw his charter; but the Ostend Agent in Bengal refused to abandon his post, and secretly furnished cargoes to ships sent by private merchants from the Austrian Netherlands. Frankland was called upon to do his utmost to stamp out the Ostenders, and, from the letters to the secret committee which still remain, he appears to have done his best. At the beginning of 1727, a joint letter from Henry Frankland and Edward Stevenson† details the various measures that had been taken. "Your Honours," they say, "may be pleased to observe that we have not been wanting in our duty to impede and intercept the affairs of these interlopers. You will find that by the large sums they offered to the Nabob they were very near obtaining what privileges and grants they requested. We wrote several letters to the officers at the *durbar* to prevent their having any footing in Bengal. We gave orders to our chief there to concert with the Dutch chief the most proper measures that could be taken to prevent what we terribly apprehended they would (by the large sums of money they offered) have obtained. It was with unspeakable pleasure that we got their affairs to be left to the management and direction of the Hugli Governor. As soon as this was effected, we sent our *sahib* to him, and obtained his promise not to conclude anything in favour of the Ostenders, till he should come down to his Government here. . . . Rather than have these interlopers have any footing or trade in Bengal, we have exerted ourselves to the very utmost of what your Honours have ordered. The seizing Mr. Humes, which we have endeavoured several times, would not have oversteer their affairs: for though he is their chief, and has the management of their whole business, yet the second and several other Germans would be able to carry it on, though perhaps not so well. What we have done we hope your Honours will approve of, and we do entirely depend on the power of that indemnification given to your Honours by the Court of Directors, whereby you are pleased to indemnify us in whatsoever we have done or shall do on this emergent occasion. We have gone some lengths that are not so proper to be committed to black and white. We therefore refer your Honours to Mr. Falconer, who, as he has himself been aiding and assisting in this grand affair, will do us the justice to acquaint you how zealous we have been in serving the Honourable Company."

The crisis of the struggle with the Ostenders did not come till 1730, when the English and the Dutch determined to strike a vigorous blow. A squadron was fitted out under Captain Godfricht, who sailed up the Hugli and placed the river under blockade. Of the two Ostend ships in the river, one was seized, but the other escaped to Bankibazar, where it was protected by the guns of the factory. Foiled in their efforts to destroy the Ostenders from the river, the English, by exaggerating the strength of the fortifications at Bankibazar, induced the Nabob to attack the place by land. In 1733 a considerable force was despatched from Hugli under Mir Jafar, who besieged the fort. The garrison defended themselves bravely, and, even when reduced to fourteen men, held the Indian troops at bay. It was not till the Agent had lost his right arm, and was no longer able to fight, that he and his men withdrew by night in a ship, leaving the victors nothing but bare walls and a few cannon.

* "Banki," apparently means "fair", thus the correct spelling of the name of this place would be Bankebarar, which means "Fairmarket," and similarly Bankepar, near Patna, means "Fairborough."

† The Second in the Council.

Henry Frankland did not live to witness the crisis of the struggle with the Ostenders. A brief illness of twelve days cut short his government in the year 1728. He died at one o'clock in the morning of Friday, August 23, and was buried in Calcutta the same day. At the beginning of the year 1729, Mrs. Frankland and her family sailed for England on the *Walpole*.

Of the seven children* left by Henry Frankland, the eldest, Charles Henry, was but a boy of twelve at the time of his father's death. As the heir not only of his father's property, but also of the baronetcy and estates of Thirkleby, he was educated with considerable care, and his career has been made the subject of a memoir by Elias Nason, of Albany, New York. Sir Charles Henry Frankland was for many years Collector of the Port of Boston in America, after which he was for many years more Consul-General in Portugal. During the great earthquake at Lisbon in 1755, he lay buried for upwards of an hour beneath a mass of ruins, but fortunately escaped with his life. He died on January 11, 1768, and was buried in the church of Weston, near Bath, where his monument may still be seen †.

B.—SIR FRANCIS RUSSELL, CHIEF AT CASSIMBAZAR, 1728-1731 AND 1741-1743

The story of Sir Francis Russell takes us to the eldest branch of the family that descended from Sir John Russell and Lady Frances. Their eldest son, William, born in 1658, succeeded his father as fifth Baronet, but does not seem to have added to the fortunes of the family, for it is recorded in the pedigree that he sold the family estates of Chippenham. He married Catherine Gore, and died in 1707, leaving two sons—William, who became sixth Baronet, ‡ and Francis, born about 1697, who entered the service of the East India Company.

Arriving in Bengal as a writer on the *Grantham* in 1716, Frank Russell spent the whole of the early portion of his service at Cassimbazar. On February 15, 1728, when second of the Council of that place, he married, at Calcutta, Ann, daughter of Zochariah Gee, a Bengal merchant, by whom he had one son, William. In August of the same year, owing to the changes which took place on the death of his cousin, Henry Frankland, he became Chief of the factory at Cassimbazar. Three years later it was resolved that Frank Russell should be taken into the Council, and on September 27, 1731, he took his seat at the Board in Calcutta. During the next ten years he gradually rose to the second place in the Council.

A number of his letters written at this time to his friends in England are still preserved, and would doubtless afford interesting lights as to the condition of Calcutta in the first half of the eighteenth century. One letter to his cousin, Colonel Charles Russell, dated December 31, 1737, gives us the only authentic account extant of the great storm which occurred at Calcutta on September 30 in that year. He speaks of that night as an unparalleled scene of horror, the wind

* They were: (1) Charles Henry, baptized June 8, 1716; (2) Harriot, baptized June 13, 1717; (3) Thomas, died at Bath November 21, 1784; (4) William, born in 1721; (5) Richard, who died young; (6) Robert, baptized September 27, 1726; (7) Frederick, baptized August 13, 1727, who died in Lisbon a Major in the Blues in 1752.

† The inscription runs as follows:

"To the memory of Sir Charles Henry Frankland, of Thirkleby in the County of York, Baronet, Consul-General for many years at Lisbon, from whence he came in hopes of recovery from a bad state of health at Bath, where after a tedious and painful illness, which he sustained with patience and resignation becoming a Christian, he died 11th January, 1768, in the 52nd year of his life, without issue, and at his own request lies buried in the Church.

"This monument is erected by his affectionate widow Agnes, Lady Frankland."

‡ Sir William, the first Baronet, had two sons, Francis and William, both of them Baronets. If both these sons are counted, Sir John Russell, who married Frances, is the fourth Baronet in the family, and this William is the sixth. In most of the pedigrees, however, the second William is not counted, and thus Sir John becomes the third Baronet, and this William the fifth.

and the rain being so furious that he expected every moment that the house* he lived in, the strongest in the town, would have fallen on his head. The noise abovestairs was so violent that he and his family were obliged to remain below till the morning with a neighbour and her children, who had fled to his house for refuge; the doors and windows of hers being burst from the walls. "But, good God!" he continues, "what a sight was the town and the river in the morning! Not a ship but the *Duke of Dorset* to be seen in the river, where the evening before was above twenty-nine sails of vessels, great and small, many being drove ashore, some broke to pieces and others foundered. ... There was no ebb tide for twenty-four hours. Our church-steeple was blown down, as also eight or ten English houses, and numbers belonging to the black merchants. The whole town looked like a place that had been bombarded by an enemy. Such a havoc did it make that it is impossible to find words to express it, all our beautiful shady roads laid bare, which will not be the like again this twenty years.† ... I saved all my fine trees in the country that were blown down by replacing them while the earth was soft, as they might have done by those on the roads."

In March, 1739, Frank Russell learnt the death of his brother William, at Waterford, in May, 1738, in consequence of which he became seventh Baronet.‡ This change in his position does not seem to have excited in him any desire to leave the service of the Company and return to England. On the contrary, in 1741, he went back to Cassimbazar as chief of the factory. At the beginning of 1743, being seriously ill, he called in the services of the Company's famous surgeon, Holwell,§ but not getting better came down to Calcutta, where he arrived on February 24. He intended to go to Ballasore for a short sea-voyage, but died on the morning of February 26, 1743. As he left no will, and Dame Russell declined to act, the Mayor's Court at Calcutta appointed four administrators for the deceased Baronet's estate—Solomon Margan, William Young, John Zephaniah Holwell, and William Weston, the Court Registrar. Sir Francis was succeeded in the baronetcy by his son Sir William, who was a Lieutenant in the 1st Regiment of the Guards, but he died unmarried in 1757, and the baronetcy descended to his second cousin, Sir John Russell, the grandson of Governor John Russell.

Anne, Lady Russell, on November 30, 1744, married a second husband, a Mr. Thomas Holmes, merchant, and continued to live in Calcutta in her house at the south-east corner of the green before the fort. She must have witnessed the taking of the settlement by Siraj-ud-Daulah in June, 1756. She died a few months later, probably at Fulta, where the English had taken refuge. Her will is dated August 24, 1756, and was proved in the Mayor's Court at Calcutta in 1757. It is sealed with the arms of Russell: in chief, three escallops; in base, a lion rampant.**

The story of these descendants of Oliver Cromwell in Calcutta is not, I think, without a certain general interest, as showing that, even in these early days, the service of the East India Company was by no means so unpromising that only very poor or very impossible boys were consigned to it. On the contrary, we see a man of Sir Francis Russell's rank coming out young, and voluntarily staying on in Bengal for twenty-seven years, even after he had succeeded to a baronetcy. And rightly so, for it does not appear that the members of the family who remained

* This may be identified with Lady Russell's house, shown in Wells' map of Calcutta at the south-east corner of the green before the fort. It is probably still standing in Mission Row.

† I think there can be little doubt that the great storm was a cyclone, or possibly a tornado, which passed over Calcutta. The description would do quite well for Dacca after the tornado of 1899. It literally looked as if it had been severely bombarded, every tree and every building having been demolished that lay in the track of the whirlwind.

‡ Or sixth according to the other way of counting.

§ Holwell's fee for this was Rs. 300.

** I am indebted to the Rev. H. B. Hyde, Domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of Madras, for this information. He gives the arms as: in chief, three double trefoils; but Lipacovich in his "History of Buckinghamshire" says they are escallops.

in England did more to enrich or perpetuate the family than those who came to India. In fact, they did much less. Three or four times in the story of the family we find the elder English branch dying out, and the title and property reverting to the younger Indian branch. Thus, in 1738, the elder brother William dies without issue, and the title goes to his brother in India and his brother's son. In 1757, that brother's son, having settled in England, dies without issue, and the title passes to the grandson of Governor John Russell, the youngest of the sons of Frances who came out to India. Sir John Russell settles in England, transmits the title of his two sons, both of whom die without issue, and the property, without the title, reverts to the children of Elizabeth, the daughter of Governor John Russell, who had returned to India and married Samuel Greenhill. In the same way the Frankland baronetcy, after remaining in the English branch of the family for one generation, in the second generation passes to Indian branch of the family, the children of Governor Henry Frankland. The Indian members of the family, in fact, found themselves in much easier circumstances than their English cousins; hence, while the latter married late or not at all, the former married early and left their names and fortunes to their heirs.

C. R. W.

C.—MRS. ELIZABETH FISHER.

In 1716 a Mrs. Elizabeth Fisher came out on the *Prince Frederick* "to go to her father Thos. Morris, one of the Compa's pilots in Bengal." The will of Thomas Morris is given in the unpublished Vol. III of Wilson's *Annals*, pp. 151-2. It is a rather curious one as he leaves to his wife Jane, the sum of Rs. 500 only, but he continues: "I bequeath to Mrs. Sybilla Rote my house and garden standing behind the hospitall in this place and also the sum of five hund [hundred] Rupees, and I do acknowledge that all the slaves in this my dwelling house are hers and I do acknowledge to be hers all her wearing apparrell, toys and house-hold furniture which she can or may say to be her own". He leaves Rs. 500 to his niece, Mrs. Margaret Wells, and to "my daughter Mrs. Margaret Morris all the remainder of my estate except what is therein mention'd." The will is dated, Calcutta, August 20th, 1718. Not a word is said of a daughter Elizabeth.

There appear to have been two "Mrs. Elizabeth Fishers". One married Richard Bass on November 6, 1716, and, after his decease (Burial: August 30, 1719.), Edward Pombret on February 5, 1728. On the Burial Register (No. 313) appears, on January 13, 1728, the name of Mrs. Elizabeth Pombret. The other Mrs. Elizabeth Fisher married Capt. Robert Mylee on 15 September, 1733, and Peter Noko, January 19, 1749.

Madame D'Arblay and Calcutta.

THE *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay* (Frances Burney) have often been laid under contribution by writers who have dealt with the Warren Hastings' period. The *Diaries and Letters*, covering the years 1778-1840 were first published in seven volumes during the years 1842-1846. The *Early Diary of Frances Burney* (1768-1778) edited by Mrs. Raine Ellis, was published in 1889.

Frances Burney was born at Kings's Lynn on the 13th June, 1752. She was the third child and second daughter of Charles Burney, Mus. Doc. F. R. S. Dr. Burney, a musician of European reputation in his day, married first Esther Sleepe, the mother of the Diarist, and second (October, 1767) Elizabeth Allen of Kings Lynn, the widow of her cousin Stephen Allen. By the second marriage was born Richard Thomas Burney. To this half-brother, "beautiful little Dick," Fanny makes several references in the *Early Diary*. Mrs. Raine Ellis writes that in 1777 "Dick was then a 'beautiful boy.' Like poor Miss W., he was 'all lilies and roses.' Mrs. Thrale petted him. Dr. Johnson wrote to Dr. Joseph Warton in his favour, and offered to go with Dr. Burney to place him in Winchester School. The going and coming back together in a post-chaise, shook Drs. Johnson and Burney into a still greater regard for each other." Mrs. Piozzi, however, in her *Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson*, records that the child was once the innocent cause of the dreadful Doctor's ire. "We parted at his door one evening," she writes, "when I had leized him many weeks to write a recommendatory letter of a little boy to his Schoolmaster, and after he had faithfully promised to do this prodigious feat before we met again—'Do not forget dear Dick, Sir' said I, as he went out of the coach; he turned back, stood still two minutes on the carriage step—'When I have written my letter for Dick, I may hang myself, may'nt I?'—and turned away in a very ill humour indeed." Fanny records that Mrs. Thrale "interisted (*sic*) so much in getting little Dick to Winchester school (where he went on Tuesday last) that she seemed to think of nothing else, and has not only made him a present of a piece of fine holland to set him up in shirts, but has likewise presented him with an entire set of school books."¹ Before joining Winchester, R. T. Burney was at School at Harrow.

¹ *Early Diary*, "Bohn's Popular Library", Vol. II, p. 286.

Mrs. Raine Ellis notes that Richard Thomas Burney entered the Indian Civil Service,¹ and died in India in 1811.² These statements are incorrect. In the Mission Burial Ground in Park Street may be found a monument to Madame D'Arblay's 'Sweet Richard,' bearing an inscription which reads as follows:—

Sacred to the memory of
RICHARD THOMAS BURNEY.

Late Head-Master of the Orphan School
at Kidderpore, who for the space of 13 years,
faithfully discharged the duties of his important
trust, eminently exhibited the characteristics
of an enlightened tutor and a spiritual guide. By
his persevering exactions, his holy example,
and impressive counsel, great advantages have
arisen to the Church of Christ, and not a few of
his pupils have been brought to a saving
knowledge of Divine Truth; some of them have
already, it is hoped, presented themselves before the
throne of God and the Lamb as a part of
their faithful teacher's crown, and those who
still survive, praying they may have grace
practically to remember his exhortations, and
to walk in his steps, have erected this Monument
as a sincere, tho' slight expression of their great
and lasting obligations to their much
loved and respected tutor. Born at Norfolk, 20th
November, 1768, died at Rangoon,
8th March, 1808.

"The Memory of the Just is blessed"—Prov. 10, v. 7.

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Grant sailed from Bengal on the *Berrington* on the 23rd February, 1790, and landed at Deal on the 21st July, 1790. Very soon after their arrival Mrs. Grant and Mrs. Burney, the mother of "beautiful Dick," must have met, for I find the latter writing on the 30th July to Mrs. Grant.

"I cannot, dear Madam, resist this opportunity to return to Mr. Grant and you my grateful thanks for the extraordinary and repeated kindness you have shown my son. I hope and believe

¹ *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. xcii.

² *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 64.

that the short time he had the blessing to reside with you has laid a foundation for piety and morals that will save him from the temptations of this world, and I humbly hope, procure him salvation in the next. I longed yesterday to express my gratitude, but it was impossible. Had we been alone, tears would have interrupted my speech—tears of heart-felt joy, for to you and Mr. Grant I owe my child; you and you only, under Heaven, recovered my son. Mr. Grant's precepts, and the example of your family, have implanted seeds which will bring forth fruits of righteousness."¹

From the late Mr. E. S. Wenger's *Story of the Lall Bazar Baptist Church*, we learn that R. T. Burney arrived in Calcutta in 1787. He came, while living in the Grant household, under the influence of the eccentric and latterly mad Surgeon-Missionary John Thomas, and "was built up in faith and holiness under the preaching" of Chaplain David Brown, whom Burney succeeded as Head Master of the Upper Orphan School. Mr. Wenger tells us that when in 1808, R. T. Burney arrived at Rangoon, he was received at the Baptist Mission House at that place by Felix Carey. It would be interesting to know if his grave at Rangoon can be traced.

The *Bengal Obituary* preserves not a few inscriptions to the memory of the near and dear to Frances Burney's "Sweet Dick," and these we shall quote. Let me first, however, quote from the St. John's Marriage Register: "9th November, 1787. Mr. Thomas Burney Inhabitant and Jane Ross, Spinster."

1.

Herein is deposited the mortal and revered remains of

Mrs. JANE BURNEY,

Widow of the late R. T. Burney, born 9th November
1772, died the 28th May 1842.

A truly fond mother and charitable Christian,

She died deservedly regretted by her

Sorrowing children and numerous poor,

"Her only hope was on the cross".

Farewell blest soul! a short farewell,

Till soon we meet again above,

In the bright world where pleasures dwell

And trees of life bear fruits of love.

Father, thy gracious hand we own,

And bow submissive to thy rod,

¹ H. Morris. *The Life of Charles Grant*. 1904, p. 136.

That must be wise which thou hast done,
Thou must be kind, for thou art God.

2.

Sacred to the Memory of
RICHARD BURNEY, M.A.,
eldest son of R. T. and J. Burney, born 30th,
Dec. 1790, died in England 30th Nov. 1845.
to the inexpressible grief of his family and friends,
and was buried with academical honors,
In Christ's College Chapel, Cambridge,
"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord."
Farewell, dear saint, a short adieu,
Some angel calls thee to the spheres,
Our eyes thy radiant path pursue,
While rapture glistens in our tears.
Silent we own Jehovah's name,
We kiss the scourging hand,
And yield our comforts and our life
To the supreme command.

3.

Sacred to the Memory of
LIEUT. COL. HENRY BURNEY, H. C. S.
second son of R. T. and J. Burney,
born 27th Feby. 1792, died
at sea, 4th March, 1745
leaving a widow and eight children to bemoan his
irreparable loss.
"Father, I give my spirit up,
And trust it in thy hand,
My dying flesh shall rest in hope,
And rise at thy command."

4.

This Grave also contains the mortal remains of
THOS. BURNEY,
youngest son of the late R. T. and J. Burney
born 13th Dec. 1806, died 3rd July, 1846.
"In sure and certain hope of the resurrection
to eternal life."

There may perhaps be some connection between the above inscriptions and the following preserved in the *Bengal Obituary*:

1. [At Jaunpore].

