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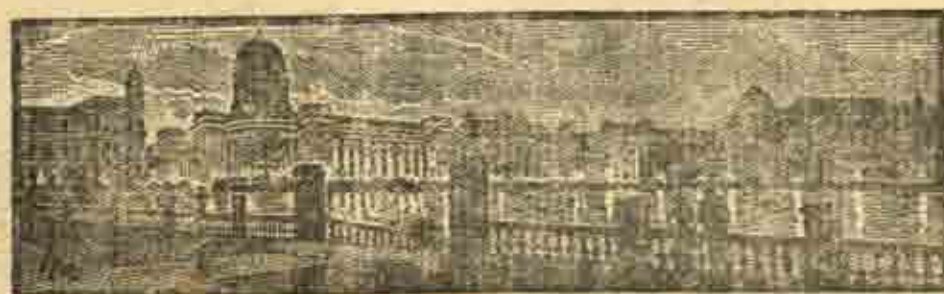
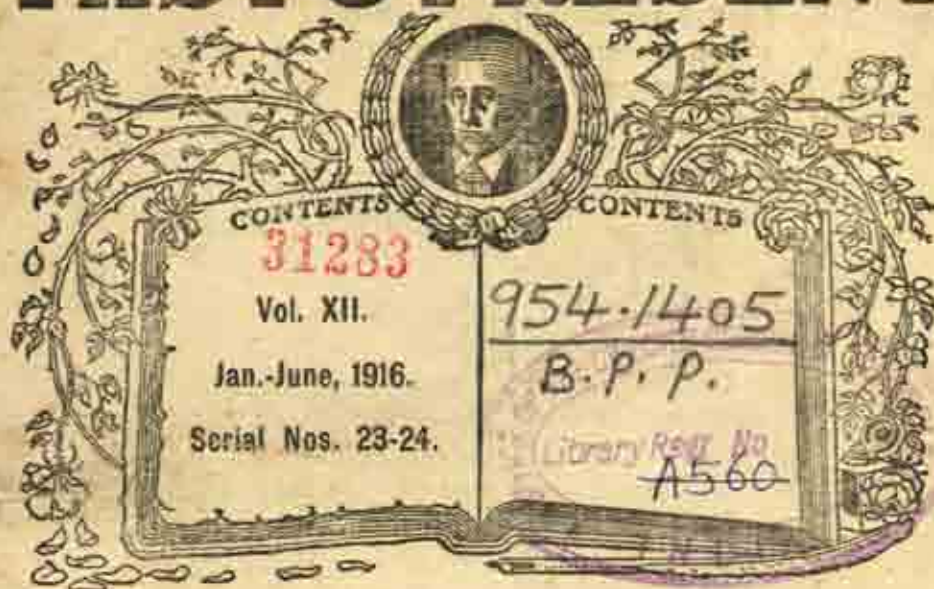


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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Price Rs. 10/- a copy.

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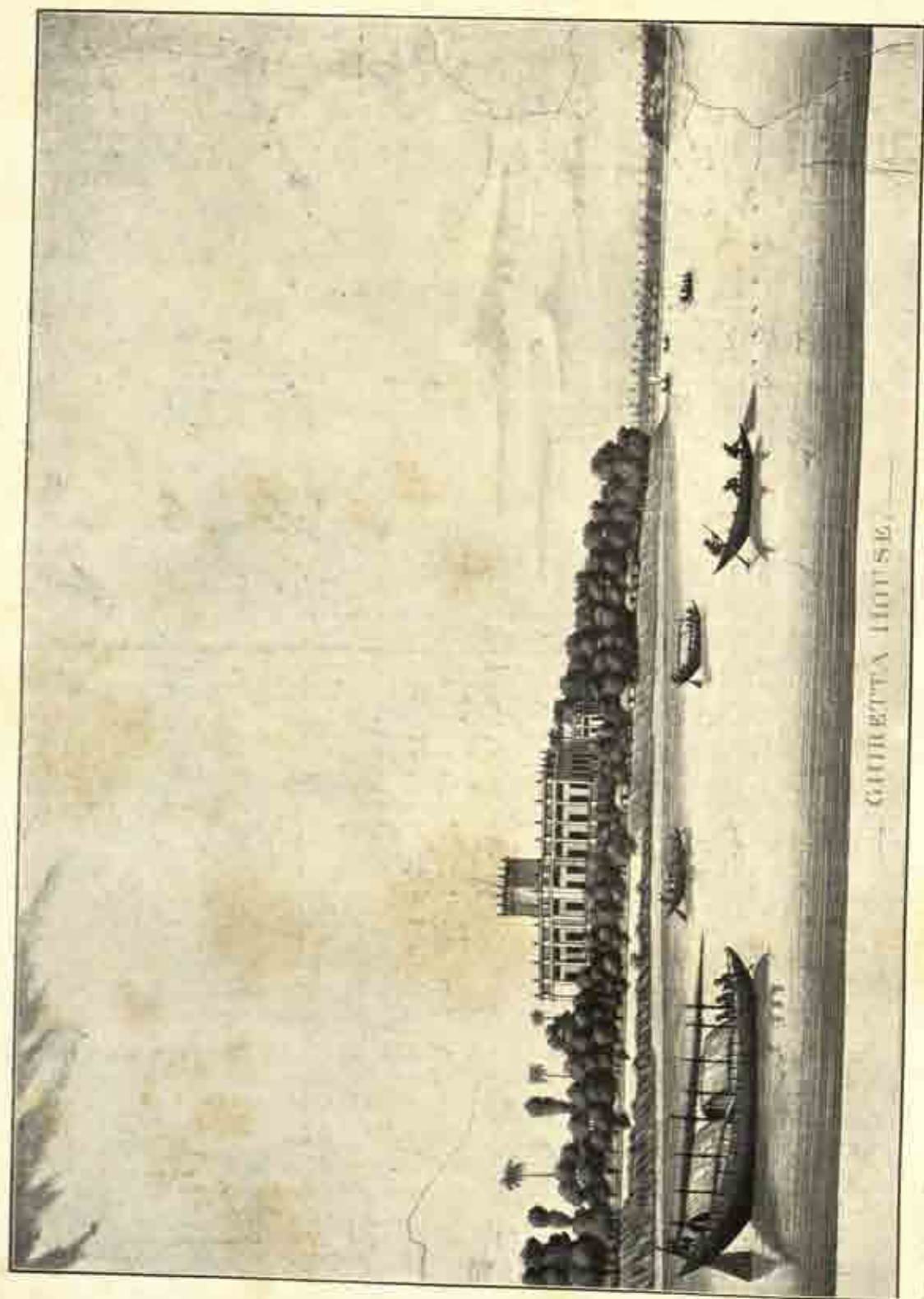
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[By Moffat.]

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The Governor-General of a Day.

—ofo—

IN volume one of this Journal, Mr. A. P. Muddiman of the Indian Civil Service, now Secretary, Legislative Department, Government of India, contributed an article on the above subject in which he described briefly the events of the 20th June 1777 when General Clavering presided at the Council House as Governor-General with Philip Francis as his colleague, while Warren Hastings presided in the same capacity over the Board of Revenue with Richard Barwell as a Councillor. On that day there were two persons in Calcutta asserting the rights and privileges of the Governor-General of India. The Minutes of Consultations of the Governor-General's Council of that day have never been published before with all the necessary enclosures. Mr. Muddiman referred to them as briefly as he could within the compass of a short paper. On my application the Government of India have now permitted their *verbatim* reproduction in *Bengal Past & Present*.

S. C. SANIAL.

No. 9.

FORT WILLIAM, 20TH JUNE 1777.

AT A COUNCIL

PRESENT:

Lieut.-Genl. John Clavering who takes the oath of Governor-General.
Philip Francis, Esq.

READ again the General Letter received yesterday from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.

READ the following letter from Genl. Clavering to the Secretary.

To J. P. AURIOL, Esq.

Secretary to the Supreme Council, &c.

Sir,

In consequence of the letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors under date the 30th October 1776 received and read yesterday in Council by which this Government is informed that Warren Hastings, Esq., had resigned the office of Governor-General of Bengal, that the Hon'ble Court of Directors had accepted such resignation, and that the vacancy thereby created had been filled up by the appointment of Edward Wheeler, Esq., nominated and appointed by the Court of Directors and approved of by His Majesty in the manner and according to the forms prescribed by law, and another letter



Pub. Dept.
Friday.

Genl. Clavering to
the Secretary.

dated the 15th November 1775, from Mr. Peter Mitchell, Secretary to the Hon'ble Court of Directors having also been received and read yesterday in Council, in which an attested copy is transmitted of the instrument under His Majesty's Sign Manual bearing date the 26th day of October 1776 by which His Majesty consents to and approves of the above-mentioned nomination and appointment of Edward Wheeler, Esq., to the place and office of one of the Councillors of the Governor-General and Council, avoided by my promotion to the place and office of Governor-General.

I do hereby order and direct you to issue immediately a summons in my name as Governor-General to Rich. Barwell and Philip Francis, Esqs., to attend a meeting of the Council at the Council House at eleven o'clock this forenoon, for the special purpose of issuing the necessary directions for proclaiming the change in the Government, and for giving such other orders and directions as may be necessary thereupon.

FRIDAY MORNING,

I am &c.,

20th June 1777.

(Signed) J. CLAVERING.

THE Secretary informs the Board that he issued the summons above directed and that they were accordingly delivered to Mr. Barwell and Mr. Francis.

THE Governor-General having taken the accustomed oath, assumes the chair.

RESOLVED that the Sheriff be ordered to attend immediately.

RESOLVED that the following Proclamation be made by the Sheriff attended by his officers at 5 o'clock this afternoon at the Court-house.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty entitled "an Act for the establishing certain Regulations for the better management of the "Affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe:" it is, among other things, enacted that Warren Hastings, Esq., be constituted Governor-General and Lieut.-Genl. John Clavering, the Hon'ble Geo. Monson, Richard Barwell and Philip Francis, Esqs., Councillors of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and its Dependencies: and whereas it is further provided by the said Act, that in case of the avoidance of the office of Governor-General by death, resignation or removal, his place shall, as often as the case shall happen, be supplied by the person of the Council who stands next in rank to such Governor-General: and whereas by a letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the Hon'ble United East India Company under date the 30th October 1776, received and read yesterday in Council, this Government is informed that

Warren Hastings, Esq., had resigned the office of Governor-General of Bengal, that the Hon'ble the Court of Directors had accepted such resignation and that the vacancy thereby created had been filled up by the appointment of Edward Wheeler, Esq., nominated and appointed by the Court of Directors and approved of by His Majesty, in the manner and according to the form prescribed by law: and whereas another letter, dated the 15th November 1776, from Peter Mitchell, Esq., Secretary to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, was also received and read yesterday in Council, in which an attested copy is transmitted of the instrument under His Majesty's Sign Manual bearing date the 26th day of October 1776, by which His Majesty consents to, approves and confirms the abovementioned nomination and appointment of Edwd. Wheeler, Esq., to the place and office of one of the Councillors of the Governor-General and Council avoided by the promotion of John Clavering, Esq., to the place and office of Governor-General: and whereas in consequence of the said resignation of Warren Hastings, Esq., and of the said appointment of Edwd. Wheeler, Esq., the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, with all the powers and authorities thereunto belonging are now by law vested in the Hon'ble John Clavering, Esq., Governor-General and Richard Barwell, Philip Francis and Edward Wheeler, Esqs., (on his arrival in Bengal), Councillors. The Hon'ble Colonel Geo. Monson being deceased: it is hereby proclaimed that the powers vested in the said Governor-General and Council do commence and take place from the date of this Proclamation.

Dated in Fort William this 20th day of June 1777.

By Order of the Honorable the Governor-General and Council.

AGREED that the Governor-General be requested to order a Guard to attend upon the Sheriff during this ceremony.

ORDERED that the Proclamation be translated into the Persian and Bengal languages, that it be pasted up in the usual public places and that copies be circulated to the Foreign Presidencies, the Provincial Councils, Subordinates and Commandants of each station of the army and that the Judges and Board of Trade be likewise furnished with copies.

RESOLVED that the Governor-General be requested to notify this change in the Government of this Presidency to all the Country Powers in the usual manner.

THE Commandants of Stations to be informed that they are to transmit their returns to the Governor-General till a successor to the Commander-in-Chief be appointed from the Court of Directors.

THE Governor-General lays before the Board the following letters, which he has just now received.

TO LIEUT.-GENL. JOHN CLAVERING.

Sir,

The Governor-General in Council legally and regularly assembled has laid before us a letter of this date received by him at the Board from you, expressing that "in consequence of the letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors under date the 30th October 1776 received and read yesterday in Council, by which this Government is informed that Warren Hastings, Esq., had resigned the office of Governor-General of Bengal, that the Hon'ble the Court of Directors had accepted such resignation and that the vacancy thereby created in the Council had been filled up by the appointment of Edwd. Wheeler, Esq., nominated and appointed by the Court of Directors and approved of by His Majesty in the manner and according to the forms prescribed by law, and another letter dated the 15th November 1776 from Mr. Peter Mitchell, Secretary to the Hon'ble Court of Directors having also been received and read yesterday in Council, in which an attested copy is transmitted of the instrument under His Majesty's Sign Manual bearing date the 26th day of October 1776 by which His Majesty consents to and approves of the abovementioned nomination and appointment of Edward Wheeler, Esq., to the place and office of one of the Councillors of the Governor-General and Council avoided by your promotion to the place and office of Governor-General, you in virtue of the right and authority now by law vested in you, require that he will be pleased to surrender to you the keys of Fort William, and of the Company's Treasuries now in his possession."

"That you will be at the Council House at twelve o'clock this day, where you understand it has been usual for the former Governors of this Presidency to surrender the keys to their successors, but if it should not be agreeable to him, to meet you there, that you leave it in his option to take any other suitable method of complying with this requisition, that he may prefer, provided that it be done in the course of the present day."

In answer to which we have thought incumbent on us to inform you that we know of no act or instrument, by which the place and offices of Mr. Warren Hastings as Governor-General are vacated, nor by which they have actually devolved on you, and that we are resolved to assert and maintain by every legal means the authority and trust which have been reposed in him by the Thirteenth Act of his present Majesty entitled "An Act for establishing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe," and by a deed of Government under the hands of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, and the seal of the United East India Company until the same shall be avoided by his resignation or death, or by the express command of His Majesty, His

Heirs and Successors, without which it is declared that he shall not be removeable.

We have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

REVENUE DEPT.,
20th June 1777.

(Signed). { WARREN HASTINGS.
RICHARD BARWELL.

THE GOVERNOR acquaints the Board, that having sent a similar letter to that first entered on this day's Proceedings to Mr. Sumner, the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, directing him to summon a meeting of the Council in that department at one o'clock this day, and to require the Roy Royan to give his attendance as usual, he has received the following answer from him:—

To LIEUT.-GENL. CLAVERING.

Sir,

Having been honored with the receipt of your commands of this date at the Board, I am commanded by Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General, and Richard Barwell, Esq., to write you in reply, that the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell being met in Council, in consequence of the summons regularly issued for that purpose by the Governor-General, as being the majority of the Council require your attendance in virtue of that authority.

REVENUE DEPT.,

20th June 1777.

I have the honor to remain, &c.,

(Signed). RICHD. SUMNER,
Secretary.

THE Assistant Secretary reports to the Board, that having taken the above Proclamation to the Persian Translator's office to be translated according to the orders of the Board, the Persian Translator refused to translate it, without written orders for that purpose, from the Governor-General and Council.

ORDERED that the Persian Translator be immediately required to attend.

THE Persian Translator attending, is asked if he refused to translate the above-mentioned Proclamation, and replies that he did, as he thought it necessary to be furnished with a formal order from the Governor-General and Council for his authority. Having been allowed to peruse the paragraphs of the General Letter from the Court of Directors and the copy of the instrument signed by the King, he says that he thinks it appears by

these documents, that the Court of Directors did intend to appoint General Clavering Governor-General, but that he is not satisfied that such appointment has yet taken place.

THE SECRETARY lays before the Board the following letters which he has received this instant :—

To JAS. PR. AURIOL, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Council-General.

Sir,

We direct you not to issue any summons for the meeting of Council but by the authority of Warren Hastings, Esq., the Governor-General, nor any orders nor directions to any person or persons whatsoever, without the legal authority of the said Governor-General or the majority of the Council so assembled.

We are,

Sir,

Your most obedt. servants,

REVENUE DEPT.,

20th June 1777.

(Signed). { WARREN HASTINGS.
RICHARD BARWELL.

To JAS. PR. AURIOL, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Council-General.

Sir,

I am ordered by the Governor-General and Council to require that you will send immediately the despatches from Europe received yesterday, and read and recorded in the Proceedings of your department.

I am, Sir,

FORT WILLIAM,

20th June 1777.

Your most obedt. hble servant.

(Signed). RICHD. SUMNER,
Secretary.

THE SECRETARY also lays before the Board his answers to these letters [which he prepared according to their orders and approbation as follows :—

To the Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS and to RICHD. BARWELL, ESQS.
Gentlemen,

I have this instant been honoured with your commands not to issue any summons for the meeting of Council but by the authority of Warren Hastings, Esq., the Governor-General, nor any orders nor directions to any

person or persons whatsoever, without the legal authority of the said Governor-General, or the majority of Council, so assembled. I beg leave to acquaint you that previous to the receipt of these commands, I had issued summons to Mr. Barwell and Mr. Francis to meet General Clavering in Council, in consequence of directions which I received from him this morning, requiring me to issue them in his name as Governor-General.

I take the liberty to enclose a copy of General Clavering's letter to me on this occasion; which, I hope, will be sufficient to justify my conduct in your opinion; for although I had seen the General Letters referred to by General Clavering, I could not presume for my own part to form any judgment on the facts which he has collected from them. I therefore thought it my duty to comply with his desire.

FT. WILLIAM,
20th June 1777.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Signed) J. P. AURIOL,
Secretary.

To RICHD. SUMNER, ESQ.

Sir,

I have this instant received your application for the Dispatches from Europe received yesterday. In answer to which I am to acquaint you, they are in the possession of General Clavering to whom I delivered them this morning in consequence of his requisition.

I am, &c.,

20th June 1777.

(Signed) JAS. PR. AURIOL,
Secretary.

MR. BARWELL comes into the Council Room.

BEING questioned whether he meant to take his place, he declined giving any answer. It is necessary to record that he made a demand as a member of the Council for the letters and papers received yesterday from the Court of Directors and being told they could not be spared from the Board after repeating his demand in different questions to the same import he withdrew.

THE SECRETARY lays before the Board another letter to him from the Secretary to the Revenue Department as follows :—

Sir,

I am directed by the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General, etc. Council again to make application to you for the original letters and papers received yesterday from the Court of Directors, and to acquaint you that if they are in the possession of any Member of the Board, you are

required to demand them from him, informing him that the Governor-General wishes to submit them to the Judges of the Supreme Court for their opinion upon them by which it is his determination to abide, and the Chief Justice and three other Judges are accordingly assembled at the Council House in this department for that purpose.

I am,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

REVENUE DEPT.,

(Signed). RICHD. SUMNER,

20th June 1777.

Secretary.

ORDERED that the following reply be sent to him:—

TO RICHD. SUMNER, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Board of Revenue.

SIR,

In reply to your further application for the original letters and papers received yesterday from the Court of Directors, I am ordered by General Clavering as Governor-General, and Mr. Francis to desire that you will be pleased to inform the Judges, that they are now preparing an address to them, with respect to the conduct they have pursued, since the receipt of the above letters which they conceive have divested Mr. Hastings of the office of Governor-General, and that it is their intention to send them all the letters and papers as soon as this letter to the Judges can be finished, which will be in a couple of hours. They hope, therefore, that the Judges will be pleased to determine among themselves at what place and hour in the course of this evening that they will receive the above papers and take them into their serious consideration, without the presence of any member of the late or present administration.

I am, &c.,

20th June 1777.

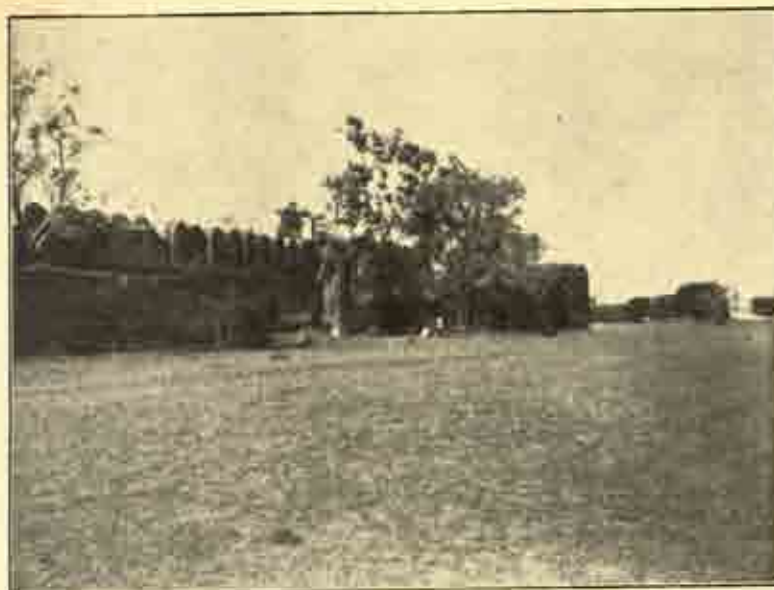
(Signed). J. P. AURIOL,

Secretary.

THE BOARD taking into mature consideration the above letter from Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell RESOLVE to make the following address to His Majesty's Judges of the Supreme Court.

HON'BLE SIRS,

We have the honour to inform you that a packet arrived yesterday from the Court of Directors addressed to the Governor-General and Council containing the enclosed postscript dated 30th October 1776, to their General



JAL LAL GARH FORT.



JAL LAL GARH FORT ENTRANCE.

Letter of the 25th of the same month, with sundry other papers relative to the resignation of Mr. Hastings of the office of Governor-General and of the nomination and appointment of Mr. Wheeler to the seat in the Council avoided by the resignation of Mr. Hastings and consequent promotion of General Clavering to the place and office of Governor-General.

We have also the honour to inform you that a letter was received yesterday from the Secretary to the Court of Directors dated the 15th November last, in which the enclosed attested copy is transmitted of an instrument under His Majesty's Sign Manual, dated the 25th October by which His Majesty consents to, approves and confirms, the above-mentioned nomination and appointment of Mr. Wheeler. These several papers were read yesterday in Council, and as soon as they were read the Council broke up, though irregularly as we conceive the surrender of the Chair and of the keys of the Fort should have been immediately made to General Clavering.

Considerations of respect to Mr. Hastings induced General Clavering to wait a reasonable time for the formal surrender of the Government to him, but Mr. Hastings having made no communication whatever to General Clavering before 10 o'clock this morning, the General thought it incumbent upon him to send a formal requisition in writing to Mr. Hastings of the keys of the New Fort and of the Treasuries. In answer to this requisition, he has received a letter, signed by Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell in which they say, they know of no act or instrument by which the place and office of Warren Hastings, as Governor-General, are vacated, nor by which they have actually devolved upon General Clavering, and that they are resolved to assert and maintain by every legal means, the authority and trusts which have been reposed in Mr. Hastings by the 13th Act of His present Majesty.

Before the receipt of this letter General Clavering had ordered the Secretary to the Council to issue a summons to Mr. Barwell and Mr. Francis to meet him in Council this day for the special purpose of issuing the necessary directions for proclaiming the change in the Government, and for issuing such other orders and directions as might be necessary thereupon. Mr. Francis complied with the summons issued in the name of General Clavering as Governor-General who upon the meeting of the Board at 11 o'clock this day took the oaths as Governor-General. Other Orders preparatory to the Proclamation were then directed to be made out, but no act of Government has yet issued from us as a Board.

In this situation the representation of which will, we doubt not, fill you with the greatest surprise and alarm, we have thought it prudent and necessary to state the foregoing facts to you. We would not be understood to submit any doubts to you concerning the lawful promotion of General Clavering to the Chair, since we ourselves entertain none. But when we

consider the fatal consequences that must unavoidably attend a claim, and actual assumption of the Government by the Member of Council next in succession to Mr. Hastings and a positive refusal of Mr. Hastings to surrender the place and office of Governor-General, which we conceive the letter signed by him and Mr. Barwell does amount to, which letter we have the honour to enclose to you; we are content to recede thus (*torn in the original*) from the strict rights vested in us, as a majority of the present administration, rather than hazard any of those consequences in the hope that by an appeal to your judgment and authority it may be possible to prevent them. We beg leave to enclose to you all the papers received yesterday and request that when you shall have formed your opinion upon them, they may be returned to General Clavering.

We have the honour, &c.

20th June 1777.

Signed. { J. CALVERING.
P. FRANCIS.

RESOLVED that all the orders minuted in this day's Proceeding be suspended for the present.

APPENDIX TO CONSULTATION 20TH JUNE 1777.

TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

SIR,

In consequence of the letter from the Honble Court of Directors under date the 30th of October 1776 received and read yesterday in Council, by which this Government is informed that Warren Hastings, Esq., had resigned the office of Governor-General of Bengal, that the Hon'ble Court of Directors had accepted such resignation, and that the vacancy thereby created in the Council had been filled up by the appointment of Edward Wheeler, Esq., nominated and appointed by the Court of Directors, and approved by His Majesty in the manner and according to the forms prescribed by law; and another letter dated the 15th November 1776 from Mr. Peter Mitchell, Secretary to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, having also been received and read yesterday in Council, in which an attested copy is transmitted of the instrument under His Majesty's Sign Manual, bearing date the 26th day of October 1776 by which His Majesty consents to, and approves of the above-mentioned nomination and appointment of Edward Wheeler, Esq., to the place and office of one of the Councillors of the Governor-General and Council avoided by my promotion to the place and Office of Governor-General, I am, Sir, in virtue of the right and authority now by law vested in me, to require that you will be pleased to surrender to me the keys of Fort William and of the Company's Treasuries now in your possession.

No. 1.
Letter from General
Clavering to Mr.
Hastings.

I shall be at the Council House at 12 o'clock this day where I understand it has been usual for the former Governors of this Presidency to surrender the keys to their successors; but if it should be disagreeable to you to meet me there, I leave it to your option to take any other suitable method of complying with this requisition that you may prefer provided it be done in the course of the present day.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

FORT WILLIAM,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

20th June 1777.

(Signed). J. CLAVERING.

TO LIEUT.-GENL. JOHN CLAVERING and PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ.

GENTLEMEN,

We are honoured with the favour of yours of this day, informing us of the arrival of a packet from the Court of Directors, and enclosing several papers endorsed in the following manner:—(No. 1) Copy of the Postscript of a General Letter from the Court of Directors dated 30th October 1776: (No. 2) Mr. Maclean's Letter to the Court of Directors dated the 10th October 1776: (No. 3) A Memorial and Petition to His Majesty: (No. 4) Lord Viscount Weymouth's Letter to the Court of Directors dated 25th October 1776: (No. 5) Commission to Edward Wheeler, Esq., as one of the Council in Bengal: (No. 6) His Majesty's approval of Mr. Wheeler as one of the Council in Bengal: (No. 7) A Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell to General Clavering. You also acquaint us with your Proceedings you had thereupon with the formal requisition made to Mr. Hastings by General Clavering of the keys of the New Fort and of the Treasuries with the answer of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell thereto, and with your proceedings of this day.

The representation which you make to us fills us as you suppose it would, with the greatest surprise and alarm, though they are in some measure abated by your notification that no act had issued from you as a Board. We shall be much rejoiced if your appeal to our judgment and authority shall prevent the ill consequences of which you are apprehensive.

Upon mature consideration of the papers submitted to us by you we are unanimously, clearly and decidedly of opinion that the place and office of Governor-General of this Presidency has not yet been vacated by Mr. Hastings, and that the actual assumption of the Government by the Member of Council next in succession to Mr. Hastings in consequence of any deductions which can be made from the papers by you communicated to us would be absolutely illegal for the following reasons:—

1st.—Because the office of Governor-General was conferred on Mr. Hastings by Act of Parliament and according to the terms of that Act can

No. 2.
Letter from the
Chief Justice, etc.,
to Genl. Clavering
and Mr. Francis,
dated 20th June
received early in
the morning of
the 21st.

only be vacated by death, removal or resignation. That Mr. Hastings is not dead, is a notorious fact: no intention is manifested or act done by the Directors tending to his removal, and we are firmly of opinion that he hath not actually resigned.