Sacred to the Memory of
GEORGE JOHN DOVETON.
Beloved son of Capt. Geo. Burney,
born at Barrackpore, 13th April, 1833, died at
Jaunpore, 11th May 1835.

2. [South Park Street Burial Ground].

MARY MAINGY.
daughter of Henry and Janet Burney, born at
Siam, 13th March 1826, died at Calcutta,
22nd Feb. 1827.
Poor little traveller.

Of Fanny Burney's friends perhaps one of the most winning is Mrs. Pleydell, the daughter of John Zephaniah Holwell of the Black Hole fame. On May 21, 1769, the Diary records: "Papa and my sister have dined and spent the evening at Mrs. Pleydell's, and it was on this occasion the Burneys made the acquaintance of Lord Pigot, whose misfortunes form a striking chapter in the history of old Madras." On October 2 the Diarist writes:

"That sweet Mrs. Pleydell would win a heart of stone. . . . There is something, *Je ne sai quoi* in the really amiable or agreeable which does not need intimacy or time to create esteem and admiration for them: for my own part, I love many people with sincere affection whom I have not seen above half an hour—of this number is Mrs. Pleydell, who has something in her manners which engages the heart as effectually, immediately, as many thousand people would be able to do in years. I hear she is now at Tonbridge. Besides her being so very beautiful....."

On May 8th, 1771, Fanny Burney writes:

"I remember three lines which I once heard Mrs. Pleydell repeat, (they were her own) upon Mr. Garrick, speaking of his face:

That mouth that might Envy with passion inspire,
These eyes! fraught with genius, with sweetness, with fire,
And everything else that the heart can desire—

This sweet poetess, on the very Sunday that I am writing of, set out for the East Indies."

The Marriage Register of St. John's records:

1759 February 25. Charles Playdell and Elizabeth Holwell.*

* The Baptismal Register—1761. February 27. John Martin, son of Charles Playdell and Elizabeth, his wife.

Madame D'Arblay's Editor writes: "In 1832 Mme. D'Arblay describes Mrs. Playdell as having been rivalled only by Miss Linley† for youthful beauty. 'This lady in taking leave of Dr. Burney for whom she had a great regard, presented to him a Chinese (?) painting on ivory, which she had inherited from her father, 'Governor Holwell,' who 'estimated it as a sort of treasure.' It was a possession of the Great Mogul. Sir Joshua Reynolds and Sir Robert Strange said that the female heads in it were so highly finished that they might be set in rings.'

It may be readily believed that Charles Stafford Playdell was considerably older than his beautiful wife, for he "arrived" in Bengal in 1744. Some facts about his career are given in a footnote on pp. 486-7 of *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. IV, where, however, I fell into the blunder of describing the lady who came out with Playdell in 1771, as "his second wife." In September 1772, we find Dr. Hancock writing:—

"I will answer your queries relating to Mr. Playdell. I say he is either a fool or in desperate circumstances. If his abilities can support him, who need to despair? Neither his abilities nor abilities much greater than his, can support him on the footing he is come hither. Compassion for a man who was once by succession entitled to the Chair, and who, like a fool, declared himself incapable, may induce the great to assist him, or a lively, handsome young wife may promote his success; but what an infamous wretch must be he who can think of the latter without horror."

The inscription on Playdell's grave in the South Park Street Cemetery is as follows:

Sacred to the memory of
CHARLES STAFFORD PLAYDELL, ESQ.,
Member of the Board of Trade;
Master in Chancery and
Superintendent of the Police in Calcutta,
who departed this life on the 27th May, 1779;
Sincerely and universally regretted
By Europeans and Natives.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

† The wife of R. B. Sheridan.

Leaves from the President's Note-Book.

IN Vol. VII two portraits were published of Samuel Feake, President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal, January 1718 to January 1723. By the kindness of Miss L. M. Anstey I am enabled to give here the inscription on his monument in Henham Church, Essex.

Sacred to the Memory of
SAMUEL FEAKE, Esq.
formerly President and Governor of
Fort William, Calcutta, Bengal,
In the East Indies,
and late Chairman of the
Honorable East India Company,
descended from the ancient family of
FEAKE
in the County of Surrey.
He was Lord of the Manor
and also of the Manor of
Chickney Rectory or Pledgeeden Commons
Sheering and Harlow all in this County.
He was indued with all the Graces that adorn the
Gentleman and Christian.
His impartial Deportment to all mankind
and instructive Conversation and Address
gained the esteem of all that knew him.
He married Anne Daughter and Heir of
John Hampton of Hampden
of Fort St. George, Madras.
(Relict of Capt. Thomas Newland,
by whom he had one daughter Anne
who died in India, aged 6 years).
She died on board the Devonshire East India man
on her passage to England, 10th May 1723, aged 34
about Seven Leagues North Latitude.
He died in London, 16th June 1757, age 75, and was
Buried in a Vault near this marble,
Having had issue by his said wife



NEW POSITION OF THE LADY CANNING MONUMENT.
ST JOHN'S CHURCH, CALCUTTA.
Photo by Messrs Harrington and Brees.

- 5 Sons and 2 Daughters, Viz. :
 1st Samuel Feake, of Darrington House in
 the Parish of Sheering, Esquire,
 who died unmarried 30th October 1774, aged 63,
 and was buried with his Father.
 2nd Thomas Feake, Died in India, aged 6 months,
 3rd Thomas Feake Esqre, Chief of Dacca
 in the East Indies, 7 October, 1751.
 4th Charles Feake M. D., Physician to Guys Hospital, London,
 died unmarried and August 1762. Buried with his Father.
 5th Nathaniel Feake, died in India, aged about 6 years.
 Anne Charlotte (Wife of Junathan Cruse of
 Darrington House, Esquire) and
 Mary Feake, are the only surviving issue of
 the above Governor Feake.
 Anne Charlotte Cruse,
 as a testimony of Duty and Affection
 for her parents, Erected this
 Monument to their Memory. MDCCXC.

This monument is on the north wall of the Chancel, outside the Altar rails. Above the inscription there is a modelled swan and white ship with the motto *Dieu est la supreme*. Above are three hatchments. On the south wall, a monument commemorates Mary Feake :

Sacred
 To the Memory of MARY FEAKE,
 Daughter and coheiress of Samuel Feake Esqre.,
 President and Governor of
 Fort William, Calcutta, Bengal.
 She died April 14th, 1803, Aged 82 years
 and was buried in the family vault.
 This tablet is erected by
 Henrietta Elizabeth Sackville Glyn,
 Relict of Colonel Thomas Glyn,
 As a sincere testimony
 of her gratitude and affection :

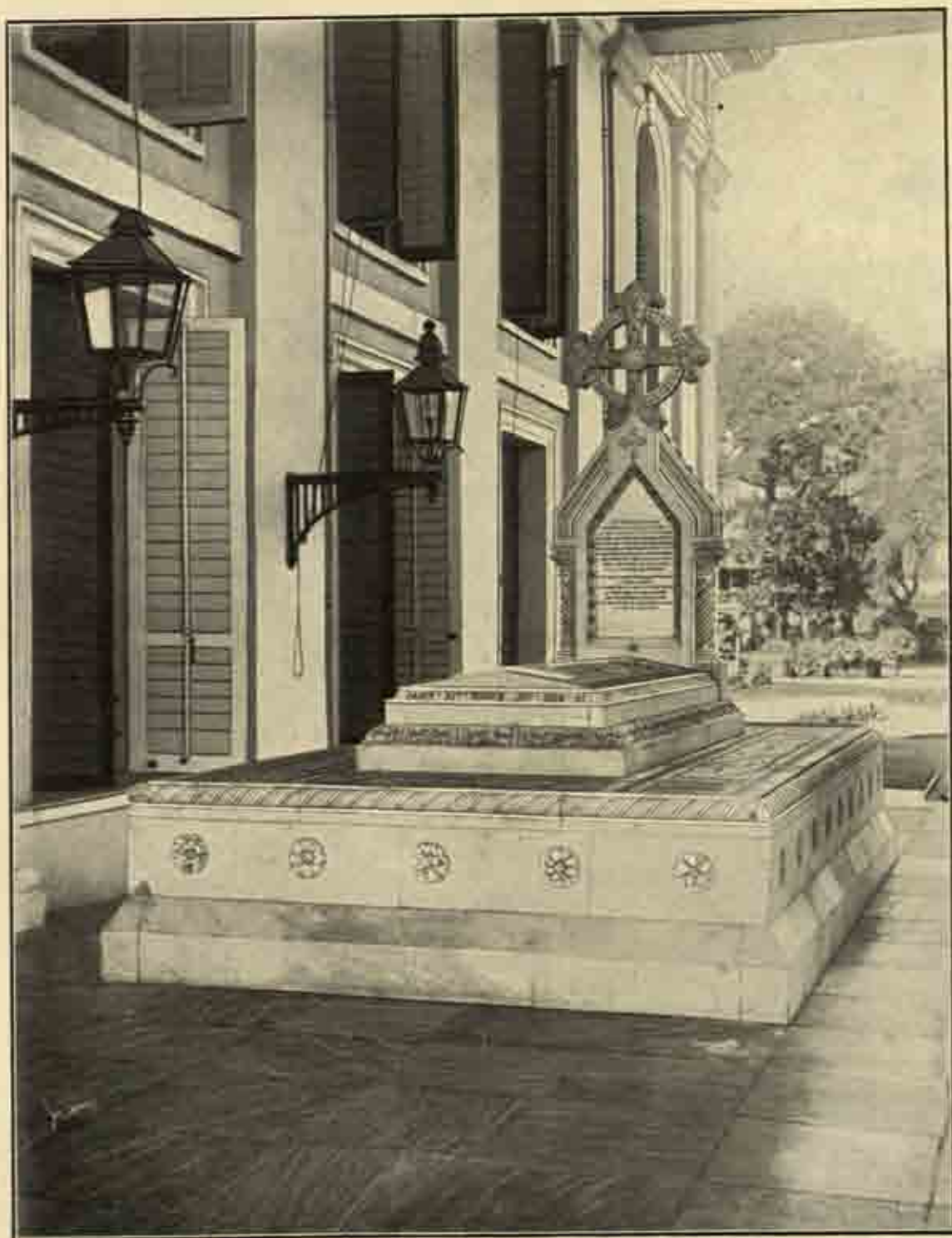
In the old Portuguese Church close to Dacca tablets to the memory of John and Mary Feake (1748) may be seen. These two persons, it may be supposed, were children of Thomas Feake, the Chief of Dacca.

I have been asked to report what progress is being made with the publication of the Bengal District Records. Although the work is not connected with the Society, I think it may not be out of place to say that up to date four volumes of District Records have been published. Of these the first three are published by the Bengal Government and the fourth by Assam Government. They are :

Midnapur Records	... 1763-1767.
Rangpur Records	... 1770-1779.
Dinajpur Records	... 1787-1789.
Sylhet Records	... 1774-1785.

A further volume of Midnapur Records will be ready within the next few weeks. All these volumes may be procured through Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co.

For many years past I have been under the temptation to tackle the history of William Bolts, but, understanding that Mr. N. L. Hallward of the Indian Educational Service had written a work on the subject, I have refrained. The temptation returned to me with accumulated force when recently, during a visit to Murshidabad, the Diwan Sahib, Fazl Rubbee Khan Bahadur, translated for me some extracts from the Persian Records preserved at the Palace. On the 29th of July, Hastings warns the Nawab of the arrival of Bolts in the Hughli on board an Austrian ship—the *Joseph Tera* [?] On the 21st of August we hear that Bolts has arrived, with three ships, at Chinsurah, and that the chokidar, despatched by the Faujdar of the place to prevent Bolts from landing his merchandise, has been sent to jail by the Dutch Director. A point of considerable political interest lies in the fact that Hastings does not take action himself, but requests the Nawab to do so. So late as August, 1785, the Murshidabad Archives exhibit a letter from Hercules Ross, Governor of Chinsurah, asking to be informed whether the Dutch are not on the same footing in Bengal as the English, and who, in fact, is the Ruler of the country—the English or the Nawab? For an answer, Sir John Macpherson, who had succeeded Hastings as Governor, refers the Dutchman to "Yassall Khan, Faujdar of Hughli." According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Bolts died in Paris in 1808. The *Calcutta Gazette* (November 8, 1787) records a violent "storm on Friday last" exceeding "any that has been experienced in Calcutta for these twenty years past," and in this storm "Mr. Bolts, on his way to Kedgeroe, was unfortunately lost." The *Gazette* on September had noticed the *Jean Frow Maria* lately arrived from Ostend. In the *Gazette* for June 29, 1786 (Seton-Karr, Vol. 1, p. 153) there is a letter signed Nestor, and "giving an account of Colonel Milles and his



THE LADY CANNING MONUMENT
IN THE NORTH PORTICO OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.
Photo by Messrs Harrington and Blee.

connection with the Ostend Company." Could "Nestor" have been William Bolts? Here are a few problems worth solving. Some three years ago I called attention in *Notes and Queries* to the fact that whole pages of Caraccioli's *Life of Clive* are word for word the same stuff as may be found in Bolts' *Considerations*.

The fate of the *Emden* must have sent many to look in their maps for the Cocos Island. It may be worth while to remind the reader that a great sailor, of whom Calcutta may well pride herself, lies buried in that Island. Can his tomb still be traced? The *Bengal Obituary* preserves the inscription:—

Beneath this stone repose the remains of
Commodore SIR JOHN HAYES, Knight, Senior Officer of the Indian Navy,
who expired on this Island, 3rd July, 1831, aged 64 years.
In every station of life this brave, distinguished, conscientious man, acquitted
[himself with credit
and honour, in his private no less than his public capacity.
He was kind and sterling, generous and estimable;
while with the zeal, undauntedness and manly simplicity of the British Sailor,
he combined in a rare degree the high-mindedness, philanthropy, and
independence of the English gentleman.

The inscription designed to commemorate the laying of the foundation stone of St. John's Church disappeared many years ago. It reads as follows:

The First stone of this sacred Building
Raised by the liberal and Voluntary Subscription of
British subjects and others,
Was laid under the auspices of
THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.,
Governor-General of India,
On the 6th day of the month of April, 1784
And in the 13th year of his Government.

The 130th anniversary of the laying of this foundation stone has been marked by the restoration of the inscription in 1914 by the kindness of the Government of Bengal. A marble tablet bearing the original inscription will be found at the N. E. corner of the building.

In my "leaves" in the January-June Issue (Vol. VIII. Serial No. 15) I referred to "Selby's Club," the resort of Calcutta gamblers at the end of the

eighteenth century. The Club occupied a house in Mission Row "the next house in the same line to the southward to General Clavering's"—i.e. the building recently occupied by the Planters' Stores. I had been minded to take a photograph of this old house, but, passing by the spot one morning last September, I found to my surprise that the house had been pulled down.

In Col. Crawford's recently published *History of Indian Medical Service* there is a very interesting chapter on the subject of the "Double Commissions"—as Surgeons and also as combatant officers—to the Company's Surgeons in the XVIIIth century. Among those who held such double commissions, Col. Crawford mentions (with others):—

Francis Balfour, M.D. (Edinburgh) appointed November, 1768
Assistant Surgeon, July 1769. Ensign, July 1769:
Lieutenant 26th, June 1771.

Thomas Staunton. Cadet, 1781. Ensign, July, 1782. Lieutenant
1785. Captain 17th July, 1801. Died at Fatehgarh
21st November, 1805.

Arthur Cranston. Assistant Surgeon, October, 1769. Ensign,
Do. Lieutenant, 28th March, 1773. Died 5th September,
1776.

Frederick Breton. Ensign, 1772. Lieutenant, 25th March, 1774.
Captain, 23rd March, 1781. Resigned, December, 1790.

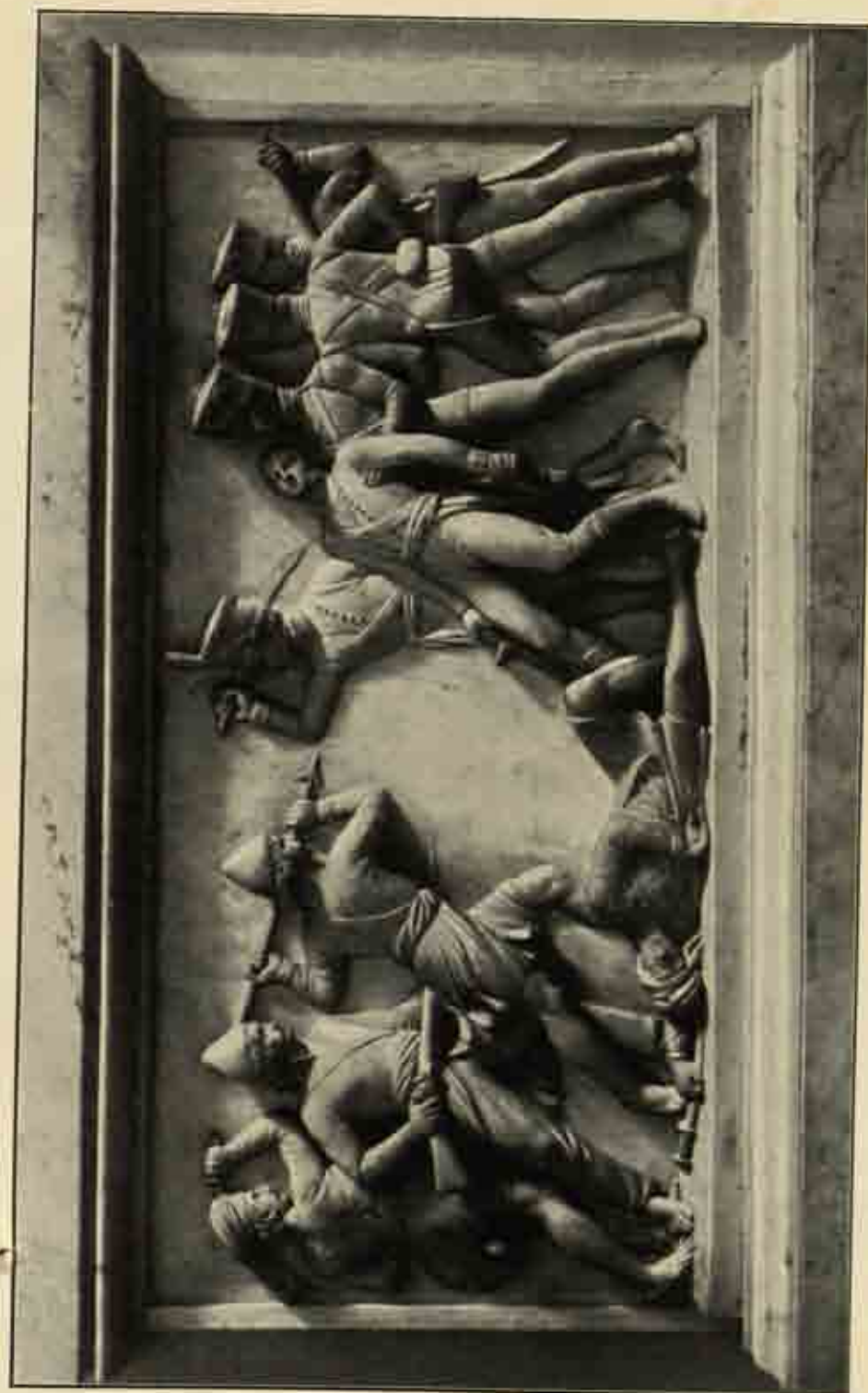
James Ellis. Surgeon's Mate of the *Streatham* 1758. Surgeon,
1st October, 1761. Head Surgeon at Patna, 25th
November, 1763. Physician General, 1780. Died on the
Burbridge on his way home, 24th December, 1781.
Ensign at Midnapur, 1760.