2nd.—Colonel Maclean's letter the only instrument by which Mr. Hastings can by any one be conceived to have relinquished his office is in fact no resignation, but a notification of the Governor-General's desire to resign, and can at the utmost only be construed into an engagement on the part of Mr. Maclean that Mr. Hastings will resign. His words are speaking of Mr. Hastings. He has "authorized, empowered and directed me to signify to you his *desire to resign* his office of Governor-General of Bengal and to request your nomination of a successor to the vacancy which *will* be thereby occasioned in the Supreme Council." He neither asserts himself to be authorized, nor does he take upon him in fact to make any actual resignation. He only intimates an intention of the Governor to take place in future, he does not request a nomination of a successor to a vacancy which he had by his letter effected, but to that which would in future be occasioned by Mr. Hastings' carrying his intent into execution, and actually resigning.

3rd.—The Directors by the postscript to their General Letter do not treat the act of Mr. Maclean as the resignation of Mr. Hastings. They recite it only as a signification of Mr. Hastings' *desire* to resign. Nor do they consider a vacancy as at that time existing in the Council. Their words are "that they did nominate and appoint Edward Wheeler, Esq., to succeed to the office in the Council of Fort William which *would become vacant*" (not *which is or hath become vacant*) by the resignation of Mr. Hastings, which in another part of the same postscript they say, "they have unanimously resolved to accept," intending thereby to accept it when it should be made.

4th.—That this and no other could be their intention is evinced beyond the possibility of a doubt by their memorial and petition to the King in which they intimate to His Majesty that Mr. Hastings has caused notice to be given to them of his *desire to resign*, not of his resignation. So far were they from esteeming it an actual resignation that in the very next sentence they expressly call it a *proposed resignation*. Their words are these, "taking the said *proposed resignation* into consideration, they have nominated and appointed Edward Wheeler, Esq., to succeed to the said office in the said Council *which will become vacant by the said resignation*." The words which immediately follow, "if such nomination shall be approved of by Your Majesty," must be referred to the nomination and appointment which they say have been made, for to the validity of such

nomination and appointment the King's approbation is required by law, but cannot possibly relate to the intended resignation on which it could have no effect. Without His Majesty's consent the Directors could not effectually appoint, but without His Majesty's consent Mr. Hastings could resign. The construction does not depend upon the recital alone. The very prayer of the petition is that they may appoint in succession to an office which is to become vacant in future by the resignation of Mr. Hastings and proves that we have rightly applied the words "if such nomination shall be approved of by Your Majesty." The words of the prayer are these, "Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray that Your Majesty will be pleased "to signify such consent by Your Majesty's Sign Manual as by the said "Act is required that the said Edward Wheeler may be appointed to succeed "to the office which will become vacant in the said Council by the afore-said resignation of the said Warren Hastings."

5th.—That Mr. Wheeler was not appointed to a vacancy then actually made was certainly understood by His Majesty's Secretary of State as well as by the Company. He likewise calls it a succession to an office which will become vacant and recognizes Mr. Hastings as Governor-General at a time subsequent to the supposed resignation. His words are, "The King has been graciously pleased to approve of your nomination of Edward "Wheeler, Esq., to succeed to the office which *will become vacant* in the "Presidency of Fort William in Bengal in consequence of the resignation "of Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General."

6th.—The Commission to Mr. Wheeler is not framed with any idea of his being appointed to an office then actually vacant. That instrument likewise recites simply the desire, not the resignation of Mr. Hastings. That resignation and its consequences are plainly considered as future events. Mr. Wheeler's exercise of his functions, and receipt of his salary, are not to commence from the date of the instrument from the delivery of Mr. Maclean's letter to the Directors, from the notification thereof in Bengal, or from Mr. Wheeler's arrival in Calcutta, but from that future time when the office of one of the Council of this Presidency shall become vacant by Mr. Hastings's resignation. The respective successions of General Clavering to the office of Governor-General, and of Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis to become the three Senior Members of the Council are not considered as having actually taken place but as future consequences of a future resignation. In speaking of the appointment of Mr. Wheeler their words are these: "Now know ye that we considering it to be expedient that the office of the "said Council which will become vacant by the aforesaid resignation of the "said Warren Hastings should be filled up and supplied as soon as may be "and reposing especial trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, justice

"and circumspection of Edward Wheeler, Esq., have nominated and appointed and by these presents do (pursuant to the power vested in us as Directors of the said United Company in and by the said recited Act of Parliament) nominate, appoint the said Edward Wheeler to be one of the Council of the said Presidency of Fort William in Bengal to take upon him, hold and enjoy the said office with the salary thereto belonging from and immediately after the said office of one of the Council of the said Presidency of Bengal shall become vacant by the said resignation of the said Warren Hastings." They recite the successions necessarily consequent on the resignation which they invariably consider as an act not done but to be done in the following words: "And whereas upon such resignation of the said Warren Hastings as aforesaid, the said John Clavering, according to the directions of the said recited Act of Parliament *will succeed* to the said office of Governor-General, and the said George Manson, Richard Barwell and Philip Francis *will* thereupon become the three Senior Members of the said Council, &c." It is true that in His Majesty's approbation of this appointment this expression is used, "The place and office of one of the Councillors is *said to be avoided*," but this is no averment of the fact, which a comparison of all the papers before us proves not to have existed, and had such a fact been erroneously averred, the misrepresentation thereof to His Majesty would not in law have vacated the office. Even Letters Patent under the great Seal are void where by a false recital of facts, His Majesty has been deceived. His Majesty's Sign Manual could only be meant to give a sanction to such appointment of Mr. Wheeler as the Directors had actually made, and that appears to us to be only a provisional nomination to an office which is to be enjoyed on a future contingency.

The consideration of this instrument under the Sign Manual naturally leads us to a remark on the notion, if any such notion can have been conceived, that the office in question is vacant by *removal*. It most clearly proves that His Majesty neither consented to nor had in contemplation any idea of a removal. Of this we have not the smallest doubt. It recites that the office *is said to be avoided*. To the idea of removal from any office it is necessary that the person to be removed should be in possession of it, and His Majesty's consent to the appointment of Mr. Wheeler contains a contrary though erroneous supposition that Mr. Hastings was not in possession.

7th.—Besides the papers which you have done us the honour to lay before us for our opinion the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell have been pleased to communicate to us the Minutes of their Proceedings at a Revenue Board assembled this morning and also a copy of a deed under the seal of the Company dated on the 25th March 1774 whereby they confer on Mr. Hastings the command of the Fort and Garrison of Fort William and of all

forces employed in the town of Calcutta. Of the Revenue Board it is almost unnecessary to say that the Proceedings of this morning must be legal if our opinion concerning the Governor-General's right of possession be not erroneous. The Military Commission there would be no occasion to mention, if it were not for an additional argument it affords to show that the Court of Directors could not have considered Mr. Hastings as out of office and General Clavering as then in possession of the Government. For since the Presidents of Fort William formerly, and the present Governor-General have constantly and uniformly received some Military Commission at their appointments or successions to their respective offices, and since the military command conferred on General Clavering by the East India Company in the year 1774 must have been supposed by the Court of Directors to have devolved on Colonel Munson, if they had considered General Clavering as then promoted to the office of Governor-General, it is reasonable to believe that if no such commission has been sent to General Clavering it was omitted only because he was not supposed to be Governor.

Another argument which strikes us most forcibly is that the Court of Directors aided as they are by the best legal advice must have known that if Mr. Hastings had in October last vacated his office of Governor-General, he could have had no legal voice in the Council here and that every act done by the Governor-General and Council from that time to the present to which he was a party might be illegal or at least highly questionable. As the Court of Directors must have supposed him acting in Council all that time, we cannot believe that they would have accepted a resignation to take place on the delivery of Mr. Maclean's letter, which might involve both the property of many individuals and their own affairs in the utmost confusion.

We have given the papers and subject a consideration which has taken up several hours, wishing to deliver such an opinion as from the reasoning of it, not from its authority, might claim weight sufficient to prevent the fatal consequences of a divided Government, but do assure you that none of the time hath been taken up in settling a difference of opinion; there is not one point in which from the first to the last, we have not entirely concurred. We transmit it in strong hopes that it may have that effect, the consideration of which could only have led us to deliver any opinion at all and most ardently praying to God that it may avert the mischiefs which seem to impend over the East India Company and this country.

We have the honour to be,

Your most obedient and very humble servants,

FORT WILLIAM,
Friday, 20th June 1777.

(Signed). { E. IMPEY.
ROBT. CHAMBERS.
S. C. LEMAISTRE.
JOHN HYDE.

P.S.—Herewith according to your desire we return the papers communicated to us.

To SIR ELIJAH IMPEY, Knight, Chief Justice.

No. 3.
Reply of General
Clavering and Mr.
Francis to the
Chief Justice, etc.

ROBERT CHAMBERS.
S. C. LEMAISTRE.
and JOHN HYDE. } Esqs., Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature.

HON'BLE SIRS,

We are to acknowledge the honor of your letter dated last night and to return you our thanks for the trouble you have taken in considering the papers which we took the liberty of transmitting to you and for the explicit opinion with which you have favored us thereupon.

Having appealed to your judgment and authority we do not hesitate to acquiesce in your unanimous, clear and decided opinion upon the subject of that appeal, and we think it incumbent on us to give you the earliest information of our intentions in this respect that you may be at once relieved from any apprehension which a doubt on this point might suggest to you.

In order to clear and defend as far as may be the several steps taken by us yesterday and not with any view of pursuing those steps or of controverting the arguments contained in your letter, we shall take an early opportunity of stating to you the grounds and reasons on which our opinion was founded, that the office of Governor-General had both in right and fact devolved to General Clavering: and we trust that whether they may be sufficient or not to impress on the minds of others the same conviction which they have left on ours, they will appear to have some weight and to deserve some degree of consideration.

We have the honor to be,

Hon'ble Sirs,

Your most obedient and most humble servants,

FORT WILLIAM,

21st June 1777.

(Signed) { J. CLAVERING.
P. FRANCIS

No. 4.
Letter from General
Clavering and Mr.
Francis to Mr.
Hastings enclosing
the foregoing letter
to the Judges.

To The Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS, Esquire &c., &c., &c.
Sir,

You are already apprised of our intentions to address a letter to the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature on the subject of the Dispatches received on Thursday last from the Hon'ble Court of Directors. A copy of that letter is in the hands of the Secretary who will lay it before you.

We have this morning received an answer from the Judges of the contents of which we take for granted you are duly apprised by themselves.

We have now the honor to enclose to you a copy of our reply to the Judges that you might have the earliest information of our intention to acquiesce in their opinion on the subject of our appeal to their judgment and authority.

We have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

CALCUTTA,
21st June 1777.

(Signed). { J. CLAVERING.
P. FRANCIS.

FORT WILLIAM, 23d June 1777

To Sir ELIJAH IMPEY, Knight, Chief Justice.

ROBERT CHAMBERS }
S. C. LEMAISTRE } Esqs., Judges of the Supreme Court of Judica-
and JOHN HYDE. } ture.

Hon'ble Sirs,

In our letter of the 21st instant we had the honour of informing you that we should take an early opportunity of stating to you the grounds and reasons on which our opinion was founded that the office of Governor-General had both in right and fact devolved to General Clavering.

We now beg leave to enclose to you a copy of a paper which we have drawn up for this purpose and which our justification will oblige us to make as public as we understand the decision has been which you gave against us.

We request that you will consider the arguments stated in this paper with the (*sic*) candour and allowance due to men unversed in the study of the laws and unassisted with any advice whatsoever. A question is now in agitation more interesting to us than any that could affect our lives or fortunes. We shall possibly be accused of having wilfully violated the laws of our country, conviction upon such a charge would be in our minds the loss of character and honor for ever. Next to a strict adherence to the law itself it is our earnest wish to guide our steps by the rules laid down to us by those persons who, not less by their great learning than high station, are the interpreters of the law.

If any thing we have urged in the enclosed paper should appear to you to deserve consideration, we doubt not from your unquestionable candour and justice that you will allow it a due weight even against any part

of the opinion you have already expressed on the subject submitted to your judgment.

We have the honor to be,

Hon'ble Sirs,

Your most obedient and most humble servants,

FORT WILLIAM,

23rd June 1777.

(Signed), { J. CLAVERING.
P. FRANCIS.

Minute from General Clavering and Mr. Francis.

No. 6.
Minute, enclosed in the foregoing number explaining the grounds of their conduct for the acts done by them the 20th instant.

Prepared as we are to abide by the consequences of the several steps taken by us on Friday the 20th instant, and adhering to the opinion on which those steps were founded, notwithstanding our subsequent and immediate acquiescence in the judgment of the Chief Justice and Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, the grounds of which we do not take upon us to controvert, we deem it necessary for our present justification, as it may become our future defence, to deliver and record the reasons of our proceeding.

We mean to state briefly the facts as they appeared before us, the positive law under which we act and the conclusion which we draw from a comparison of both.

On Thursday the 19th instant a Dispatch was received from the Hon'ble Court of Directors containing a General Letter dated the 26th of October 1776 and a postscript to it dated the 30th of the same month. In the postscript, which is signed by eighteen of the Directors, the Hon'ble Court of Directors inform us that Colonel Maclean had represented to them by letter "that he was authorized, empowered and directed to signify to them the desire of Mr. Hastings to resign his office of Governor-General of Bengal and to request their nomination of a successor to the vacancy which would be thereby occasioned in the Council, that as it appeared from an inspection of the powers with which Mr. Maclean was invested from Mr. Hastings and from collateral testimony that Mr. Maclean was authorized to signify to them Mr. Hastings's desire to resign his office," they had unanimously resolved to accept such resignation, that they had thereupon nominated and appointed Mr. Wheeler to succeed to the office in the Council which would become vacant thereby, and had presented a memorial and petition to His Majesty, praying His Majesty's consent to such nomination; that the Secretary of State had signified to them that the King was graciously pleased to approve of their nomination, and that whatever should occur to them as necessary upon this alteration in the Administration of the Presidency of Bengal would be communicated to us by their next Dispatch. Copies of Mr. Maclean's letter to the Court of Directors, of their

memorial and petition to the King, and of the letters they received from the Secretary of State, are annexed to the postscript.

On the 19th instant a letter was also received from the Secretary of the Court of Directors dated the 15th of November last, enclosing an attested copy of an instrument under the King's Sign Manual, by which His Majesty *consents to, approves and confirms* the nomination and appointment of Mr. Wheeler to the place and office of Councillor said to be avoided *by the promotion of John Clavering, Esq. to the place and office of Governor-General.*

On the 16th instant a second letter was also received from the Secretary of the Court of Directors dated the 26th November and a third dated the 28th November, by which we are advised of a ballot of the Proprietors of East India Stock, which had taken place on the 26th in consequence of certain Proceedings of a General Court held the 20th of the same month. By those Proceedings and by the terms of the question on which a ballot was demanded it appears that a doubt had been started by some of the Proprietors concerning the validity of Mr. Hastings's resignation. The words of the question are as follow:—

That Mr. Hastings has signified to the Court of Directors his wish to resign, and, as in consequence of such resignation a vacancy will be occasioned in the Council at Fort William in Bengal, it was proper to have the number completed by a new appointment. This question was carried in the affirmative by 318 votes against 63.

We did not for ourselves conceive that the facts stated in the several letters and papers before us, left room for any question concerning the actual vacancy of the office of Governor-General, nor of course of General Clavering's instant right to succeed to it. But since such a question has not only been raised, but a decision in fact given upon it which we presume has encouraged Mr. Hastings to retain possession of the office of Governor-General, and Mr. Barwell to concur with and support him in it, we beg leave to declare the reasons on which our conviction is founded, that the refusal of Mr. Hastings to surrender the place and office of Governor-General to General Clavering is not warranted by law. The question as we conceive is strictly this, whether the several acts done in England first by Mr. Maclean in consequence of certain powers vested in him by Mr. Hastings and *inspected* and admitted by the Court of Directors, "secondly by the Court of Directors themselves, and lastly by His Majesty" do prove and establish the absolute resignation of Mr. Hastings to be completed instantly on the receipt of the advices from England, or whether they imply nothing but the consent of the Court of Directors to an intended resignation to be completed at whatever time he should think fit to carry his supposed

intentions into execution. This question can only be decided by an appeal to that part of the Act of the 13th of his present Majesty in which the case of the avoidance of the office of Governor-General is particularly noticed and provided for. The words of the law are as follow:—

"In case of the avoidance of the Office of such Governor-General by Death, Resignation or Removal, his Place shall during the remainder of the Term aforesaid as often as the case shall happen be supplied by the Person of the Council who stands next in Rank to such Governor-General, and in case of the Death, Removal, Resignation or Promotion of any of the said Council, the Directors of the said united Company are hereby empowered for and during the remainder of the said Term of five Years to nominate and appoint by and with the consent of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors to be signified under his or their Sign Manual a Person to succeed to the Office so become vacant in the said Council."

In order not to embarrass the question with superfluous matter we admit that the office of Governor-General is not vacated by the death or removal of Mr. Hastings. Supposing removal to mean dismissal, we confine ourselves to his resignation, by which we affirm that such office is now positively vacated. The law makes no provision for an intended or conditional resignation. It does not suppose such a case directly or indirectly. It empowers the Court of Directors and His Majesty to perform certain acts, *in consequence of a resignation* and those acts have been performed. If after the performance of such acts, the resignation were still understood to be optional in the Governor-General, it would follow that the operation of the acts prescribed to be done by the Court of Directors and by His Majesty might be suspended indefinitely or totally defeated; and if such a case had been in the contemplation of the Legislature they would undoubtedly have considered the situation of the appointed successor on his arrival in Bengal, and would have provided for it. They would not have empowered the Court of Directors to appoint a successor to a place, whenever the disposal of it might fall into their hands, by the resignation of the incumbent; or His Majesty to consent to such an appointment by an instrument under his Sign Manual, if such solemn and important acts might be rendered vain and nugatory by the incumbent's retracting his resignation or deferring the execution of it to any period determinable by his own pleasure. The case at least would have been supposed and provided for by the Legislature *which we affirm has not been done*. And if it had been done so, a concurrence of similar cases must also have been supposed, as we believe would rather have been provided for by the penalties due to the grossest imposition, than by any direct or constructive favor to the persons guilty of it. The case we allude to is this: It might have happened that not only the Governor-General but every other

Member of the Council might have empowered their agents in England to signify to the Court of Directors, their desire to resign their respective offices; that the Court of Directors should thereupon have appointed another Governor-General and four Councillors, that such new appointments should have been confirmed by His Majesty's Sign Manual in the five several instances, that the persons so appointed should immediately on the receipt of their appointments have embarked for Bengal, that on their arrival here the Governor and Council in possession should declare that their supposed resignation was intended or conditional, but not absolute, and that it depended on their own discretion at what time they would surrender their respective places to their successors. The same doctrine which is understood to justify Mr. Hastings's present conduct would equally justify the whole Council in the case supposed. The absurdity of the supposition is too glaring to require or admit of illustration.

If the meaning of the law be such as we understand it, it could not as we presume be weakened, altered or qualified by any terms made use of by the Court of Directors in their letter to us or in the form of the instruments drawn up by them or even in the form of the Royal Sign Manual, supposing such terms to imply an intention to do some act different from that act alone which the law empowers them to do, and if the contrary were maintained, it might follow that the terms used in drawing up legal instruments might totally alter the positive provision made by the law and defeat the intention of the Legislature, and this might be done at the pleasure or by the mistake of the persons empowered to draw up such instruments, but we do not admit that such a supposition of any difference whatsoever between the true meaning of the law and the intention of the Court of Directors is warranted by the terms made use of in all or any of the papers or instruments now in question.

First then we take it for granted that Mr. Maclean was empowered to signify to the Court of Directors the desire of Mr. Hastings to resign his office, because the Directors who alone are the competent judges of that point, so far as it relates to the present question, tell us that *they had inspected his powers* and had thereupon *unanimously resolved to accept the resignation*. It will rest with Mr. Maclean and the Court of Directors to answer for their conduct, if either *he* has acted without powers, or *they* have accepted the resignation without sufficient evidence of his possessing such powers. In the question to be decided here, Mr. Maclean's letter is of no consequence whatsoever. It is true the Court of Directors speak of the *vacancy* arising from this resignation in the future tense. But it is equally true that they speak of the *resignation* in the present tense, for they nowhere call it an intended resignation, considering the facts they could not

properly make use of any other form of language. They well know that Mr. Hastings had not quitted Bengal, and they understood that he would contrive to hold and act in the office of Governor-General, until he should be informed of their acceptance of his resignation, but that information could not probably reach him in less than six months from the day on which his resignation was accepted. They could not give Mr. Wheeler the immediate right of possession of a seat which they knew was full and must continue so for six months, but they did appoint him to the seat which they knew *would* be actually vacant, as soon as it might be possible for him to take possession of it, if not some time sooner. This we conceive to be the true and only sense in which all the terms whether in the Court of Directors' letters to us or in their memorial to His Majesty or in their Commission to Mr. Wheeler, which refer to a *future* vacancy in the Council, must be understood.

If the words *a desire to resign* formally signified to the persons empowered by law to accept such resignation and to fill up the consequent vacancy do not signify a real resignation they may be construed into any other sense; they may then be understood to imply an unlimited power of continuing in possession. It is sufficient for us, however, that the Court of Directors understood the words as a real resignation and unanimously accepted it accordingly; unless it should be asserted that the Court of Directors meant to accept an *intention* only which might be changed the next moment and reduced to nothing. But they not only accept the resignation, but they perform those acts, which by law could only be done in consequence of an absolute resignation. In their memorial to the King they say that Warren Hastings *had caused* notice to be given to them of his desire to resign his office, and they nominate and appoint another person to succeed to the office which *will* become vacant by the aforesaid resignation.

The same assertion is repeated and the same form of appointment to an office, *which shall become vacant by the said resignation* is observed in Mr. Wheeler's Commission; and admitting the resignation to be absolute in our sense of it, such Commission could not possibly be drawn up in any other form, for, if it had, it would have appointed Mr. Wheeler to a place which was full, and then there might have existed a Governor-General and five Councillors for Bengal at the same moment of time. The place was full and continued so till Thursday last, on that day we conceive it became vacant, and is or ought to be open to Mr. Wheeler. The Directors therefore speak with precision when they say the place will become vacant. But if such vacancy is to depend on Mr. Hastings's present resolutions, he may resolve to continue in office till the end of the five years limited by Parliament, and

then the place which the Directors say *will* become vacant, *never* will become vacant. In the meantime a successor to Colonel Monson may arrive in Bengal and take his seat at the Board and Mr. Wheeler though appointed before him may either be disappointed entirely or take rank under a person whose appointment is later than his own.

The shortness of time as the Court of Directors expressly tell us would not then permit them to write more at large, but they promise to communicate to us by the next Dispatch whatever should occur to them as necessary upon *this alteration in the Administration of this Presidency*. We shall not, therefore, for the present dispute the force of any arguments drawn from their not having then been able to prepare and send out the formal Commissions to General Clavering, as Governor of the Fort, and to Colonel Monson as Commander-in-Chief, because we expect that the first Dispatch received from the Court of Directors will contain an answer of fact to all such arguments; at the same time we do not mean to admit that the rights vested in General Clavering by law can be affected by any delay of the Court of Directors to send out those Commissions or even by their resolutions not to send them at all.

We have never affirmed that Mr. Hastings did vacate his office in October last, much less have we contended that any act done by the Governor-General and Council from that time to the present, to which he was a party, might be illegal or in any degree questionable. This is not the question. But we doubt not it will hereafter be very serious one to him whether any acts done by him as Governor-General from the time when the Court of Directors' letters were received are equally free from exception, and whether this whole transaction will not be considered by that power which alone can take cognizance of it, as the grossest insult to the authority of the Company of the Court of Directors, and of the Legislature, as well as to the dignity of the King.

Having done everything that depended on us to assert the right, which we conceived had legally devolved on General Clavering, as far as could be effected without violent measures, the idea of which could never present itself to us without honor, we shall leave it to Mr. Hastings to continue, as he declared himself resolved, to assert and maintain the authority reposed in him under his appointment by Act of Parliament and to answer for it at his peril.

(Signed). { J. CLAVERING.
 { P. FRANCIS.

FORT WILLIAM,

23rd June 1777.

TO THE JUDGES.

HON'BLE SIRS,

No. 7.
Letter from General
Clavering and Mr.
Francis.

When we had the honor of submitting the papers received from the Court of Directors to your consideration we were determined to yield implicitly to your decision, whatever it might be, and we understood that the same intention was professed by Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell. Accordingly on the receipt of the letter with which you favoured us, we informed you without the loss of a moment of our instant acquiescence and at the same time wrote to Mr. Hastings to acquaint him with our resolution. We conceived that the situation in which your decision placed us, was the same in which we stood before the receipt of the advices from England and we doubt not that you yourselves understood that this was to be the effect of your decision. We have now the honor to send you an exact copy of a letter which General Clavering has this day received from the Secretary to the Board of Revenue. You will perceive by this letter that the Board have declared the places and offices lately held by General Clavering of Senior Councillor of the Presidency of Fort William and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in India to be vacant, but they have not yet communicated to either of us the Proceedings on which this extraordinary declaration is founded. We do not presume to suggest to you any observations on the illegality of this act. You know the tenure by which we hold our places under an Act of Parliament, and the means by which alone they can be lawfully avoided. But there are some circumstances belonging to the fact of which we ought to apprise you leaving it to you to consider what weight they may deserve. Mr. Francis, whose place is not pretended to be vacated, received no summons to attend the Board and did not know till very late in the day and then only by report that any Board had been assembled. Though entitled as a Member of the Council to see the Proceedings, they have not yet been communicated to him as usual by the Secretary, notwithstanding the extraordinary importance of the resolutions which appear to have been taken in his absence. It is further to be observed that General Clavering's Commission as Commander-in-Chief comprehends all the Company's Forces at the other Presidencies, over which the Governor-General and Council of Fort William have no direct authority. You will judge whether such a Commission can be vacated in all its parts by any resolution of this Council.

We are persuaded that the uncommon importance of this case with all the consequences that may attend it, will immediately engage your attention, and that if any means should occur to you to remedy the injustice done to



FORT OF JAL LAL GARH. EXTERIOR. S. E. BASTION.



FORT JAL LAL GARH. INTERIOR. N. E. BASTION.

Photos by Walter K. Firminger.

General Clavering, and to prevent the consequences of that injustice, as they may most materially affect the Public Service, at the present critical conjuncture, you will not be less ready to propose them on the present occasion than you were to interpose your judgment and authority in the former instance at the request of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell.

We who have already given you the strongest proof of your deference to your judgment and authority need hardly repeat our assurance to you that we shall continue to be guided by them.

We have, &c.,

(Signed), { JNO. CLAVERING.
PHILIP FRANCIS.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL JOHN CLAVERING.

Sir,

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council to notify to you that the Board have declared the places and offices lately held by you of Senior Councillor of the Presidency of Fort William and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in India to be vacant, and have directed me to furnish you with a complete copy of their Proceedings containing the grounds of the Board for the aforesaid declaration.

I have, &c.,

REVENUE DEPT.;
FORT WILLIAM,
23rd June 1777.

(Signed). RICHD. SUMNER,
Secretary.

TO GENERAL CLAVERING AND MR. FRANCIS.

Gentlemen,

In consequence of the letter you honored us with desiring us to use such means as might occur to us to remedy what you complained of as an injustice done to General Clavering, we have endeavoured, as far as in us lies, to procure from the Governor-General and Council a repeal of their declaration of which you were informed by the letter from Mr. Sumner and for that purpose have transmitted to them a letter, a copy of which we enclose to you and beg leave to refer you for our opinion to that copy.

Though we shall ever be sorry for the occasion, we shall always be happy, when we can reconcile disputes by which we conceive the public peace and good order of Government may be affected.

We have the honour, &c.,

FORT WILLIAM,
24th June 1777.

(Signed), { E. IMPEY.
RT. CHAMBERS.
S. E. LEMAISTRE.
JNO HYDE.

No. 8.
Letter from Mr. Secretary Sumner declaring General Clavering's offices vacant.

No. 9.
Letter from the Chief Justice, etc., to General Clavering and Mr. Francis enclosing number 10.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Governor-General and Gentlemen of the Council.

No. 10.
Letter from the
Chief Justice, &c.,
to the Governor-
General and Coun-
cil.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

Early this morning we received a letter from General Clavering and Mr. Francis, informing us of your resolution of yesterday that the places and offices held by General Clavering of Senior Councillor of the Presidency of Fort William and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in India were vacant, and desiring us to point out any means that might occur to us to remedy that which they conceived to be an injustice done to General Clavering. We assure ourselves that the uncommon importance of this case with all its possible consequences will sufficiently apologize for our immediate interference by our opinion and advice, and we venture to hope that although we have received no application from you, yet as on a late important occasion General Clavering and Mr. Francis acquiesced implicitly in our opinion given at your desire, we may be honored with equal attention, on your part, when at their request we deliver our sentiments on an event, which we consider as part of the same transaction.

We cannot be of opinion (except perhaps in the case of legal conviction of certain crimes) that your Hon'ble Board can by its authority, either remove any Member from the Council or declare his seat to be vacant. The advice which upon this occasion we wish to submit to you is that you would recede from putting in execution those resolutions which can in anywise prevent the General from the full and immediate exercise of his several offices of Senior Councillor of this Presidency and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces; and that all parties be placed in the same situation in which they stood before the receipt of the last advices from England reserving and submitting to a decision in England, the respective claims that each party may conceive they have a right to make, but not acting upon these claims until such decision shall arrive in Bengal.

We have, &c.,

FORT WILLIAM,

24th June 1777.

(Signed). { E. IMPEY.
RT. CHAMBERS.
S. E. LEMAISTRE.
JNO. HYDE.

TO GENERAL CLAVERING AND PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ.

Gentlemen,

We have the honor to send you copy of a letter which we have separately written to the Judges in answer to theirs addressed to the Governor General and Council.

No. 11.
Letter from Mr. Has-
tings and Mr. Bar-
well to General
Clavering and Mr.
Francis.

We repeat to you our resolution to conform implicitly to their advice. The Governor-General has accordingly directed the Secretary of the Revenue Department to send the usual summons for the assembly of the Board to-morrow morning at the Revenue Council House, where we hope to be again honored with the presence of General Clavering.

We have the honour, &c.,

BELVIDERE,

24th June 1777.

(Signed). { WARREN HASTINGS.
RICHD. BARWELL.

TO THE HON'BLE SIR ELIJAH IMPEY, KT.,

*Chief Justice, and the other Members of the Supreme
Court of Judicature at Fort William.*

Hon'ble Sirs,

We have had the honor to receive your letter of this date addressed to the Governor-General and Council which we have instantly forwarded to General Clavering and Mr. Francis.

As parties united in the subject which furnished the occasion to it, we think it proper in this separate reply to give you the speediest information of its effect in our conduct.

As we on a former reference declared our resolution to yield implicitly to your decision, we do now in like manner most cheerfully and without hesitation assure you that we shall as implicitly conform to your advice now given us regarding it as legal authority, by receding from all those resolutions which can in any wise prevent the General from the full and immediate exercise of his several offices of Senior Councillor of this Presidency and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces, by consenting that all parties be placed in the same situation in which they stood before the receipt of the last advice from England reserving and submitting our claim to a decision in England, but not acting upon those claims until such decision shall arrive in Bengal.

As the resolutions we had taken during the separation of General Clavering and Mr. Francis from our Council were the result of their acts and of the fullest conviction operating on our minds, both of their obligation to us and of the legal incompetency of any powers vested in the Board, or in any individual members of it to retract them, and as in adopting those resolutions we yielded to the sole impulse of our sense of public duty in repugnance to our personal feeling, we are happy that your interposition has freed us from so painful a necessity and most sincerely wish that it will prove the means of restoring that peace and harmony to the Government which have been broken by the past transactions.

No. 12.

Letter from Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell to the Chief Justice, etc., declaring they will acquiesce to their opinion enclosed in the foregoing number.

This determination we shall without delay impart to the other Members of our Council and shall propose to meet them to-morrow morning in Council on the footing which you have recommended.

BELVEDERE,

24th June 1777.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Governor-General AND RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ.

GENTLEMEN,

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated this evening, enclosing a copy of one which you inform us you had separately written to the Judges and repeating to us your resolution to conform implicitly to their advice, understanding hereby that you mean to recede from your resolution of yesterday and that all parties are to be placed in the state in which they were before the receipt of the last advices from England, the claims of each being reserved. General Clavering means under this idea to do himself the honor of attending his duty in Council to-morrow in compliance with the summons he has this evening received from the Governor-General.

We have the honor, &c.

FORT WILLIAM.

24th June 1777.

(Signed). { JNO. CLAVERING.
P. FRANCIS.

1. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS' MEMORIAL TO THE KING.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Memorial and Petition of the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies.

MOST HUMBLY SHew,

That by an Act of Parliament made in the Thirteenth Year of Your Majesty's Reign, intitled "An Act for Establishing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe." it was (amongst other things) enacted, that for the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, there should be appointed a Governor-General and four Councillors and that the whole civil and military Government of the said Presidency, and also the ordering, management, and government of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues in the Kingdoms of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, should, during such time as the territorial acquisitions and revenues should remain in the possession of the said United Company, be and were thereby vested in the said Governor-General and Council of the said Presidency of Fort William in Bengal in like manner to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as the same then were or at any time theretofore might have been, exercised by the President and Council or Select Committee in the said Kingdoms; And it was thereby further enacted, that the said Governor-General and Council or the Major part of them should have and they were thereby authorized to have power of superintending and controlling the Government and Management of the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Benccoolen respectively so far and in so much as that it should not be lawful for any President and Council of

No. 13.
Letter from General
Clavering and Mr.
Francis to Mr.
Hastings and Mr.
Barwell.

Madras, Bombay or Bencoolen, for the time being, to make any orders for commencing hostilities, or declaring or making war against any Indian Princes or Powers or for negotiating or concluding any treaty or peace with such Indian Princes or Powers without the consent and approbation of the said Governor-General and Council, first had and obtained except in certain cases in the said Act mentioned. And it was thereby further enacted that Warren Hastings, Esqr. should be the first Governor-General and that Lieutenant-General John Clavering, the Honourable George Monson, Richard Barwell, Esquire, and Philip Francis, Esquire should be the first four Councillors. And that they and each of them should hold and continue in his and their respective offices, for and during the term of five years from the time of their arrival at Fort William in Bengal, and taking upon them the Government of the said Presidency, and should not be removable in the meantime, except by your Majesty upon representation made by the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being, and in case of the avoidance of the office of such Governor-General by death, resignation, or removal, his place should during the remainder of the term aforesaid, as often as the case should happen, be supplied by the person of the Council who stood next in rank to such Governor-General and in case of the death, removal, resignation, or promotion of any of the said Council, the Directors of the said United Company were thereby empowered for and during the remainder of the said term of five years, to nominate and appoint, by and with the consent of Your Majesty, to be signified under your Majesty's Sign Manual, a person to succeed to the office so become vacant in the said Council.

That at the time of passing the said Act, the said Warren Hastings and Richard Barwell were in Bengal, and the said John Clavering, George Monson and Philip Francis were in England.

That the said John Clavering, George Monson and Philip Francis, arrived at Fort William in Bengal, aforesaid on or about the twentieth day of October one thousand seven hundred and seventy four, and thereupon they, and the said Warren Hastings and Richard Barwell took upon them the respective offices of Governor-General and Council of the said Presidency to which they were appointed by the said Act of Parliament as aforesaid.

That the said Warren Hastings hath caused notice to be given to your Petitioners the Court of Directors of the said Company, of his desire to resign the said office of Governor-General of Bengal.

That Your Petitioners the Court of Directors taking the said proposed resignation of the said Warren Hastings into consideration, have nominated and appointed Edward Wheeler, Esquire, to succeed to the office of the said Council, which will become vacant by the said resignation, if such nomination shall be approved by your Majesty.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray that your Majesty will be pleased to signify such consent by your Majesty's Sign Manual as by the said Act is required, that said Edward Wheeler may be appointed to succeed to the office, which will become vacant in the Council, by the aforesaid resignation of the said Warren Hastings.

And Your Petitioners shall ever pray.

James Moffat.
Samuel Peach.
Frederick Pigou.
Thos. Bates Ross.
Thos. Rumbold.
Henry Savage.
Joseph Sparkes.
John Stables.
George Tatem.
Daniel Wier.
George Wombwell.

John Roberts.
William James.
Richard Beacher.
Benjamin Booth.
George Cumming.
Wm. Geo. Freeman.
Robert Gregory.
Richard Hall.
John Harrison.
John Manship.

EAST INDIA HOUSE,

23rd October 1776.

ST. JAMES'S

25th October, 1776.

2. REPLY TO THE MEMORIAL.

GENTLEMEN,

Having taken the earliest opportunity of laying before the King your memorial, and petition to His Majesty, which was presented to me yesterday by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of your Company, I lose no time in acquainting you, that the King is graciously pleased to approve of your nomination of Edward Wheeler, Esqr. to succeed to the office which will become vacant in the Council of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, in consequence of the resignation of Warren Hastings, Esqr., Governor-General. And the proper instrument of His Majesty's approbation will be prepared accordingly for the royal signature.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,
WEYMOUTH.

Court of Directors of the
East India Company.

3. EDWARD WHEELER'S SURRENDER OF THE FIRST COMMISSION.

Whereas by an Act of Parliament made in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty entitled "An Act for establishing certain Regulations for the better management of the Affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe."—It was amongst other things, enacted that for the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal there should be appointed a Governor-General and four Councillors who were thereby invested with such powers and authorities as in the said Act are mentioned. And it was thereby further enacted that Warren Hastings, Esquire should be first Governor-General and that Lieutenant-General John Clavering, the Honorable George Monson, Richard Barwell Esquire and Philip Francis Esquire should be the four first Councillors and that they and each of them should hold and continue in his and their respective offices for and during the term of five years from the time of their arrival at Fort William in Bengal and taking upon them the Government of the said Presidency and should not be removable in the meantime except by His Majesty, his heirs or successors upon representation made by the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being and in case of the avoidance of the office of such Governor-General by death, resignation or removal, his place should during the remainder of the term aforesaid as often as the case should happen be supplied by the person of the Council who stood next in rank to such Governor-General and in case of the death, removal, resignation or promotion of any of the Council the Directors of the said United Company were thereby empowered for and during the remainder of the said term of five years to nominate and appoint by and with the consent of His Majesty, his heirs, and successor to be signed under His or their Sign Manual a person to succeed to the office so become vacant in the said Council. And Whereas the said Warren Hastings, John Clavering, George Monson, Richard Barwell and Philip Francis took upon them the respective offices of Governor-General and Council of the said Presidency to which they were appointed by the said Act of Parliament as aforesaid on or about the twentieth day of October one thousand seven hundred and seventy four. And Whereas the said Warren Hastings sometime in or about the month of October last caused notice to be given to the said United Company that he desired to resign the said office of Governor-General of Bengal, and thereupon the Court of Directors of the said United Company by Warrant or Commission under the hands bearing date the twenty third day of the said month of October appointed me the underwritten Edward Wheeler, Esquire to be one of the Council of the said Presidency of Fort William in Bengal to take upon me, hold and enjoy the said office with the salary thereto belonging from and immediately after the office of one of the Council of the said Presidency of Bengal should become vacant by the resignation of the said Warren Hastings which said appointment His most gracious Majesty by Warrant under His Majesty's Sign Manual bearing

date the twenty sixth day of October aforesaid was pleased to approve and confirm. And Whereas the Court of Directors of the said United Company hath received notice that the said George Munson is dead, but no notice hath yet been received of the said Warren Hastings having resigned. And Whereas it is intended that I should be appointed to succeed to the vacancy in the said Council which hath happened by the death of the said George Munson instead of taking upon me the said office of one of the Councillors of the said Presidency to supply the vacancy which shall happen in the said Council by the resignation of the said Warren Hastings, but such new appointment cannot take place until the said former appointment of me to be one of the said Council is surrendered or revoked. Now therefore I the said Edward Wheeler do hereby resign, surrender and yield up unto the said United Company the said Warrant or Commission bearing date the twenty third day of October last and the said office of one of the Council of the said Presidency of Fort William in Bengal to which I was thereby appointed; and all my estate, right, title and interest in and to the said office by virtue of the said Warrant or Commission or by virtue of His Majesty's Sign Manual approving of and confirming the same or otherwise howsoever. In witness whereof I have herunto set my hand and seal the second day of May in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seven.

Sealed and delivered (being first duly stamped) in the presence of

JOHN SUTTON
R. O. PLOWDEN
East India House London
the 3rd May 1777
Attested to be a true copy
C. MITCHELL, Secy.

EDWARD WHEELER (L. S.)

L'Episode du "Black Hole" Histoire ou légende.

L'EPOUVANTABLE épisode du "Trou Noir" à Calcutta, dans la nuit du 20 Juin 1756, serait-il, comme la révolte héroïque de Guillaume Tell contre Gessler, une simple légende que l'histoire est en train de détruire ?

On connaît l'affaire. Dans la matinée du 20 Juin 1756, Siradja-Doula, Nabab du Bengale, s'empara du fort William à Calcutta. Le Gouverneur, M. Drake, s'était sauvé l'avant veille à Fulta, sur l'Hougly, avec une partie des Anglais de la ville ; les autres, n'ayant pu le faire, avaient dû soit rester dans le fort soit y revenir. M. Holwell en avait la défense. Le 20 Juin, vers onze heures du matin, il capitula. Dans l'après-midi, il eut trois conférences avec Siradja-Doula sur des sujets restés mystérieux, probablement la livraison des trésors présumés de la Compagnie des Indes. Le soir, les officiers de Siradja-Doula renfermèrent les survivants, au nombre de 169, dans une prison dite "Black Hole" ou trou noir. La prison n'avait que dix-huit pieds sur quatorze, la chaleur était suffocante, 143 personnes moururent durant la nuit. M. Holwell n'était pas au nombre des morts. Transféré à Murschidabad, il fut rendu à la liberté vers le 10 Juillet. Mais déjà il avait répandu la nouvelle de la nuit tragique par une lettre adressée de Cassimbazar à un nommé Sykes, serviteur de la Compagnie. Plus tard, il fit un récit plus détaillé du drame. Le récit fut publié en 1764. L'impression produite par ces révélations est une des plus lugubres de l'histoire.

Jusqu'à ces derniers temps, à part les Bengalis, personne n'a mis en doute l'authenticité des faits rapportés par M. Holwell. Mais, en Septembre dernier, paraissait dans le *Bengal Past and Present*, organe de la société historique de Calcutta, un long article, dans lequel un anglais M. Little, habitant Murschidabad, a prétendu démontrer que, s'il y eut des prisonniers anglais enfermés dans le Black Hole le 20 Juin 1756, leur nombre fut seulement de neuf, et le chiffre des morts de trois.

Pour justifier son opinion, M. Little essaie d'abord d'établir que M. Holwell, d'après Clive lui-même et les autres directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes de cette époque, était un coutumier de l'erreur sinon du mensonge. En dehors de l'épisode du Trou Noir, il aurait inventé de toutes pièces des conversations ou des actes tout à fait erronés. L'incident du Trou Noir n'aurait été, selon M. Little, imaginé par M. Holwell que pour le disculper d'une tricherie faite par lui le 20 Juin dans la capitulation avec Siradja-Doula.

M. Holwell, pour un motif difficile à saisir, aurait négligé de porter cette capitulation à la connaissance de ses compatriotes. Lorsque les soldats de Siradja-Doula vinrent pour prendre possession du fort, ils rencontrèrent une résistance inattendue ; on continua de tirer sur eux. Furieux, ils tirèrent à leur tour sur les Anglais et en tuèrent un grand nombre. Ce seraient là les victimes du Trou Noir. Les témoins de sa tricherie ayant ainsi disparu, M. Holwell, rendu à la liberté quinze jours ou trois semaines plus tard, aurait imaginé l'histoire que l'on connaît et dont l'horreur fut rarement dépassée.

L'article de M. Little a produit dans l'Inde une émotion considérable. Les journaux du Bengale, notamment *l'Englishman* et le *Statesman* l'ont longuement et vivement commenté. M. Little a trouvé beaucoup de contradicteurs. On lui a opposé l'existence même de quelques survivants du Trou Noir qui ne seraient morts qu'après 1800 et même le dernier d'entre eux, en 1815. On a aussi cité quelques lettres de contemporains de M. Holwell, dont l'un aurait partagé sa dramatique captivité. On a invoqué aussi l'opinion de Law de Lauriston, ancien chef français de Cassimbazar, qui écrivit en 1764 dans son *Mémoire sur quelques affaires de l'Empire Mogol*, publié par nous en 1913, un récit terrifiant du drame de Calcutta.

M. Little oppose à ces témoignages l'absence totale de documentations officielles sur cet incident, au moment où il se produisit. Ni les Anglais chassés de Calcutta, ni les Français de Chandernagor, ni les Hollandais d'Hougly n'ont rien écrit qui fasse la moindre allusion à la nuit tragique, et cependant tous ont raconté la prise du fort William. Il reconnaît au surplus que la déformation historique s'est faite avec une grande rapidité. Il semble qu'elle ait précédé la libération même de M. Holwell. Préparée par lui dans la lettre adressée à Sykes elle se confirme dès le 3 Juillet par une lettre envoyée de Chandernagor par des Anglais non témoins directs des événements ; trois mois plus tard elle avait la valeur d'un fait historique.

Si grand que soit l'intérêt de la question, nous ne pouvons y consacrer ici qu'une place très restreinte : l'affaire du Trou Noir appartient à l'histoire anglaise. Mais, puisque M. Little a invoqué l'absence de témoignages français dans la matière, il nous a paru intéressant de consulter à cet égard les archives de Pondichéry, les seules actuellement à notre disposition.

Nous avons à cet égard, dans les registres 90 et 91 de nos archives, une série de lettres allant de 1744 à 1757 écrites soit par le Conseil de Pondichéry à celui de Chandernagor, soit par ce dernier à différentes personnes. Ces lettres ne sont malheureusement pas au complet ; nous en avons néanmoins trouvé cinq, dont deux d'une très grande importance.

Elles émanent toutes de la même source, le Conseil Supérieur de Chandernagor, mais, singulière ironie des choses, l'une d'elles soutient la théorie de M. Little et l'autre, le contraire.

Dans une première lettre, datée du 25 Juin, et adressée au comptoir de Masulipatam, M. Renault, chef du comptoir de Chandernagor, rend compte que Siradja-Doula est en guerre avec les Anglais; il est arrivé à Calcutta dont il fait le siège avec 50,000 hommes, une grande quantité d'éléphants et une grosse artillerie. L'issue de la lutte n'est pas encore connue, mais M. Renault prévoit la défaite des Anglais et leur expulsion. La lettre de M. Renault n'accuse d'ailleurs aucune sympathie pour Siradja-Doula.

Le lendemain, M. Renault connaît la fin du drame, et voici en quels termes il l'annonce en une nouvelle lettre au comptoir de Masulipatam.

"(Les Anglais) avaient eu la précaution, dès le commencement du siège, qui n'a pas été long, de faire embarquer les femmes des employés et des principaux.....ce qui fait croire que ces vaisseaux n'aient beaucoup à pâtir d'ici à ce qu'ils puissent sortir du Gange et gagner la côte. Le Nabab n'a fait aucun mal à ceux qui étaient dans la loge, lorsqu'il s'en est emparé. Il s'est contenté de les faire dépouiller et les a renvoyés, à la réserve des principaux qu'il a fait prisonniers."

Notons soigneusement cette lettre, écrite au lendemain même des événements. Non seulement M. Renault ignore l'affaire du "Black Hole" mais il écrit tranquillement que *le Nabab n'a fait aucun mal à ceux qui étaient dans la loge.*

Ainsi se trouve confirmée la thèse de M. Little.

Dans une autre lettre du 29 Août, également adressée à Masulipatam, et qui paraît faire suite à celle du 26 Juin, M. Renault paraît encore ignorer l'affaire du "Black Hole."

"Il ne s'est passé, dit-il, aucun événement considérable dans le pays depuis la prise de Calcutta, et les Anglais n'ont fait encore aucun mouvement. Tous ceux qui avaient été faits prisonniers ont été renvoyés par le Nabab, et ont joint leurs vaisseaux. Il leur est venu plusieurs embarcations de la côte, mais dans le nombre desquels il n'y a qu'un vaisseau de la compagnie qui a apporté 250 soldats de Madras.

"Il y a peu d'apparence qu'avec un aussi faible renfort, ils tentent quelque entreprise, étant surtout dénués d'une grande partie de ce qu'il leur faudrait pour cela. Le bruit a couru pendant quelque temps qu'ils cherchaient à s'accommoder avec le Nabab pour rentrer dans leur colonie, mais cela n'a pas eu lieu. On dit à présent que les vaisseaux de guerre se sont rendus à Madras et qu'il s'y rassemble beaucoup de forces pour venir venger l'affront fait à la nation."

Nous sommes au 29 Août. M. Renault ne voit encore dans la prise de Calcutta qu'un *affront* fait aux Anglais; d'après les bruits courants, les Anglais se considèrent si peu comme les victimes d'un crime abominable qu'ils songent à s'accommoder avec le Nabab.

L'opinion de M. Renault est toute différente le 16 Septembre, moins de trois semaines plus tard. Dans une lettre adressée ce jour là à M. Le Verrier, Chef du comptoir de Surate, il lui raconte les évènements depuis leur origine.

"Lorsque, dit-il, nous vous avons expédié nos paquets pour Europe en Juillet dernier, nous étions si occupés qu'il ne nous a pas été possible de vous faire le moindre détail de la révolution que nous vous annonçons et dont le récit faisait le sujet de notre expédition.

Vous apprendrez donc par celle-ci que le Nabab Souradja-Doula ayant, contre l'attente de tout le monde, succédé dans la soubahie de Bengale à son grand oncle Aliverdi-Khan dès le mois d'Avril, les Anglais ont éprouvé les plus terribles effets de la colère de ce jeune seigneur qu'ils avaient irrité par leur arrogance et par la retraite qu'ils avaient accordée à quelques uns de ses ennemis.

Poussé par leurs bravades, il les a investis dans leur fort de Cassimbazard avec beaucoup de troupes et après avoir tiré dehors leur chef (M. Watts) s'est fait livrer cette loge qui, quoique forte, n'était défendue que par un très petit nombre de soldats. Enhardi par ce succès, dont il ne se flattait peut-être pas dans le principe, il a fait défilier son armée en bataille et est venu assiéger cette place le 18 Juin avec 60,000 hommes, une artillerie immense et beaucoup d'éléphants.

La vanité des Anglais leur ayant fait croire que les Maures n'oseraient jamais en venir jusque là, ils se sont trouvés tellement surpris et intimidés qu'ils ont perdu la tête à la vue de l'ennemi et n'ont profité d'aucun des avantages qu'ont les Européens sur des troupes aussi méprisables. Quoique bien fortifiés et au nombre de 600 blancs, à peine ont-ils fait la plus légère résistance. Dès le lendemain de l'arrivée du Nabab (le 19), le Gouverneur M. Drake s'est retiré à bord des vaisseaux avec le commandant des troupes, la plus grande partie du conseil, des officiers, habitants et toutes les femmes. Le peu de soldats qui étaient restés dans le fort n'ayant voulu reconnaître aucun supérieur, le désordre s'y mit au point qu'on a arboré drapeau blanc le 20 après midi. Mais les Maures n'ayant point voulu convenir comme de capitulation, se sont jetés en foule aux portes et sont entrés de force en faisant main basse sur ceux qui résistaient encore. Le pillage tant de la colonie que de la loge a été immense: les Anglais n'ayant point eu la précaution d'embarquer toutes leurs richesses.

Ce n'était là pour ainsi dire que le commencement de leurs maux. Les prisonniers, montant à près de 200 ayant été renfermés pêle-mêle dans un magasin y ont été étouffés presque tous dans la nuit. Ceux qui ont résisté, surtout les principaux, après avoir éprouvé toute sorte de misère et avoir été traînés aux fers à Mounoudabad, nous ont été renvoyés par le Nabab dans

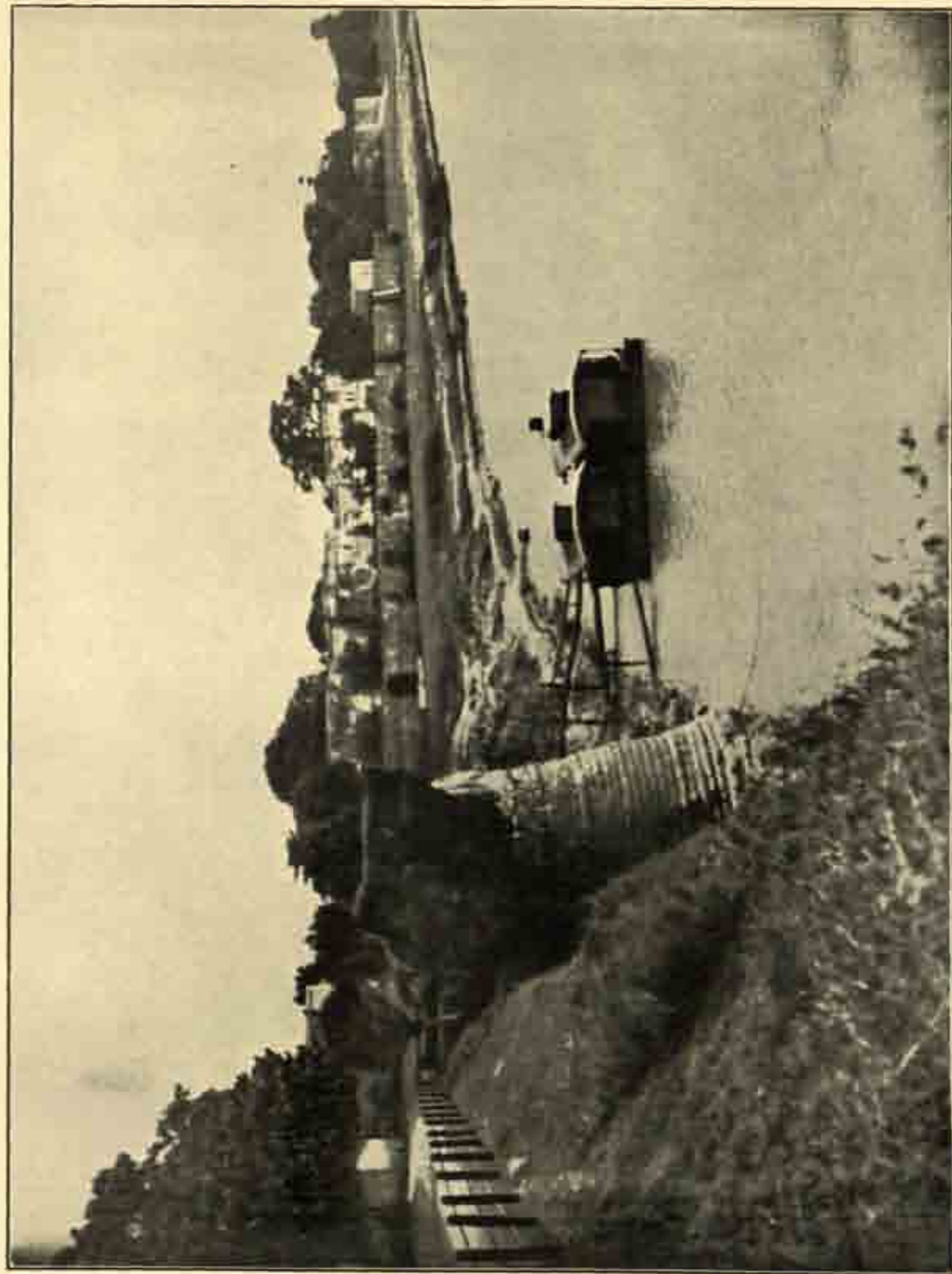
The Black Hole Episode : is it History or Myth ?