John Stark. Joined Medical Department in 1774. Artillery
Cadet, 1775. Lieut. Fireworker, 18th September, 1778.
First Lieutenant, 1779.

John Jackson. After qualifying as a Medical man at Edinburgh,
Ensign and Hospital Mate in the 71st Foot, 1778.
Surgeon to the Buffs, 1793. Military Secretary to the
Commander-in-Chief in India, 1807.

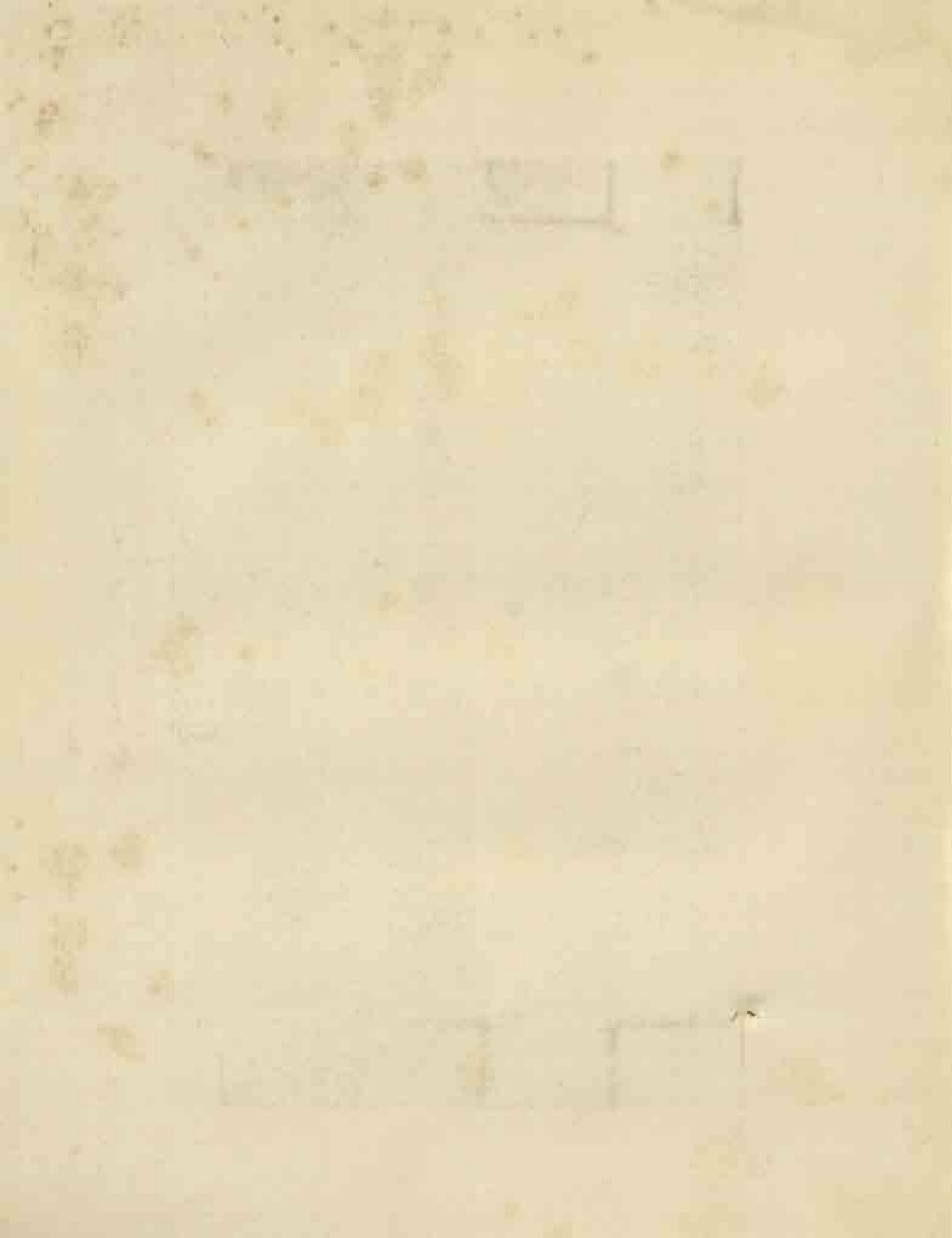
Archibald Swinton. Assistant in the Hospital at Fort St. George.
1752. Ensign in the Bengal Infantry, 1789. Lieutenant,
1761. Captain, 1763. Raised the original 10th Battalion
N. I.—"Sultan-ki-paltan." Served in Bihar, March,
1763. Joint-founder of Burn & Co. of Calcutta.

Col. Crawford quotes from Hicky's *Gazette* of 20-27 October, 1781,—



LOWER PORTION OF THE SHOWERS MONUMENT IN ST JOHN'S CHURCH, CALCUTTA.

Photo by Messrs Harrington and Bileos.



"Death: Gilbert Paisley Esq. Surgeon General on the Court whose services at Madras had rendered him greatly respected having been resident there upwards of 25 years. He came out originally in the Artillery as a Lieut-Fireworker, but soon exchanged the served Spongeworm and Ramrod for the Launcett Gold-Headed-Cane and Snuff-box."

The name is, of course, correctly given by Col. Crawford as "Pasley." It may be mentioned that Pasley arrived in India with Col. Adlerson's Regiment, which disembarked at Fort St. David in September, 1754. Pasley was only forty-eight years of age when he died in 1781,—a little less than a year and a half from the date of his appointment as Surgeon-General.

One of our illustrations shows the Lady Canning monument in its new resting place at St. John's. Erected originally over the grave at Barrackpore, it was, on account of the damage done by the rain to the valuable marbles, removed to the South Transept of St. Paul's Cathedral, where the amount of space it occupied prevented the Transept from being used as a much needed Chapel. At the beginning of the past year, with the consent of the representatives of Lady Canning's family, the monument was removed to the South Portico of St. John's Church—the Church which during the greater part of Lady Canning's residence in India was the Cathedral. Another illustration shews the Zoffany picture in its new position as an Altar piece over the Altar of the Lady Chapel of St. John's. The view of the Gurkha fight from the Showers' memorial is of interest; not indeed because the warriors are in the least like Gurkhas, but because it is the work of an artist of some fame, Giuseppe Bonomi (1739-1808). Bonomi settled in England in 1767; in 1804 he was appointed Honorary Architect to St. Peter's at Rome. He was the architect of Langford Hall in Shropshire and Dale Park in Sussex. The inscription above the carving runs:—

Consecrated to the Memory of

CHARLES LIONEL SHOWERS, Esq.

Senior Captain of the 19th Regiment Bengal Infantry,
who in the assaults of the fortified heights of Malown, on the
15th of April 1815, led one of the principle (*sic*) columns to a separate attack
in the most gallant style,

And gloriously fell at its head just when in personal conflict
he had with his own hand slain the chief of the enemy.

In the various duties of life, as a man, soldier, and a Christian,
the eminent qualities of the amiable and lamented Showers
conspicuously shone.

Firm in honor, sincere in friendship, ardent in his professional duties,
and humble and fervent in those of a higher nature:

The prominent features of his character were benevolence, zeal and piety, and his deserved portion was the love, the esteem, and the respect of all who knew him.

To record their deep sense of his worth, and their heartfelt concern for his loss, the officers of the 19th Regiment have caused this monument to be erected in affectionate remembrance of their valued and regretted comrade.

Ætat 35.

On the same occasion, in the gallant execution of his duty,
Fell Lieut. HUMPHREY BAGOT of the same Regt. Ætat 25.

And in the same campaign, equally honorable,

Fell Lieut. EDWARD WILSON BROUGHTON,
of the same Regiment, Ætat 26.

Readers of Sydney C. Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* will remember that C. L. Showers was the son of an old and intimate friend of the second Mrs. Warren Hastings. Mrs. Melian Dare married Captain Samuel Showers on November 13, 1779, a marriage in connection with which the birth of a future hero is one of the few good things that can be recorded. Warren Hastings was one of the God-parents of C. L. Showers.

Embedded in the steps of the Charnock Mausoleum there is a tombstone which bears the following inscription:

Here lyeth interred the body of

CAPTAIN GEORGE GORING,

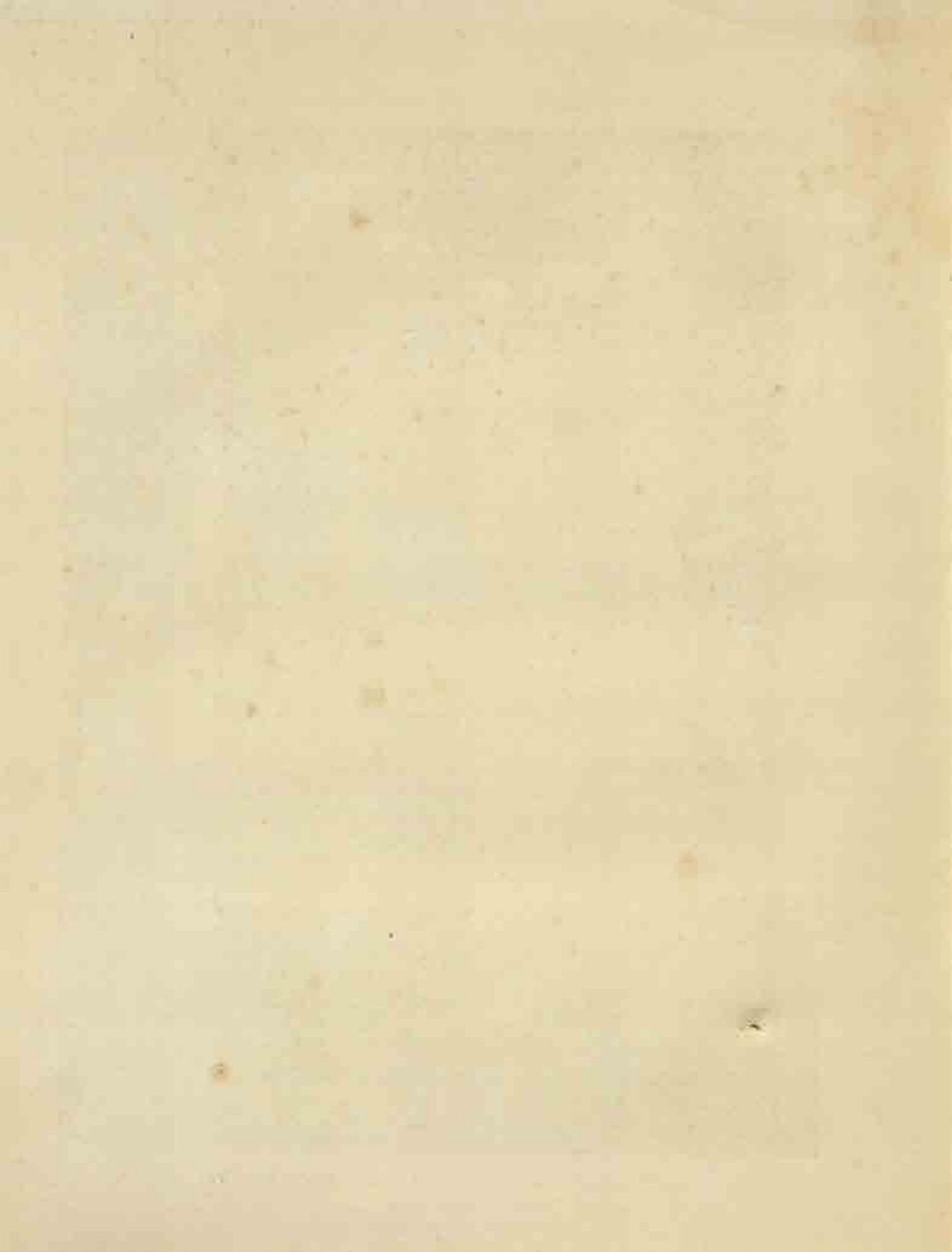
the third son of Sir Harry Goring, Bart, who departed
this life on the 11th February, 1750, Aged 40.

In a popular lecture, delivered at the Dalhousie Institute nearly thirty years ago, the late Mr. R. C. Sterndale, said:—"Captain George and Mr. Charles Goring (a name which smacks of the Civil War) were among the sons of Sir Henry Goring of Highden, ancestor of the present Baronet. Their great-uncle, William, was President of Surat, and they were the direct descendents of the elder brother of George, Lord Goring, Lieutenant-General under King Charles I., and who, after a life of turbulence and violence, died in Spain under the garb of a Dominican Friar." It would be interesting to hear something more of the career of our Calcutta Captain George Goring. Goring House in London occupied "the site of part of the Mulberry Garden, and Buckingham Palace stands exactly where it stood." The house, which is described by Evelyn, was one of the haunts of Dorothy Osborne in 1653, but this was at a time when it had doubtless fallen into the hands of a



THE LADY CHAPEL OF ST JOHN'S CHURCH, CALCUTTA.
ZOFFANY'S ALTAR - PIECE

Photo by Messrs Harrington and Bloor.



Parliamentarian, for George, Baron Goring, had fled to the Continent. The house was destroyed by fire in 1674.

I remember some years ago the glances of shocked surprise and incredulity which were turned upon me when at a Don's dinner table of a Cambridge College, I ventured to relate how Dr. Martin Joseph Routh, Warden of Magdalen, Oxford, who died in 1854, remembered having seen Dr. Johnson in his brown wig, scrambling up the steps of University College, and that "a lady told him that her mother remembered seeing King Charles II. walking with his dogs round 'the Parks' at Oxford, when the Parliament was held there during the Plague in London." My authority was of course, Dean Burgon's *Lives of Twelve Good Men*. It produces a result quite as astounding if we link together Elizabeth Bowridge, the third and youngest of Job Charnock's daughters and Richard Barwell, and Mrs. Ellerton. Elizabeth Charnock, was apparently close on her teens when she was baptised together with her sisters by Chaplain Evans at Madras in 1689: she died in Calcutta in 1753. Richard Barwell was born in Calcutta in October 31, 1741, and as a lad he must often have seen the daughter of the Founder of the Settlement. He died in 1804. My Mother tells me that she recollects Mrs. Ellerton, a venerable guest at the Bishop's Palace in Bishop Daniel Wilson's days. Mrs. Ellerton's memory of Calcutta went back to the time when Warren Hastings and Francis met for their duel beneath the trees of Alipur. Here is another instance of long memories stretching over a few generations. Clive married Margaret Maskelyne at St. Mary's, Fort St. George, in 1753. Lady Clive's brother became Astronomer Royal at Greenwich where my own grand-father, Dr. Thomas Firminger, LL. D., served him as Deputy.

For the convenience of correspondents, I take this opportunity of saying that I expect to be absent on tour in Bihar during the month of February next.

ST. JOHN'S HOUSE,
15th January, 1915.
Calcutta.

}

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

Review.

The English Factories in India. 1646-1650. A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Westminster, by William Foster, C.I.E., Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1914.

WE congratulate Mr. William Foster on the appearance of another instalment of his great work. It is interesting to notice that the original first volume of the *Surat Factory Inward Letter Books* was sent home by the Government of Bombay for Mr. Foster's use, and with the result that some important historical facts have been brought to light. Fortunately a verbatim transcript was made for preservation at the India Office, for the original volume was lost last year in the mysterious wreck of the *Oceana*. The present volume brings us to the close of the first half-century of the East India Company's history, and to the eve of Bridgman's mission to Hughli. The present volume supplies several interesting notices of the Danes, the Dutch and the English at Balasore. Towards the end of 1647 a Danish fleet of five vessels seizes "a Moorish ship containing eight elephants," and consequently Malik Beg, the Governor, informs the English traders that "as the Danes and English were alike Christians any damage done by the former would have to be satisfied by the latter." This declaration led to a crisis. The English factors went on board their ship, and when the Moorish guns opened fire, "for three or four howres we made warme worke,"—but alas! of the rest of the story there is no record. A picture of President Breton's tomb at Surat forms a very appropriate frontispiece to the present volume. It is to be hoped that the magnitude and value of Mr. Foster's labours will be widely recognised in India, and that those who have it in their power to co-operate in so great an undertaking as the publication of these fine volumes undoubtedly is, will add them as they appear to their own libraries. We await with great eagerness Mr. Foster's next volume which may be expected to tell us a good deal about Bridgman and the Hughli expedition.

W. K. F.

Reprint of a Rare Pamphlet on the Nanda Kumar Trial.

THE execution of "Nuncomar" took place on Saturday, August 5th, 1775. The pamphlet now reprinted is dated August 13th, 1775. It must have been compiled in great haste in order to send home such an account of the late transactions in Calcutta as would forestall the versions likely to be sent home by the Clavering-Francis party—the actual majority at the Council Board. The author is most probably Captain Joseph Price, whose pamphlets in the Hastings' interest bulk largely on the shelves of every collector of old Calcutta literature.

The reference to the portrait of Sir Elijah Impey in the petition of "the Free Merchants, Free Mariners and other inhabitants of the town of Calcutta" is of considerable interest, and it probably records the circumstances which led to the execution of Tilly Kettle's well-known painting. It is curious, in view of later history, to find James Augustus Hicky testifying to the merits of his future Judge.

W. K. FIRMINGER.

A
NARRATIVE
OF
FACTS
LEADING TO THE
TRIALS
OF
Maha Rajah Nundocomar and Thomas Fowke
FOR
CONSPIRACIES against Governor HASTINGS and
RICHARD BARWELL, Esqrs.
MEMBERS of the SUPREME COUNCIL at BENGAL;
AND TO THE
TRIAL OF MAHA RAJAH NUNDOCOMAR,
FOR FORGERY:
WITH SOME
Extraordinary Anecdotes pending and subsequent to those Prosecutions.
IN WHICH ARE INTRODUCED THE
GENUINE ADDRESSES
OF THE
Grand Jury, European and American Inhabitants of Calcutta
TO
Sir ELIJAH IMPEY, Knt. CHIEF JUSTICE,
AND THE OTHER
JUDGES of the SUPREME COURT of JUDICATURE;
WITH
THEIR LORDSHIPS' ANSWERS:
ALSO,
SOME PERTINENT REMARKS ON TRADE IN BENGAL.

By a GENTLEMAN Resident in CALCUTTA.

LONDON:

Sold by J. Bkw, No. 28, Pater-noster Row, 1776.

[*Price Two Shillings.*]

A Narrative, &c.

Calcutta, August 13, 1775.

BY this Ship, the Northumberland, the East India Company will receive the most important advices that have been dispatched from Bengal since the conquest of this Country; nor are the subjects which more particularly concern the Public less interesting.—The trials and conviction in part of Maha Rajah Nundocomar and Mr. Thomas Fowke, a Free Merchant at Calcutta, for conspiracies against Governor Hastings, and Richard Barwell, Esq; a Member of the Supreme Council, together with that of Maha Rajah Nundocomar for forgery, and the subsequent execution of that noble delinquent, will create various conjectures in the minds of men, which the publication of those Trials alone can rectify; my intention therefore is, to recite such facts as may throw the clearest light on these important events, and satisfy any doubts that may remain as to the propriety of those prosecutions.

I shall commence with an extraordinary discovery made of a house for intelligence against the late Administration having been opened, under the auspices of Maha Rajah Nundocomar, Bahader, and Mr. Joseph Fowke, resident here; the latter of whom not being publicly known to be directly or indirectly engaged in the Company's affairs, rendered his interfering in the business of Government the more surprising; into this House was received every information that tended to vilify or asperse the character, honour, and reputation of the Governor General, Mr. Barwell, or any other Member of the late Administration.