[English Translation of the foregoing paper by Mr. A. Lehuvaux].

IS the dreadful episode of the Black Hole of Calcutta during the night of the 20th June 1756, like the heroic revolt of William Tell against Gessler, nothing more than a legend? The incident is well known. In the forenoon of the 20th June 1756 Siraj-ud-daula, Nawab of Bengal, captured Fort William at Calcutta. The Governor, Mr. Drake, had escaped two days earlier to Fulta on the Hoogly with a portion of the English from the town; the remainder, unable to follow his example, were compelled either to remain in the fort or to return to the town. Mr. Holwell conducted the defence. On the 20th June at about 11 o'clock in the morning he capitulated. In the afternoon he had three conferences with Siraj-ud-daula the subject of which remains a mystery, but which probably referred to the surrender of the alleged treasures of the Company. In the evening the officers of Siraj-ud-daula confined the survivors, to the number of 169, in a prison called the Black Hole. The prison was a cell eighteen feet by fourteen, the heat was stifling and 143 perished during the night. Mr. Holwell was among the survivors; he was removed to Murshidabad and eventually set at liberty about the 10th July. But he had already spread the news of that tragic night in a letter addressed by him from Cassimbazar to a Company's servant named Sykes. Later, he wrote a more detailed narrative of the catastrophe. The account was published in 1764. The impression produced by these revelations is one of the gloomiest in history.

Till very recent times, apart from the Bengalis, no one had cast a doubt on the authenticity of Holwell's facts. Last September *Bengal Past and Present*, the organ of the Calcutta Historical Society, published a long article in which Mr. Little, an Englishman resident in Murshidabad, set out to prove that if there were English prisoners confined in the Black Hole on the 20th June 1756, their number did not exceed nine and the victims were not more than three.

To justify his opinion Mr. Little first endeavours to establish that Holwell, in the opinion of Clive himself as well as of other Directors of the East India Company of the period, was wont to draw largely upon his imagination for his facts. Apart from the Black Hole episode he had invented other imaginary conversations and incidents. The Black Hole incident, according to Mr. Little, was imagined by Holwell merely to screen himself from a trick practised by him on the 20th June at the capitulation, which, for some reason difficult to surmise, he had omitted to make known to his people. When Siraj-ud-daula's soldiers came to take possession of the fort they met with an unexpected resistance, the garrison continuing to fire on them. Driven to fury they returned the fire of the English, killing a great number. These were, according to Mr. Little, the alleged victims of the Black Hole. Witnesses to his decep-



MONGHYR, VIEW FROM "SCANDAL POINT."

Photo by Walter K. Firminger.

tion having thus disappeared, when Holwell was restored to liberty fifteen days or three weeks later he concocted the story known to us.

Mr. Little's article produced a considerable sensation in India. The newspapers of Bengal, notably the *Englishman* and the *Statesman*, commented on it at great length. His critics point to the existence of several survivors of the Black Hole who died as late as 1800, the latest in 1815, and quote the letters of Holwell's contemporaries one of whom shared his dramatic captivity. They also appeal to the opinion of Law de Lauristan, the former Chief of the French logs of Cassimbazar, who wrote in 1764 in his "Mémoires sur quelques affaires de l'Empire Mogol" published by us in 1913, a lurid account of the Calcutta drama.

Mr. Little refutes this evidence on the ground of the total absence of official documents relating to the occurrence. Neither the English refugees from Calcutta, nor the French at Chandernagor, nor yet the Dutch at Hoogly have written anything which makes the faintest allusion to that tragic night, although all relate the capture of Fort William. He recognises moreover that the distortion of history has been very rapid. It appears to have even preceded the liberation of Holwell. Prepared by him in a letter addressed to Sykes, it finds confirmation as early as July 3rd in a letter from Chandernagor written by some Englishmen who were not eye witnesses. Three months later it had become an accepted historical fact.

However great the interest attaching to the subject, we can only give it a very limited space here, as the Black Hole incident belongs to English history. But since Mr. Little has alluded to the absence of French testimony in the circumstances, it appeared to us interesting to consult the archives of Pondichery, the only ones actually available. In Registers Nos. 90 & 91 of our archives we possess a series of letters from 1744 to 1757 written by the Council of Pondichery to that of Chandernagor, or by the latter to different persons. Unfortunately these letters are incomplete; nevertheless we have discovered five, two of which are of great importance. They originate from the same source, the Superior Council of Chandernagor, but with a strange irony one sustains Mr. Little's theory, while the other seemingly refutes it.

In a letter dated 25th June addressed to the factory of Masulipatam, Mr. Renault the Chief of Chandernagor relates that Siraj-ud-daula is at war with the English; he has arrived at Calcutta which he is besieging with 50,000 men, a great number of elephants and a numerous artillery. The issue is as yet unknown, but Mr. Renault anticipates the defeat and expulsion of the English. Nevertheless Mr. Renault's letter displays no sympathy for Siraj-ud-daula. The next day Mr. Renault knows the end of the drama and announces it in the following terms in a second letter to the factory of Masulipatam:

"(The English) had taken the precaution, from the beginning of the siege which has not been long, to embark the wives of the *employés* and of the principal residents,which makes one believe these vessels will have much to endure from now till they can get out of the Ganges and gain the coast. The Nawab did no harm to those who were in the factory when he took possession of it. He was content

to have them stripped of their belongings, and dismissed them, with the exception of the principal residents whom he has made prisoners."

This letter written the day following the event should be carefully noted. Not only does Mr. Renault ignore the Black Hole affair, but he calmly writes the *Nawab did no harm to those who were in the factory*. The letter certainly supports Mr. Little's theory.

In another letter dated 29th August, also addressed to Masulipatam, and which appears to be a continuation of that of 26th June, Mr. Renault still appears to be ignorant of the Black Hole incident.

"No event of importance," he writes "has occurred in the country since the capture of Calcutta, and the English have so far not made any sign. All those who were imprisoned have been set free by the Nawab and have regained their ships. They have been joined by several boats from the coast, but among them there is only one Company's vessel bearing 250 soldiers from Madras. It does not appear that with such a feeble reinforcement they will attempt any enterprise, seeing that they lack the greater part of the means required for the purpose. There has been a rumour afloat for sometime that they are willing to come to terms with the Nawab in order to return to their settlement, but this has not taken place. It is said at present that the war ships have gone to Madras and that large forces are assembling there to come and avenge the affront to the nation."

Mr. Renault on the 29th August sees nothing more in the capture of Calcutta than an *affront* offered to the English; to judge by current rumours the English regard themselves so little as the victims of an abominable crime that they are thinking of making terms with the Nawab. The opinion of Mr. Renault is very different on the 16th September. In a letter addressed that day to Mr. LeVerrier, the Chief of Surat, he narrates events from their commencement:

"When we sent you our packets for Europe last July" he wrote, "we were so occupied that it was impossible to give you the smallest details concerning the revolution that we announced to you, the account of which formed the subject of our despatch. You will learn from the present that the Nawab Siraj-ud-daula having, contrary to the expectation of everyone, succeeded his grand uncle (*etc*) Ali Verdi Khan in the Subadari of Bengal from the month of April, the English have experienced the most terrible effects of the anger of this young prince whom they had irritated by their arrogance and by the asylum they had accorded to certain of his enemies.

"Provoked by their boasting he invested them in their fort of Cassimbazar with many of their troops and after having removed the Chief (Mr. Watts) he made them surrender the factory which, although strong, was defended by only a few troops. Emboldened by this success, which he originally had little ground to expect, he drew up his army in battle array and came to lay siege to this place on the 18th June with 60,000 men, an immense artillery and numerous elephants.

"The vanity of the English having led them to believe that the Moors would never dare to venture so far, they found themselves so surprised and terrorised

that they lost their heads at the sight of the enemy and did not profit by any of the advantages which Europeans possess over such contemptible troops. Although well fortified and numbering 600 Europeans, they scarcely offered the least resistance. The very day before the arrival of the Nawab (the 19th) the Governor, Mr. Drake, took refuge on the ships, with the commandant of the troops, the greater part of the Council, officers, inhabitants and the women. The few soldiers who remained in the fort, refusing to obey any superiors, so great a disorder ensued that the white flag was hoisted on the afternoon of the 20th. But the Moors, not wishing to recognise any capitulation, attacked the gates in great numbers and forced an entry, doing great violence to those who continued to offer any resistance. The pillage of both the settlement and the factory was immense, the English not having taken the precaution of embarking all their wealth.

"This was so to speak but the beginning of their troubles. The prisoners, amounting to some 200, having been confined pell-mell in a warehouse, were nearly all suffocated during the night. Those who survived, and especially the principal inhabitants, after enduring every species of misery, and having been carried in chains to Moxoudabad were sent back to us by the Nawab in the most pitiable condition, which we have endeavoured to relieve by all the assistance possible.

"The fate of those who escaped to the vessels was not less deplorable. Having gained the lower reach of the river with the utmost trouble in the world, they have suffered all the ill effects of the season and the inconvenience of having a multitude of women and children by whom the vessels were overcrowded, all of which added to bad fare procured with difficulty has produced a species of pestilential malady that carries away numbers every day. Many have come to seek relief here and at Chinsurah, but very few have recovered."

A letter conceived in exactly the same terms was sent to the Council of Ile de France on the 16th December following. Do these documents suffice to pass a decisive judgment on the incident of the Black Hole? We do not think so. Like Mr. Little we are at first surprised that so extraordinary and alarming an event should not immediately have become known to public opinion, while on the other hand it seems difficult to admit that a legend of this nature could have grown so quickly. That Mr. Holwell and the English should have accepted it without question and spread it with complacency is not surprising, since it served their interests; but to admit that strangers should have been equally credulous is to say that their hatred for Siraj-ud-daula had extinguished in them all spirit of criticism. None of these suppositions is impossible. In 1756 the French at Chandernagor still considered that their interests were identical with those of the English, and their fear of Siraj-ud-daula fed by reports of his lordly cruelties, clouded their judgment.

We must, therefore, until further evidence is forthcoming, regard Mr. Little's theory as not proven, but we are far from considering his arguments as valueless. India, every one knows, is a land where truth is deformed with the greatest ease and rapidity. We find instances of this fact every day in our own administration. It must also be recognised, in equity, that cruelty is not the characteristic of Indians, and nothing

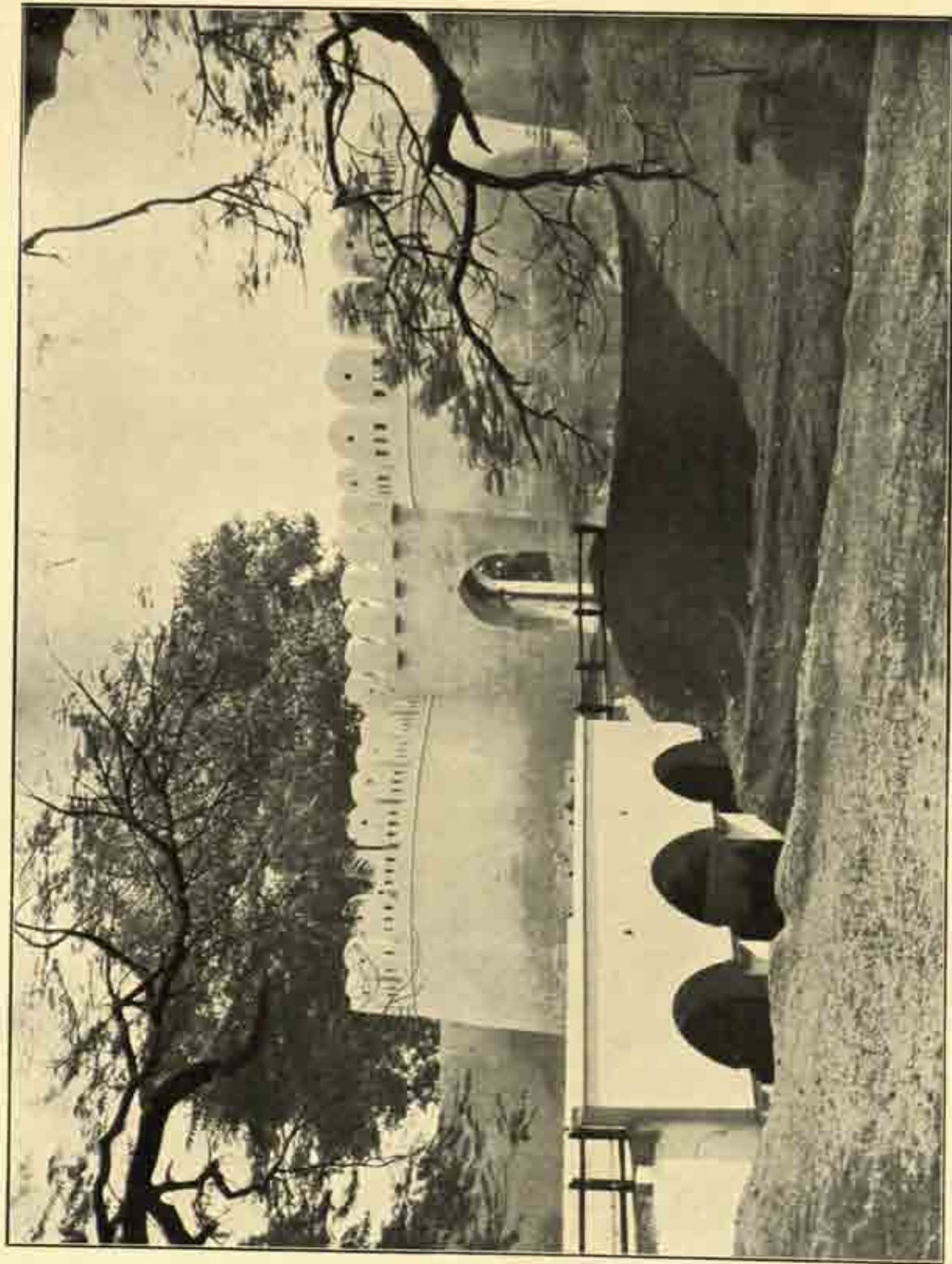
justifies us in supposing that in the present case they wreaked vengeance for a particular offence. Siraj-ud-daula, every one is agreed, did not give orders to imprison the English or to cause them to perish in so brutal a fashion; why should his officers have been more cruel? From the standpoint of psychology this is by no means evident.

We shall be told perhaps that seven years later at Patna the dethroned Nawab Mir Kassim caused many English to be put to death under still more cruel circumstances; but Mir Kassim had good grounds for hating the English and for wishing to be revenged on them. Moreover nothing tells us that in ordering their massacre he did not wish to transform the Black Hole legend into a striking reality.

We must not ask History to be the handmaid of passion. Holwell sleeps in the grave yard of Pimor since 1793; he has his statue at Calcutta, let us respect his grave. As to his memory, if it is ever proved beyond doubt that the incident of the Black Hole was grossly exaggerated, it should not be forgotten that, according to the official documents published by Mr. Hill in his *Bengal in 1756-57*, the English defended themselves bravely against Siraj-ud-daula on the 20th June till six o'clock in the evening and that a great number of them fell in the fight.

In default of legend that alone would suffice for their fame.

A. MARTINEAU.



MONGHYR. ENTRANCE TO FORT CLOSE TO CEMETERY.

Photo by Walter K. Firminger.

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—VIII.

No. 290.

TO A. BEAUMONT, ESQ.

DACCA,

The 5th March 1774.

DEAR BEAUMONT,

I have now before me your several letters of the following dates, 16th November, 10th December 1772, the 10th February and 9th April 1773, with one of Leycester and Beaumont's of the 12th February 1773. These I take in course and where any comments on your own affairs or mine are necessary I shall make them. In the first place with respect to remittances I could wish if any opportunities offer, you would not pass them by but draw upon me for whatever sums you can secure in England and be assured your bills shall be duly honored. Your bills I shall even be content with an exchange of two shillings for the current rupee on payments made you for bills on me at 60 or 90 days' sight. Rous has not written to me a syllable respecting the Madeira he was engaged to deliver; you will therefore be so good as to settle it with him. The disappointment I have suffered in the nonpayment of Middleton's and Ellis's engagements has laid me under the necessity of sending home to my sister a lack of rupees in bullion, and I must request the favor of you, should those bills not be paid, you will return them to me protested in the form prescribed in the bond which accompanied the first of Chevalier's drafts taking care that the protest is properly notified at the Royal Exchange of London. I have written on this subject to my sister and my brother whom I could wish you to consult on the subject. I entirely approve of all you have hitherto done respecting those bills and the detention of them in England in the hope that the money would be ultimately paid. My confidence in the rectitude of your intentions of your acting in the manner most conducive to my interest is such that I with pleasure authorise you and Leycester hereby to act in such measure as you may think most for my benefit, a trust I confide to you without reserve, as I am fully persuaded it will be discharged in every respect, consistent with that friendship that has so long subsisted between us. I thank you for the sweetmeats sent by Sealy; they were by

some accident lost, I do suppose, as I never received them for him. I have made enquiries relative to Bolts' fortune in India and am sorry to tell you that I have little reason to think his attorneys will have any means in their hands to discharge his bond to you, should you be induced to send it out. However, to secure you as much as lays in my power, I engaged Mr. Cator, who lives with me, to give you the preference, if he does receive any money on Bolts' account, and you should send me the bond. Pardon my forgetfulness in not procuring you the Bandoneous you want for your own use and be assured I will rectify my omission by the very first ship of the next year.

You will hear from Mr. Cooke that his bill on Mrs. Ann Dyer has been properly honored.

In return for the macaroni sword knott you sent me with the compliments of my old acquaintance, Miss Keene, I beg you will offer her my thanks. My sword hilt has never to my knowledge been so finely decorated.

I held a bond of Captain Duffell which in consequence of your information of £400 being paid you part in money and part in Company's certificates I have cancelled.

I am sorry at Sir George Colebrooke's failure, though I do not imagine any other inconvenience will arise from it to my family beyond the delay which such accidents generally occasion in paying off his creditors. I feel and lament Sir George's situation. Bred in ease and affluence with flattering prospects before him, to sink at once to a state of dependence is a heart-breaking circumstance.

The monies which my former letters direct to be paid into my sister's hands I beg you will comply with from whatever sums that may come in from the different remittances made to you by me. Adieu.

Nos. 291—94.

Dacca.	1774,	March	6.	J. Cator to Bensley and Price.	Of no interest.
"	"	"	10.	do. to Nicholas Grueber.	"
"	"	"	10.	do. to Wm. Bensley.	"
"	"	"	12.	R. Barwell to James Lawrell.	"

No. 295.

To the Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

DACCA,

13th March 1774.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed is a copy of a general order received the other day from the Town Major's office, in consequence of which I beg leave to submit to

you a list of the people entertained and their pay. This establishment is so very moderate and so very necessary that I cannot avoid representing to you that its abolition must be followed by some new arrangement. The few lascars and artificers for the service of the garrison are even at present not limited: that the arms in store are very indifferently repaired and kept in order; and there must be some lascars to attend to the care and delivery of the stores, and to serve the guns which are here. Brigade lascars may be appointed for this purpose, or the lascars who have been long at this station incorporated into the Brigades and continued. I have intimated the order for the reduction to the Paymaster, and it will take place accordingly, but I request you will be so kind as to favour me with your instructions in what manner the stores, guns, and arms in the garrison are to be taken care of. The sepoy arms which are delivered to the corps, the artificers attached to it have in charge and are as much as they can attend to.

I am, dear Sir, your obedient humble servant,

Nos. 296—9.

Dacca, 1774, March 16. To the Hon. W. Hastings. Of no interest.
 " " " 17. To W. M. Thackeray.
 " " " " Do. Capt. E. Elliker.
 " " " " Do. Do. Do.

[Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, pp. 187—8.]

No. 300.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

DACCA,

The 21st March 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I was but a few days since favoured with your letter of 15th February by Mirza Ally Nucky [?], or you would have heard from me before that. Your commands had been executed. Recommendations when they came from those who, if they please, may order the matter recommended to be done is (*sic*) pleasing, and by many the optional power is used in an attempt to over-persuade the person who gives it from his purpose of serving the man he is pleased to countenance. I flatter myself in such points you will always find my actions respect the consideration you indulge me with; for if I know myself, it would be under very particular circumstances indeed that I should start any difficulty or objection to your wishes so communicated.

No. 301.

Dacca, 22nd March, 1774. Barwell to Herbert Harris. Of no interest.

No. 302.

TO MR. CHARLES CROFTES,
*Sub-Treasurer.*DACC A,
The 22nd March 1774.

SIR,

As soon as I get all my papers from Calcutta which I expect from there in a few days, I will examine them and transmit you the accounts you require. As none of my attorneys are acquainted or know anything of the accounts of so long a date as these which relate to the Restitution Fund established in 1764, I am under a necessity of inspecting them personally, or you would not probably be furnished with the papers complete.

No. 303.

Dacca, 22nd March 1774. J. Cator to W. Barton. Of no interest.

No. 304.

TO WILLIAM LAMBERT, ESQR.,*

DACC A,
The 22nd March 1774.

DEAR LAMBERT,

By to-night's *dawk* I have sent under cover to Messrs. Bensley and Price, my attorneys in Calcutta, the engagement to postpone the further enforcing my decrees against you for three years, unless you die in the intermediate time, on your paying me C.Rs. 3,000 in part thereof, with direction to deliver the said engagement to you on receiving that sum of money. You will perceive a clause inserted unless you consent to my enforcing the decrees previous to the expiration of that term, which clause is added lest your circumstances should be so situated that your other creditors take out executions against you on your effects within that period, in which case I must do you the justice to suppose you will consent to my decrees being enforced at the same time; and I thought that mode of mentioning it in the engagement would be more agreeable than entering into particulars, not doubting but you will in answer to this engage to give your consent, should such an event happen.

I am, dear Lambert,

* See *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. II, p. 510 et seq., Vol. IV, p. 491.

No. 305.

Dacca, 22 March 1774. To W. Bensley and Price. Of no interest.

NOS. 306—8.

Dacca 24 March 1774. J. Cator to T. Tulloh. Of no interest.

" 1 April " " Simeon Droz. "

" " " " " W. Bensley & J. Price. "

No. 309.

Dacca, 9 April 1774 to Warren Hastings.

[Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, p. 188.]

No. 310.

TO JOHN STEWART, ESQR.,

Dacca,

The 9th April 1774.

DEAR STEWART,

Late yesterday evening I was attacked in my carriage by your running post half out of breath, and before I opened the letter I was in no small trepidation as to the contents you may imagine. I was agreeably relieved to find no perverse spirit has risen to vex me with some new and unexpected matter, for I am too well satisfied with ease and indolence to be fond of combating the intrigues and difficulties which the devil takes them too frequently to intrude in all the walks of life. The manner of your asking the question, "had you not better apply to the Public Board for a copy of the paragraph touching the French disputes" appears a kind of hint that it is not so fair and favourable in the main as might be hoped for. It is true I have no right to look up for support to a public body in which an individual who has every inducement to serve himself at my expense has so mighty an influence. I mean your countryman Stewart, and I am sure he will not defend me at his own expense, but in this instance I am happy to depend on myself. I see the object as it really is, right if it coincides with the views of Ministry, wrong only so far as it may interfere with the pacific policy of the Court. Upon this ground you may imagine I am not anxious or apprehensive. I am sensible I acted right possibly beyond the narrow scale limited by the Company, but still the matter is in itself right and I am totally indifferent while I deserve well even if I do become a temporary sacrifice. The line

you recommend I have long since taken and should the subject come before the Ministry and be there discussed, I flatter myself I shall not be entirely destitute of support. The interest which has served my friends in the Direction is my reliance, and if no partial causes intervene to interrupt its operation I am convinced it will advance my credit and give me a surer hold on the Service. I will write to Mr. Hastings to favour me with a copy of the General Letter as far as it relates to the French.

I had a letter from Mr. Maclean a few days before his departure, a very friendly one and were warm in behalf of his friends. I doubt whether you know its contents, for it speaks mostly upon your happy talents and good qualities, topics that are seldom talked of to a man's own face, though they are dwelt on with pleasure by his intimates. I need not urge to you here my attachment to Mr. Maclean. A fortunate concurrence of circumstances has established him in my friendship, and I hope I have given him an equally favourable impression of me. I rely atleast on his word and a conviction that my inclination will do justice to the confidence he may place in me.

You must know that in all my differences with Mr. Hastings, none were ever of my seeking and under the idea he appears to have acted. I am not surprised, though I confess myself to have been hurt at the conduct of others. Of course as I can have no resentment, and have every lure to court his support, I am most sincere in expressing my wish to bury all past matters in oblivion and uniting in one common interest. It was my intention when I left Calcutta to have passed my correspondence through you. How it is obstructed will be hereafter explained. At present you must rest satisfied that it is my dependence on you which influences me to decline it, and makes me not trouble you with matters on which I may have occasion to address Mr. Hastings.

Ever since the House of Commons entered seriously upon India business material changes were to be expected. The arrangements reported are, I think, very probable and confined to Bengal except in the political line which may be more extensive in order to prevent the jarring views of the different administrations of the different Presidencies. A Superior Council which is to be equally provident of the particular interests of the Company and of the public will be doubtless approved by the State, but while the Company's Charter exists, the Company will certainly have the privilege of pointing out for Governor him whom the State shall nominate and likewise, if not all, atleast some members of the Superior Council. It would be absurd to suppose that men to whom the orders of the Company are to be transmitted will hold appointments wholly independent of them. A charge for which they are to account to the Company implies they can never be wholly independent, and while the Company's Charter exists, it would be absurd to suppose any

institution which shall virtually deprive the Company of the Government they are authorised to hold under that Charter. I do not think you have any reason to be apprehensive of your friend Barwell. Mr. Francis is the man of business for the Government. His talents were in so much repute that the Opposition made his resignation of the post of the First Clerk in the War Office an object. It was hoped that the station of Deputy Secretary vacated at the sametime with the loss of the person who was entrusted with the whole weight of the business might have distressed Government and embarrassed Lord Barrington, but you must know all these matters better than I can pretend to do. I shall, therefore, leave the subject to be elucidated by the *Eagle's* despatches. I cannot credit the vote about the refunding presents. It is of a complexion so truly Asiatic that it can never suit the meridian of London.

I shall be obliged to you for any Europe letters that fall in your way directed to me. I have requested Bensley to the same purpose (to take up my letters). The *dawk* is the conveyance I prefer, as in general it is less subjected to accidents. Private *hirkarrahs* frequently miscarry the public ones. If interrupted, the information is immediately communicated from the next stage and the time and place lead to a direct scrutiny, whereas private *hirkarrahs* may suffer from accident or design and nothing is known of such having occurred until it is too late to trace the cause or how they miscarried. This reasoning does not hold with the Patna *dawk* opened at Muxadabad and Monghyr, but to Dacca the packages come entire and without being opened on the road.

The report you have had communicated respecting Hurry Mullick is founded, I imagine, upon a wish I expressed of nominating a man (I approved) to his office. This was all that passed from me and I do not expect such an indulgence. I do not desire any change and more especially as my time will be very short, atleast I think so.

The Bulloah Chowdries have been repeatedly called upon to prove the general charges they urge against their security or more properly their farmer. Their complaints are before the Dacca Council. If they are justly founded they will be relieved, but they must answer the engagements they have contracted. There is a Tuncaw granted to the Luckypore Factory upon Bulloah for the amount of its revenue account. The advance is required for the Luckypore investment. Besides my inclination to keep things upon as agreeable a footing as I can for Barton has no small influence. However that shall not sway me if I find the Chowdries prove any just cause of complaints against their security.

As it is my intention to be in Calcutta by June I wrote to the Governor for permission of absence. This, I fear, may interfere with my wish to serve

you in an investment especially if I do not return to Dacca. The sooner you send money the better and a list of goods. I will to my utmost extend my care to your interests and secure them should I remove.

You inform me nothing about the Bond debt which conveys the least information of the manner in which it has been taken up, a total silence on the previous agitation of the subject or do they adopt the measure with cautious strictures?

I have heard, I do not know how true, that Mr. Hastings has favoured Graham with an epistle dedicatory to the Directors annexed to the arrangements that have been made. Pray is it so, and what is it that has been said? Will you furnish me with a copy? Adieu.

I am, dear Stewart,

Your friend and servant.

Nos. 311—12.

Dacca, 11 April 1774. R. B. to Bensley and Price. Of no interest.
 " " " J. Cator to Chas. Croftes. "

No. 313.

TO MR. WOOD, *Agent for receiving the Salt manufactured for the Hon'ble Company in the Pergunnah of Salimabad, etc.*

DACCA,

The 15th April 1774.

SIR,

I enclose you a list of balances claimed by Balliram Beragie which I am to request of you to investigate, the subfarmer Coja Muhaih being to account for the sum outstanding on Balliram Beragie's advances of the last season. The investigation of these is to have your attention and you are to make it in the presence of the parties taking before them the acknowledgment of the Molungees for such balances as may be due from them. The balances of the antecedent years you will likewise enquire into and send me a distinct account. A *perwanah* to this effect I will forward to you in a few days that if the parties neglect attending you through the course of the enquiry they may be compelled to it by you.

P.S.—Permit me to recommend to your patronage Gunsam (Ghanasam?) Contoo Baboo's *gomastah* at Calna.

Nos. 314-21.

Dacca, 1774 16 April to Chas Croftes, *Sub-Treasurer*.

[Refers to Restitution Fund and W. Majendie and Wm. Aldersey.]

"	"	"	"	J. Cator to Bensley and Price.	Of no interest.
"	"	"	"	do. to Mr. Tulloh.	Relative to salt.
"	"	27 February		to W. M. Thackeray.	
"	"	14 April		to Capt. Elliker.	

[Printed in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. V, pp. 185-89.]

"	"	19	"	J. Cator to Bensley and Price.	Of no interest.
"	"	"	"	do. T. Tulloh.	do.
"	"	20	"	to Elias Abraham.	Salt business.

No. 322.

TO MR. MATHEW DAY.

Dacca,

The 20th April 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 14th, and your people inform me the *delolls* and *picars* you desire may be sent to settle their accounts with the weavers, have prepared *gomastahs* to go to you and that they now send them. A supply of treasure likewise to the amount of 80,000 sicca rupees is this day dispatched. The *perwannah* you require I have made out and enclose with its translation. I hope it will prove sufficiently full to answer the end proposed. To enable you to adjust the account of the weavers it becomes necessary to inform you what is the *dustoori* entered in the public accounts:

To the Company percentage on all advances of	...	19
Chief	...	18
Dewan	...	1
Office servants	...	6
Charity 1 rupee per thousand enoms 2 per thousand		
turns at	...	5

4.12 percentage on the investment.

The officer from the Phousdarry Adawlut has sometime since left Dacca and I do suppose must be arrived with you. I shall be obliged by your taking the Sonargong and Chaundpore *aurungs* in your way back and establishing the regulations proper for securing the investment at those places.

Nos. 323—28.

Dacca, 1774, 23 April.	J. Cator to George Robertson.	Betelnut business.
" " " "	Do. to Laver Oliver.	Do.
" " " "	Do. to Ewan Law.	Of business at Patna
" " 25 "	Do. to W. Barton.	Of no interest.
" " 26 "	Do. Do.	Do.
" " " "	Do. to W. Bensley.	Do.

No. 329.

To MR. E. TIRETTA.

DACCA,
26th April 1774.

DEAR SIR,

As Mr. Barwell will shortly return to and reside in Calcutta he begs you will proceed to make the additions to his Garden House; and, as he is anxious to have them completed as soon as possible, he desires me to inform you he will make you a present over and above the sum specified in your contract if you finish them in a short time, and begs to know when you can engage to complete them.

I am, dear Sir, etc.,
J. C.

Nos. 330-31.

Dacca, 1774, April 29.	To Bensley and Price.	
	[Remitting bill in favour of Mrs. Arden.]	
" " " 30.	To Chas. Croftes.	Of no interest.

No. 332.

TO WILLIAM BENSLEY AND JOSEPH PRICE, ESQs. DACCA,
2nd May 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

I am desired by Mr. Barwell to beg the favor of you to send for Mr. Tiretta and order him to take down all the cornish of the hall at his house in town and put up surze or repair it in such a manner that it may not be liable to fall again, as the state it is now in, it will be unsafe sitting in the hall; and, as the time of Mr. Barwell's return to Calcutta draws nigh, he begs no time may be lost in completing it.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most h'ble servant.
J. C.

No. 333-

Dacca, 1774. 4 May to Mathew Day Of no interest.

No. 334

To Mr. GEORGE HATCH.

Dacca,

6th May 1774

SIR,

I have received your letters of the 27th ultimo, and 2nd instant. In consequence of what you intimate respecting the obstructions given by the zemindars of Attya etc., I will send you in a few days a *perwannah* to each ordering them to deliver in to the *gomasta* a list of the looms and number of weavers in their separate districts. The purport of the public *perwannahs* of which you forwarded the copy is to prevent any persons forcing weavers against their inclination to receive the advances, but it by no means is to be perverted in the manner the zemindars appear to interpret it, to exclude all advances whatsoever. The weavers are at liberty to engage or not engage as servants of the public or individuals. This is to be left at their option and the zemindars etc. are on no account to interfere. I am sensible it is the interest of every zemindar and landholder throughout the country to prevent if possible the manufacturers who are likewise ryots, becoming the immediate servants of the Company. So intimate a connection with the Company bringing them immediately under the eye of an agent of the public whose particular province it becomes to attend to and take care of their interests must alarm the zemindars with a prospect that a large portion of their tenants may by this means be emancipated and secured forever from that oppressive power to which by prescription every zemindar pretends, and to which the poverty of the sufferers and the obstacles they meet with in obtaining redress forces them to submit. The plan, therefore, which I have adopted for the investment, it is impossible, can be pleasing to any of the landholders, for although it secures to the zemindars the revenue they are to receive from the weavers as cultivators of land, it removes the weavers beyond the reach of the zemindar's exactions. This being the case it is evidently calculated by the public orders issued to secure to the Company the service of the manufacturers of the country by rendering it particularly their interest to give their labors to the Company.

The letters from Dinagepur will shortly pass through you and the zemindars in consequence receive instructions from Mr. Lambert and his Council to repair to Dacca when you will have every power requisite to give success

to your commission and to enforce the regulations necessary. In the meantime I must desire you to secure any of the landholders who shall presume to obstruct or impede you in the execution of the duty you are sent upon.

The musters of 50 per cent. of cloths have been received and are now sorting, but it is improper to permit the weavers to protract the time or build expectations of exorbitant gain from the exigencies of the Company, but in this year you must press them to an explicit and immediate declaration and take care to withdraw from all who do not engage to supply the Company, the countenance of the Company, and give in their names to the officer of the Government. The musters and pieces of the cloths particularised to the *gomastah* when he went from hence leaves not to the weavers the shadow of a reason for the request they now prefer to have the 50 per cent. of cloths you have sent prized and returned before they engage for the delivery of what their looms can produce, and I must express myself not only much vexed with the folly or villanny of the people who influenced you to listen to the proposition, but am determined if I find the least obstruction to the investment to remove immediately every person from employ to whose particular charge it has been entrusted and supply their places with new servants.

The plea of the dearthness of cotton is ridiculous when you consider that it seldom rises or falls 10 rupees in the maund, and when this is compared with the weight of a single per cent. of cotton it is evident it can never affect the price half a rupee in the price. However as an encouragement to the manufacturer a premium of a percentage is fixed for all cloths which equal those fabricated in former times (that is Mr. Cartier's) and on the contrary if the cloths do not equal Mr. Cartier's no premium is to be given. Where an encouragement is offered it is with a view to amendment, and this end would not be insured if the same compensation was made without limitation or distinction and extended to all fabrics. The manufacturer who excels in his art and he who is deficient must never be placed on an equality, as it would destroy all competition in the exertion of their skill. As soon as the 50 per cent is prized they shall be sent to you.

With respect to *batta* on sicca rupees I cannot send you any positive instructions. Any innovation opposed by the prejudices of a whole people being dangerous and oppressive, however to render their currency as general as possible, I will enclose in my next letter a *perwannah* enjoining receipt of sicca rupees in payment of the revenue. That will probably facilitate your adjusting the *batta* on more advantageous terms than you otherwise might be enabled to do. If it has not the full effect, the Company must submit to what loss may arise on the advances in siccas, for the weavers must not suffer in this particular.

No private merchant can be supplied by the *gomastah* with any goods, but such as are rejected for the Company as being deficient in quality, length, or breadth, and such rejected goods are to be charged with a *dustori* of 10 per cent. and a proportion of the *aurung* charges on the whole investment and agreeably to their prizings the public *gomastah* is to replace their amount in his monthly accounts and deliver them to the agents of any private purchasers. And as this may be an object to the gentlemen to whose superintendence I have given the *aurungs*, if they judge it for their interest they may accept of commissions to supply private merchants from the farratted or rejected goods. For this purpose they will of course entertain an agent of their own, who, upon paying the *gomastah* the cost and charges of the goods, will receive them as they come in.

Nos. 335-36.

Dacca, 1774. April 31. To Capt. E. Elliker.

" May 2. To W. M. Thackeray.

[Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, pp. 186-90.]

No. 337.

TO JOHN GRAHAM, ESQ.

DACCA,

12th May 1774.

DEAR GRAHAM,

I am obliged by your attention to the subjects, I addressed you upon. Whatever may be the opinions of the majority of the Board that must prevail. The claim of Munnabar Dubbee I should not have noticed if I had not been convinced in my own mind that all the misfortunes of the family of Dayall Chowdhuri proceeded from the infamous contrivances of Aga Baker. The fame of the beauties of the daughter of Dayall Chowdhuri industriously propagated by that parasite and lusciously described to Murshed Cooly Cawn artfully interested his passions, and with the true spirit of the Prophet he determined the conversion of the Gebers (I think the Hindoos were so called formerly) with a peace offering in one hand and the sword of destruction in the other, he made his explanation of the *Alcoran* to the affrighted Hindoo. Drove to the utmost distress Dayall Chowdhuri flew from death or pollution the only alternative offered him, and being unable to defend his honour and his life, his desperation at last determined him to disappoint the lustful designs of his persecutor by inflicting a voluntary death on his daughter, the female part of his family and himself, hoping to extinguish

with his life the pretext upon which the zemindari might have been withheld from him. He was mistaken. His pretensions to make their infamy complete styled the opposition he had made rebellion and his sons were barred thereby succeeding to their father's rights. This is the story as I have heard it, and the facts are so notorious that at this distance of time they may be established by proof. In the *sunnud* granted to Aga Baker there is no deficiency of revenue nor any cause assigned for translating the zemindari, but the mere absence of the zemindar, and no one appearing to claim the succession. When Rajbullub came into power the defectiveness of this grant enabled him to influence Aga Baker's family to yield it up and to rest satisfied with their other acquisitions, for no purchase of the zemindari was ever effected by Rajbullub or any money paid. One was pretended. To elucidate this, the family of Aga Baker at this instant complain of the violence and oppression that wrested the zemindari of Burzurgomudpore out of their hands.

The reasons touching the reversion of the acts of former Governments and the revival of such ancient claims are all just and proper.

I am, Dear Graham.

Nos. 338—40.

Dacca, No date. To W. M. Thackeray.

[Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, p. 190.]

"	1774, May 13.	J. Cator to Bensley and Price.	Of no interest.
"	" " 12.	Do. to Wm. Bensley.	"

No. 341.

To the Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

President and Governor etc. Council, Fort William.

DACCA,

12th May 1774.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I received your commands of the 7th this instant requiring information of the measures pursued for the provision of Dacca investment and the nature of the engagement formed in consequence. Correcting my ideas of the mode I proposed for providing your goods by the sentiments expressed in your letter of the 7th March which did not reach me before the 20th of the same month, *gomastahs* have been appointed to superintend your interests at the different *aurungs* and the authority and intervention of the *dalolls* entirely laid aside. As so total a change might possibly have proved unequal in its

effects and at the same time judged it necessary to depute two of my assistants Mr. Day and Mr. Hatch to those *aurungs* situated at the greatest distance and of the most importance, and establish there the necessary regulations and influence the manufacturers by proper encouragement to engage in the service of the public. As scarce a month is elapsed since the agents arrived at their several stations, I have it not in my power at present to be so particular as I could wish. I must, therefore, request your patience for a few days longer, and as soon as I get from the *aurungs* an account of the engagements entered into, you may depend upon my transmitting to you the fullest intelligence. In the meantime I have the pleasure to intimate to you that the new mode for the provision of the investment appears to give much satisfaction to the weavers, and that your advances have been readily received at the different *aurungs* with such assurances of improving the fabrics that I am sanguine in my hopes of answering your expectations by the provision of a superior investment in quality and in quantity.

Exclusive of the mere provision of the goods I have considered the various charges to which they are subjected after their arrival at Dacca, and in order to fix therein a permanent manner I have computed at a medium of past years each separate charge and propose with your approbation an engagement within that medium to be entered into on behalf of the public with the head *Nurdeahs*, *Coondygurs*, *Chicundasses* etc., for the several branches of washing, dressing and flowered the cloths prepared for Europe.

The orders and instructions to the *gomastahs* with every other public paper respecting the new mode adopted for the investment shall be copied out and transmitted to you.

I am, Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient humble servant,

Nos. 342—50.

Dacca, 1774, May	16.	J. Cator to George Robertson.	Of no interest.
" " "	18.	Do. to Bensley and Price.	"
" " "	21.	Do. to Wm. Bensley.	"
" " "	21.	Bill of Exchange.	"
" " "	26.	To Capt. E. Elliker.	
" " "	26.	Do. do.	
" " "	26.	To W. M. Thackeray.	

[Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, pp. 191-92.]

" " "	26.	J. Cator to Laver Oliver.	Of no interest.
" " "	28.	Do. to Bensley and Price.	"

To Mr. GEORGE HATCH.

No. 351.

Dacca,

28th May 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose you extract of my letter of the 20th April to Mr. Day by which you will perceive what charge was incurred at Dacca on the investment. This charge I have reduced from 4.12 to 3 per cent. and directed the Dewan to intimate it to the *gomastas* and which I imagine is the matter you mention. The *Peiarree* being an *aurung* charge is entirely distinct. The weavers have nothing to do with any charge but the *Peiarree*. The charges of servants etc., *dustorees*, is from the public and to be divided like all other public charges as charges merchandize or the investment. Whenever you choose to visit Dacca I shall be glad to see you. Take care how you act towards the French. The officer of Government stationed at Dumroy is the only man who should talk to the agents of Foreign Companies, or indeed to the agents of any merchants.

No. 352.

To the Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

Dacca,

31st May 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I am this instant favoured with your letter of the 27th giving cover to one of Mr. Chevalier's of the 17th.

The public orders issued for the provision of the Company's investment I send enclosed for your perusal, and nothing in those orders I apprehend will countenance or suggest a complaint from any of the Foreign Companies. I likewise forward to you an agreement entered into by the weavers of the one of the *aurungs* (Dacca) upon their engaging into the Public Service. The inducement which they have to become manufacturers to the English Company in preference to other merchants is obvious and clear, nor has there been (I can assure you) the least compulsive power used to influence the weavers to the service. So far from it that some who have been ejected for misconduct have anxiously solicited a readmission to an employ fraught with so many benefits to themselves and families. The whole train of *delolls*, farmers of the revenue, zemindars and talukdars, you will instantly discern, must all be connected in point of interest, because they are all deprived by the Regulations of participating the profits of the manufacturer in which hitherto they have all shared. If we are to judge from the natural consequences of known causes the price of all clothes for 6 years past is greatly

enhanced. The materials of manufacture here are very little dearer than in former times. Wages of workmen scarcely, if anything, increased, and yet the manufacturer is, if possible, more indigent. Where then has sunk the enormous difference of between 50 and 60 per cent. in the price of all Dacca goods? Without doubt, with the *delolls*, farmers of the revenue, etc. An exemption of course from these drains is a sufficient lure to the manufacturer who perceives an establishment made and precautions taken which are to operate wholly in his favour, and which can no longer exist than while it affords him those advantages and that security he is to drive from them. From the weavers' engagements you will perceive no restriction is laid on the sale or purchase of any cloth but such as the English Company previously advance for. The advances the weavers have an option to receive or decline, but once received they stand engaged to perform the service for which it is given. As I know of no *perwannahs* or *machuteas* but of the nature here defined, it is probable Mr. Chevalier must be misinformed, or it may be possible, though I cannot think it, that the *gomastahs* have stepped beyond the line my orders authorise.

The relation given by Mr. Chevalier's *gomastah* is all the invention of the man, for I neither saw him or did personally exchange a word with him. When he came to the factory and would have intruded himself I directed a servant in waiting to enquire his business, who returned with a *perwannah* of Mr. Chevalier's appointing the man agent for the purchase of cloths account of the French and he intimated that the person wanted an order to the *Tantees* (*Tantees*) to receive his advances. Upon this I ordered my servant to return the *perwannah* and to tell the man if that was his only business. The Regulations of the Government were in force and he might make his advances where and to whom he pleased, that if in the course of his business he had occasion to complain, it was not to me but to the Court of Adawlut he must make his application, or he might apply to the Nawab Jesseraut Cawn.

The day following some of the weavers engaged for your investment were forcibly carried to the French Factory and advances proposed to be made to them through the medium of the *delolls* who pretend to have large claims on the weavers, while the weavers on the contrary advance claims on their account of short payments. They answered they were engaged by the English Company and could not provide cloth for the French without the permission of the English Chief. This transaction the weavers complained of, saying if they were liable to be taken from their habitation by people with whom they had not any connection their manufactures would suffer. I in consequence told them that if the same authority was again attempted to be exerted over them, they would upon lodging their complaints in the Phousdary Court receive full redress. This the weavers intimated they would do to the

French *gomastah*, and since then I have not received a complaint from the *Dacca aurung*, though I have from others, Dumroy in particular where the influence of the French name has been used to exact a sum of money claimed by a *deloll* account, old outstanding balances. This is mentioned in a letter of Mr. Hatch's, and that the money which had been recovered in this manner and reobtained by him by an application to the Adawlut, was the sum he had advanced a day or two before and marked by the shroff. From this you will judge the dangerous tendency of the French pretensions to weavers engaged in the English service. And what an object it is to the French to stand forth in the part of the *delolls*, now become useless instruments to you in the provision of your investment.

I am, with truth, My Dear Sir,

Your obedient humble servant.

Translate of the MACHULCA given by the Dacca weavers engaged for the Company's service at the Dacca aurung.

We received *Dadney* or advance of Putton for the Dooreas, etc., cloths from the Factory of Dacca which cloths are to be full in lengths and breadths and agreeable to the musters, and patterns and a proper number of threads to be put therein. We are to deliver as much cloth as we can weave of the Putton and Coshkaried. We will not receive advances from other merchants nor will we make any sales to other merchants whilst we have advances of the *Sirkars* in our hands and should we act contrary we are subject to a *Gunnahgarrey* to the *Sircar*.

Signed by the following persons:

Ramdass, Chaund, Juggoololl, Nursing, Gour Kishore Nundun Fatteah, Hurry Narain, Goopey, Khosaul, Neetoo, Anundee, Gopaul, Fatteah, Ramchurn, Jebunbungey, Soonah, Calloo, Rangocul, Aputtick, Pummoo, Jebunkissen, Raddoo, Nandoo, Roygey, Bussunt, Perretia, Roopchandsaw, Doyaram, Muddub, Hurgovind, Bandoo, Roygey, Gocul, Samoo, Roopchand, Chand, Setul, Juddogovind, Bochy, Khosaul, Soonamunny, Moyaram, Hurrinarain, Ramoogey, Gopaul, Jussey, Rajah, Coogoomohun, Rassoo, Lohah, Anundy, Samboo, Nubbah, Juggernaut, Bindah, Motoorah, Sammoobanda Chand, Tamah Roygey, Raddoo, Bandabun, Buddun, Daggoo, Maugun Golah, belonging to the village of Omerpore etc. close to the town of Dacca.

No. 353.

To the Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

JAFFER GUNGE

15th June 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I am this instant favoured with your letter of the 10th enclosing Mr. Chevalier's address of the 4th. You tell me that from the materials with



GAYA. VISHNU PAD TEMPLE.



GAYA TOWN.



GAYA TOWN.

Photos by Walter K. Firminger.

which I have furnished you, a complete reply to the French complaints cannot well be made. As I shall shortly be with you possibly as soon as this letter which must go to Dacca to proceed to you by the *dawks*, may I hope to have a personal communication with you. Though I alone who am particularly involved and am responsible equally to you and to the Company for those interests I am charged with being properly regulated and secured, the period is fast approaching when the Company will concentrate all their views and hopes of benefit to their trades, to put this on the most eligible footing and to give them very advantage they have, in my opinion, a right to over foreigners and others, should, is and will remain (in which I concur with you) one of my first objects. Let us then canvass this matter more copiously than be done by letter, for having the same end we probably differ but in the means. I in the meantime forward your letter to the Inspector of the Dacca *aurungs* directing him to dismiss from their engagements every weaver who is desirous of and prefers the service of the French or others, taking from the advances they have received in goods and to purchase no more goods from those men.

No. 354.

TO MR. DAY,

15th June 1774.

Inspector of the Dacca, etc. 3 aurungs.

SIR,

Enclosed I transmit you a complaint preferred by Mr. Chevalier and I have in consequence to direct that whatever weavers prefer the French or any other service to the Company's, you will immediately receive in cloth to the amount of the advance already made and employ those people no more, but if the complaint is untrue upon an examination of the parties let them deliver in the particulars of what passed that it may be opposed to the tale related by the French.

No. 355.

TO MR. MORONY.

DACCA,

23rd August 1774.

SIR,

I am desired by Mr. Barwell to acquaint you that as he is reducing his commercial concerns and from the new station he is lately appointed to he is prohibited from all trade, consequently will not have occasion for any

loans of money, and that it is, therefore, not convenient to keep Mr. Derby Grady's moneys in his hands longer at interest, but as the Company are not in want of money, and if they did an interest of only 5 per cent. would be allowed which Mr. Barwell thinks would not suit Mr. Grady to accept whilst it can be lent out to a safe and good man at 9 or 10 per cent. and as he himself deemed Mr. Dacres to be such Mr. Barwell begs (if it meets your approbation) that you will make an offer to him of all the money of Mr. Grady's in his hands on a bond bearing 9 or 10 per cent. interest according as you can agree with him and Mr. Barwell will give orders to his attorneys for payment of the money.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

J. CATOR.

Nos. 356-63.

Dacca, 1774, August 22.	To Henry Goodwin, Chief of Chittagong.	Of no interest.
" " "	23. J. Cator to Wm. Barton.	"
" " "	26. Bill of Exchange.	"
" " "	26. J. Cator to Bensley and Price.	Of no interest.
" " "	29. To Francis Peacock.	"
[States his indebtedness to R. B. for Rs. 1,12,757 in salt business.]		
" " "	29. Bill of Exchange.	"
" " "	31. To Bensley and Price.	Of no interest.
" " Sept: 8.	To William Bensley.	"

No. 364.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, Esq.

DACCA,

The 1st September 1774.

Dear Beaumont,

I am obliged by your letters of the 24th November and 16th December 1773. I will make the inquiry you point out respecting Respondentia on the French Company's ships, but as every species of art is used to extract money from the English, I must be very careful and certain I am not deceived in the security which is to answer the Respondentia to be lent, for as you are so very particular, I shall not let the money go out of my hands until I have ascertained the security for it is really such as you mention. Should any of your monies be lent to the French, you will be advised in time to effect an insurance. As

a little more regularity in the disbursements of the Presidency and further savings must undoubtedly lessen the public debt at interest, it is more than probable the Board will at last be compelled to adopt my visionary scheme of lowering the interest on the public loans to five per cent.—a scheme by which I drew upon myself no small degree of reflection. And as I took all the merit of it to myself without participating with the Council, I met with an unanimous opposition from all the members. However, the following advice will evince I was right. The notes of '70 have been discharged and publication made for calling in those of '71. A doubt arising of the public ability to effect this it was intimated the Treasury would be open for loans at five per cent. Upon this intimation (which was afterwards declared to be made without public authority) a variety of tenders were made of monies at five per cent. and rejected upon the plea that the public did not want to borrow money nor had published for loans at that rate. In short a pretext (nothing more) was proposed to be deduced by such a proceeding entirely for disappointing the Company and making my proposition to appear wholly speculative and by no means practicable. But in this the gentlemen were deceived, for under all discouraging circumstances and a positive declaration that the Board meant not to take any monies that should be offered at five per cent, the first step towards calling in the bonds spite of themselves produced tenders of money sufficient to shew that they could, if they pleased, have reduced the whole public debt from 8 to 5 per cent. on the day they began to call in the bonds. The contradictions in the last resolutions of the Board are so curious that you will possibly think the extract enclosed worthy your perusal. The public finances being in so good a situation and the reduction of interest on loans become unavoidable, you must, Beaumont, by some means or other draw your monies out of my hands. Besides, as I have not lately kept my health so well as heretofore, I may be obliged despite of my inclinations to take a trip to Europe, in which case I would not by any means advise its remaining in India. The expenses of the Settlement are so excessive and no person choosing to retrench lest it impair his credit, that a very few years will reduce a man from opulence to beggary should he meet with misfortune. From the steps I have taken to realise money in England you may perceive my determined resolution of leaving nothing behind me that I can put my fingers upon when I am about to leave this country, for I think it is better to realise a certain fortune however small than to live on expectations that are subject to disappointment. I have given you my sentiments on your money concerns and request your positive instructions in what manner I am to dispose of them. I see no opportunity at present, and if none offers, shall I send you the whole in bullion or how?

I am sensible of the kindness of your intentions and convinced from the

friendship you have indulged me with that you will consult my advantage solely in not returning the French bills protested. I entirely approve of what you have hitherto done in that respect, but enjoin you if the bills are not wholly paid when this letter arrives, you will return them protested for such part as remains due or compel the parties who may be in Europe to complete their discharge. I flatter myself, however, from your account of the bills that the whole will be paid with the interest due upon them before this letter reaches you, because it is more than probable should the bills be returned they will come to my hands when Middleton shall have left Bengal. The insolvency of Middleton, Ellis and Chevalier in case of a French war is in my opinion very probable, besides the two former may become so by the want of principle in the latter. A demurr to the payment of the bill may be made by Chevalier and should Middleton and Ellis proceed to compel him the transaction is capable of being litigated to their ruin and disappointment. Look to Mr. Dupleix. What Englishman received satisfaction from him and then consider the possibility how Mr. Law and Chevalier may be treated by the French Government. They never can be free men, they are the creatures of the Ministry, and their wealth is in the power of the Crown.

In the bill I send home for the proceeds of coral I will try to pass some of your money. The bill, as you direct, shall be payable to you and you, my good friend, must secure me by a proper investment.

My sister is so very sanguine in all her pursuits that I hope you will excuse the seeming importunity and impatience of her applications to you. She ought to know I am sure my confidence and reliance upon you and I am sure she entertains a respect for you as my friend. If, therefore, she has given you offence, excuse it for my sake. You really, Beaumont, do not flatter yourself in supposing my sentiments of friendship for you the same as ever; it would be an injustice to me to think otherwise.

Annexed I send you a sketch of the monies which should have passed through your hands and will remain with you.

I am etc.,

The purport of what appears upon the public records of the Bengal Presidency between the 10th February and beginning of May 1773 respecting the reduction of the debt at interest and lowering the premium of interest on that debt.

"The Board wanted to pay off their bond debt and finding that many persons were desirous of lending their money to the Company at five per cent. it was thought an eligible way to receive as much at this rate as could not be supplied from their own resources to enable them to discharge the bonds of a prior date to December 1770, which in the whole amounted to near 13 lacks, but no publication was made that the Council would receive money at 5

per cent; it was done merely by order to the Sub-Treasurer to receive all that should be tendered at that rate of interest.

The bonds prior to December 1770 being discharged it was doubtful whether a sum equal to the amount of the bonds of 1771, which is very considerable, would be offered at the Treasury at 5 per cent. It was, therefore, resolved to stop all receipts, but that the Sub-Treasurer should take an account of all monies tendered and report whether they nearly amounted to the sum of the bonds in question."