Previous to the discovery of this nest of informers, the vilest and most pernicious of all pests to Society, the Inhabitants in General considered the disputes subsisting in the Supreme Council as merely political. Every looker-on formed his opinion, either as dictated to him by his own judgment, as influenced by his particular connections, or as biassed by his hopes or fears; but no sooner was it known that a man so universally infamous in his character as Maha Rajah Nundocomar, aided and spirited up by a violent, prejudiced individual, no ways connected with the Company, had been secretly at work to collect such materials, than the whole Community took the alarm. Men of all orders and conditions beheld with horror the dangerous precipice on which they stood; the precarious situation of their lives and fortunes, subject to the attacks of one of the most artful and intriguing men Bengal could produce; who had been detected, during the

government of Mr. Vansittart, in an infamous attempt to betray the Company, at the very time he was obligated to them for retaining the highest post in Government under the then Nabob, Jaffier Ally Cawn;—the only man the Directors of the East India Company at home could pitch upon as adequate to the task of convicting, by superior art and cunning, Mahomed Reza Cawn, his successor in the Duvanny, of the crimes they thought expedient to arraign him for.

Governor Hastings, when resident at the Durbar, was the man who detected Nundocomar's correspondence, and laid it before the Council, and was particularly instrumental in divesting him of the post and confidence he then held at Court. To this we may impute Nundocomar's inveteracy to that Gentleman, who ever held him in the contempt which the atrociousness of his conduct deserved; although he was induced from political motives, and to avail himself occasionally of Nundocomar's abilities, in consequence of orders from the Court of Directors, to hold forth to him the ostensible appearance of trust and confidence.—As these records are open for the perusal of every Member of the Administration, it cannot be supposed, that the Majority in the Supreme Council must have been acquainted with them, and many other circumstances, on which to form a competent judgment of Nundocomar's character; nor will it admit of a doubt, but that the apprehensions which had already too justly invaded the minds of the community, was greatly increased by the public visit made by them to this delinquent during the time of his examination; a visit which has been deemed an honour to the *Nabob himself*—a *condescension* to Nundocomar, even when acting as Naib Duvan; and which, how innocent soever it might be in the intention, could not fail of influencing the minds of the natives in favour of the culprit, concluding him thereby protected by men of the first rank and power, the immediate representatives of the East India Company.

When proofs of a conspiracy sufficient to warrant a commitment were produced, it was some time before a man in the least degree of credit could be found to give bail for Nundocomar; and to jail he must have gone, had not two Military Gentlemen, Aids-de-Camp to the General, to the astonishment of the whole Settlement, tendered their sureties; men just arrived in the country, and to whom the Accused was scarcely personally known—*influenced by what motives, I shall not take upon me to determine.*

It was little better with Mr. Fowke. Many were applied to; but one only that was known, could be found among us to vouch for his personal appearance. The other was a Lawyer, scarcely introduced to the Settlement; who has since, however, made himself sufficiently conspicuous, by applying for blank Subpœnas on the Trial of Maha Rajah Nundocomar for Forgery,

in order to fish for evidence. It is to these Trials I must refer my readers for many very interesting anecdotes, whilst I pursue my narrative; they are well worthy of perusal, and in their natures and consequences merit the attention of the Public.

It was so long ago as the commencement of the year 1773, when it was commonly reported, that Maha-Rajah Nundocomar had committed forgery, and thereby defrauded the Heirs to the Estate of one Bollakeydoss, an eminent Shroff, or Banker, in the Bazar, of a large sum of money. It must appear strange to the World, that a matter of such consequence should not have been proved or disproved 'till this period, in June 1775. I will endeavour to explain, in as few words as possible, how this delay in the execution of justice happened.

Mohun Persaud, the prosecutor at the late Trial, had been Agent, or Attorney, for the Banker Bollakeydoss during his life-time; and by appointment of the administrators to his estate, was one of the acting managers for settling his affairs, after his death. Mohun Persaud knew that the deceased had ever looked up to the Rajah Nundocomar, as to his friend and patron; that he depended on the Rajah's influence to obtain an order from the Governor and Council for the payment of a large sum of money by some means or other due to him from the Company, whose acknowledgment for it had, by casualty, been lost or destroyed; that a very short time preceding his death, he recommended his family to the Rajah's warmest care and patronage, and in particular requested his attention to the recovery of this money from the Company. It was generally reported that this money was ordered by the Directors at home to be restored to the Executors of Bollakeydoss, and in consequence thereof was paid in their bonds to them. The Rajah, however, assuming to himself the merit of this restoration, had (by agreement with the Executors) twenty-five thousand rupees allowed him for this supposed piece of service. Not content with this gratuity, he set about to forge the Papers which were the objects of the late Trial. It therefore appears evidently, that Mohun Persaud, and the other Executors, knew a fraud of the blackest dye had been committed; but they were withheld from prosecuting, not only by the dread of the Rajah's supposed power and influence, but from a religious principle, which teaches Hindoos to avoid shedding the blood of any animal or insect whatever; more particularly to decline pursuit, when the life of a Bramin is concerned. Yet they wished to recover the money, and did commence a Civil Suit in the Adoulet, or Country Court, at the head of which Mr. Palk then presided; but the charge was not corroborated with sufficient proof for a decision in favour of the prosecutors, who sued the Rajah merely on a demand on him as a deposit from the estate of Bollakeydoss, and the prosecutors alledged, that

the decree depended on certain papers in custody of the Register of the Mayor's Court. The Register was applied to for them; but why they were not produced, can be determined merely by suspicion that the Rajah found means to prevent their coming to light. These papers, however, were not produced, and the cause in consequence remained undetermined until the establishment of the Supreme Court of Judicature.

There is something singular in the obstinacy of Nundocomar, in placing his trust solely in Evidences suborned to swear whatever he pleased to dictate. He knew the papers for the forgery, of which he has since been found guilty, were in being, though he had hitherto had art enough to prevent their being produced. He knew the Executors deemed themselves in justice bound, whenever, it was in their power, to oblige him to return both Principal and Interest of the money by him so infamously withheld; and moreover he knew, that he had given such repeated and unprovoked cause of offence to Mohun Persaud, that it was reasonable to expect his religious tenets would in so very hard a case, one time or other, subside, and reconcile him to the bringing of so hardened an offender to justice that it was more than probable he would take the first opportunity to acquit himself of the charge of false accusation against the Rajah, in the Court of Adoulet, which the dependants of the latter had not failed to circulate, on the dismissal of the cause from thence for want of proof to maintain it.

And so it proved; for no sooner did the report prevail that Rajah Nundocomar had been fabricating papers and petitions against the Gentlemen of the late Administration, (the infamy of which had implanted a detestation against him in the minds of all good men, and of course reduced the influence he was before supposed to possess) than Mohun Persaud determined to employ a Lawyer to sue out a Warrant to search the Records of the late Mayor's Court for the forged papers. They were found, and a criminal process was now become unavoidable, which brought to light one of the most intricate pieces of compound villany ever heard of, in the course whereof it appears that Nundocomar had a set of unprincipled villains at his command, trained to swear any thing.

Here is an old hardened sinner, who has employed a long life in every species of villany to accumulate a profusion of money, about to suffer an ignominious death, because he would not part with a little of his ill-gotten wealth! For could he have prevailed upon himself to have relinquished it, at any period previous to the prosecution, he need but to have sent the amount due to the Executors of Bollakeydoss to Mohun Persaud, who wished to decline the prosecution for the reasons above cited, and his life at least would have been secure. But having been tried, and such a complicated scene of iniquity made known to the World, what arguments can justify Men in

Supreme Authority shewing a desire to mitigate so merited a sentence; against the opinion of the Respectable Part of the Natives themselves, who have repeatedly declined signing a Petition for a mitigation of the punishment; against the opinion of the Petty Jury, who, after a trial of eight days, brought him in guilty, and who have since been tampered with in vain to intercede for him; and against the unanimous opinion of the whole Bench of Judges, who, by a steady support of their own dignity, and invariable adherence to the Laws of Great Britain during a six weeks Sessions, have nobly dared to establish that authority which such a Court should ever maintain, and which is so highly approved in the subsequent Addresses from the Grand Jury, and a very considerable number of respectable European, Armenian, and Native Inhabitants of the Town of Calcutta and the Districts thereof;— shewing in modest, though strong terms, their disapprobation of the impediments thrown in the way of the King's Judges, at a time in which they with indefatigable pains and industry were investigating, and searching to the bottom, the most intricate scenes of iniquity any where to be met with on record. Such acts of impropriety are not the less culpable, because they can be executed with impunity. An attentive perusal of the Proceedings of our late Sessions of Oyer and Terminer will point out the unlawful attacks made on the Justices met on the bench, and to which I attribute the unanimity with which the inhabitants signified their displeasure thereat, by the subsequent genuine Addresses from every order of men, not only applauding the general conduct of the whole Bench, but the Chief Justice in particular, for his candour, steadiness, and impartiality throughout the whole Sessions.

The opinion of the Company's Servants in general, at this unwarrantable indecent behaviour, is very well known; but as Company's Servants, they prudently avoid branding it as it deserved: yet those, who from fifty of the Principal Inhabitants, summoned to serve as Grand Jurymen, were fairly balloted to act in that capacity at the Assizes, could not refrain from giving a tribute of praise where it was so justly due, as appears from their Address to the Judges; and the unanimous opinion of twenty-three men serving on the important station of Grand Jurymen, is a strong proof of the ideas which such proceedings excited in the whole community.

**To the Honourable SIR ELIJAH IMPEY Knight, Chief Justice
of the Supreme Court of Judicature.**

MY LORD

We the Grand Jury for the town and districts of Calcutta beg leave, before we separate, to offer in a body through your lordship, our sincere acknowledgements to the Court for the great attention they have been

pleased to show us through the whole course of an unusually tedious Sessions, in accommodating our business as much as possible to our convenience, and in affording us every remission from it which the nature of our service would admit.

Allow us further, my lord, to express on this occasion the satisfaction we feel in possessing in your lordship, a Chief Justice, from whose abilities, candour, and moderation, we promise ourselves all the advantages which can be expected from the institution of the Supreme Court.

May you long continue at the head of the Court, to add to that esteem for your character which your conduct has already acquired!

Town Hall, July 14th, 1775.

George Hurst
Charles Bentley
Alexander Van Rixtel
B. G. Wright
J. Stewart
J. J. Keighly
William Pawson
Samuel Charters
John Champain
M. Gunning
William Paxton
David Killican

Cudbert Thornhill
Page Keble
Thomas Morris
Robert Holford
H. Grant
Joseph Price
Robert Dobinson
J. Hannay
Charles Grant
J. Carmichael
Thomas Burges

**To the Honourable SIR ELIJAH IMPEY, Knight, Chief Justice
of the Supreme Court.**

MY LORD,

We the Free Merchants, Free Mariners, and other inhabitants of the town of Calcutta, deeply affected with a sense of the manifold benefits which are derived to this Settlement from the institution of the Supreme Court of Judicature, beg leave to wait on your lordship to testify before you in this public manner our gratitude to our most Gracious Sovereign, and to the Legislature of Great Britain, for the inestimable obligation they have thus conferred upon us. Far distant from the mother-country, and necessarily deprived of a constitutional protection, which other Colonists enjoy in the Assembly of the People, we were also left under a feeble and incomplete administration of the laws of England, till your arrival in Bengal. We then had the happiness to see the power of the law firmly established above all other powers, and an equal measure of justice distributed to all men.

At the same time, my lord, that we address our warmest expressions of thanks to your lordship, for the security to our persons and properties which we enjoy under the protection of the Court; it is with unfeigned acknowledgments we do justice to the merits, integrity and abilities of your Brethren.

The eminent station to which your sovereign has been pleased to call you, puts you in a point of view more exposed to the observation of the people; and renders your talents and virtues more conspicuous.—We have all of us had occasion, many of us as jurymen, to observe through the course of the full exercise of the various jurisdictions vested in your Court, the candour, wisdom, and moderation, with which you have conducted all their proceedings. It is not alone that intimate acquaintance with the laws which you display on these occasions that attracts our admiration, or that superior sagacity in detecting the sophisms which are advanced under their colour but the steady unshaken conduct which you pursue in maintaining the dignity and independency of the King's Court, unawed by opposition of any sort, in impartially granting to every man under all circumstances the protection to which he is legally entitled, and in repressing the spirit of litigiousness, and the chicanery and quirks of practitioners.

We particularly felt our breasts glow with the warmest sentiments of gratitude, when we heard you from the highest seat of justice, supported by the unanimous voice of your Brethren, reprobate with every just mark of indignation the insidious attempt to introduce into practice the granting of blank subpœnas for the attendance of witnesses. So detestable an instrument of oppression in the hands of wicked or powerful men, might have produced the full effects of the edicts of the Inquisition, or the *lettres de cachet* of the most arbitrary state. Our reputation, our fortunes, and perhaps our lives, would have been in that case left at the mercy of every profligate informer, who might have been detached into the country, loaded with blank subpœnas, to fish for evidence in any suit or prosecution, among an abject and timid people, ignorant of the nature of these writs, who would have considered them merely as mandates from authority to swear as they were directed, and been ready to sacrifice truth, honour and religion, to the dread of power.

We cannot also refrain from declaring how much we esteem ourselves indebted to the pains you bestowed, during the course of the late tedious and important trial, in patiently investigating the evidence, and tracing the truth through all the intricacies of perjury and prevarication, and in finally detecting and putting in the way of condign punishment the cloud of false witnesses, who seem to have acted from concert, and to have had hopes of introducing into the Court, under the shelter of an unknown tongue, and concealed forms of oath, a general system of false swearing, to the total

subversion of all reliance on evidence, and to the utmost danger to the life and property of every man in these provinces.

Permit us then for our own sakes, and for the sake of all his Majesty's subjects in Bengal, to express our most hearty and sincere wishes for your health and prosperity; and that you may long continue among us, to fill that chair, where you now sit with so much lustre, and so much to our advantage and to that of the whole Settlement.

Before we withdraw from your presence we have one suit to prefer, which we hope in kindness will not be denied us. We request your lordship that you would be pleased to sit for your portrait at full length to the painter whom we shall appoint to draw it. We propose to put it up in the town-hall, or some other public room, merely as a gratification to our own sentiments of esteem and respect for you; well knowing that your virtues, and the services you render to the Public, will erect a much more durable monument to your name and character in the memories of the latest posterity.

C. S. Playdell
John Robinson
Joseph Price
Robert Holford
John Ferguson
Harry Grant
Cudbert Thornhill
Robert Dobinson
L. D. Costa
F. Lherondell
F. Le Blanc
Charles Short
Joshua Nixon
Robert Watson
William Richardson
T. S. Hancock
R. Sanderson
Thomas Cragie
William Swallow
John Deveil
Thomas Smith
L. Oliver
Edward Scott
Alexander Murray
Robert M'Farlane

Thomas Morris
S. Montaignet
John Prinsep
John Miller
R. Parks
Jacob Rider
William Johnson
E. Tiretta
Thomas Gill
Alexander Rattray
James Stewart Hall
J. J. Irwin
Edward M'Intosh
James Augustus Hicky
Thomas Sheills
Robert Donald
T. D. Willmot
Arthur Adie
William Barrington
William Bondfield
Thomas Pelle
Edward Wileman
A. Falkonar
John Collis
John Gilkinet

R. J. Goold
 Charles Weston
 John Belli
 R. Spencer
 John Rich
 Samuel Weller
 Tilly Kettle
 John Williams
 William Haig
 William Cummings
 John Bayne
 James Wittett
 Bryan Glover
 Montague Burman
 Thomas Thomas
 John Burrell
 Alexander Smart

John Hearn
 John Taylor
 T. Clements
 George Nodes
 Alexander McNeil
 William Briggs
 William Aldridge
 William Wilmott
 S. Fildar
 B. Messinck
 Thomas Adams
 J. Brightman
 J. Bracy
 Robert Brown
 Moses Conner
 R. Strachen
 J. Ogden

ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

I know nothing that can give me greater satisfaction, than that which I received by your thus testifying your due sense and gratitude to his Majesty, for erecting an independant Court of Justice in this Settlement; and thereby extending the full protection of the English laws to the natives of this country, and to his British subjects at this distant extremity of the British empire.

The protection of the laws is the only constitutional protection that can consist with a free government. Protection by power only, is capricious; it may shelter the guilty as well as the innocent.

We can assume no great merit in not allowing the blank subpoenas to issue in the case you allude to. They were moved for the purpose of being sent high up into the country, though the fact charged was committed in Calcutta, expressly to bring down such witnesses as might come in, though the party applying neither professed to know either what the witnesses were to prove, or that such witnesses actually existed. Such subpoenas would be considered by the timid natives as mandates, and if suffered to have been made use of by wicked men of power or influence, you most truly say, that your reputation, property, and lives, could not be safe; it would have subverted that justice which it is our duty to enforce. There is little doubt, had they been granted, instead of having those witnesses produced, most of whom you know and so justly reprobate, we should have had a new troop of false witnesses.

Neither can we assume to ourselves any extraordinary merit or sagacity in detecting the falsehoods of the witnesses produced at the trial. The subject-matter of the evidence, the manner of delivering it, and the persons who delivered, made the imposition attempted to be put on the Court, too gross to deceive either the Court, or such by-standers who did not through prejudice wish to be deceived.

Two things operate to make our stations easy to us: the one, that we have a strict rule for our conduct, the law; the other is, that we do not administer justice privately. The eyes of all the inhabitants of the Settlement are upon us: they by that means become judges of our conduct, and will bestow on us censure or confidence, in proportion as we deserve the one or the other.

In the present unhappy state of the Settlement, we are most sensibly affected by receiving the public approbation of two such respectable bodies of men as the Grand Jury and the Free Merchants and Mariners of this town; of a Grand Jury elected by ballot from all the Company's servants below the Governor-general and Council, and from all the substantial inhabitants of this place; of the Free Merchants and Mariners, a body of men from their situations independant and unbiassed by interest or fear. We feel our conduct approved by the whole Settlement. The voice of the Grand Jury so elected, and of the Free Merchants and Mariners, is the voice of the Settlement.

I entertain the highest sense of the great honour done me by the marks of esteem that you are pleased particularly to address to me. The first and great satisfaction which I feel in my present situation is, the approbation of my own conscience; the next, that those to whom I administer justice bestow their approbation on my conduct, and put full confidence in the rectitude of my intentions.

It is with the greatest alacrity that I accept of the honour proposed me; for being unconscious either of exerting or possessing any peculiar talents, I understand it at least as much a public testimony of gratitude to his Majesty, for adopting the measure of erecting an independant Court of Justice in this town, as a personal compliment to the humble instrument of carrying his gracious intentions into execution.

**To the Honourable Sir ELIJAH IMPEY, Knight, Lord
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature,
and the Judges thereof.**

MY LORDS,

We the Armenians, inhabitants of Calcutta, in full conviction of many salutary effects already resulting from the administration of English laws in

this Settlement, and in certain expectation of still more advantageous consequences, beg leave to express our warmest sentiments of gratitude to that power by whose interposition they were introduced, and to those hands by which we see them so impartially executed.

Ever mindful of the abilities and of the candour displayed by all the Members of the Bench, we think it our duty to signify our thankful sense of them to you, as the President, and through you to the rest of your Brethren, who, as they have uniformly exerted themselves for the public good are also intitled to a share in our respectful acknowledgements.