Account of the monies and securities of Richard Barwell in the hands of his attorneys, Messrs. Beaumont and Lyecester.

November 30th, 1771.

Balance of account in Mr. Beaumont's hands but not signed

by him or Mr. Lyecester	...	...	£470-18-3
Bank stock £1,000 consol valued at 87	870-

1,340-18-3

The balance of my father's legacy about	1,773-1-7
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My mother's jointure, my 11th share of 33,400 consol Bank stock valued at what my late brother Roger's share sold for	2,646-13-7
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Prime cost of a remittance by Captain George Thompson	1,262-5-9
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Chevalier's Bill running at interest—months' after sight	11,666-13-4
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Remittance by Captain Mercer <i>via</i> China in Company's Bills	3,499-9-10
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A bond of Capt. Deffel's payment acknowledged	400-
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L. Oliver's Bill on R. Ladbroke	100
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Bill on the Company transmitted December 1772	4,100
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2 Bills of Ellis's on Mayne and Needham each for £11,250 running at interest—months' after sight	22,500
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£49,289-2-4

President and Council of Fort William Bill in favor of Lt.-Col.

Morgan endorsed to me for	820
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£50,109-2-4

Orders of Richard Barwell to be paid by Messrs. Beaumont and

Lyecester: Bills in favor Senior and Jeykll	9,025-15-11
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Order in favor Mrs. Barwell	4,000
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Do. Do. Do.	20,000
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Balance remaining with my attorneys	17,085-6-5
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£50,109-2-4

N. B. I take no notice of my letters of credit in favor of Mr. Henry Frederick Thompson or the sum of £600 Capt. Morgan has taken up, because I do suppose the interest on my monies and securities will amply provide for them and every incidental charge. Errors excepted.

No. 365.

TO W. BENSLEY AND J. PRICE, ESQS.

DACCA,

28th September 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

In consequence of Mr. Lambert's death Mr. Barwell begs the favour of you to take the necessary measures to recover the balance due on the decrees he obtained in December last against Mr. Lambert, which being done in his life-time Mr. Barwell does not doubt of being first paid in preference to any other creditor who may now recover judgments against his estate after his death; for further information on this head be pleased to refer to Mr. Brix.

One Sabdy who was formerly serang of Mr. Barwell's pinnace but acted latterly only as a tyndal ran away a few day ago much in debt to the *Princes'* crew, and it is imagined he is gone to Calcutta. Mr. Barwell therefore begs the favour of Mr. Price to order an enquiry to be made after him, and if found to secure him or send him to Dacca by some safe conveyance.

J. CATOR.

No. 366.

DACCA,

TO MR. FRANCIS PEACOCK.

28th September 1774.

SIR,

Your letter of the 1st September reached me a few days ago, and I am sorry it affords me so much reason to retract the confidence I placed in your words at the period of time. You influenced me to make you an advance for the quantity of 2000 timbers. You may remember, Sir, that you told me at the time that most part of the wood was lying at Nowabgunge, and that I might depend on the whole being passed the Jellingee as soon as the rivers opened to allow their passage through that river. Upon this information I proposed to you an immediate despatch of 1000 of the timbers to Dacca as boats might go there at any season of the year, and as the timber was ready for despatch it would prove equally convenient to you and me. You acquiesced to the proposition with a readiness that gave assurance of

the sincerity of your intentions to answer my expectations. And depending on your promise when I came to Dacca I engaged for the delivery of these 1000 timbers, not doubting but they would arrive with me by the month of March. I was deceived not only in this, but likewise in admitting you to extend the period of time by which the wood was all to have been delivered to the month of December in your written agreement, which you may remember I was induced to do solely upon your representing to me that from unavoidable delays it might so happen that you could not import all the wood so early in the season as you had proposed in conversation, a circumstance which in case of accident to me might occasion all the wood you did import to be returned upon your hands, because there might be a small balance unimported, and this you said you wished to avoid the possibility of, for although you were sufficiently apprised and confident that I could not take such an advantage to annul the contract, you could not tell what might happen in case of accidents to me and my affairs falling into the hands of attorneys. Having recapitulated these facts I need only request you to revert to them and to ask yourself whether I have reason to be satisfied or dissatisfied with your conduct in fulfilling your timber contract.

Your bond for 80000 A. Rs. I have received. There is no time specified for its payment nor is it expressed payable on demand. How far this may affect its validity is a question my lawyer must solve. Before I received it I had written to my attorneys enclosing an account of the salt and transmitting a bond for you to execute as I expected, you were shortly to be in Calcutta. The answer was incomplete as one of your receipts for the salt was wanting to fix the period of its arrival. When you go to Calcutta you will receive the account.

Nos. 367-68.

Dacca, 1774. Sept. 30. Bills of Exchange.

Of no interest.

No. 369.

To the Hon^{ble} WARREN HASTINGS.

DACCA,

29th September 1774.

HON^{BLE} SIR,

I enclose you an address from Lieutenant Ardens and request the favour of you to order a General Court Martial on the Jemidar complained against, as the officers of his corps are his prosecutors and cannot without subjecting the Service to much difficulty attend here. The Station of Chittagong and

Luckipore will supply what few officers may be necessary to add to those at Dacca to form the Court. You will possibly ask why cannot the Dacca Sepoy Officers as well be sent to Chittagong or Luckipore as officers from thence to Dacca. Because the Dacca Station will in no case be left without officers and a few from Chittagong only are necessary.

Nos. 370—76.

Dacca, 1774.	Oct. 6.	J. Cator to Wm. Barton.	Of no interest.
"	"	" 9.	"
"	no date.	" to R. W. Wood.	"
"	"	" to Chas. Parling.	"
"	1774. Oct. 27.	" to Geo. Robertson.	"
"	"	" 30.	"
"	"	" to Andrew Morony.	"
"	Nov. 10.	" to R. W. Wood.	"
"	"	" 28.	"
"	"	" to A. Morony.	"

No. 377.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA.

The 30th November 1774.

MY DEAR SISTER,

Since my last letters I have been at leisure to examine the account you sent me under date the 9th April 1773. The remarks which occur to me upon them you will find in a separate paper enclosed. You will perceive your accounts are only deficient in mercantile method and in that clearness and perspicuity required in accounts, which for want of it must always be unintelligible excepting to the persons who are fully acquainted with the transactions on which they are founded, and a little method becomes now more necessary from the importance of the sums which fall under your management, and which will increase as opportunities of remitting my fortune to Europe may offer.

In my letter of the 10th September 1773, I proposed to share with my brother James in half and half proportions whatever might be the amount of my deceased brother's estate in England, and after such division to have paid him whatever balance might be due of the legacy of £20,000 in Bengal. In my letter of 20th October, I altered that intention thinking from a letter wrote to me by James that he would rather receive the whole amount of his legacy in India, and I was the more induced to this, because I was anxious to throw into your hands as much money as possible in order to prevent any diminution of that consequence which I judged might depend upon your having a ready

command of money which otherwise you would not have had, as the property of our family to a large amount was locked up and useless by Sir George Colebrooke's failure. In this persuasion and under the apprehension that the bills I had sent to my attorneys might be returned I sent home on the shipping of last season at a great loss specie to remedy any difficulty you might labor under for want of cash.

By your letters lately received I find the bill of Chavalier's belonging to Roger's estate has been delivered to our brother James, and that he has received upon it five thousand odd hundred pounds. From this I conclude that James has changed his mind and wishes to have the whole of his legacy paid in England. I think some consideration is due to me in this particular, and that James should share with me as I at first proposed especially as he will have an opportunity of realising what may be due upon the legacy and paid in India by his voyage to Bengal. This I expect he will acquiesce in, as I have so amply considered him in the proposition, and he knows I am under the greatest difficulties in obtaining remittances for my own fortune and more so, as the remittances I made for Roger might have been effected for myself and would have been but from consideration to Roger who wrote to me pressing to send him some money. For these reasons I look to your holding for me whatever may be the half porportion of the estate of my deceased brother in England, but should James want money for his voyage it is my desire he may be supplied by you upon his bond.

I shall now proceed to state what monies of mine ought to come into your hands if the orders on my attorneys in your favor, remittances and orders for remittances are made good.

Orders on my attorneys of which you have received £10000	
as per advice from Mr. Beaumont	24000
Specie remitted in the course of last season computed to coin at least	11000
A Bill of Exchange on Potter in your favor drawn by Price	1500
The half of the estate of our deceased brother computed	9591-6-7
The balance of my account proper of April 1773 the credit is £449-16—the debit £59-5-2: balance is	390-10-10
Total	£46,481-17-5

Doubtful remittances, *via* :—

Exclusive of these sums I sent to China Rs. 48,357 if a remittance from thence is effected it will not produce less and possibly more than	£5000
By the shipping of this year <i>via</i> Bombay about	1100
Total of what will be my fortune in your hands if every remittance is made good	£52581-17-5

This statement which is clear and explicit depends as to justness upon the realising the several articles of which it is composed, but whether all the articles shall be fully realised or not, I trust such a number of them will as to afford a fund the interest of which will yield me a handsome annual income. And from this income I appropriate the sum of £400 per annum to be received by you for your own and sole use and do hereby authorise you to receive the same and debit my account for it annually in quarterly payments looking upon it to all intents and purposes to be fixt irrevocably to you for your life, and if you survive me to be at your own free will and disposal by legal testimony to whomsoever you may choose to bequeath it at your demise. A deed for this purpose as soon as I arrive in Calcutta shall be drawn, but in case of any accident to me before that period I hereby declare the gift to be made in as full and ample a manner as if mentioned in my will and testament which may appear after my demise. And my executors or administrators are hereby enjoined to attend to the same and to deliver into your hands or any person duly authorised by you Bank stock the principal of which shall at the time of making over such stock yield at least four hundred pounds per annum to be at your own and entire disposal as you shall think proper to appropriate it.

In my letter of ——— I desired my attorneys, Messrs. Beaumont and Leicester, to pay you annually £400 per annum (four hundred pounds.) This order I now cancell and revoke, as the payment of the said sum is now vested in your own hands and will from henceforth be made by yourself to yourself. Of this you will give information to my attorneys by transmitting them an extract of my letter or by such other manner as you may think proper.

When I was in Calcutta in July last, Col. McLean mentioned to me the obligation he lay under to you for the loan you made to him, that he had it not in his power to liquidate it before, but would take the present opportunity which the Company's limited indulgences of remittances to their servants afforded him to pay off what he could. You may, therefore, expect by the shipping of the present season Company's bills, if not for the whole, at least of a part of the Colonel's debt. When the Colonel spoke to me on this subject he dwelt with much warmth on your kindness, expressed concern at the possibility of his having created to you some inconvenience by the payment of his notes being unavoidably delayed. It was, however, some ease he added for him to know your money was secured by the insurance upon his life; otherwise he should have felt the severest uneasiness and some anxiety of mind on that account when his health lately was in so declining a state. I replied to the Colonel as to an obligation, Sir, I apprehend such to be conferred by you on my family in services rendered to me in securing

those essential points my friends had in view to obtain for me from the Company and begged he would permit me to repeat the thanks I expressed to him when I first saw him for the part he had taken in my concerns. I then added that I had received letters from you covering attested copies of his bonds with a power to see the obligations answered when he might be in a capacity to do it, but that it was not my intention to have mentioned the subject. My reliance on his honor and the sense of the services he had rendered me being such as to assure me that when it suited his convenience I should doubtless hear from him. With many other civil and friendly expressions our conversation on this topic terminated, and I make no doubt, fully to his satisfaction, as I hope and think it will be to yours who are most materially concerned, though I do not conceive as matters are circumstanced you have the least reason to be apprehensive on the score of Colonel MacLean's debt. You shall, however, hear further from me as soon as I can ascertain the amount of the remittance the Colonel determines to make.

Your repeated recommendation to me to accord with Hastings, if possible, was not necessary, as I can assure you upon my honor the occasions of difference between us that did exist were not sought for by me, but proceeded wholly from the jealousy of his own temper which cannot yield to another the least share of reputation that might be derived in the conduct of his Government. Unreasonable as it may be he expects the abilities of all shall be subservient to his views and implicitly rely upon him for the degree of merit, if any, he may be pleased to allow them in the administration of Government. A character that did not depend on the credit it should bear in the public estimation on his praise, could not of course stoop to rest its pretensions merely on his approval, nor can I trace that to his contemporaries even he has vouchsafed to give the credit or merit of any of the public measures. The new system, however, is to affect his Government. The wishes of our mutual friends and my own inclinations have effected the point which otherwise would have been labored at in vain, and with MacLean's and Stewart's endeavours concurring I flatter myself an uninterrupted cordiality may be established. Sincere on my part I am sure it will rest with Hastings to preserve or to break it, while the determined line of conduct I pursue shall point out to my friends and Mr. Sullivan in particular, the dependence that may be placed on me, and with how great a degree of confidence they may rely upon a steady and invariable attention in me to the views of my friends. Pique and resentment and every other weakness or improper bias of the mind is so simple an ingredient in the composition of a character that I am surprised when I hear of men who allow its influence to lead them in opposition to their best friends. As for myself I can safely say that whatever my resentment may be, and however much I may detest a man, I should not scruple

to answer any expectations formed by my friends, or feel a repugnance in acting with him, because I should always keep in mind in that case that I did not ask for him, but acted with him for those to whom I am under an obligation to render utmost services. A communication both with Purling and Sullivan on this point I would recommend, in which you will take an opportunity of vouching that in a political capacity I am free from the influence of any particular resentments, and that my first and only object ever was and is to act consistent with reason and discretion and to pursue with deviation in those views which I once adopt of my friends. This being intimated by you will have more weight than all the letters I write for the intimacy of friendship in which we have lived, may naturally be supposed to have given you the most perfect knowledge of my character and disposition.

As to the succession which you write me you are flattered with by Mr. Robinson. It is so very distant that I at present do not think of waiting. I confess it is an honor I should be proud of, and could it be ascertained to me I would doubtless wait for it, but it is so precarious that I can scarcely indulge the thought. I like India it is true, but as I cannot help esteeming it a kind of banishment, the only inducement for me to stay in it now is the hope of some degree of credit in the administration of the new Government. If I see no prospect of this or of serving the friends I have in India you will certainly see me before the expiration of my five years.

The propensity which you point out among the ruling parties in England to take advantage of every incident they can obtain a knowledge of to promote particular ends without attending to them further than as a means to profit themselves at the expense of the gentlemen in India, that I cannot but be anxious respecting my correspondence with Mr. Russell and references to the Council of Calcutta on that occasion, and to request even if that has been spoken of by you, it may now to the utmost of your power be suppressed and lost in oblivion, for it being a good deal of a private nature and likely to give an opening to question individuals as well as the administration without doing me the least service. It is most prudent to let the whole matter pass over. The friends of Dr. Russell and others, I think, must wish it, and it is as discreet to make as few enemies as possible. Besides Hastings must naturally be angered by it as well as Graham, while the public cannot receive any advantage from it as things are circumstanced.

My letters already with you in England have communicated my ideas on the practicability of lowering the premium of interest from 8 to 5 per cent. on the Company's bond debt in Bengal. What I foresaw has come to pass that the state of affairs here would oblige the Government to lessen its debt and by contracting it immediately point out to the Direction the justness of the grounds on which I promulgated the scheme and the futility of the

objections that were urged against it because it was mine. It is the nature of many things to discover themselves, and where the magnitude of them points out the impossibility of concealment, it is a strange perverseness to imagine that an attempt at deception will not be detected and exposed. I give you what has passed at the Council Board respecting the Company's bond debt in Bengal with my animadversions on the proceedings in a separate paper enclosed, and this may be communicated to any friends you think proper, as the subject is of so very public a nature.

The war in which the Vizier, Suja-ul-Dowla, is engaged with the Rohilla Chiefs, and for the prosecution of which he applied to our Government for aid, is from the very nature of the connexion and the subject itself likely to be placed in a variety of views to the animadversions of people in England, for the object may be seen in different lights and descanted upon according to the partial prejudice of individuals unacquainted with the first principle of good policy in every state, the increase of its internal strength and its powers of external defence. To accomplish the first a well-regulated economy and military force that can act upon the offensive, is necessary; to effect the last, a barrier strong against all foreign powers and weak as to the English Government, must be obtained; and to do this the Government need only introduce its own military forces into the establishments of the neighbouring princes, who in proportion to the number of English troops they entertain, must make a reform of their own, and, of course, when the English withdraw their troops, the diminution that was made in their own when the English were in their pay and service, will leave them entirely defenceless against the English; while during the time they continue the English troops on their establishments, they will be proportionately strong and respectable against every other power. Suja-ul-Dowla from our assistance will not in fact become stronger as to us while he pays nearly one fourth of our whole military expenses and engages to compensate the Company with 40 lacks. For this consideration an entire brigade acts in the field as his auxiliaries and is now employed in limiting and fixing the Rohilla power. The scene is confined to the northern banks of the Ganges, it being expressly stipulated that the English troops do not pass the river. In this situation our military force continues without any diminution, and, in an instant, may be called within the limits of our own provinces. In the mean time the part that is on service is paid by a foreign power, the whole expence is saved to us and 40 lacks besides put into our Treasury. This is certainly an object and a very consequential one when money is so much wanted and so much called for.

Mr. Baillie is arrived and with him his very curious appointment. I conceive the whole to have sprung from his own bewildered imagination and the idea of duping the public. I told him very plainly that my wish to

oblige him on account of my sister Fanny would (as he might be assured) induce me to exert myself to obtain him a public nomination to Gualparah, and in any other way to assist his views there, but that I would on no pretence countenance any attempt he might make to possess himself of the Company's property to answer his own purposes. He is now nominated to Gualparah, and the prosecution of the trade left to his own discretion with his own means, but as I fear, as the publick do not entrust their property to his management and engage not in the commerce of Gualparah, that Mr. Baillie will find himself extremely mistaken, and that Gaulparah is not such a Peru to him as he wished to make the Directors think it might be made to the Company.

The foregoing was written a month ago. Since then the members of the new Government and all your subsequent letters to me are arrived. I imagined from the hints you gave me to have found General Clavering as well as Messrs. Monson and Francis firmly disposed to co-operate with the Governor-General. I was, of course, surprised to find that on so early a day as the second of our meeting, measures should be proposed indicating the most hostile intentions towards the Governor-General and on a subject which it was impossible those gentlemen could be masters of, as they had neither time nor means to inform themselves of its nature or the variety of matters involved. Without reading the records or condescending to ask information, propositions were offered and voted upon with all the precipitancy which the gentlemen impute to their zeal and apprehensions for the orders of the Company and the public safety, but which I place to the account of a predetermined preconcerted system of opposition or rule to be carried on by these three gentlemen. And that they immediately attacked the Rohilla war and censured the late administration upon it, because they censured the Governor-General most valuable there, or at least that it was the best field for argument and caviling that offered. When I can methodise the facts into a kind of narrative I will give them to you connectedly; till then you must be satisfied with my telling you that on this occasion I am with the Governor-General whose ideas are certainly right, whatever light they may be represented in, and whatever may be thought of them in Europe. As to the first engagements that is another question on which the Company must have decided long since, and could not be considered when the consequences alone deriving from them were the objects of deliberation. The measure which had produced certain consequences was past and could not be revoked. The consideration then could only be whether we should benefit from a measure impossible to be retracted or not benefit from it. If we are to benefit from it, reason undoubtedly points to the pursuit of the most probable means of securing those benefits, and to this end are all my arguments on the side of the Governor-General.

The style, words and manner of Mr. Francis's minutes are very blameable, and as Hastings felt himself much hurt and seemed to wish me to touch upon the indignity he suffered, I have taken occasion to notice it, so as to point it out to the public without giving cause of offence to Mr. Francis, either by the harshness of my manner, or by my expression of disapprobation. It is difficult to surmise how these jarrings will terminate if they continue. It is easy to see that the public business must be obstructed in a great degree, as every measure proposed will be regarded with that diffidence and distrust inseparable from the minds of men determined on a systematical opposition.

Adieu for the present and, believe me, with the most unfeigned attachment, My dear Sister etc.

Remarks on Mrs. Mary Barwell's account with Richard Barwell dated 9th April 1773.

In Mrs. Barwell's account with Richard Barwell she debits herself for the following loans without its appearing on the face of the account from whence the money was procured.

On a promissory note on demand 6th October 1772	...	950
Cash lent for £1,500 East India stock @ 162½ with com- mission 1-17-6	... ..	2435-12-6
Richard Barwell's proper accounts could be stated thus. To his credit the balance due to him on the last account and the further receipts of money to April 1773 as is done in Mrs. Barwell's account	... ..	449-16
The balance of the estate of Roger Barwell transferred to credit of Richard Barwell the heir	... ..	2047- 6-6½
		<hr/> 2497- 2-6½
From this amount the articles disbursed by Mrs. Barwell for Richard Barwell should be deducted	... ..	59- 5-2
		<hr/> 2437-17-4½
Difference between the loans and Richard Barwell's means to make loans to such an amount	... ..	947-15-1½

Therefore by placing this balance to the debit of Richard Barwell and credit of Mrs. B. it appears as if she had never received the money. If this was the case, and it cannot be traced that it was not the case, for what reason is a sum of money said to be borrowed that was never lent? If it was borrowed it must have first been borrowed on account of Richard Barwell and from him by Mrs. Mary Barwell. In this case he should have been credited for the money taken up in his name and his account would have appeared

clear. But as the account stands at present Mrs. Barwell passed a note the 6th October 1772 for £950 and to the 9th April 1773 she had only received upon it £2-4-10½ there being due at this time upon the note she passed £947-15-1½ to make up the loan of £950

Accounts of the estate of Roger Barwell should have all the particular disbursements necessarily incurred inserted in them as far as those disbursements relate to debts etc. incurred by Roger Barwell and the account should be signed by Mrs. Barwell executrix by appointment of Richard Barwell sole executor.

Besides the cash account of the estate a list of all bills, bonds and securities is requisite.

The estate of Roger Barwell from the papers before Richard Barwell stands thus:

James Barwell the amount of his receipt	...	...	1500
Richard Barwell the balance of the estate's cash account			2047-6-6½

List of Bills and Securities.

Chevalier's Bill 1772 running at	interest	
months' after sight, this bill endorsed Robinson and Crawford		2968-13-3½
Chevalier's bill 1771 at	interest	months' sight
securities Middleton and Ellis	...	...
		11666-13-4
There will be upwards of two years' interest on the Bill for £11666-13-4 and one year's interest on the other: this may be computed at least	...	...
		1000

Monies of the estate of Roger Barwell in England
supposing the securities realised ... 19182-1-2

N. B. Roger Barwell, if I am not mistaken, carried with him in the privilege of some of the officers of the ship he took his passage upon from 5 to £7000 (seven hundred pounds) exclusive of which he received the full amount of his father's legacy. If these sums are expended information of these being so will be satisfactory.

N. B. Supposing Messrs. Beaumont and Leycester to have realised on my account all the bills and securities transmitted by me and to have paid from the monies realised the orders I have at times given them a balance will remain with them of about £15,000.

Thus the amount of my estate in Mrs. Mary Barwell's hands and Leycester and Beaumont's hands will be about £67,581-17-5; that is, supposing a division of Roger's estate between me and my brother James in England.

Abstract of the Proceedings of the Governor and Council of Bengal from 10th February 1774 to May 1774 touching the reduction of the Bengal debt.

at interest and the lowering the rate of interest on that debt from 8 to 5 per cent. with strictures on those Proceedings.

"The purport of what appears from the public records of the Bengal proceedings from the 10th February to the beginning of May 1774 respecting the reduction of the Company's debt at interest in Bengal and the lowering the premium of interest on that debt.

"The Board wanted to pay off their bond debt, and finding that many persons were desirous of lending their money to the Company at five per cent. it was thought an eligible way to receive as much at this rate as could not be supplied from their own resources, to enable them to discharge the bonds of a prior date to December 1770 which, in the whole, amounted to near 13 lacks, but no publication was made that the Company would receive money at 5 per cent. It was done merely by an order to the Sub-Treasurer to receive all that should be offered at that rate of interest.

Remarks on the above.

When the public had in the Treasury to the amount of 13 lacks, it appears unnecessary and superfluous to propose raising a further sum to discharge that amount, and this gives reason to suppose the resolution merely formed in the hope that no tender of money would have been made to the Company at 5 per cent. A private order to the Treasurer which the public Board did not avow, might justly be imagined to produce no effect, which it was calculated to carry on the face of the records that it was the Board's intention to borrow money at that rate of interest, had any monies been tendered to them. Two purposes were, therefore, doubtless intended to be answered by this proceeding. The first that Mr. Barwell's proposition in April 1773 for lowering the rate of interest to 5 per cent. was a visionary scheme, as no monies were procurable at that rate of interest which appeared by the partial experiment the Board had made. The second that as the Company's treasury did not afford the resources to call in the bonds running at 8 per cent. the demand for payment of those bonds could not possibly have been answered; consequently that Mr. Barwell's scheme recorded in April 1773, however plausible, would (if embraced) have involved the Government in inextricable difficulty and given a severe blow to the credit of the Company. Mr. Barwell, however, was better acquainted with the affluence of the Settlement, and the particular circumstances of individuals who could not draw their money out of the public Treasury than to bring upon himself the disgrace which must have followed the detection of his proposal being merely speculative. The proceedings of the Council in this particular the more unfair and uncandid those appear the more unanswerably do they establish that gentleman's judgment in his proposition of April 1773. For under every discouraging circumstance, without any public advertisement issued by the Board the

small opening that was afforded to the wishes of individuals to lodge their property with the Company, produced numberless tenders. The first tenders were accepted under the idea that their acceptance would discourage the application of individuals when they found their tenders received, and of course, that the amount of those tenders would not arise to a sum so considerable as to warrant the Board in risking such a measure as was proposed by Mr. Barwell in April 1773. But in this the Council were mistaken, for the receipt of the first tenders induced numberless others and reduced the Council to the dilemma of either proceeding or checking by some more direct means the security individuals sought by lodging their property with the Company. This situation produced the following resolution.

"The bonds prior to December 1770 being discharged it was doubtful whether a sum equal to the amount of the bonds of 1771 which is very considerable would be offered at the Treasury at 5 per cent. It was, therefore, resolved to stop all receipts; but that the Sub-Treasurer should take an account of all monies tendered and report whether they nearly amounted to the sum of the bonds in question."

This resolution was extremely reprehensible in the two following important respects; first by rejecting all tenders and not publishing the pretended cautionary principle which induced the Board to reject them, as well as the not giving public assurance to those who under such circumstances should offer money at 5 per cent. to a preference in the new loans. Individuals were taught to believe that the rejection of their tenders of money at 5 per cent. declared the intention of Government to keep their old securities unchanged, and of course, there being no public declaration that a preference would be given to those who first tendered loans at 5 per cent. upon any change being made in the old securities, they were naturally discouraged from making any offers, as those must appear to them needless as well as impertinent; besides the dread with which they might be impressed of partial measures. The other respect is the Government by its mode of proceeding require specie to an equal amount of its paper currency in notes. Those who hold notes, of course, are deprived of contributing their parts in accepting new notes for their old ones, and the public is subjected to the unnecessary and extraordinary difficulty of doubling the principal of its old debt, before it proceeds to lower the premium of interest upon it. Whereas the renewing the paper currency of the Settlement at a smaller premium of interest and removing the obstacle which is obvious in the execution of the present scheme, though certainly more practicable and easy, has been entirely neglected. The Government without taking any declared measures, or using a private influence to obtain a new loan which they deem necessary first to be obtained before they can liquidate their old debt, by this proceeding, in fact, discouraged those tenders which have been made by individuals anxious to obtain public

security for their money. Besides were public declared measures taken to this end, and individuals encouraged to lend their money to the public, what necessity is there for such measures? Is it to evince that the Company if they please can double their present debt? Else why are not the present bond-holders called upon to renew their notes at the low premium of 5 per cent. or to receive their amount? This would have forced them to the necessity of a renewal of their notes at 5 per cent., or by throwing so much surplus specie into circulation which the merchants would not have known how to have employed, it would inevitably have returned back into the Treasury upon whatever terms the Government had thought proper for its acceptance. Upon the whole, therefore, it is apparent that the reduction of the premium of interest on the present debt was not the object of the Council, though the Council have undoubtedly calculated their measures to carry that appearance, while, in fact, they had the contra tendency and have been pursued merely with a view to question the feasibility of Mr. Barwell's scheme for lowering the rate of interest to 5 per cent. Despite, however, of all discouragements so many tenders have been made by the merchants, though all tenders were rejected on the above resolution of the Board, that the Administration can no longer protract calling in the notes of 1771. And when I was in Calcutta in August last, publication was about to be issued that the notes bearing date from the first of January 1771 to the 31st June 1771 should be discharged, and the bond-holders by a fixed day to tender them at the Treasury for payment, for from that period all interest should cease to accumulate upon them. Hence it is evident the Council were desirous to impeach Mr. Barwell's scheme as visionary and continue the property of such as were interested at the high rate of interest of 8 per cent. upon public security, as if their measures, unpromising as they were, had success beyond their expectations to derive reputation to themselves for such success, and by dwelling on the superfluous caution which was necessary to secure the credit of the Government, to preclude the first proposals of the scheme (Mr. Barwell) from his just share of merit and participation in the subsequent execution of it under such a variety of discouraging circumstances.

Note in the margin:—

79,89,312	0	4	8 per cent.
15,15,153	8	6	5 per cent.
5,36,343	1	3	remaining in the Treasury without interest.

100,90,808 10 1

21,01,696 9 9 Bonds paid off in the course of the year 1773-

74. Besides paying off these bonds the whole sum due to the Restitution Fund has been issued from the Treasury.

No. 375.

TO HENRY SAVAGE, ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged by your confidential and friendly letters of 30th October and 27th December 1773 and 3rd February 1774. The change to take place in the Government of this Settlement by the Act of the Legislature is now effected, and the new powers established by the arrival of the members of the new administration. How far the innovation may be productive of advantages to the Company and nation, time alone must unravel, for it is impossible at this early period to form a conjecture of the benefits to be derived from so novel a system. One good consequence, however, must flow to the public in the political management which the old system was not adapted to, that is, centering in one view the political objects of the different Presidencies in the alliances hereafter to be formed with the Princes of India. You will not, as heretofore, have one Presidency engaged in a war with the very Power with which another is contracting an alliance, but the national strength of each united under one head will be made to operate conjointly in promoting the general benefit of the whole. Of course in this respect the security of the public peace and the success of our arms when engaged in a war, is better provided for.

The situation of Suja-ul-Dowlah, since my last letters, is much changed, and a political plan laid down by the old administration and conducted with success, has tended greatly to give security to this country with respect to all foreign invaders, while it leaves him in relation to our Government equally vulnerable as before. But after all the pains taken to give him a good natural barrier against the Mharattas, I am not without my apprehensions that some late precipitate measures carried by our new colleagues, may defeat the end which has been laboured, and, in a degree, obtained by a course of prosperity which the internal feuds of the Mharatta Government facilitated. The time seized for executing the projects formed by the Vizier was well chosen, and the full employment of the Mharattas at home by their intestine divisions, gave full leisure to execute all that was proposed for the Vizier's future security in that quarter. Whatever objections might have been started with reason to involving the Government in the first instance in the Vizier's schemes, yet when those schemes have been successful, the measures to be subsequently pursued should doubtless have been to give permanency to the advantages acquired, and not to have risked those advantages by precipitate resolutions which neither policy nor necessity dictated. It is a strange kind of zeal in men totally ignorant, uninformed and utter strangers to

the political interests of the country, to argue upon the letter of the Company's orders, without regarding their spirit, that an absolute good really obtained is not to be supported, because in their opinions the old administration stepped rather beyond the line prescribed by the Company. This is certainly more specious than solid for admitting the old administration wrong in stepping beyond a prescribed line. The propriety of their conduct was not the object of their deliberation, but how far the good resulting from such conduct was to be the object of the new Government. This our colleagues loose sight of and seem only anxious to fix an imputation on the boldness of the measures determined by the late Government which had fully operated and could not be revoked. For your further information I give to your perusal some detached minutes on the subject which it is not in my power at present to connect, both for want of time and a ready reference to the records engaged in the hands of copyists to be prepared for Europe by this ship. As I had no part in the resolutions of the former administration, being precluded from their debates by my distant situation at Dacca, my sentiments are totally unbiassed in the support I now give to their measures,—measures which it is possible I might not have come into at the time from difficulties that might then have struck me, but to which it is now impossible to object, as prosperity has marked them with the strongest stamp of propriety and dissipated every apprehension that might, in the first instance, have been entertained of their consequences.

The savings of full one fourth of your whole military expenses and the wealth exclusively acquired by political connexions with the Vizier make our finances in a flourishing state and must happily retrieve your affairs, should they not be involved by the precipitate resolutions that have been passed touching our connexions with the Vizier. It is to be hoped, however, that affairs are in such a train that our prospects of benefitting by the Vizier's successes cannot be defeated. I think they will not, though I wish the chance of their being effected had not arisen in the resolutions that have been risked on the subject at this critical juncture.

The Board of Commerce is just formed, and in a few days, the business of the Presidency with the appointments depending upon it will be arranged. They are necessarily protracted till the hurry of business on the despatch of the ship is over.

The scheme I adventured for lowering the rate of interest on the Company's bonds and treated as visionary, you will have a full idea of by perusing the enclosure on that subject. What has been done vindicates my sentiments, and what is to do will further confirm that I judged right of the matter.

I have the pleasure to inform you the investment of this year will be large, and that the Dacca goods provided in my Chiefship marked with my

initials on the bale tickets, are of better quality and cheaper than any you have had provided within these five years last past, and I hope the regulations I formed for those *aurungs*, if steadily adhered to, will produce to the public all the benefits I flattered myself they might derive from them. Believe me to be, etc.

No. 380.

TO JOHN CATOR, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

SIR,

Your polite and obliging letter of the 26th October claims my earliest acknowledgments and adds, if it be possible, to the inclination that prompts my friendship to your brothers. Joseph will in time, I hope, be freed from his incumbrances, and William with discretion benefit himself by the Company's service. It is difficult, however, to fix a period for the labors of any man in this country, and more so at present as the prospect is more discouraging.

Accept my thanks, Sir, for the tender of your services, and as I confide in your professions of rendering them, permit me to submit to yourself the judgment of such occasions and opportunities as may offer for the exertion of your interest.

No. 381.

TO JOHN PURLING ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November, 1774

Dear Sir,

I am favored by your letters of the 4th November 1773 and 28th March 1774. The friendly freedom with which you have indulged me with your sentiments calls for my earliest acknowledgements. I feel myself obliged not only for the favors themselves, but for the manner in which they have been conferred, and as it is the happy lot of very few engaged in public life to enhance an obligation by the mode of rendering it, it appears so peculiarly your province to do all things handsomely by your friends that I must be insensible indeed to the finer feelings of the mind if I did not feel every service you have done me enhanced by the manner of doing it.

The value I have for your friendship is so connected with my own honor and prospects in life that without professions you must be persuaded of my wish to confirm you, my Friend, and that wish will, of course, lead me on every occasion to such opportunities of gratifying those in whose welfare you are

particularly interested, and whose intimate connexions with you call upon me, exclusive of all personal regard I may have for the men themselves, to watch over their interests. You will doubtless be informed by Charles of his present situation, and that it is likely to be confirmed to him by the Governor's acquiescence. How permanent it may be rendered it is difficult to affirm positively, but I think if we get over the first year there is little risk of his being maintained in the Chiefship afterwards to as long a period as he may choose to continue in it.

At your instances and the instances of my other friends I redoubled the efforts I had previously made to fix a confidential and friendly intercourse with the Governor, and the circumstances of the times concurring with my endeavours every obstacle has been removed, and we are now on the most social footing. I wish I could say as much of our associates who, I am concerned to remark, have entered on the Government with dispositions as apparently hostile to Hastings as I expected they would have been otherwise. The Robilla war has been the subject of their cavils which, though brought to a period and the money engagements in a good train, was taken up on the second day of our meeting with a precipitation that seemed to indicate that if they had waited for information they were apprehensive of losing the opportunity of finding fault and proclaiming to all the powers of Hindustan that a new influence had with the new powers taken place in this Government. The mortification which the Governor has experienced in the recall of his Agent from the Vizier's court, the demand made for his private correspondence with Mr. Middleton after his assuring the members that he would lay before them whatever might be necessary for their information on public matters, and then proceeding to Resolutions without reading the correspondence called for and which they deemed absolutely requisite to determine them in the measures to be pursued, are such extraordinary acts that it is out of my power to account for them. The public certainly is not concerned in them, and as to zeal for the public safety that not being at risk the pretext is seen through. Were the engagements entered into by the late administration with the Vizier improper in the first instance, the measure was past irretrievable and beyond the reach of any remedy, and, of course, ought not to have been a subject for deliberation. The matter to be deliberated was what consequences are to be drawn from past measures, and what are the best means to secure the benefits to be derived from them. Instead of this, without any competent knowledge of the subject, censures were passed on what could not be rectified if wrong, and measures determined upon that must at once alarm the mind of the Vizier and risk those benefits which were flowing into the Company. The best idea I can give you of this strange and unexpected difference without making my letter intolerably long, is by furnishing you

with the most material minutes written on the occasion. I cannot connect them for want of time and a ready reference to the records. I think, however, the occurrences sufficiently marked to render the whole conversant to one, conversant as you are in India politics. I must observe before I quit this subject that I was not consulted on the measures of the late administration touching the Rohilla war, and that it is very probable if I had been I should have disapproved of the engagements in the first instance, as I might have been apprehensive of danger attending their completion, but when success has precluded the apprehension of danger, and in the fullest manner vindicated the measure, all objection is removed, and nothing is left me but to approve and to pursue the best means: my judgment points to in securing the utmost advantages to be derived from the prosperous situation of our public affairs. In this sentiment I have supported the measures of the Governor-General and have the chagrin to find myself in the minority, but as the Book of Numbers here is not so infallible as in England, I flatter myself with finding my opinions approved.

Should the precipitate measures which have taken place not affect the payment of the sums stipulated by the Vizier, and he shall continue to pay one fourth of our military charges by retaining a brigade of our troops, I think in one twelve month more the Company will be extricated from all their difficulties in Bengal. There is a handsome sum in the Treasury, large payments expected from the Vizier and a saving of twenty lacs in the military charges if the Vizier keeps the brigade, all which will be applied to the liquidation of their debts: the surplus of the revenue supplying the calls for investment and bills from Bombay.

The Company's interest debt last August stood as follows:—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Bonds paid off in 1773-4 ...	21,01,696	9	9
Do. running at 8 per cent. ...	79,89,312	0	4
Do. running at five per cent ...	15,15,153	8	6
Money laying without interest ...	5,86,343	1	3
TOTAL ...	100,90,808	10	1

Beside the payment of bonds to the amount above specified, the whole sum due to the Restitution Fund has been issued from the Treasury. Thus you perceive what I mentioned respecting the powers of this Government, was not speculation, and that it can with attention to its means rise superior to all its incumbrances. You will receive a large provision of goods this year, but from the late arrival of the *Northumberland* and the loss of the *Asia* I very much fear we shall want tonnage, even though the two transports should be

taken up on freight. The Dacca goods you will, I flatter myself, find improved, or the trouble I have taken to retrieve that investment, will prove so much labour lost.

No. 382.

TO JOHN MANSHIP, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Sir,

It is with real pleasure I seize the opportunity that is offered me, and flatter myself a literary intercourse, while a personal one is denied me, may produce that esteem and friendship I am anxious to cultivate with a person for whom my dearest friend (Mrs. Barwell) professes the warmest regard. I have been taught by long experience to place a high value on the friends she has chosen, worth parts and probity the objects of her respect marking every character distinguished by her approbation and doing equal credit and honor to every connection in which she has been pleased to engage me. I have been favored with the communication of your wishes in behalf of Mr. Wilkinson, and shall be happy on any occasion that may offer to testify my attention to your recommendation. I have taken the first opportunity to intimate this disposition to Mr. Wilkinson who, I believe, is at present situated agreeably to himself at Burdwan and perfectly satisfied with his appointment to that Subordinate.

By the public advices transmitted in this packet, you will receive accounts of the Government of this Presidency being established conformably to the Act of the Legislature, and at the same time, be concerned to find, there is not that degree of harmony in the opinions of the members who form the new Government, as might be wished for and is essential for the dispatch of the many weighty affairs which fall to their province. I would flatter myself, however, with a better understanding amongst ourselves and a greater degree of deference than has hitherto been shown to the sentiments of the Governor-General, until experience shall have rendered our new associates more competent judges of the internal political interests of this country. Such early differences, I confess, do not carry with them the most promising appearances of a future cordiality, but as I hope our object is ultimately the same, we shall accord in prosecuting it with unanimity and admit no partial aim to defeat the purposes for which we have been selected by the Legislature and placed in an eminent and conspicuous point of view to the whole nation, the eyes of which fix upon our conduct and call for an accomplishment of its expectations in services to be rendered. For my part I will frankly declare that should the

scene contrary to my hopes, prove one continued controversy that I am determined to withdraw from it, not influenced by disgust to a precipitate resignation of the post assigned me, but from conviction that I cannot fill it with honor to myself or advantage to the public. The records of the Company by this ship will give you full information of all that has passed since the change in the Government took place, and your own judgment will decide on the rectitude of the reasonings on each side of the question, and how far either may have erred in the sentiments delivered upon it. I can only observe (and it may be necessary to observe it) that I was neither consulted nor did partake in any degree in the measures determined by the old administration for prosecuting the Vizier's schemes on the Rohilla country. Of course the opinion I have delivered is not biassed by any retrospective view. When I took my seat at the Board I found the war happily brought to an issue, and certain advantages the consequences of the engagements of the late administration flowing into the Company. Not to put these to risk and to adopt a policy that might secure them to the Company, appeared to me so plain and direct a line that, without yielding my judgment to the strangers to this country, I was indispensably bound to pursue it. I considered not in this, how far the measures of the old administration were right in their first instance, but how far it might be proper to put to the risk the benefits accruing from them, benefits just presented to our reach and which alone could be rendered doubtful by the precipitancy of our own resolutions. It is possible I might not have concurred in the measures of the old administration in their first instance, as apprehensions of danger in their execution would probably have checked my assent, but when prosperity obviates that objection, I approve without hesitation the policy on which the measures were grounded and congratulate the Company as well on future as on present advantages to be derived from them.

Should the Vizier continue to bear the burthen of one fourth part of our whole military expences, and the sums stipulated by him be punctually discharged, Bengal will be extricated from all its incumbrances. Twenty one lacs of the debt at interest is already paid off. The sum due to the Restitution claimants discharged as well as Navy, and a large balance still remaining in the Treasury. This balance with the savings of one fourth of the military charges (supposing the brigade retained by the Vizier a twelve month) 25 lacs, and the sums due on the treaties with the Vizier, will go to liquidate all the bond debts. The surplus of the revenues of Bengal being equal to the furnishing cargoes for the ships and the supplies required at Bombay. This is, I believe, a very different picture from what Bengal even before presented and verifies all that I have long affirmed, that there were powers in this Government under proper management to answer fully the expectations of

the Company and of the Government of England. May no dissensions interrupt the revenue or political economy of the country I fervently pray.

No. 383.

TO LAWRENCE SULLIVAN, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

My dear Sir,

My last letters, I fear, did not encourage the wish you had formed for a cordial and confidential union between your friends. You must allow me the freedom to rank myself as such as well as Mr. Hastings who, though better known to you, is not more anxious than myself to be approved of that number.

My unremitted endeavours, the circumstances of the times, and a similarity of views, I am happy to assure you, has now firmly bound the Governor and me reciprocally to each other. The bottom on which I have established our confidence is, I think, so fixt that I hesitate not to prophesy, it will be the firmest attachment and the most stable he has formed since his last return to India, and as I am confident we must be mutual friends I have nothing to wish or desire in which I do not connect his interest with my own. As soon as I received your letters I sent them to him and accompanied them with such an address as must have at once convinced him of my devotion to the views of our mutual friends and the sincerity of all my former advances. Let it suffice we are now *one*, and in being so, I have all the reason to think that some expectations of a contrary tendency have been greatly disappointed.

You will doubtless hear from Hastings all that has past since the new powers took the *rules*. Mortifying as his situation is, I am glad, very glad, to observe in him a resolution to support his burthen. I suffer with him the chagrin of dividing in the minority, but as this is neither novel to me or to him, *vide* Vansittart's Government, you may trust the temper and firmness with which every matter that involves the public interests, will be supported by the Governor-General. I will not take up your time or my own by entering into particulars, but refer you, in case you should not be furnished with a relation from Mr. Hastings, to my sister who has some detached minutes that throw a light on what has been transacted.

I flatter myself something will be done for Captain Tryon to his satisfaction. I have been very solicitous to assist him, and the Governor is equally anxious to show his respect to your recommendation of that unfortunate man.

No 384

To RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Leycester,

I have received from you in the course of this season letters of the following dates: 6th November 1773, 20th and 31st January, 15th and 31st March and 11th April 1774.

I shall confine myself at present to a few lines and merely to your own affairs. I have not time to adjust and send you a statement of your concerns, but as your monies are safe, you will be satisfied with a temporary omission of accounts. The Restitution has been paid to the last anna and which, I understand, is now about to be issued. This will liquidate your claims on that account, unless the equity of the claimant's pretensions to an interest shall be admitted. I cannot, however, flatter you that it will here be esteemed a debt bearing interest, unless the decision of the law establishes the right of the claimants to interest, and should this prove the case, the Company will pay dearly for having kept back the sums due since 1765, on account of the Restitution. The interest simply, I believe, amounts to 14 lacs of rupees, an object too consequential, I believe, for the Government in Europe to admit, unless influenced by the compulsive power of the Black Gown.

Your bill in favor of Mr. Charlton for Rs. 856-5-3 shall be discharged, but it will be without interest.

All the bonds of the Company running at 8 per cent. are now sold at a premium of $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4, so that the preference rather lays on the side of the 5 per cent., as the others will be shortly liquidated, either by an entire discharge of the whole 8 per cent., or a reduction of it to the footing of the 5 per cent. so that you must expect all your latter securities in 5 per cent., for as to private credit I think it so precarious that I cannot advise loans to any persons engaged in commerce, however much the difference in the premium of interest may be esteemed an object.

You write me you would be content with $2\frac{1}{2}$ the current rupee for good bills. My Friend, such are the distresses of individuals that the Navy bills have been purchased at $1\frac{1}{9}\frac{1}{2}$ per rupee. If, therefore, you have an offer of two shillings and the money lodged in a banker's hands in England, seize the tender without hesitation. Should you like it not I will thank you for it and honor your draft to the amount of lacs for what I want not, others will be happy to obtain.

I do not write to Dr. Lushington and have in consequence to beg you will inform him that I will take care of his monies and send him his account by next ship.

My respects to Mrs. Leycester and remember me to your little ones.

No. 385.

TO MR. JOHN LODGE, JUNIOR.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

DEAR SIR,

As an old acquaintance you must allow me the freedom to congratulate myself on being restored to you. A man who by long absence from his country, may be said to return to a strange one, should it ever by his lot to return, receives a sensible satisfaction from the idea that he shall be recognised by those he once knew first, as our remembrance of each other must be. Still it is a privilege I am extremely tenacious of and shall use as my only introducer when I offer you my hand in England in testimony of my being happy to see you. In the meantime while I feel myself obliged by your acknowledgements of the attentions I paid to your brother, I experience that respect for your sentiments as lead me to place a high value on your future friendship, and particularly to request I may be indulged with it.

No. 386.

TO PHILLIP AFFLECK, ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

DEAR AFFLECK,

Few people profit by advice, and obstinacy still attends the steps of age. Honest Sancho was very happy in applying these old saws and always to prove the very opposite of the positions they laid down. This, in the present instance, is my case, for I mean to tell you that I do not find with increase of years, increase of mulishness or the least inclination to shut my ears to the reasonings of my friends. In short, you have made quite a proselyte of me and have fairly turned the scale in favor of Hastings, who, with all his peculiarities and extreme jealousy in honorary competitions, has many great and valuable qualities. These his bitterest enemies must allow, though they may think proper to share them with his foibles and dim their lustre by opposing the stream of infirmities through which they will still shine. You will, I make no doubt, be concerned to hear that opinions on some public measures delivered by our associates in the Government, are not so harmonious as might be wished. I confess my expectations have been greatly disappointed, for as I looked to the opposite conduct, I was equally surprised as hurt by the precipitancy with which our colleagues entered into an immediate opposition to the views of the Governor-General. To enter minutely on the subject of our differences would lead me beyond the limits of a letter. I will leave you,

therefore, to obtain the information of those who may be masters of the subject and are possessed of the papers that treat of it. For you must see the whole connectedly, or you will possibly be led to form a partial judgment. I am entirely unconcerned in the determinations of the old administration, having been precluded from their deliberations by my absence at a subordinate station. My sentiments, of course, cannot be taxed with a bias from any retrospective view to support the measures in which I participated. They will, therefore, I think, have the weight of being delivered by an unconcerned observer who can have no inducement but the conviction that the approbation he gives is due where it is bestowed.

I am at a loss to know why you speak so particularly of young Chollet, as if I had done him some essential service. I can pretend to no other merit than that of having shown him the common civilities of my house, and more really has not been in my power, if you mean to upbraid me for not having done more. But should the trifling civilities I have shown young Chollet, have influenced his father's and your acknowledgements you have so far overrated them, that you perceive they have impressed another idea on my mind.

From those who manage your Navy claims on the Treasury, you will understand them to be discharged without a difficulty. Indeed, we are so rich that not only is the Navy money, but the Restitution and twenty lacks of our interest debt is paid off, and if the stipulations with the Vizier are not obstructed by our late precipitate resolves, and he continues to retain a brigade with him, the whole interest debt of Bengal will be liquidated in the course of 1775. This is a scene entirely new from this quarter, and as I have always said, would be presented to the public whenever the powers of Bengal were called forth by careful attention and management.

No. 387.

TO RICHARD BECHER, ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 5th December 1772 and 7th July 1773. You will long since have heard the sequel of our inquisition business on Mahmed Riza Cawn, as the papers are, I believe, transmitted very full and satisfactory. I think they cannot fail to give you satisfaction. The poor man still remains in Calcutta, and whether it be pretence or real indigence, I understand he is about to sell off his dead stock in houses and convert it into money. What degree of reparation the Company may think due to him, must be best known to you who are upon the spot, but I should suppose the office of which he was deprived will never again be revived, and consequently cannot be restored to him.

What a disagreeable scene have you, my good Friend, been involved in, and how superior has Lord Clive risen from the attack made on his fame and fortune? I congratulate you, most heartily congratulate you, on the turn of affairs and flatter myself, the spirits of the multitude are calmed by the thorough and rigorous investigation now terminated. May the subject sleep forever, and no endeavors of party faction or of private pique revive it. I beg, when you see Lord Clive, you would present my respects to him, assure him I shall be happy to rank in the number of his friends and to execute any commands he may think proper to favor me with.

General Clavering and the other members of the new Government are arrived at the latter end of October. The change in consequence was promulgated at the head of the Grenadier Company through the town, and copies of the Act of Parliament dispersed throughout the provinces to be published to the natives. The powers vested in the Law Department, unless exercised with great moderation and respect to the usages of the country, will, I apprehend, risk the success of the new system. The Lord Chief Justice seems a man of temper and probity with a mind enlarged, and a disposition to moderate his system in its operations by the local knowledge he may obtain. Such appearances are flattering, and I hope, will not be proved mere appearances when put to the test, for a jarring between the powers of Government and the powers of the Gown, must be attended with the most fatal consequences to the revenue of the country.

Although the revenues of Bengal are not raised, the political and internal economy of the Government has enabled it to wipe off most of its incumbrances. The Navy and Restitution claims are discharged, and twenty lacs of the Bond debt entirely paid off. Another part is reduced to five per cent., and the remainder, I expect, will be wholly liquidated by this time twelve month. The Government's ability to effect all this arises from the following causes:—

Retrenchment by order of the Court of Directors in salaries, stipends and state pensions.

The sale of Elliabad and Corah.

The employment of a brigade in Suja-ul-Dowlah's dominions at 2,10,000 per mensem paid by him for its support, which gives a saving of one fourth of our military expences.

The stipulation of 40 lacs for the services rendered by the brigade in the Vizier's war with the Rohillas.

My compliments to Mrs. B. and good wishes to your growing family abruptly introduced me. I am, etc.

[*To be continued.*]

Leaves from the Editor's Note-Book.

HERE is Bishop Heber's description (August 28, 1828) of the Cornwallis monument at Ghazipur (Ghazepore).

It has a white dome like a pepper-pot; but when the young trees, which are growing up round about it, shall have got a little higher, it will not look ill from the river.

During our drive this evening I had a nearer view of Lord Cornwallis's monument, which certainly does not improve on close inspection; it has been, evidently, a very costly building; its materials are excellent, being of the finest freestone I ever saw, and it is an imitation of the celebrated Sybilla's temple, of large proportions, solid masonry, and raised above the ground on a lofty and striking basement. But its pillars, instead of beautiful Corinthian well-fluted, are of the meanest Doric. They are quite too slender for their height, and for the heavy entablature and cornice which rest on them. The dome, instead of springing from nearly the same level with the roof of the surrounding portico, is raised ten feet higher on a most ugly and unmeaning attic story, and the windows (which are quite useless) are the most extraordinary embrasures (for they resemble nothing else) that I ever saw out of a fortress. Above all, the building is utterly unmeaning, it is neither a temple nor a tomb neither has altar, statue, or inscription. It is in fact a "folly" of the same sort, but far more ambitious and costly, than that which is built at Barrackpore, and it is vexatious to think that a very handsome Church might have been built, and a handsome marble monument to Lord Cornwallis placed in its interior, for little more money than has been employed on a thing, which, if any foreigner saw it, (an event luckily not very probable) would afford subject for mockery to all who read his travels, at the expense of Anglo-Indian ideas of architecture. Ugly as it is, however, by itself, it may yet be made a good use of, by making it serve the purpose of a detached "torre campanile" to the new Church which is required for the station; to this last it would save the necessity of a steeple or cupola, and would much lessen the expense of the building, but the times are, I fear, unpropitious for any grants of this nature from the Indian Government. Yet the wants of this station are so urgent, for when they have European soldiers here again, they will have no building of any kind to receive them for worship, and the representation which the principal civil and military servants have made to me, is so strong, that it is absolutely my duty to urge the case, and I will certainly do so. (*Narrative of a Journey*, Vol. I, pp. 344-245.)

The Bishop, on August 30th, writes:—"the present, or rather the late Church, is a very large building, thatched like a barn, with a wide span which has forced the side-walls out of the perpendicular; indeed, the whole is in a very forlorn condition, and I am surprised that it has stood through these ruins." The existing Church of St. Thomas was completed in 1837.

Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr in his *Cornwallis (Rulers of India Series)* states that "Cornwallis lies at Ghazipur, in a monument described as a domed quasi-Grecian building, with a marble statue by Flaxman." This statement is



CORNWALLIS MONUMENT. GHAZIPUR.

Photo by Walter K. Firninger.

based on an error in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Beneath the dome, as may be seen, in the accompanying illustration, there is a pillar which bears some very fine work by Flaxman, a medallion portrait of Cornwallis, and a very lengthy inscription.

In my "Leaves" for July-September of last year, I printed the letter of the Council in Bengal, dated 8th September, 1770, to the Court of Directors. In that letter the Council record their triumph over the Select Committee. Becher, the Resident at the Durbar of Murshidabad, was committed to the existing system of administering the revenues as much as possible through the machinery of the Country Government, and had, as far as lay in his power, thwarted the policy of placing the administration of the Diwan in the hands of English Collectors, or, as they were called, "Supravisors." Becher, it is to be added, had been nominated by the Directors to succeed Cartier in the Governor's chair. The result of the controversy was that the Directors upheld the Council against the Select Committee, Cartier was removed from office, Becher was ordered home, and Messrs. Russell and Floyer were re-transferred to Madras, whence they had been brought by Lord Clive in 1763 in order to supersede the scorned Bengal Civilians. This drastic measure led directly to the promotion of Warren Hastings to the Government of Fort William in 1772.