We must confess our fears, upon the introduction of English laws into this country, to have been neither light nor groundless: Where our fortunes, our lives, our honour, and our religion might be at stake, we could not but shudder at the consequences of justice distributed in an unknown language, and upon principles of which we were totally ignorant.—It is to you, my lord, that we owe this obligation, not only of a release from those terrors, but of a comfort and satisfaction proportionably more solid, as our causes of uneasiness had been substantial.

We are now convinced, that chicanery, subornation of evidence, perjury, and forgery, will never by any particularity of circumstance, or exertion of influence, escape with impunity; and the severe warnings which have been given to all offences so injurious to society, are most ample pledges for the protection of the peaceable subject in his property, his person and his reputation.

We are also told, that by your timely interposition, an attempt to introduce blank warrants for summoning any persons from all parts of the provinces, has been most effectually precluded. By this step your lordship has probably rescued an extensive kingdom from absolute destruction: for what man, independant either in his fortunes or his principles, would have resided one moment in a country where he was perpetually liable to be harassed by vexatious and expensive journeys, and by a painful attendance upon a Court of Justice, at the folly, the pique, or the caprice of every litigious individual?

We now experience within the space of a few months a total removal of every serious solicitude, and the most comfortable assurances of security in the possession of all we hold valuable, in these striking specimens of the excellence of the British Law, and the impartiality of its administrators.—We are therefore very earnest in our wishes, that its salutary influence may be yet wider extended; and its establishment (if possible) more effectually secured. Calculated as it is for a people whose climate, whose religion, manners, and dispositions, differ totally from those of India, there must necessarily be many parts of it which materially clash with our sentiments and our prejudices, though we have the most exalted opinion of its general advantages.

Give us leave then, my lord, to hope, that it may hereafter be so modified and blended with the immediately national and constitutional peculiarities of this country, as to leave us no possibility of apprehension from its most extensive exertion, or excuse for undervaluing the obligations we receive from it;—that so our gratitude may be still more warmly excited towards our Most Gracious Monarch, who in this first exercise of his authority has given us so wonderful an instance of the wisdom of his government, and so respectable a representative of the British Legislature.

We most heartily unite in wishing that your lordship may long continue to preside in that Court from whence all our future security is to be derived; and that we may have the satisfaction of knowing, that our fortunes, our lives, and our reputations, equally unexposed to attacks of private artifices, and the fluctuation of arbitrary authority, stand inviolate upon the unalterable principles of equity.

Petrus Arratoon
Minas Elias
Owen John Thomas
Joseph Emin
Zachariah Caldar
Gabriel Johannes
Carrapiet Thomas
Calchatoor Owen John
Astwasatoor Gregory
Arratoon Johannes
Phanees Bogram
Gregory Sarkees
Abraham Pogore
Mattacky Michael
Cachick Arrakeel
Malcas Isacc
Suttoos Ellias
Parsick Carrapiet
Arratoon Petrus
Lazar Moorraud Cawn
Aviet Astwasattoor
David Stephen

John Mellickrat
Jacob Martinus
Arratoon Sarkes
Gregory Simon
Sarkees Johannas
Vissent Gregory
Stephan Mirza
Astwasatoor Gregore
Arrakeel Anton
Thorous Gregory
Cachik Sarkees
Petrus Isace
Satter Morraud Cawn
Arratoon Petrus
Baban Phanes
Michal Agabab
Moses Joseph
Avidick Jacob
Petrus Avidick
Cachatoor Isace
Phanees Jacob.

ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

It is by no means surprizing, understanding as you did, that new laws were to be introduced among you, formed to rule a nation differing so wide in

climate, manners and religion, from you, that you should take an alarm. It will be with the highest satisfaction I am enabled to acquaint his Majesty, through his Ministers, with what cheerfulness you submit to his laws, and with what gratitude you acknowledge his royal care, extended to these regions so remote from the seat of his empire, and with what "warmth you wish, that the salutary influence of his laws may be yet wider extended, and their establishment (if possible) more effectually secured." I will likewise most faithfully transmit your hopes that the laws may hereafter be modified and blended with the immediate national and constitutional peculiarities of this country.

We enjoy great happiness from finding that our administration of those laws has tended to remove the prejudices which you so naturally entertained; and it rejoices me to have it in my power to inform you, that the same gracious wisdom and goodness that prompted his Majesty to extend the benefit of his laws to this country, has prescribed to us by his Royal Charter, in what manner and how far we are to introduce them, thereby providentially guarding against any inconvenience that might arise from a promiscuous and general introduction of them.

The principles of laws relating to property are universal. To give to every man what is his due, is the foundation of law in all countries and in all climates; it is a maxim that must be acknowledged by men of all religions and persuasions. Religion, custom, and prejudice, do indeed make the same act criminal, or more or less so, in one country than in another.

But his Majesty has already most graciously consulted your religion and customs, and the climates which you inhabit, and has with most fatherly tenderness indulged even your prejudices; it is his royal pleasure that only such of his laws shall be enforced as are conformable to your customs, climate, prejudices and religion.

We cannot but be sensibly affected by this public approbation of our conduct, given unanimously by so opulent, so respectable, and so independent a body of men, as the Armenians resident in this town.

Did our consciences not co-operate with that approbation, we should feel these expressions of your sentiments as censures, not praises.

We are confident, that if the laws of England are honestly and conscientiously administered, you cannot be disappointed in the effects which you so sanguinely expect from them; and we pledge ourselves, that it shall be our constant study to administer them in such manner that you may derive from them the greatest benefit, and the fullest protection which they are capable of bestowing.

Such were the Addresses, with the Answers.

The Address from the Free Merchants, it is to be observed, is signed by all the old inhabitants settled as Free Merchants or Free Mariners at

Calcutta. It happened at a time when the greatest part of the tonnage of the port was abroad; and none under the degree of a Master of a vessel, or house-keeper, were permitted to sign it. Persons in any shape employed by the Company (however willing) were desired not to sign it, lest it might involve them in difficulties insupportable to a state of dependance.

This body of people actually carry on the whole foreign trade of the port: they have been, and still continue to be very useful and obedient members of the society, notwithstanding they have met with many cruel and mortifying neglects from the *Triumvirate*: a striking instance of which having casually come to my knowledge, will, I doubt not, of itself fully prove the allegation, without enumerating circumstances.

A ship belonging to a Gentleman many years resident as a very respectable Merchant in this Settlement, bound from Bengal to Madrass, met with a severe gale of wind, and when almost sinking, put into Basseen, a port on the coast of Ava, within six days sail of the mouth of the Bengal River, belonging to the King of Pegu. The ship was detained there, and plundered, without the least cause assigned. Unwilling to trouble Administration till necessity made it unavoidable, he endeavoured by presents, and other expensive ways, through the means of his agent at Pegu, to procure the releasement of his property; which proving ineffectual, and receiving certain advice that his goods were not only confiscated, but his captain and officers actually imprisoned, he thought it his duty as an Englishman, to make known to the Supreme Power the injury he sustained, the insult offered to the British Flag, and the hardship which his captain and officers suffered; supported by the affidavits of three Europeans, who happily made their escape from the ship: but though this information, together with the affidavits, were conveyed in the usual mode to the Supreme Council, so long ago as the 9th of May, it is now the 3rd of August, and his appeal remains unnoticed. In vain may you prescribe laws and devise means for collecting the revenue of these Provinces, if at the same time proper attention is not paid to the foreign trade of this Kingdom, from whence alone bullion is imported to vibrate the circulation, and the large supplies produced, to the amazing amount exported annually by the public and individuals. Had it not pleased his Most Gracious Majesty to have granted a Charter of Justice, and sent a body of upright and able Judges to give the laws of England their due course among us, a very little time would have sufficed Messrs. Nundocomar and his connections, with their troop of perjured Villains, to have quite dispersed the whole body, and with them the external trade of this country.

Almost every ton of shipping belonging to this port, is the property of the Free Merchants residing at Calcutta: so that it is by their means, and on their account, all the Exports of Grain are made: and yet so ill

informed were the Legislature in these matters, that this useful body of men are, by the late Act of Parliament, prohibited from buying of Grain in the Provinces, and are confined to buy that article at Calcutta, when at the same time French, Dutch, Danes, Portuguese, and others, enjoy the privilege of trading into interior parts of the country, under their National Colours. I verily believe Mr. Gregory not to have been in the House at the time the Act passed, or he would have explained, as he well can do, the hardships under which the Calcutta Exporting Merchants labour from such partial exclusions; when their being permitted to buy Grain at the great inland Mart, can be attended with no one inconvenience, as they have not the least degree of power, nor any preference, but what their fair dealings may give them.

The Export Trades in Raw Silk to Bombay and Surat; that of White Cloth, Silk Goods, and other articles, to both the Gulphs; Opium to the Eastward; and that of Rice, Wheat, Pease, Sugar and other stuff goods to all parts of India; is carried on, and the returns made, in ships and vessels belonging to the English Merchants residing at the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, Bombay, and Bencoolen. The principal freighters, and almost the only importers of money into the Kingdom, are the Armenians and the owners above-mentioned, and without which the territorial revenue of the Kingdom would be difficult to collect.

I do therefore affirm, that the greatest part of the foreign trade of this Kingdom is managed by the above-mentioned bodies of men; and except a little Silver imported by the Dutch and French, the only resource for keeping up the currency of this country lies in the honest industry, integrity, and perseverance, of the English and Armenian independent Merchants residing in Calcutta. The trade of the port has encreased in a duplicate proportion within these three years, as may be proved by the Custom-House books.

Next to that from the European Merchants, stands the Address of the Armenians; a very rich body of people, whose extensive dealings and universal correspondence make them particularly useful in this country. It has ever been thought a wise maxim, by the ruling Princes in the East, to give them every encouragement and protection in their dominions. They also have confined the signatures of their Address to the principal men of their Cast residing in Calcutta.

The Addresses presented by the principal Mussulmen, Hindoo Merchants, and other country-born inhabitants of Calcutta, are, like the others, confined to the men whose names are well known, who have been employed by the Government in posts of great trust, capital merchants, men of high rank, or great fortune; but, as I am not certain that the time will admit my

having copies of them translated, I cannot promise them to the Public by this conveyance.

Thus it is evident, that the Settlement in general not only highly approve the establishment of a Court so well calculated to secure their lives and properties, but glory in these first instances of its just decrees; and no considerations could induce them to endeavour to obtain the least mitigation of their sentences.

The last effort was by the means of Mr. Farrer, the Gentleman whom I have before mentioned as petitioning the Court for blank subpoenas, and who addressed the two following notes to Mr. Robinson, Foreman of the Jury who brought Maha Rajah Nundocomar in Guilty.

Mr. Farrer's Note to Mr. Robinson :

"Mr. Farrer presents his compliments to Mr. Robinson; he called on him this morning in order to have submitted to his perusal and consideration the enclosed Petition to the Judges on behalf of Maha Rajah Nundocomar.—If Mr. Robinson had approved of it and signed it, Mr. Farrer would have immediately sent it to the other Gentlemen of the Jury.—Should be obliged to Mr. Robinson if he will, without delay, favor Mr. F—with his sentiments in respect thereto; as Mr. F—wishes to get it determined one way or the other to-day; as the state of suspense in which the unhappy lies, is, as may well be conceived, very dreadful, and he has still some hopes from the humane intercession of the Jury in his favour."

Tuesday Morning 7 o'Clock.

Mr. Robinson wrote to Mr. Farrer the following Answer :

"Mr. Robinson's compliments to Mr. Farrer, and begs him to reflect, the nature of a British Juryman's oath and opinion must have been such, at the time of their giving in their Verdict, as can never, with propriety, be altered."

Mr. Farrer then wrote Mr. Robinson the following Letter :

SIR,

"There is nothing, as I can conceive, in the Petition which I left for your perusal, which either expresses or implies an alteration of opinion in the Jury, but quite the reverse; it still states the Jury to be of the same opinion; it ratifies and confirms their verdict, and only suggests reasons why the criminal may, under the peculiar circumstances of his case, be thought worthy of some degree of mercy. Surely there can be no impropriety in this, as it will hardly be denied but that the strict requisition of a positive law may in many cases oblige a Jury, in conformity to the tenor of their oath, to find a person guilty, where there may, notwithstanding, be many reasons for an application for mercy. Whether this is a case of that nature or not, it is not my province to determine; neither do I wish to influence any one, either one

way or the other : suffice it for me, in compliance with the earnest solicitation of an unhappy victim, to have acquitted myself to my own feelings, in having made the application. You will judge, and act for yourself." SIR,

Tuesday August 1, 1775.

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) THO. FARRER.

To the above Letter Mr. Robinson sent the following Answer :

TO THOMAS FARRER, ESQ :

SIR,

"I had every tender feeling with which the human heart can be impressed for the convict, both at and after his trial ; nor would the strict requisition of a positive Law, that in many cases obliges a Jury, in conformity to the tenor of their oath, to find a person guilty, have prevented myself and Brethren from recommending him to mercy, had our conscience admitted our so doing.

"The veneration I have for the Bench of Judges before whom the Maha Rajah Nundocomar was tried, will not admit me to doubt, but if they think him an object of compassion, no want of such lenity will be omitted, by recommending him to our Most Gracious Sovereign for his pardon. I must, in this case, judge and act from my own conscience ; and at the same time I cannot help remarking, that the offering such a Petition for me to sign, very much hurts my feelings ; especially as it is on a subject which, in my opinion, no person has a right to interfere in.

Calcutta, August 1,

1775.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN ROBINSON."

Mr. Hastings, on his accession to the Government, found this large town without the least shadow of a Police : He planned that which is now in use, and by his popularity persuaded the inhabitants to contribute to its support. To prevent expence in the collections, he very wisely had it done by the Company's Collectors of the Land-Tax ; and as it falls with those collections into the Company's Cash Chest, the monthly disbursements are made from thence. This gives the right of investiture to the Governor General and Council, or to the present Majority.

Mr. Charles Stafford Playdell, whose name stands at the head of the Free Merchants Address, first entered into the Company's service about the year 1744, and continued to serve them with fidelity for a great number of years. About the year 1767, he returned to his native country, possessed of a very moderate fortune, great part of which he left behind him in India ;

and by one of those revolutions not uncommon in human affairs, in the year 1771 he found it necessary to return to India to collect in what was due to him. As he was no longer in the Company's Service, he settled in Calcutta as a Free Merchant. In the middle of the year 1773 the office of Superintendent of the Police becoming vacant, it was by Governor Hastings and the Members of the then Administration conferred on Mr. Playdell, to the satisfaction of all the inhabitants of the town, as by his long residence in the country he had acquired a thorough knowledge of the customs, manners, usages, and language of the natives; and from his great application, humanity, and moderation, was, to all intents and purposes, the most proper man to fill that office. It has, however, been taken from him. The reason assigned was, that his time of leave from the Company to reside, was elapsed; which, however, is not the case; and the office is now in the possession of a Mr. Mackrabie, brother-in-law to Mr. Francis, a person of eight months standing in the country, without one single qualification requisite to entitle him to such a preference. This circumstance is the more grievous, because the office is supported by a voluntary contribution from the inhabitants, though collected by the Company's People, under the denomination of Chowkeydaree, which may be rendered Watch and Ward Tax.—No doubt, but as the Inhabitants support the expence, they wish the Superintendancy invested in a man capable of rendering them the advantages they expect from it, and not converted into a mere sinecure; which by the present appointment is effectually so, contrary to the desire of most of the inhabitants, under pretence that Mr. Playdell's Letter of Licence from the Company was expired, which in fact is not the case.

Mr. Elliot, a Gentleman of good family, by a very uncommon application for so young a man, having acquired a thorough knowledge of the Persian Language, as well as of the common Moors, which is most in use here, was applied to, first by the Justices, then by the Grand Jury, and at length by the Petty Jury, to interpret for them on this famous Trial; and acquitted himself so well, as to have merited and received the thanks of each Body separately, in the Public Court. Yet for these services his situation been made so uneasy, as to have induced him to resign the Service, and return to Europe in the Ship which brings this Narrative. There does not remain in the Country a more promising young Gentleman, one of greater abilities, more universally esteemed, or from whom a more faithful account of the late proceedings here can possibly be had.

It is now the 5th of August, the day on which the Maha Rajah will suffer the just punishment due to his enormities. Since the capture of this country by the Company, there has scarcely been a man of rank in the service whom this profligate has not attempted to deceive or corrupt. With some few

he succeeded, and those he never failed to betray. The Company's Records are full of such instances; and yet incredible pains have been taken to avert the just deserts due to a long series of complicated crimes.

During the time that an accusation of Forgery existed against him, his Son was appointed, by the reigning Majority of the Supreme Council, Guardian to the Nabob. It is true, General Clavering has since declared on oath, that he did not know the man appointed to this station, to be the Son of the Prisoner; but this shews the necessity of men so little acquainted with the pretensions and merits of individuals, paying some attention to the superior knowledge of those who, by a series of years of profitable servitude to their employers, are capable of judging of the merits or demerits of persons, any ways fit for trusts of consequence.

But, if possible, a still more extraordinary appointment has been made by the same Majority in the Supreme Council, since the conclusion of the late Trials. Mr. Fowke, the very man convicted of Conspiracy, has obtained from them the exclusive right to the Trade of Banares; and to effect it, they have removed Mr. Thomas Motte from thence; a well qualified, well respected, honest man, who has resided in Bengal as a Free Merchant ever since the year 1758, unimpeached and unblemished in his character.

The Brother-in-law of Mr. Francis not only succeeds Mr. Playdell as Master of the Police, but enjoys the additional appointment of Perpetual Sheriff; an office heretofore esteemed the right of some Company's Servant, who had proved himself worthy the trust by a conscientious discharge of his duties.

Mr. Livius, a Servant of the Company, of no more than two years standing, is made Military Store-keeper General; and Mr. Bride, a servant of eight years standing, who has acted some years without censure as Deputy in that office, and who by the Company's orders, "That their Servants succeed in rotation, where it can be done with propriety," as well as the general rules of the Service, had a right to expect the succession, is left to serve under Mr. Livius, or content himself with the bare pay due to his rank.

The removal of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton from the Residency at the Court of the Nabob of Oude, may proceed from policy; but I will venture to affirm, the reigning Power will not meet with a young man in the Service more adequate to the trust, either in point of honor or intelligence. But he was nominated to it by Governor Hastings and the late Administration; an unhappy circumstance, which seems of itself sufficient to render any man unfit for present confidence.

The Gentlemen who have lately come from Europe in the Supreme Council, brought over a Majority therein; and their chief aim has been

calculated, ever since they took their seats at that Board, for the subversion of almost every plan which had been formed by Mr. Hastings, aided by his late Council, all men of long experience in the nature of the government and collections of the country, most of them of known abilities, and whose regulations in general have met with the highest approbation of, and confirmation from, the Company. Differences in opinion between men at the same Board, in conducting the Political or Commercial affairs of a State, are so common, that while they keep their own secrets, and avoid personal abuse, the Multitude without doors, reasoning on conjecture, are rather amused than inflamed; but when we see this once happy Settlement torn to pieces by public and private distractions; when Cabinet disputes terminate in duelling; when Military Power attempts an ascendancy over Civil Authority; and the prospect we have of a future succession of Military Governors; we cannot but lament the wretched change: we have too many recent instances of the consequences, not to dread future ones. The true Mercantile Plant, that sweet offspring of Liberty, never has hitherto been known to flourish in rays reflected from glittering broad-swords, musquets, bayonets, or the various implements declared enemies to peace.

It is but too well known that every order of the Supreme Council, though the sentiments of a bare Majority, carry with them the appearance of the concurrence of the whole Board; it being a standing order of the Company, That on a division, the sense of the Majority carry with it the sense of the whole Board. The dissenting parties, indeed, have the power of giving the reasons for their dissent, in Minutes on the face of the Consultations, as a vindication of their sentiments to their employers; but who shall vindicate their apparent contradictions to the deluded Multitude, who, residing far distant from the Presidency, hourly receive mandates from Governor Hastings, as President of the Supreme Council, directly opposite from what they perhaps very lately received from him, as President and Governor of the late Administration. Happy would it have been for us, had these new Members of Administration united their abilities with those of the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell, in correcting abuses, and completing a system of Government, the foundation of which had been laid; it would have redounded to their mutual honour. Their present labour is vain, and must terminate in general dissatisfaction to us all, if not the total ruin of the Country. What less can result from Supreme Authority divided against itself; and the institutions of a Majority, whom time and experience alone, divested of the smallest degree of partiality, can render equal to the management of the reins of so extensive a Government? A more leisure hour would have better suited investigation: far be it from me to wish defects should be concealed, or to screen the public transactions of any man who may have erred, whether from

principle or judgment ; though we have every reason to suppose, that the cool, steady, and upright conduct of the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell will defeat every attempt to lessen either their abilities or integrity in the opinion of the Public, who will, I doubt not, with their usual impartiality, wait the arrival of their vindication, ere they proceed to a final decision on, or crimination of, their conduct and administration.

FINIS.

Marriages in Calcutta, 1713-54, -II.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDED REFERENCES.

B. No. = Number in List of Burials in Calcutta to be published in a future number.

P. 217 Line 12 for "tried" read "tired."

" " 4 (of text) from bottom. Elizabeth Pensuse, B. No. 976.

No. 16. Avarina Child, B. No. 317.

" 19. Samul. Brown, his first wife—Deborah, B. No. 28.

" 37. T. J. Moore, B. No. 883. A Cooke, B. No. 745, tombstone in St. John's Churchyard.

" 46. C. Curson, B. No. 343.

" 47. S. Hawkins, B. No. 691, tombstone in St. John's Churchyard.

" 56. E. Pomfret, B. No. 893.

" 58. J. Trusty, B. No. 465. Katharina. See Marriage No. 176.

" 62. Major R. Hunt, B. No. 439.

" 66. Capt. C. Ward, B. No. 810. Mary Dean, B. No. 913.

" 67. T. Cahill, B. No. 500.

" 69. "Mr. Thomas Coales in Council," B. No. 590.

" 70. J. Alofze, B. No. 859.

" 71. E. Roberts, Pilot, B. No. 603.

" 85. Ann Hosier, B. No. 860.

" 86. Ann Gee, B. No. 817.

" 89. M. Tompson, B. No. 528.

" 99. T. Harding, B. No. 369. E. Mallet, B. No. 563.

" 115. M. Beal, B. No. 394.

" 117. E. Eyre, B. No. 428. Tombstone in St. John's Churchyard.

" 121. Capt. I. Devernen. B. No. 397. do. do.

" 123. S. Swallow, B. No. 719.

" 127. C. Hunnings, or Hennings. B. 493.

" 131. Capt. R. Pearce, (or Pierce?) B. No. 910.

" 133. Capt. J. Fenton. B. No. 822. H. R. Feddree. B. No. 747.

" 140. F. Vannes. B. No. 856.

" 163. Capt. A. Glen. B. No. 873A.

" 169. Capt. Rob. Hamilton. B. No. 1029.

- No. 171. C. Wren. See Marriage No. 203.
 " 172. Capt. J. Parker. B. No. 923.
 " 186. Capt. A. Sheppard. B. No. 779.
 " 195. A. Pierce. See Marriage No. 131.
 " 197. L. M. T. Orme. B. No. 757.
 " 209. G. Williamson. B. N. 1020. Anne Jones. B. No. 1039.
 " 211. W. Hillman, Pilot. B. No. 787.
 " 215. J. Halsey. B. No. 872.
 " 218. S. Lutten. B. No. 1272. B. Coward. B. No. 961.
 " 226. R. Beale. See Marriage No. 246.
 " 227. W. Chapman. B. No. 1001.
 " 229. S. Worrell. B. No. 753.
 " 238. Capt. R. Leonard. See Marriage No. 277. B. No. 988. Catherine
 Clarke. B. No. 911.
 " 239. M. Shepard. B. No. 1092.
 " 240. M. Coales. B. No. 1047.
 " 246. R. Beale. See Marriage No. 226. B. No. 944.
 " 249. Perry Purnell Templer. The name seems to have been Parry
 Purple Templer. B. No. 976.
 " 250. J. Twiss. See Marriage No. 270. B. No. 1085. A "Mrs. Mary
 Twiss Inhabitant" was buried, July 29th 1744 (B. No. 840).—
 perhaps a former wife of James Twiss. Another "Mrs. Mary
 Twiss" buried November 27th, 1745. B. No. 889.
 " 252. R. Robertson, Pilot. B. No. 1111.
 " 266. J. Askin. B. No. 1046. For "Humphrys" read "Humphrys."
 " 273. S. C. Mason. B. No. 1032.
 " 279. M. Gumley: The inscription on her tombstone at St. John's
 runs:—

Virtus post funera Vivit.
 This Monument was erected in Memory of
 MARTHA EYLES,
 Daughter of Sir John Witteurong, Bart.
 and Relict of John Gumley, Esq.,
 who died Chief of Dacca in January 1742-3,
 After being again Married a short time
 to Edward Eyles, Esq. of Council at Fort William;
 she concluded this life with a
 becoming resignation the 21st August 1748.
 being well esteemed and much regretted
 by those who were acquainted with
 her engaging qualifications and personal merit.

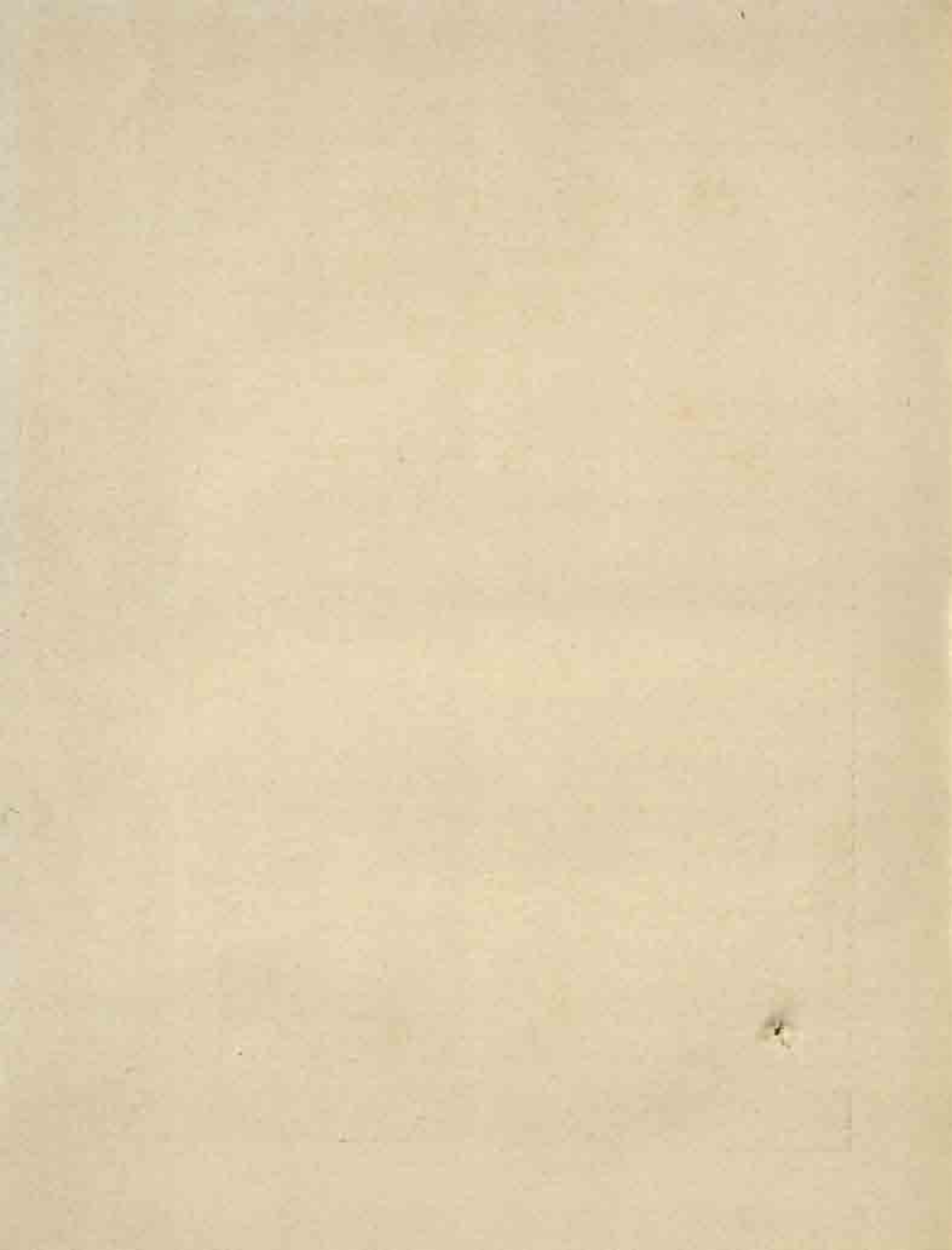
- No. 281. J. Altham. B. No. 1011.
" 285. E. Gunby. B. No. 1250.
" 303. M. Conset. B. No. 1228.
" 304. Rachel. B. No. 1254.
P. 232. In footnote 90, for "the father-in-law of Richard Barwell" *read*
"buried October 31st, 1755."
No. 313. Mary Coles. B. No. 1082.
" 326. See above Nos. 123 and 218.
" 336. A. Cahil. B. No. 1242.
" 355. For "June" *read* "Jane." B. No. 1276.
" 358. M. Harding. B. No. 1265.
" 388. For "Rowlard Bross" *read* "Rowlard Brons."
-



! Anubhava Karkayee



*Yasodha
Karnataka*



The Secretary's Notes.

I INSERT here some more letters of Kristo Das Pal to Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee:—

No. 1.

Thursday, 1865.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I sent a man to you this morning, but you were not visible at the Dutts'. Pray, is your article ready? I shall be inconvenienced if you don't hand it to the bearer.

Babu Nohin Krishna Banerjee¹ is anxious to see you. Where can he meet you?

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 2.

Thursday, [25th April, 1867.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is proof of your article on Sir Arthur Cotton.² Please revise it, and if convenient say something else in lieu of the figured statement.

¹ A neglected genius, condemned to obscurity, labelled with the title, "Impracticable." He had more than one tolerable opportunity, but to no purpose. With solid parts, a man of infinite jest, he seems just the man to rise in the world. But he was too firm for the world. His very humour probably went against him. He possessed both high spirits and high spirit. If the world is impatient of the former, it sorely resents the latter. Baloo Devendra Nath Tagore and Baboo Nohin Krishna Banerjee are probably the only survivors of the elder generation of Bengali authors—the generation to which belonged Akshay Kumar Dutt and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar—to which the Bengali language owes its formation. Banerjee succeeded Dutt in the editorship of the *Tattvabodhini Patrika*, the monthly magazine of the old Brahma Samaj which has played an important part in the religious, moral and intellectual regeneration of the Bengali people. As long ago as 1859 he published a treatise on Natural Theology, the first in Bengali, which I had the privilege of reviewing in the *Hindu Patriot*, then under the strong hand of the lamented Harris Chandra Mookerjee. It was since improved and introduced into schools, though I do not now hear of it. Perhaps it has been crowded out of the Course by the obstreperous competition of later publications.

² See the *Hindu Patriot*, 6th May, 1867, Article "Sir Arthur Cotton on the Famine."

I hope you will write the article on West's *Administration*¹ to-morrow without fail. Kindly let me have the work on Saturday as Kishorey² wants it urgently.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 3.

Wednesday, [1st May, 1867.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here are some books which you can review. Can you procure a copy of Chunder Nath's essay on Cromwell³ for review? He had sent me a copy, but I cannot lay my hands upon it. If you can get it, please give it a short notice.

Kindly let me have Lal Behary's Lectures⁴ back if convenient.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 4.

Saturday, [4th May, 1867.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

The accompanying two numbers of the *Daily News* contain a report of Justice Phear's Lecture on Joint-Family. I hope you will notice it in the next issue.

Have you seen all your proofs?

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

¹ This account of the career of Lord Halifax at the India office, by Mr. Algernon West, his Private Secretary, was noticed in a leading article headed, "Sir Charles Wood by his Private Secretary," April 29, 1867.

² Baboo Kishorey Chand Mitra, formerly of the Subordinate Executive Service, latterly a mocktail and literary man.

³ *An Essay on the Life and Character of Oliver Cromwell*. By Chunder Nath Bose, M.A., B.L., (now Bengal Translator to the Government of Bengal.) Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1867. Reviewed on the 20th May 1867.

⁴ These Lectures against Brahmoism by the Rev. Lal Behari Day, which caused a good deal of interest among the youth of the metropolis, were the missionary counter-blast to the Revival in the Brahmo Samaj, and to the publications and preaching of Baboo Debender Nath Tagore and Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen.

No. 5.

Monday, [6th May, 1867].

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I hav'nt yet received Wheeler's History. The other books are at my house, which I will send you to-morrow. I trust you will take up this (time) Phear's Hindoo Joint Stock Family. There is an old Bengali drama—*Chitrabhas* I believe,—which has to be reviewed. Will you notice it this time? If not, you can review some of the later publications.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

P.S. Please furnish "copy" early.

No. 6.

11th August, 1867.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I am sorry that the Oudh article cannot go in this time, it is very long, and as Woomesh is sick new hands cannot be relied upon. If you insist then I fear I must keep up late in the night. I am still weak, and not at all equal to the task. Will you kindly write half a column on Cochin China,² so as to connect the Proclamation and the general order in a leader? I send the proof. Please send "copy" as quick as possible. In haste,

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 7.

16th September, 1867.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is a currency note for Rs..., your honorarium for August last. I hope you will have the goodness to write this week.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

² This was the "History of Land Settlement in Oudh" which appeared in the issue of the 19th August.

¹ This was written and appeared next morning under the title of "France in Asia."

No. 8.

Wednesday [30th October, 1867.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I did not like to trouble you last week, thinking that you might enjoy the holidays elsewhere. I hope you will come up and work this week. I have three subjects¹ for you, 1st, Russia and Cabul, 2nd, Cashmere, and 3rd, Education and Science.² I shall feel obliged if you will kindly send "copy" early. Hoping you are quite well.

I remain, yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 9.

20th November, 1867

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I am exceedingly sorry to inform you that yesterday I lost my poor maternal uncle. This melancholy event has completely disconcerted me. I fear I shall not be able to write much this week. Will you kindly relieve me as much as you can? Here are a few subjects:

For Review.

1. A Farce² (herewith forwarded)
2. Principles of Criminal Law³ (already forwarded.)

For Leaders.

Oudh⁴ (with reference to the late Durbar. Please do not contradict what I have said in my last article on the Durbar. This report will help you in speaking of its educational progress.)

¹ All these subjects were taken up by me, in successive issues, except the last. On the 4th November 1867 appeared "Russia in Asia," and on the 11th November "Cashmere and its Assailants in the Press." On the remaining topic a smart article was contributed by Baboo, now (1891) Raja Rajendralala Mitra.

² In Bengali by Nimal Charan Sil of Chinsura. L. C. Bose & Co.

³ A Bengali treatise by Krishna Chunder Banerjee. Both these books were noticed at length in separate numbers.

⁴ Article "The Uses of Durbars—The Lucknow Durbar"—November 25, 1867.

2. W. C. Bonnerjea's address at the E(ast) I(ndia) Association. (You have got a copy of the report. Of course the time has not arrived for a representative system, but the importance of the educated natives should be recognized by extending the principles of Self-Government in the shape of a Delegate Assembly nominated by Government.)

3. Russia in Asia (you must now develop your policy.)¹

4. Religious Future of India. (The accompanying number of the *Mirror* contains a reply from Babu D(evendra) N(ath) Tagore, which affords some light on the progress made on the subject; the Babu admits his unsuccessfulness.)²

I forward by the bearer a currency note for Rs....being the last month's due which please acknowledge and oblige.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 10.

21st November, 1867.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is a letter from Mr. Lobb complaining that he has been wrongly put as a Roman Catholic³ which he is not. We must contradict it in the next paper. Please return his letter after reading it.

I forgot to send the Farce yesterday. Here it is. Try to review it this time.⁴

Would you like to write an article on the Burmese Embassy? This morning's *Englishman* contains one. Pray, have you sent "copy"? Did you get yesterday a currency note for Rs....?

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

¹ The number of the *Hindoo Patriot* of November 18 contains a weighty article on Russia in Asia.

² All the subjects were taken up on different dates.

³ This refers to the article in the *Hindoo Patriot* of the Monday next preceding or the 18th November on "the Philosophy taught in our Colleges," in which I had spoken of Mr. Lobb as a Roman Catholic.

⁴ This was a Farce entitled *Eurdi A'odr Bara Lak*, which was reviewed on December 9, 1867.

No. 11.

11th December, 1867.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I called at the School as well (as) at the Dutts' yesterday, but could not find you. Here's a speech of Dr. Macleod on Missions which deserves notice. Will you kindly make it a text for a leader? You have other subjects in hand. I request you will be good enough to forward "copy" early. I will meet you one of these days.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 12.

24th December, 1867.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Since last Sunday night, I have been labouring under a severe attack of fever. I cannot touch paper and pen. Will you kindly relieve me entirely this week? Pray, are you coming to town? If so, kindly look in at my place once and oblige. I send the *Calcutta Review*¹ and the pamphlet on the merits of Native and English Rule.²

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.³

No. 13.

26th December, 1867.
Patriot Press.

BABOO SAMBHU CHUNDER MOOKERJEE.

Dear Sir,

I hereby beg to submit to your notice that four columns and a half of Weekly News, and of editorial eight are wanting for this week.

¹ *Calcutta Review*. No. XCI. November 1867. Reviewed 13th January 1868.

² Correspondence on the Comparative Merits of the British and Native Systems of Administration. Published by Government.

³ This letter is by another hand, the signature being Kristodas's. The next is from another correspondent, the Printer and Publisher of the *Hindoo Patriot*, Anand Nath Mookerjee, showing how real was Paul's illness.

Will you, however, kindly take the trouble to call at the office once on Sunday next and go over the proof sheets?

Yours obediently,

AUDHOR NAUTH MOOKERJEE.

P.S.¹—I humbly hope you have not forgot about the post in the Academy you promised for a friend of mine.

No. 14.

Wednesday. [15th January, 1868.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I hear you were put to great inconvenience last Sunday. I expected it as the "copies"² were given late. But I hope you will make it convenient to write early this week. I am still very weak. Nevertheless, I will write the epitome and the short leaders and if possible one editorial. Will you kindly write four articles? You have the University Examinations and the Comparative Merits of British and Native Rule. You have also other subjects. If you like, I will suggest some texts. Kindly try to give some "copy" to-morrow and oblige.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 15.

16th January, 1868.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I send by the bearer Rs....., viz., Rs.....for December, Rs..... additional for the extra labour which devolved on you during my illness.³

¹ This typographical Mookerjee is far from a feminine person, but his epistolary method, which reserves its force till the last moment, is rather ladylike. The P.S. is the most important part of the letter to the writer.

² For the benefit of the saintly reader innocent of our Pandemonium, it is necessary to explain a word that necessarily occurs in nearly every communication from the Chief Editor to his chief literary colleague and associate. Literary matter for publication is technically called among printers "copy".

³ This additional payment I declined, returning it through my friend Baboo Jogesh Chunder Dutt, of the Wellington Square Dutt family, who had received for me the letter and the remittance.

Kindly receive this sum and acknowledge the receipt. Pray, have you written anything? Please try to give "copy" early.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 16.

Monday, [January, 1868.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I am sorry to say I did not get your corrected proofs of the review until to-day, and I could not consequently put in your corrections.

I have an engagement on Sunday next and therefore wish to close the next paper on Saturday. Will you kindly write early? I hope you will review both Robson¹ and Sircar² together. Do not make the review inconveniently long.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 17.

March, 1868.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is Seton-Karr's address. Will you hang a leader² upon it? I trust you will notice Clarke's pamphlet³ on the Central Asian Question. You

¹ Dr. Robson, a medical Missionary, who entered the service of Government in the Education Department. A Christian schoolmaster, he was thorough orthodox as a medical man. An enemy to inquiry, he was one of the foremost to boycott Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar in his catholic search. He vainly endeavoured to prevent the introduction of Homoeopathy by a pamphlet ridiculing its pretensions, entitled *Homoeopathy Expounded and Exposed; A Lecture delivered in the Theatre of the Medical College, Calcutta, March 20th 1867.* By W. Robson, M.D., L.R.C.S.E. Medical Missionary; Calcutta Published by Wyman Bros., Hare Street, 1867. Dr. Sircar published *On the Supposed Uncertainty in Medical Science, and on the Relation between Diseases and their Remedial Agents.* These publications which created great sensation were elaborately reviewed, not together as suggested in the text, but separately.

² And so I did hang.

³ This was a reprint of some trenchant letters to the *Friend of India* of Scramptone from the vigorous pen of the Secretary to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce under the nom de guerre of "England." I gave a leading article on the pamphlet in the *Hindoo Patriot* of the 23rd March 1868, headed "The Anglo-Indian View of the Central Asian Question."

have lots of books and pamphlets for review. Do for my sake give "copy" early.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 18.

[June, 1868].

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

The E. B. Railway Co. has at last instituted the threatened libel action.¹ I shall be very busy with the case. I hope you will show some activity and relieve me as much as you can of editorial labour. Pray, have you written anything?

Will you kindly ask Bahu Rajendro Dutt² and Dr. Sircar³ and other friends how many reliable witnesses they can produce? Please let me have the names and addresses at your earliest convenience.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 19.

August, 1868.

MY DEAR SAMAHU,

I send by the bearer a currency note for Rs.....for the last month. I was told by D.....day before yesterday that you had spent the whole of

¹ Franklin Pinnage = Kristodas Pal, Editor, and Anthon Nath Mookerjee, Publisher, of the *Hindu Patriot*, for publishing in that newspaper of the 18th May, 1868, a sensational account of a great accident on the Eastern Bengal Railway which occurred on the evening of the 7th May. This account was damaging to the management of the Railway, then a private company, whose Agent was Mr. F. Pinnage. After a vain effort to procure evidence in proof of the allegations made in the paper, poor Kristodas Pal was glad to wriggle out of the onerous litigation with a public retraction and apology and payment of costs.

² Of the Wellington Square Dutt family, since deceased. A man of rare intelligence, activity, and resources, prone to commercial speculation in which he always ultimately failed, and had to seek the benefit of the Act. His habits were intellectual, however, as his disposition benevolent. He had learnt medicine in early life as an indispensable knowledge for every being, without the remotest idea of adopting its practice as a profession, but had nevertheless practised it in charity. Subsequently, he enquired into Homoeopathy and adopted it with all the enthusiasm of his nature and practised it for many years gratuitously for the benefit of all comers and inquirers. He was one of the principal introducers of Homoeopathy in this country. Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, whose name is bracketed with his in the text, was Baboo Rajendro Dutt's disciple in Homoeopathy, though far his superior in science.

³ The Honourable Mahendra Lal Sircar, M.D., Member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

last(?) week) in Calcutta. It was a pity that I did not know it, as I would have done myself the pleasure of seeing you. Pray, what are you about? You did not write a single line for the last (two) weeks except the review of Grish's lecture.¹ I have no doubt your quiver is full, but why don't you shoot? You have many books to review and I make an addition to-day. Will you give an article on the new phase of the Central Asian Question? The Russians are said to be in Afghanistan and this fact has alarmed our Government.

Several friends² are anxious to read the following books and pamphlets:—

Wheeler's History of India.

Hunter's Rural Bengal.

And

*Grish's Lecture.*³

Will you kindly let me have these books by the bearer?

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

P.S.—I hope the last week's deluge has not washed you away, my dear Sambhu.

No. 20.

Tuesday, [November 24, 1868].

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I am sorry to learn that you are still suffering from illness. I missed you at Abdool Luteef's party⁴ the other evening as I wanted to speak to you. I trust you are now all right.

¹ *A lecture on the Life of Ramdoolal Dey, the Bengalee Millionaire. Delivered in the Hall of the Haringley College, on Saturday, the 14th March 1868. By Grish Chander Ghose. Enlarged and Revised. Belloore, 1868. Reviewed on August 17, 1868.*

² The plural number was a diplomatic device to cover the name of a particular gentleman who ought to have paid for his reading, as he easily could do.

³ By "Abdool Luteef's party" Kristo Das Pal referred to the grand Natch Party given by Nawab Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadur in celebration of the marriage of his eldest daughter with Moulvi Syud Mahomed, now one of the ablest Deputy Magistrates or native *employés* under the British Government. It was a connection of which the Nawab might well be proud. If wealth was gone from the family which once owned the great Pargana of Baida Khul, honour still remained, and manhood. The bridegroom was himself a possession. Syud Mahomed is of the last of the Moguls: his appearance is presumptive evidence, which his life and conversation confirm. Nawab Abdool Luteef Khan spent on the occasion like a prince, giving ~~to~~ a dozen separate Natch Parties on the same evening, two reserved exclusively for the then Heir Apparent and Prince Jehan Kade of Oudh, and following up with a series of costly dinners, each restricted to a particular section of his friends. I was present at the memorable scene, but I do not wonder that Kristodas Pal did not see me, it was such a colossal and crowded entertainment.

If you have written an article on the Begum of Bhopal,¹ please let me have it. There are several books and pamphlets awaiting review, among which I will name these Dr. Murray Mitchell's Lecture,² the *Kohil Duta*,³ and some new drama the name of which I forget. Will you kindly give "copy" early, if convenient?

Can you tell me where I can get a full account of the capture of Pratapaditya by Rajah Maun Sing? If you have any books on the subject kindly let me have the same.⁴

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

P.S.—Please let me have for a few days Wheeler's History and Hunter as I wish to read the works myself.⁵

K. P.

No. 21.

Wednesday. [1868.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Will you kindly let me have Monteath's Note on Education?⁶ Rajendra⁷ wants it urgently.

¹ See Letter No. 33 published in No. 17 of *Bengal Past & Present*. This was written early in December 1868 not January, 1868, p. 26. The conjectural date (within brackets) of the Letter has been, if I may express myself so, misread—being wrong in the month.

² *The Conflict of Christianity and Paganism during the three Centuries*. A Lecture. By the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, LL. D., Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Printed for the Tract and Book Society, Bombay, 1868. My review of this brochure appeared in the *Hindu Patriot* of December 23, 1868.

³ *The Sanskrit Kohiladuta*. A Poem in Sanskrit. With Sanskrit commentaries and a Bengali translation. Santipore, Kavyaprakasa Yantra, Saka 1885. Reviewed in the next *Hindu Patriot*, that was for December 14, 1868.

⁴ This requisition was in the interest of his young protégé Baboo Pratapa Chandra Ghosh, then Librarian and Assistant Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who was prosecuting researches into the subject in question for the purposes of his historical romance in Bengali, since published under the name of *Bengadhipa Parajaya*, the scene of which is laid in the Sunderbass before the Coast of the Gangetic Delta was desolated and depopulated by the incursions of the Mugs and Portuguese. That work of fiction is weighted and enriched—irrelevantly to be sure, not to say irreverently—with an English appendix containing all the historical proofs of the previous populousness and prosperity of Southern Bengal Proper and the subsequent devastation from the incursions of the pirates and adventures. The same subject is treated in my little book on Bengal, *Travels and Voyages between Calcutta and Independent Tipperah*. Calcutta, 1887.

⁵ Nonsense! This was my friend's "dodge,"—speaking in friendly familiarity—to do me out of the perquisites of my office. He had no time for books, nor inclination either.

⁶ *Note on the State of Education in India 1865-66*. By J. Monteath, B. C. S., afterwards Director-General of the Post Office in India. Published by Government. I wrote several articles on Mr. Monteath's Note and on Education in connection therewith.

⁷ Baboo, afterwards Dr., then Rai Bahadur, finally Raja, Rajendralala Mitra, C.I.E.

Here is a letter which please read. I think we ought to expose Syud Abdoolah.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 22.

[1868.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I was very much disappointed last Sunday and was put to great inconvenience in passing the paper. I will never excuse you for this.

You have a number of subjects to write about. I hope you will give a leader on Rajputana this week and touch up Syed Abdool¹ in the letter he has written about the Bengalis (*vide* the accompanying *Madras Times*). Have the goodness to review the many books now at your disposal as quickly as possible. You need not be elaborate in all cases.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 23.

[March, 1869.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I send herewith a publication of the Dharma Subbha² with a copy of the *Bhaskar*³ which contains an account of the last meeting.

I hope you will say that the last Dharma sabha was started for opposing the *Suttee* move; about a lac of rupees was raised for the purpose, one

¹ An obvious slip of the pen for Abdoolah. Syed Abdoolah, an Indian Mussulman who after a long residence in England returned since the date of the above letter to be an assistant Inspector in the Department of Public Instruction, Behar, in which office he died.

² The *Bhaskar* was a Bengali newspaper which, under the editorship of the noted Pandit Gurusankar Bhattacharjee, long divided with the post-war Chandra Gupta's daily *Bangbad Pratibha* the leading position in the vernacular (Bengali) press.

³ Properly called the Sandhya (Dharma) Rakshini Sabha, or the Society for the Preservation of the Perfect Path, headed by the Rajas of Sabharwar, the Ghoses of Patheriaghata, the Ghos of Hogolkoris, the Mitters of Shambhar and others.

Mr. Bhatia was deputed to England to get the law repealed, but without effect. Radhakant¹ then saw the futility of keeping up the Society and quietly withdrew. The present Society is an anachronism and a move backwards.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

P.S.—Kindly let me have "copy" to-morrow without fail.

No. 24.

[March, 1869.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I hope you will not fail to give a leader on the Dhurma Sabha. There seems to be a great sensation about it.

Pray, when do you leave for Umballa?² I hope you will review Hunter³ before you go.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 25.

Wednesday, [July, 1869.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I am better to-day. I send per bearer yesterday's *Englishman* which contains a translated article on the Mahomedans from the *Doorbeen*⁴. Will

¹ The late Sir Raja Radha Kant Deb of Sovabazar Raj Family.

² I left town on the 23rd March, 1869, en route to the Panjab, where I intended to be present at the Grand Durbar to be held by the new Viceroy Lord Mayo at Umballa for the reception of Shere Ali Khan, the Amier of Cabul. Unfortunately I was detained in the North-Western Province.

³ This refers to the *Preliminary Dissertation to the Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia*. By W. W. Hunter (now Sir William Hunter). 1868. Reviewed in June, 1869. See Letters 34, 35 and 37 and notes thereon published in No. 17 of *Bengal Post & Press*.

⁴ The leading Persian newspaper of Calcutta, now no more.

you please make it a text and hang a leader upon it? This morning's *Englishman* states that Mr. Campbell of the Board, Mr. Sutcliffe and our friend Moulvi Abdool Lutef have been appointed to report on the subject.¹

* * * * *

Pray, send "copy" as early as convenient. If you pass my way kindly look in here and oblige.

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL

No. 26.

Tuesday [December, 1869.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I was very much disappointed last week. I was obliged to write an article on Sunday at 1 P. M., which delayed the paper and forced night work on me. I hope your wife is better. Please commence to write early this week. Will you finish Wheeler,² and give also an article on the Byron Controversy?³

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 27.

New Year's Day [1870.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Thanks for what you have sent.⁴ I can allot you two columns more. Kindly try to condense the description. You need not give the detailed

¹ This refers to the Special Committee consisting of Mr. C. H. Campbell, C.S., Mr. Sutcliffe, Principal of the Presidency College, and Moulvi (now Nawab) Abdool Latif Khan Bahadur, Deputy Magistrate, appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Grey, to make a thorough inquiry into the condition of the Calcutta Madrasah—the old College of Persian and Arabic learning established for the Mahomedans by Warren Hastings—an institution so intimately connected with the whole question of Mahomedan advancement, which was then on the carpet. The Committee was appointed on the 24th July, 1869, and presented its report in December of the same year.

² Talboys Wheeler's *History of India* Vol. II. then being reviewed in the *Hindoo Patriot*. See letter No. 42 published in No. 17 of *Bengal Past & Present*.

³ The unexampled but nauseous controversy started by Mrs. Becker Stowe with her provoking "True Story of Lady Byron's Life." I did not write on the unsavoury subject.

⁴ A long description—for the editorial columns of the *Hindoo Patriot*—of the visit to Calcutta of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh in December, 1859, and of the receptions and festivities in the Prince's honour on the occasion.

description of the Chapter of the Star;¹ there is not space for it, but say a few graceful things in your usual way. Kindly make the Seven Tanks² affair³ full, as we are expected to give one. You will be good enough to note all the salient points, but in as few words as possible. The bearer will wait till you have finished. There is no time to lose. If you can conveniently call to-morrow after breakfast to correct the proofs I shall feel much obliged. I have not yet finished the Retrospect.⁴ I have just finished breakfast. It is now 2 P.M.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 28.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

If you have got the Bengal letter on the Hazaribagh case,⁵ kindly let me have the same by the bearer.

¹ Chapter of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India in the *sanidan* for the investiture of H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh, on the 29th December, 1869.

² The Seven-Tanks, the *châlees* on the road to Dum-Dum—of the Sonárbamā millionaire, Baboo Shama Churn Mullick, then living.

³ The Reception given to the Duke by the Native Community of Bengal at the Baboo's Suburban palace, on the 28th December, 1869.

⁴ The review of the past year with which it was customary for the *Hindoo Patriot* to open the first number of the New Year. Here the Retrospect of the year 1869 is meant.

⁵ This, known from the name of the sitting Judge, as the Boddam case, was a judicial scandal in the Hazaribagh country, which in the middle of 1873 caused a great sensation. Such high-handed proceedings are by no means uncommon in the interior, though they are but rarely brought to public notice; the victims, who are usually too poor to seek redress by law and too timid to represent their grievances to higher executive authority, have no alternative but to suffer in silence. In this case, the vagaries of Major Boddam, Deputy Commissioner of Hazaribagh, in the exercise of his powers as a Judge, came in due course before the High Court, when Mr. Justice Macpherson, a Barrister Judge of great reputation, long since retired, commented with just severity on the irregularities of which the Major was guilty. Nor did the matter end there. The Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, was won't to keep a watchful eye over the whole administration of the Empire. Anything particular that appeared in the newspapers was sure to be brought to his notice by his devoted Private Secretary, Captain Baring (now Lord Cromer). The remarks of the High Court in this Hazaribagh case attracted attention to it at Simla. The Lieutenant-Governor was at once communicated with and told to demand an explanation from the Major. Sir George Campbell, the then head of the Bengal Government, who had been exerting all his great talents and influence to humble the Judiciary and exalt the Executive, as well as make the District authority despotic and supreme, took offence at this interference, and tried his best to support the erring local officers.

Please tell our friends the Dutts¹ that at yesterday's meeting a resolution was carried calling upon the Engineer to report whether water could not be kept up at low pressure between 6 and 9 P.M.

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL.

No. 28.

Tuesday, [February 1, 1870.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I hope you will make it convenient to send some "copy" to-morrow morning. Pray, have you selected a subject for your second article?

Yours affectionately,
K. D. PAL.

P.S. Sharaswatti Pooja takes place on Saturday. I must therefore close early.

No. 29.

Sunday, [May, 1870.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is *Kapāla Kundalā*,² which kindly review. Your last "review" has been kept back this time for want of space. More when we meet.

Yours affectionately,
KRISTODAS PAL.

¹ The well-known Kayastha family of Wellington Square, Calcutta. The allusion here is to two members in especial who, as they assisted in obtaining for the town the privilege of Self-Government, have ever since taken much quiet interest in municipal matters—Baboo Jogesh Chunder Dutt, for upwards of fifteen years Honorary Magistrate and Member of the Corporation, representative of his Ward (No. 11) in the Municipality from the introduction of election in 1876 to this day (1891), and his nephew Baboo Suresh Chunder Dutt, who, ever ready in a good cause to serve the public and individuals, has, in a quiet modest way, by his singular mastery of the municipal machinery of administration, coupled with his connections in town and on the board, though without the advantage of official position, done far more good than half a dozen average members.

² This was Baboo Bankim Chunder Chatterjee's well-known romance of the times of Shah Jahan named *Kapāla Kundalā*, for which I had been looking out. See letter No. 50 published in No. 17 of *Bengal Past & Present*.

No. 30.

Wednesday, [May, 1870].

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Here is Pratap's Memo,¹ which please utilize.Will you write on Keshub² and give a review or two?

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 31.

Thursday, 1870.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Womesh³ tells me that he requires the type occupied by your advertisement. I shall thank you if you will correct the proof and send order for press by the bearer. There is no time to lose, as the week is approaching its end.

Kindly send "copy" for the *Patriot* and oblige.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

P.S. Please mention the number of copies to be printed and the sort of paper to be used.

No. 32.

[September, 1870.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Pray, what is the matter with you? I hope you are all right. I haven't had time to look in at your office, otherwise I would have done so with great

¹ "Pratap" is Pratapa Chandra Ghosh, Registrar of Assurances, Calcutta. His Memo referred to was, I imagine, a Note on Nightsoil which was "utilised" by more fitting hands.

² On Keshub—that is, Keshub Chunder Sen—I did write, as is acknowledged by Pal himself, in Letter No. 49 published in No. 17 of *Bengal Past & Present*.

³ "Womesh" is, in full, Womesh Chunder Nandy, who was the printer of the *Hindu Patriot* printing office. I remember him a tall but very shy prentice hand in the composing department when the office was at Bhowanipore, in the time of Hurris Chunder Mookerjee. Almost the whole of this letter refers to a long business advertisement of mine published in the *Hindu Patriot* of which I required a large number of impressions on separate sheets.

pleasure. Can't you drop in at mine when you pass our way? You have not written for an age, if you are well kindly send some "copy" this week. You have at least a dozen texts to write about, for instance, (1) McMinn's pamphlet,* which by the bye I require for reference, (2) the Course of University studies, (3) the book on the Vedas which Rajendra has sent,† (4) the War, (5) the Religious Movement in India, &c.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 33.

Tuesday, [1870.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

As the annual meeting of the Association is approaching, I shall feel obliged if you will kindly relieve me as much as possible this week. Please give "copy" early.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 34.

19th May, 1871.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I have much pleasure in forwarding by the bearer Rs.....for the last month which please receive and acknowledge.

Pray, are you now in a "writing mood?" If so, will you give a continuation of the review of Chevers,‡ a leader on Abdool Luteef's

* A pamphlet on the question of Land Tenure and the Peasant difficulty in Oudh, I believe, written by a gentleman of that Province.

† Baloo, now Raja, Rajendralala Mitra, the well known scholar, author of *Antiquities of Orissa, of Buddha-Gaya, &c.* The book sent by Mitra was the *Main Results of Vedic Studies* by Rama Chandra Ghosh.

‡ *A Manual of Medical Jurisprudence for India. Including the Outline of a History of Crime against the Person in India.* By Norman Chevers, M.D., Surgeon Major, H. M. Bengal Army, Principal, Medical College, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink, 1870. For its review, see the *Hindoo Patriot*, June 5, 1871.

Wahabi pamphlet,[†] and a notice of Hem's poems?[‡] These subjects are overdue.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 35.

June, 1871

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I send you the bearer and shall thank you to let me have all "copy" to-day.

I have not received the subscription-book of the "Prince."[§]

I have much pleasure in sending by the bearer Rs.....for the last month, which please receive and acknowledge.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 36.

[1st July, 1871.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I send herewith this morning's *Bengalee*. It has a criticism of your article on Mill's Land Tenure Reform Association.[¶] As it is too personal I would not notice the paper, but discuss the subject. Will you give a leader discussing in detail the views of Mill? You have got his speech with you.

[†] *Abstract of Proceedings of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 23rd November 1870. Being a Lecture by Maulvi Keramat Ali, of Jaunpur, on a question of Mahomedan Law, involving the Duty of Mahomedans in British India towards the Ruling Power.* Calcutta, 1871. My notice of this pamphlet appeared in a leading article headed "The Indian Press and Wahabism" on the 10th July 1871.

[‡] A volume of Bengali Poetry by Baboo Hem Chunder Banerjee, Senior Government Pleader, a veteran Bengali bard.

[§] *The Prince in India and to India by an Indian. An Account of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh's Visit to Calcutta, etc.* By Sambhu Chandra Mukhopadhyay (Mookerjee), 1871.

[¶] Published in the *Hindoo Patriot* of June 26, 1871, under the head of "The Land Tenure Reform Association."

I find you have not noticed the current topics I mentioned to you. Maine¹ on the Permanent Settlement would be very acceptable at the present time.

Will you also review the books which are in arrears?

Please send "copy" per bearer with the proofs.

Will you also let me have back Griffin's *Punjab Rajahs*, if done with, also Ramgopal's *Speeches*.

I was suffering the whole of this week from bowel complaint in addition to my primary complaint, but I am better to-day. I am sorry to be obliged to give you so much trouble, but it is my misfortune. I am a broken reed, and cannot do without your friendly prop.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No 37.

Wednesday [July 19, 1871.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

At the eleventh hour after all the pages had been made it was found that there was a column of the surplus matter, and I was obliged to remand the concluding portion of the Chumba article,² which I send you by the bearer. Will you expand it in any way you think proper, and make it a second article?

Please send "copy" and oblige.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 38.

Saturday, [20th July, 1871.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I send another proof of the Chumba article. Please finish it. It must go in. Where is the conclusion of the article on Mill?³ The compositors are clamorous for "copy."

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

¹ Sir Henry Maine, the distinguished jurist, Law Member of the Viceregal Council, who had been speaking of the great Land measure associated with the name of Lord Cornwallis.

² *Public Speeches of the Late Babu Ram Gopal Ghose and his remarks on the Black Acts. Together with a Brief Sketch of his Life.* Calcutta, Vaimiki Press, 1871.

³ My article in the *Hindoo Patriot* of July 17, 1871, headed "The British World in the East—The Chumba Succession," three columns long. My contribution was longer, but a part was elbowed out—for want of room—by an article from the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Campbell.

⁴ This article, headed "Mr. John Stuart Mill—His Place in Literature," appeared in the *Hindoo Patriot* of July 31, 1871.

No. 39.

Saturday, [August 12, 1871.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Kindly send "copy" early as my compositors are now idle, and any delay to-day will keep me late to-morrow. Please finish the article on Afghanistan and the review, and give any new "copy" you like.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

P.S. I send this day's *Observer*.¹ If you can give *to day* a thundering leader on Mr. Cotton's letter on the Native Press,* contained in it, I shall feel obliged.

No. 40.

Wednesday. [1872.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I have much pleasure in forwarding by the bearer Rs.....for last month which please acknowledge.

Pray, do you expect to get out your *Maga* this week, if not, I should like to insert the para. you sent last week.

Kindly give "copy" to the bearer if convenient, and oblige

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

¹ The *Observer* is *The Indian Observer*, one of the not half-a-dozen first-class weekly newspapers started rather than established by the British this side the country. It commenced in February, 1871, under the conduct of the accomplished scholar and publicist, the late Colonel R. D. Osborne, supported by all the talents in the Civil and Military Services and in the bar and even on the bench. The copy of the paper sent to me was the issue of the 12th August of that year, containing a long letter on the Native Press from the pen of Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, since the author of *New India*, and now Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, [and now Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I.]

* An impeachment of the Native journalism published by Mr. Cotton in *propria persona* in the *Indian Observer*, 12th August 1871, Vol. II. pp. 26-27.

No. 41.

Saturday. [1872.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I see your *Maga* is out. Kindly let me have a copy per bearer for perusal. I wish you may see me any of these days with a view to arrange about its circulation.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 42.

Sunday. [1872.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I am very sorry to say that you are too late. I have managed to finish the paper early this week. I am now passing the last page (it is 5-30 P.M.) I therefore regret much that I cannot make room for the para. I have not received the advertisement you refer to. What you have sent in has been inserted.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

P.S. By the bye I hear Lal Bihari is coming out with a rival *Maga*. If your *Maga* is out next week, please let me have it early for notice in the next paper.

No. 43.*Sunday*. [1872.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I called twice this morning at your "office" with a view to see you, but found no ghost of you there. I am surprised to see that you have not sent your *Maga* to me. I have seen it at friends' and am glad to find it quite a successful number. I should however like to have one for perusal, for which

the bearer waits on you. Could you see me at your convenience to arrange about its circulation?

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 44.

4th August, 1872.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I will find out Ramgati's book* and send it on to you.

Here is the *Times of India*, which has a notice of the *Maga*. It is not by a friendly hand. I have not seen any other notice save a short para. in the *Hindu Prakash* which is too general. Please return the *Times* when done with.

I have received Lal Bihari's *Maga*. It is a disappointment. I will dismiss it with a short notice. It is not necessary to expend much powder and shot upon it, and I would therefore advise you not to take the trouble of inditing a leader upon it.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 45.

Saturday. [December, 1872.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I return the forms as requested. I wonder why you had taken the trouble to send them over to me in their present unfinished state, since you do not mean that I wanted an ocular proof of the existence of the Christmas number of the *Maga*. From what I see it is a very superior number, indeed one of the best that have been issued. Your last I confess was not so good.

The review of the *Maga* must go in, and I have passed the proof. I am quite alive to the exigencies of the *Maga* politics.

You complain that I have not answered your last note. I did not know that you required an answer. But I have written to you, and I believe you have by this time received my note.

* A Discourse on the Bengali Language and Bengali Literature from their origin down to the present day. By Pandit Ramgati Nyayaratna, Berhampore College.

If I go to Saugor I hope to be back by Friday next. As my "devils" will have no "copy" till I come back, I shall thank you to send No. 2 of Russia* and early so as to keep them engaged.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

No. 46.

Thursday. [1873.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I have much pleasure in forwarding by the bearer Rs.....for last month, which please receive.

You want proofs of the articles you commenced. One I have disposed of myself, I mean the Ecclesiastical Establishment, the others I have told Woomesh† to send on to you.

Rajendra Babu‡ tells me that you have taken his minute on Beames§ suggestions for an Academy of Literature. As I wish to write something on the subject, I shall thank you to let me have a sight of it.

Pray, any "copy" for the *Patriot*?

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.¹

No. 47.

16th June, 1875.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Could you manage to see me either this evening or to-morrow? I wish to consult you about that matter. I have made a slight progress.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.²

* A second article on the Russian Advance towards India.

† Woomesh Chunder Nundy, Printer of the *Hindu Patriot*.

‡ Baboo, now Rajah, Rajendralala Mitra, D. L.

§ Mr. John Beames, now a senior member of the Bengal Civil Service, an able officer, a good scholar, a meritorious orientalist and a writer of great force. The text alludes to the pamphlet he issued in which he advocated the establishment of an Academy of Letters, on the French model, for the protection and advancement of the Bengali Language.

¹ After printing of the preceding page, it occurred to me that perhaps I had better add another note.

By saying, in the second paragraph of the letter (No. 46), "One I have disposed of myself," etc., Mr. Pal means that he has finished one of the several "leaders" whose first portion I had written, namely, an article on the Indian Church Establishments, which duly appeared.

² I do not recollect the subject of this note.

No. 48.

18th July, 1875.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I heard of your illness, and called twice at the Dutts, but was told that you were at Barahanagar. I am glad to learn that you are now all right. As you have returned to Calcutta, I will try to look in one of these days.

Many thanks for your kind congratulations.¹ But you seem to have forgotten that you were one of the first to congratulate me on my appointment to Council. You called one evening and advised me how I should conduct myself. For my part, I don't think I would be of much use to my country in my new capacity; what can one man do in a Council of twelve, particularly in the face of a standing official majority? I endeavour to do my duty to the best of my ability, though that's not much.

As I feel much interested in Protapa,² I have read with great pleasure your remarks about him; I will show your letter to him.

Yes, Omesh's³ affair is very sad. I am sorry not only for his sake but also for that of the natives. I don't know how the matter will end.

I am glad to learn that the *(sic)* *Maga*⁴ will be out next week. It has been much missed for the last few months.

I am myself not doing well. Since my late afflictions,⁵ my health has been going down, and one of these days you will hear that your poor friend is no more! I am prepared for the end for the world has no charms for me!

Your advertisement⁶ shall appear to-morrow.

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

¹ On Kristo Das Pal's appointment as a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

² Baboo Pratapa Chandra Ghosh, District Registrar of Assurances, Calcutta, then Librarian and Assistant Secretary to the Asiatic Society. He was then a young scholar of fine promise, but as his work lay in a secluded department, it naturally escaped the notice of the general public.

³ Omesh Chunder Dutt usually known as Mr. G. C. Dutt of the Rambagan Dutt. The "affair" refers to the unfortunate circumstances under which this intelligent and painstaking officer was compelled to resign the important office of Vice-Chairman of the Calcutta Town Corporation. As an experienced and useful man, he had the good fortune, however, of being again taken into favour so far at least as to be allowed to farm the municipal taxes.

⁴ *Mookerjee's Magazine* (New Series) of Literature, Politics, Sociology, History, etc. Edited by Samih Chandra Mukhopadhyaya (Mookerjee), Calcutta started in August 1872 and continued till the end of 1876. The whole makes 5 vols.

⁵ This is an allusion to the death of his first wife followed (after his second marriage) by the death of his son by his second wife.

⁶ This was a purely business notice for the advertisement columns of the *Hindu Patriot*, of which journal the Hon'ble Baboo Kristodas Pal was manager as well as editor.

No. 49.

22nd October, 1875.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I was extremely sorry to hear of your second attack; I intended to go to Barahanagar to see you, but unfortunately I couldn't; I was myself not doing well; I am now under medical treatment: work will kill me; I am not half what I was, and one of these days you will hear this beast of burden gone.

I am glad to learn that you have recovered, but pray do take care of yourself. We are all breaking down.

I don't think I can consistently attend your meeting.¹ I am, however, willing to assist you with all information in my possession and with such advice as I can give. I have already given information and advice to a friend,² who is, I believe, working with you on the subject.

You will find my views upon the Bill in my speech at the second reading and in my dissent. You ought to read the whole of the debate.³ I am sorry I cannot give you the minute of the Lieutenant-Governor as it has not been published. Why not apply for a copy to the Council?⁴

I will distribute the other letters.⁵

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.

No. 50.

Saturday, [1875.]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Notice I shall the correspondence, but this week my mourning ends and I must make up the paper in haste. A notice of the *Maga* will however appear in the next *Patriot*.

Yours affectionately,

K. D. PAL.

¹ The important Meeting of the rate-payers and citizens of Calcutta, called by the Indian League, held on the 25th October, 1875—under the presidency of Mr. James Wilson, Editor and Proprietor of the *Indian Daily News*—to condemn the Calcutta Municipality Amendment Bill then ready to be passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, and to demand an Independent Town Corporation. It was the first step in those exertions of the League which—thanks to the much-abused Sir Richard Temple, then Lieutenant-Governor—obtained for the capital a representative Local Government and for the citizens a fair share of power in their municipal affairs. My interest in the success of the meeting and the movement was all the greater because I had the honour of holding the office of permanent Chairman of the League.

² Don't know who. We could never find out.

³ Indeed!

⁴ Just so!

⁵ These were letters of invitation to our coming meeting of the rate-payers to some gentlemen, such as Baboo Bollye Chand Singh and Baboo Pratapa Chandra Ghosh, in Baboo Pal's neighbourhood in Baranoy Ghose's Street, which I enclosed with a request to him to have them delivered by one of his *Hindoo Patriot* or British Indian Association porters. Our men were all engaged, and I would not take the risk of the Post Office, if I could help it.

No. 51.

Calcutta, the 9th September, 1881.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I have an amateur *Boole*¹ singing party at mine to-morrow night. It will commence at about 9 P.M. Will you kindly give me the pleasure of your company on the occasion?

I long to see you. When will it suit you to give me the pleasure of a chat with you?

Yours affectionately,

KRISTODAS PAL.²

An anonymous Correspondent writes to me:—

CALCUTTA,

14th December, 1914.

DEAR SIR,

The Calcutta Historical Society has done much to revive interest in the almost forgotten history of the past. I venture to make a couple of suggestions, which if carried out, will make two monuments, already in existence, of greater interest to the Calcutta resident and visitor of the future. It is surprising how few people to-day know what the structure in the Strand Road, popularly known as the "Pepper Box," really is. Many think it to be some kind of a watch tower, others think it has something to do with the floodway of the moat round the fort. It is really deserving of removal to some more prominent and more accessible position, but this I suppose is hardly possible, so I suggest that the marble panels on either side of the door be suitably inscribed for the information of present and future generations: the inscription on the upper portion of the monument might be reproduced and the wooden railings in front removed and replaced by wrought iron gates.

¹ The MS. has distinctly *Boole*, but it is a misspelling. He had at his house one of the *Baal* concerts which, started a few years before, had just then come into fashion. Almost every Hindu neighbourhood in town and suburb had its corps of amateurs, and every house of any consequence was bound to have this singing once at least—the amateurs themselves offering their services, in case the master lacked zeal. This was the case at Kristodas Pal's house. He did not care for music and was impatient of it. But his friends and the amateurs in especial, would not let him off. For the latter it would be a feather to their cap to have sung at the house of so prominent a citizen, who if he did not himself understand singing would certainly invite those who did understand it. Perhaps the singular spelling with the final *e* with the acute accent, was due to the writer's adopting the vulgar pronunciation. Probably, he meant to write *Baal*.

² This note was received when I was staying at the suburban Town of Baranagar, having come from Tipperah during the Pooja Long Vacation.

The inscription on the Ochterlony Monument is very meagre, and I suggest that the two empty tablets on either side of the base be filled in with a more complete record of the services of the General, whose Imperial services are commemorated.

I prefer to remain anonymous, but if I read in *Bengal Past and Present* that the Society decides to take this matter in hand and is collecting funds to carry out the work I will be glad to subscribe Rs. 100.

Yours faithfully,

CALCUTTA.

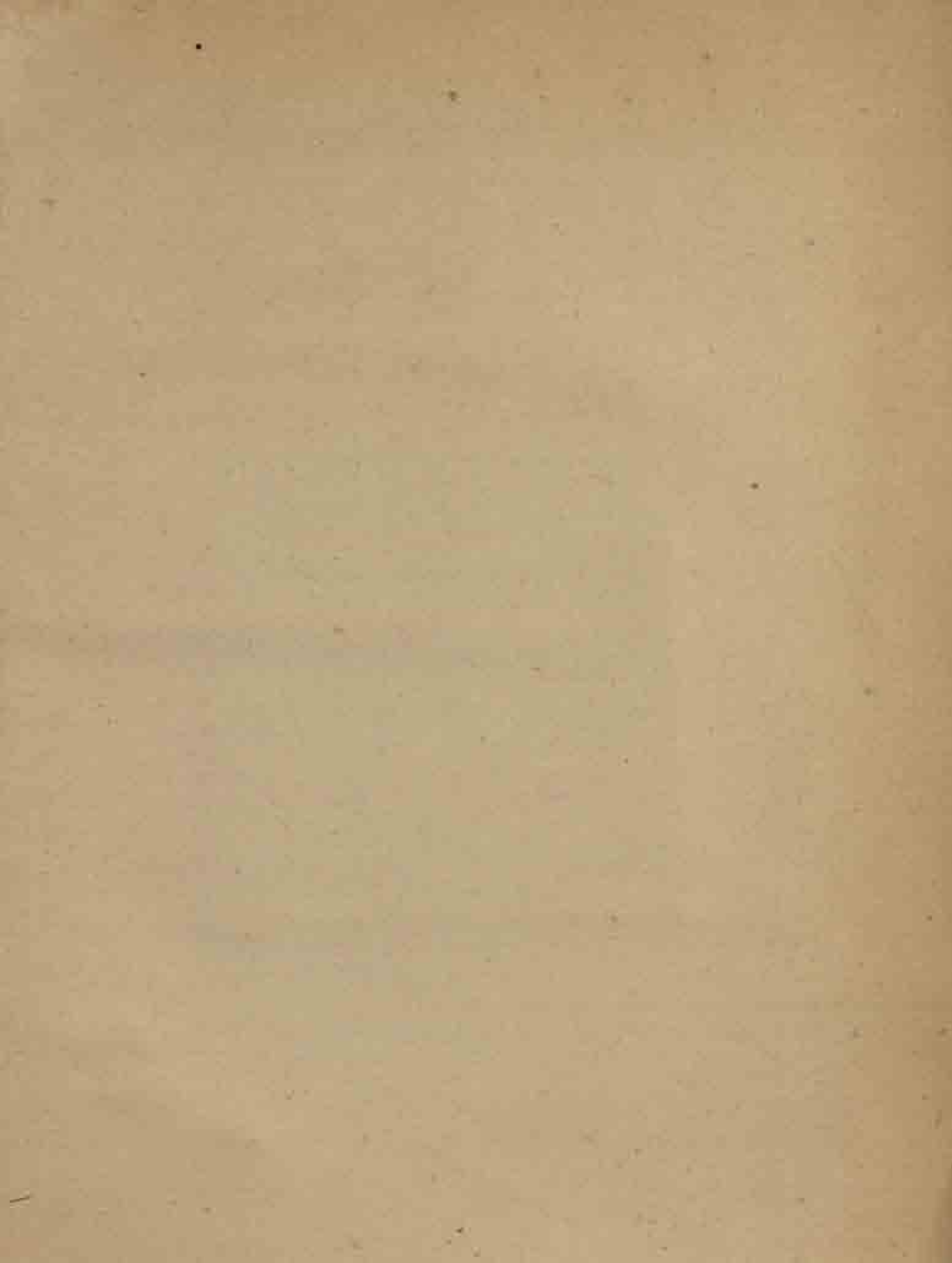
We are thankful to this anonymous correspondent for his suggestions which might be brought to the notice of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal with a prayer that he would be pleased to consider them, and, if possible, to issue the necessary instructions to the Bengal Public Works Department to carry out these suggestions.

26, SHAMPUKER STREET,

Calcutta, 15th January, 1915.

} S. C. SANIAL

(9)



5
27

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.

S. S. 148, P. 21105