The references to the famine and plague of 1769-70 in the following letters are of interest in connection with Sir William Hunter's handling of that subject in his *Rural Annals of Bengal*.

PRESIDENT AND SELECT COMMITTEE, FORT WILLIAM

TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.
30th October 1770.

[Received per Prince of Wales, May 12, 1771.]

15. We could not avoid taking notice of the sum remitted from the last year's settlement, altho' we were persuaded that the Resident at the Durbar and Mohomed Raza Cawn were compelled to the necessity of making so considerable a reduction in your Revenue in order to answer the humane, and indeed political, purpose of relieving the truly calamitous state of the country and its wretched inhabitants.

16. When we reflect on your orders and expectations from the duties arising on salt, we cannot but be greatly concerned at the disappointment you must necessarily meet with from the last year's produce of that branch of your Revenue. Its falling so very short of your estimate makes us strongly suspect that the Phouadar of Hughley has either been extremely negligent in his duty or dishonest in the management of the business committed to his charge. This district is now under the management of a Supravisor from whose investigation the conduct of the Phouadar will be fully discovered; and, if it appears that he has committed any fraudulent actions, we shall call him to very severe account. Under the Supravisor we expect this important branch of your Revenues will be revived and ascertained with greater precision than it has been hitherto.

17. From the very serious representations of the Resident at the Durbar and Mohamed Reza Case, we were at length with much difficulty induced to withdraw from some of the Supravisors that controuling authority which the Committee intended should be vested in them all. We thought an adherence to the original plan more suitable to the consistency or dignity of Government than a change, which might, if an association really existed, inspire the accomplices with fresh confidence. The Resident at the Durbar, on the other hand, assured us that the collections could not be carried on if the controuling power was continued to these gentlemen, that it would interrupt the business and create pretext for balances, that the active powers was (*sic*) the only effectual one and that it was too great to be entrusted all at once; and he further urged the distresses of the conjuncture and insufficiency of your funds, which he thought made it a most unfit season for experiment; offering it as his opinion, at the same time, that it would be most expedient to commence by slow degrees, first to invest a few of the Supravisors with the active powers and confine the rest to the administration of justice and the improvement of themselves in the knowledge of the country. Many other forcible arguments, which are recorded in our proceedings, were urged on this occasion, and we thereupon at length gave our consent that the controuling power should for the present be only invested in Messrs. Kelsall, Graham, Vansittart, Ducarell and Stewart. But in this our intention has been frustrated by orders since issued by the Council in their Secret Department confirming the controuling power to all the Supravisors which was originally vested in them.

June 28.

JOHN CARTIER.
CLAUDE RUSSELL.
CHARLES FLOYER.

SELECT COMMITTEE TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

The 12th December 1770.

Our Public Letter will inform you of our immediate compliance with your orders received by the *Mansfield* for the reduction of the Council, and for the recall of those members of Council acting as chiefs of subordinates to the Presidency; but, as you mentioned your having given full instructions to your Commissioners concerning this plan, which would so essentially alter the former system of your Government here, we immediately wrote to the Presidency of Madras, to forward us such extracts of your General Letter to the Commissioners as had any tendency to the affairs of this Settlement, or that, if they considered themselves unempowered to open these letters, they would forward them down to us, being cautious of forming arrangements which might differ from those in your instructions to the Commissioners, and wishing to avail ourselves of the method you might have pointed out to them. In the common cause, we may now expect an answer in a few days, by which time all the members will be assembled at the Presidency, and we shall carry the whole of your commands into execution conformable to the plan you have drawn in your instructions to the Commissioners.

5. We have no longer the power of conducting your Revenue; this is a charge usurped by the Board. To them it, therefore, belongs to explain the causes from whence they have decreased and the degree in which they will answer the expectations you have conceived. Sorry we are that our Hon'ble Masters should be so severely disappointed. We should wish that the evils impending over this Settlement were further removed than they appear to be, and that a provision against them was not immediately necessary. We would wish that these evils, however, they shall affect us, may only prove a secondary consideration to the Company; but, whatever may have been our opinion, and whatever the share which we are to have in the execution of your commands, we shall always show that submission which is due to superior judgment and the obedience which we owe to the directions of our Hon'ble Employers.

SELECT COMMITTEE OF BENGAL TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

12th February 1771.

2. Notwithstanding the severity of the late famine and the great reduction of people thereby, some increase has been made on the settlements both of the Bengal and Bahar Provinces for the present year; and we hope, as the country recovers itself in succeeding years, a much larger increase may be made, without oppressing the ryotts. From the progress already made in the collections and from the attention and vigilance of the Council of Revenue and the Supervisors in the different districts, we hope the amount of Revenue fixed for the present year will be in great measure realized, though in some particular parts where the loss of inhabitants has been greatest and in others where the succeeding crop has been destroyed by the overflowing of the river we are apprehensive deficiencies will be unavoidable. By the establishment of Councils of Revenue with Supervisors to act under them we have every reason to expect many very essential benefits will accrue to the Company and this country. A great reduction in the charges of the collections will take place, encouragement will be given for the cultivating of those lands, which, through the neglect of the Country Government, have long laid waste, the Revenue really paid by the Ryotts and the manner in which so principal a part of them has been kept from coming into the public Treasury will be brought to our knowledge, and such alienations prevented in future, and the tenants and manufacturers will no longer remain under the oppression of the inferior officers of the Government.

3. The Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad having represented to us that the *amallas* who had been employed this year in the business of the Revenue by no means answered the good purposes we expected from their services, and that great part of the collections made by them was sunk in enormous charges, we directed that they should be recalled and none employed in future, at the same time recommending it to the Ministers to appoint *Phougedars* at Houghly and Dacca to carry on the transaction of the Country Government with European nations.

4. Being desirous of avoiding every measure that may give the least umbrage in Europe in regard to the transactions in Bengal with other European nations, and at the same time to contribute as far as lays in our power consistently with prudence to the establishing of a wise and just Government in every part of these Provinces, we request you will be pleased to furnish us with full and explicit instructions for our future conduct as to the affairs of the *Nisamat*.

5. On this head Mr. Reed has thought proper to record his opinions, which appears on our Consultations of the 17th January.

6. We hope that a scrutiny we have ordered to be made into the rights to the *Jaghires* in the Bahar Province will be productive of an increase of Revenue: for, as many are possessed of a much greater quantity of land than is specified in their grant, as others only hold their lands from favor of *Zemindars* or *talookdars*, who, without the consent or approbation of the *Nazim*, had made many alienations from those districts over which they presided, in favor of their creatures or relations, we think that so length of time can give them a legal possession. And, as we shall be attentive to the claims of those who have proper *sunnuds* to produce, or who having lost their *sunnuds*, may have a claim by a long uninterrupted possession of their lands, so we shall not hesitate to resume such lands as have been given away by those who had no right to do it, or which have been swallowed up by the encroachments of the *Jagheerdars*.

7. To gain a further insight into the state of the country, to be a check on the conduct of the Supervisors, and to remedy any abuses that may be springing up, we have directed that the members of the Council of Revenue shall, in the most vacant season of the collections, make circuits of the districts—a measure which, we flatter ourselves, experience will prove the utility of it.

GENERAL LETTER OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO BENGAL.

10th April 1771.

23. As it is impossible for us to be minutely informed of the regulations established by the constitution of the country for the security of the persons and properties of the native inhabitants,

it must, therefore, rest on your local knowledge to judge if in the internal policy and the executive parts justice be defective in any point, or too confined to yield that universal relief which we are solicitous to obtain for every individual. In case the means should not be equal to this end, you must not fail to employ your influence with the Government to supply all defects and to institute such inferior orders of the magistracy as may be wanting for the entire protection of all ranks and degrees of the people.

23. Should the Superior Courts in the several districts require any reform, your own judgment will suggest to you the means; and your humanity will excite your efforts for preventing any abuses or negligencies in the due course of justice. We must, however, particularly recommend that all power in the judges of imposing arbitrary fines be immediately abolished; and it will be proper that the *sumnauds* appointing judges for Muhammedan or Bramins for the Hindoos be registered in form, and that a record be made of the sentences in the Nabob's Courts, one copy to be kept in the Cutcherry and another transmitted to Muxadabad.

24. As it may happen that the processes of the Courts, while they aim at the remedy of one evil may be productive of another, you must enjoin our servants, wherever they shall be stationed, to recommend, in all matters of property between the natives, that they adjust their differences by arbitration instead of legal suits, which may involve both parties in trouble and expence. And, having reason to apprehend that the abuses of the Country Courts in requiring the different parties to give security for the payment of *chaut* on the adjustment of disputes by arbitration, have tended greatly to discourage this mode of deciding differences, you must use your influence with the Government for the abolition of the *chaut* exacted by the Courts in cases of arbitration.

64. It is with pleasure we observe that the appointment of supervisors to examine into the state of the Provinces (under the instructions which our late President has with so much judgment and fullness laid down for their guidance) may be productive of so general a reformation of the abuses which are the immediate object of our concern, that we have little to add to our preceding orders and regulations. We, therefore, wait with impatience for the issue of the Supervisors' researches, in full hope that our President and Council will have adopted such measures as shall unite with our views, not only for the Company's interest, but for the good of a country from which we receive so great advantage.

COURT OF DIRECTORS TO BENGAL.

25th January 1772.

44. While we indulge ourselves in the hopes of seeing our Dewanny Revenues improved by the care of Supervisors appointed to inspect and control the officers of Government and to superintend the collections, we deem it incumbent on us to guard against any evil effects, which may otherwise happen, should our servants in these stations acquire an undue influence in their respective districts. It is, therefore, our pleasure, and we direct that no Superintendent of the collection of Revenues be permitted to have charge of any particular district for more than two successive years, and that during his continuation in such a station, he be not directly or indirectly engaged or interested in carrying on any trade in the district committed to him, but that at the expiration of the term of two years, such of our servants who may have been employed as supervisors be permitted to return to the Presidency, and to hold such stations as their rank in our service and the good conduct they shall have discovered in the business of the revenues may entitle them to expect.

45. We, however, must here observe that as the business of the collections must be in many respects similar throughout the Provinces, we are unwilling to lose the benefit of that knowledge, which our servants shall have acquired in the station of Superintendent of the Collections. Therefore should any such Superintendent who may have faithfully discharged his trust during the beforementioned term be inclined to continue in the like capacity for a longer time, you are in such case to appoint him to the charge of another district, where it is not probable that any power and influence can be exercised to private advantage.

45. The reasons you have assigned for discontinuing the office of *sumit* in the business of the Revenues are very satisfactory to us, and your recommending the Nabob the appointment of *Phowzedars* at Houghly and Dacca, in order to transact the affairs of the Country Government with European nations, cannot but meet with our approbation, as it entirely coincides with our repeated orders and the ideas we entertain of its being the surest means of avoiding disputes and altercations with all Europeans in the Province of Bengal.

In the present number will be found some views of the ruined fort of Jalalgarh. In the Purnea volume of the *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley writes:

The Fort stands on what was formerly an island in an old channel of the Kosi River, and is a very conspicuous ruin in good preservation. It is a large quadrangular structure with lofty walls, and was built by the Mahomedans as a frontier post to protect the border against invasion from Nepal. According to the chronicles of the Khagra family, it was built for this purpose by the first Rājā of Khagra, Sayid Muhammad Jalil-ud-din, on whom the title of Rājā was conferred by Jahangir (1605-27); and, according to other accounts, by the Nawab of Purnea, Saif Khan in 1722. It appears, however, to have been in existence before the latter date. According to the *Biyan-ul-Salatin*, 'the Rājā of Birnagar had a force of 15,000 cavalry and infantry, and other inhabitants of that part of the Chakwā tribe, etc., were refractory and of plundering propensity, and used to annoy much the travellers. Therefore, on the limits of the Morang, the fort of Jalalgarh was erected, and a commandant, in charge of the fort, was posted there.' It then proceeds to relate how Saif Khan, on being appointed *fowzdār* of Purnea, was also made commandant of Jalalgarh and given the *jagir* attached to that post. Subsequently, the fort was held by the seventh Rājā of Khagra, Sayid Muhammad Jalil, who refused to pay revenue to the Nawab Saif Jang, i.e., Sayid Ahmad Khan. The latter, therefore, made an expedition against him, captured the fort, and took him prisoner. In the early part of the 19th Century, we find that the Magistrate of Purnea, in consequence of the unhealthiness of the town of Purnea, recommended the removal of the headquarters to Jalalgarh, which he described as 'elevated, open, and at a distance from jungle, while the walls of the old fortress might be turned to account in the construction of a safe and commodious jail.' There is a tradition that a Muhammadan fanatic raised the standard of revolt here during the Mutiny, and tried to encourage his followers by the usual assurances that he would swallow the bullets of the infidel soldiery. The end of the movement was ignominious, for, after inducing his dupes to bring him contributions in gold, he disappeared in the night and was never heard of again.

There is now no trace of any buildings within the curtain walls of the fort, and the peepul trees are so rooted in the rough masonry that the walls themselves appear to be doomed to fall.

Some eight or nine years ago I went on pilgrimage to the ruins of the French Governor's palace at Ghiretti, and took the photo of the former gateway which appears opposite page 17 of Vol. 1 of *Bengal Past and Present*. Other views of the ruins have appeared in *Bengal Past and Present*, and a good deal has been said in this journal on the vanished glories of Ghiretti. Now at last the few remaining heaps of masonry are being removed to make way for a mill. The reproduction of Moffat's view of "Ghiretta House" will,

therefore, form a timely commemoration. The capture of Ghiretti House by Col. Dow in 1778 has been dealt with in these pages, but no notice has been taken of the attempt of Philip Francis's creature, Macintosh, to make capital out of the incident. In a footnote on page 145, of his *Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, Macintosh writes: "It has been industriously propagated that M. Chevalier was in the house at Ghyrotty when Colonel Dow entered it, but that he got away by the management of Madame Chevalier. Nothing is more false. Two confidential servants of the Company and particular favourites of Mr. H—s., were with, upon *secret* business, until two o'clock next morning; when Colonel Dow surrounded Ghyrotty House, M. Chevalier was concealed in the house of a trusty servant in the town of Chandernagore, three miles distant, together with such papers as would, probably, if seized by Colonel Dow, have brought fatal conspiracies to light." In his text, Macintosh writes: "This dangerous evil is encouraged by the wilful violation of the standing orders of the Company, prohibiting the Company's servants in India from marrying women of foreign birth or the Romish faith. Two of the Council at Madras are married to French ladies—near relations of Governor Law and rigid Catholics. A late suspended member of the same Board is married to another lady of that family; and several other gentlemen in the Service of that Presidency have entered into similar connections. The Governor-General, Mr. Hastings, has set an example of the same kind in Bengal; and in order to render the practice general, he contrived to draw two of his family into foreign connections. With great confidence it may be asserted that all the mischiefs which have attended Mr. H—s's administration in Bengal are to be ascribed to female connection; that the notice given to M. Chevalier, the evening preceding the capture of Chandernagore, etc.; etc."

In a letter dated January 18th, 1782, Francis writes: "In answer to a thousand lies you will have heard about Mr. Macintosh, I declare to you most solemnly that I never did employ or authorize him, directly or indirectly to say or do anything for me, or on my account in England." In a cash-book of Francis has been discovered the following entry.

	£.	s.	d.
In 1782 February, Draft of Macintosh paid January 18th	—	10	78 4 10
" December 6th Paid Mr. Almon (the Bookseller) in full for Macintosh		55	18 6

The *Travels in Europe* were published by John Murray, of Fleet Street and do not bear the name of Almon, but the book was most probably placed on sale at Almon's, or Almon and Debrett's, shop. The connection of Francis with Almon is interesting for another reason, as the following extract will show:—

Gentleman's Magazine,* 1770, Vol. XIII, Chronicle, P. 165. Mr. Almon, the book-seller, received sentence for selling in a monthly pamphlet *Junius' Letter to the K—*, to pay a fine of 10 marks and to find sureties for his good behaviour for two years, himself to be bound in £400, and his sureties in 200 each. Mr. Justice Astor pronounced the sentence, Lord M— having left the Court before the pleadings.

In the *Annual Register* for 1783 there is an interesting letter from Joseph Cator to Thomas Pearson describing the *rati* of the widow of Gocul Chunder Gosaul, Vereist's Brahmin. Cator relates that Charnock saved the life of the Hindu widow, who was to become his wife, "by touching her while she was going through the ceremony." The letter is dated July 25th, 1779.

The following extract from a letter of the Court to Bengal, dated 5th April, is worth noting:—

We have no objection to the privilege granted to Messrs Sumner, Heatley and Redlears to get coal in the Patchet Province, provided the rights of the native zemindars are not infringed, nor the revenue of the Company endangered or diminished thereby.

The Gentleman's Magazine, 1787, P. 744, records:—

August 14. At Kentish Place, Lady Boughton, relict of Sir Edward Boughton, mother of Sir Theodosius Boughton, who was sometime ago poisoned by his sister's husband, Capt. Donnellan, for which the latter was executed in 1781.

At the trial of Warren Hastings, the Managers pleaded that circumstantial evidence should be good enough to convict the Ex-Governor, for circumstantial evidence had sufficed to send Capt. Donnellan to the gallows. As I read this argument in the proceedings against Hastings, there came to my memory the following passage from William's *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry* (1817):—

This unfortunate man was executed at Warwick in 1781 for the supposed murder of his brother-in-law, Sir Theodosius Boughton. He was condemned on the evidence of mother-in-law, who, through remorse, on her death-bed, confessed that she had administered the poison herself which deprived her of her son's life and declared Mr. Donnellan to be innocent.

The murdered Baronet, it would seem, was a lad who had but recently left Eton. His mother, in her evidence, said that the boy had frequently been represented by Donnellan "to be in a dangerous way, notwithstanding contrary opinion of medical folk," but a clergyman who gave evidence, as having seen the deceased a few days before death, said that Sir Theodosius had not got rid of the disorder he had brought with him from Eton which was "nothing but mercury and corruption," and despite an outward appearance of good health, his life was "not worth a year's purchase." Surgeon William Carr, however, was of opinion that the disorder had ceased to be serious.

* I am not quite sure if my reference is not really to the *Annual Register*.

On the day before his death, the Baronet had been out fishing, and did not return to the Hall till 9 P.M. His mother stated that formerly her son's medicine had been kept under lock and key, but Captain Donnellan had recommended that it would be well to keep the medicine in a place before the patients' eye, so that he could take it when necessary. The medicine—"Purging draughts for Sir Theodosius Boughton"—was, therefore, kept on an open shelf. The draughts were professedly:

1. Manna and Salts.
2. Rhubarb and jalop—15 grains each.

At 7 A.M. on the day of her son's death, Lady Boughton poured the contents of one of the bottles, not having shaken it, into a tea-cup, and gave the medicine to her son. On drinking the mixture, the patient remarked that it was extremely nauseous, and the witness said the smell suggested bitter almonds. Two bottles were placed before her, and she indicated one which she said gave an impression of laurel leaves. Soon after drinking the medicine, the patient, according to his mother, became convulsive for about five minutes, after which, he becoming "easy," she left the room. After five minutes she returned and found her son in an alarming situation—teeth clenched, eyes fixed upwards, and mouth foaming. She sends for Dr. Powell, and then Donnellan is found, according to her statement, in the room. According to her statement, Donnellan seized one bottle, poured water into it, and then poured the contents into a basin containing dirty water. Despite Lady Boughton's protest, the Captain did the same with the other bottle, explaining that he was about to taste the contents, and putting his finger to the mouth of each bottle and then to his own mouth. Two servants—Sarah Blundell and Catherine Amor, entered the room, and Donnellan ordered the first to clean the bottles and tidy the room, despite Lady Boughton's objection. At this stage, Sir Theodosius died. Then, according to Lady Boughton, she, her daughter (the Captain's wife), and the Captain met in the parlour. Donnellan said to his wife that Lady Boughton had observed him washing the bottles, and that but for his saying he did it to taste the contents, he did not know what might be done to him. Lady Boughton made no reply, but turned in silence to the window. The Captain called in the coachman and asked him, "William, don't you remember my going out this morning through the iron gate? I have not been on the other side of the house to-day." "Yes, Sir," said William, "I do remember it." "Then, you William, are my evidence." At the Coroner's Inquest, Lady Boughton said, the Captain had pulled her sleeve when she spoke of his having washed the bottles, and afterwards, on the way home, said to his wife that her Ladyship was very forward in telling things which she had no occasion to tell, for all that she had to do was to answer the questions put

to her. After ordering the room to be cleansed, her Ladyship alleged, Donnellan had given the deceased's stockings to the servant saying that they were wet, while as a matter of fact there was no appearance of their being wet at all.

Catherine Amor, in her evidence, stated that the Captain had volunteered the statement that Sir Theodosius had caught cold by going out fishing when he was under medicine; yet when the body was opened, he said the cause of death was the breaking of a blood vessel. The Captain had been wont to lock himself up for hours working at a still, and a few days after the inquest had brought her a still to clear.

Powell of Rugby, the medical man sent for by Lady Boughton stated that he had arrived at 9 A. M. to find Sir Theodosius already dead. He was accompanied by the Captain to the death chamber, and informed by him that the Baronet had died in convulsions, which the Captain ascribed to a chill. The medicines were not in the room.

On September 4th, Rattray, Physician of Coventry, was summoned by an anonymous letter to attend at Lawford Hall to inspect, in company with Surgeon Wilmer, the body of the deceased. The medical men, on their arrival, were met by Donnellan who showed them a letter from Sir William Wheeler, the late Baronet's guardian, demanding a *post mortem*. The Doctors, however, finding the body to be in an advanced state of putrefaction, excused themselves on the ground "that mere family curiosity could not justify so dangerous an operation." Three days after the funeral, on September 9th, at the demand of Sir William Wheeler, Rattray and Wilmer met Bucknell, Powell and Snow at the churchyard. The body was exhumed and found to be "black and spotted, fat dissolved and—looked like water—teeth black and tongue protruding and curled up to the nose." Asked if these symptoms were caused by poison, Rattray replied "most undoubtedly," but, although he referred to experiments on dogs and horses, he had to admit, on cross-examination, that he had never before seen the dissection of a body supposed to be poisoned. The two bottles already mentioned were shown to him, and he declared "the one perfectly innocent, the other—chief ingredient laurel water." He admitted having been of opinion that the arsenic had been the cause of the death, but said that he had changed that view. He could not again alter his view as he had tasted some water in the deceased's stomach and had been convinced.

Wilmer and Parsons, "Professor of Anatomy at Oxford, and Ash, Physician in Birmingham, supported Rattray's view. Bucknell stated that

on calling at Lawford Hall, he had been met by Captain Donnellan, who told him that, as Rattray and Wilmer had refused to hold a *post mortem* it could be no one's business to interfere. Subsequently, after instructions from Sir William Wheeler, he again called at the Hall, but was sent away by the prisoner.

The above is very unpleasant reading, but the details may, perhaps, be of importance to the student of Medical Jurisprudence. The unfortunate thing is that I have not so far been able to test Williams' assertion that in the end Captain Donnellan's innocence was established by the confession of his mother-in-law. Donnellan came to Calcutta in Aldercron's Regiment in 1756, and elected to remain with the Indian Army, when his regiment was sent home. In 1759 he was court-martialed at Masulipatam for a breach of the 12th Article of War, but he seems to have been able to obtain a favourable reconsideration of his conduct.

To the abiding loss of Calcutta, Archdeacon Hyde brought his published studies of Calcutta Ecclesiastical history to an end with the close of the eighteenth century. At close of his brochure *The Parish of Bengal*, he takes his reader to visit the Church of St. John, "at its consecration or within a year of it." The chief entrance was then in the middle of the eastern wall. "Alighting at the great eastern staircase of Chunar-stone you ascended under the screen of your huge painted parasol to a tile-paved terrace beneath the eastern portico. Here a sentry with a firelock guarded the entrance. Passing him you found yourself in a wide, narrow vestibule and at the back of the curved recess that enclosed the altar: to the right and left were staircases leading up to the doors of the galleries. (This vestibule was abolished in 1811.) Passing beneath one of these staircases into the interior you saw that the altar was set in an apse (not vaulted probably) and on a pavement of white Chinese marble. Above it hung the great picture, and it was protected by a curved railing." The Archdeacon thinks that the pews in the body of the Church "probably faced all north and south on either side of a broad central aisle." The "tall pulpit with the reading desk below it stood right in front of the western gallery."

The above description suggests that, although in 1790, one entered St. John's by a door in the East, the altar was then at the east end of the Church, and discovered by the visitor after passing through a vestibule

enclosed by the extreme Eastern wall of the Church and within by a "curved wall" forming the apse in which the altar stood.

Referring to the Vestry Records, I find in a bill presented by Messrs. Bruce and Smille, on the 5th January 1812, the following items:—

To taking down the old roof, the circular walls behind the Communion Table, the old staircases and the walls enclosing them	1,146
Cutting 4 apertures in the east wall, fixing in the frames and cutting the doors and windows on each side and over the Communion Table	446

On April 10th 1813 the Vestry paid from their Pewage Fund.

To paving the square part of the church round the Altar, Pulpit and Reading Desk with the best polished clean Marble containing (after deducting 110 feet for the sweep of the Altar and 80 feet for the Governor-General's and Ministers Pews) 734 square feet at 3 Rs. per foot	2,202
Paving 33 feet 4 inches in length of the middle aisle containing 223 square feet at 3 rupees per foot	699

There was another considerable alteration in the architectural design of St. John's, carried out in 1811—the conversion of the internal columns from the "Doric" to the "Corinthian" order. The Report of a Special Committee of Survey held on November 20 1810 is worth reproducing.

LIEUT.-COL. FLEMING of Engineers	President.
CAPT. THOS. WOOD, Executive Officer	Members.
LIEUT. FORDYCE, of Engineers	

Judging from the beams lately taken from the East End as well as from the appearance of the ends of those exposed to view by breaking up the Terrace along the top of the Entablature of the columns in the body of the Church, the Committee is of opinion that, if the roof had not been broken up as above, there would not have been any necessity for a new roof for some years to come; but at present the Committee is of opinion a new roof is become indispensably necessary, for the beams have evidently suffered so much from exposure during the whole of the last rains, there would have been an impropriety in trusting to them.

Notwithstanding it has been hitherto customary when new roofs have been ordered to direct the Balustrades or Parapet wall to be taken down for the purpose of obtaining a perfect level for the beams to rest upon, yet, as that level cannot be had without incurring so heavy an expense, the Committee think it may well be dispensed with in the present instance, and therefore recommend that only the inner part of the wall where each beam rests and as far as they are inserted into it, be taken down.

Although the substituting Corinthian for Doric columns in the body of the Church would, in the opinion of the Committee, be a very great improvement, yet they cannot pretend to recommend the measure as indispensably necessary.

The removal of the original Stairs leading to the Galleries together with the walls enclosing them, as also the Circular Walls against which the Communion table stood, seems a very great improvement, in as much as it has enlarged the body of the Church and given much light, and the Committee very highly approve of the two Flights of Geometrical stairs already constructed in the West end of the Church as they take up very little room and are of very easy ascent, but the Committee does not see any necessity for the ornamented ceiling.

The Committee is not aware of any real necessity or great advantage to be derived from altering the present sloping from the Galleries, and therefore does not recommend it being done: neither does the Committee see any necessity for going to the expense of paving the Eastern Verandah with stone, nor of removing the tiles on the Western steps and putting stone in their stead: both have lasted so long tiled as they were, a new tiling may answer very well.

The Committee observes that the alterations proposed to be made in the Western Portico (all but the Steps), also the cylindrical Stairs in the steeple, as well as the proposed diminution of the Gallery in front of the organ, have been already carried into execution, and therefore thinks it needless to make any observations on those points. All the other parts of the proposed alterations, improvements and repairs, the Committee esteems necessary and proper, and therefore, offers the following estimates.

These alterations were effected during the course of repairs, and alterations and repairs altogether cost Rs. 54,396. The Congregation, at the same time, provided Rs. 3,000 for an ornamental iron railing for the staircases and galleries. It is interesting to note that on December the 3rd 1812, the Vestry addressed the Governor-General (Lord Minto) in Council, pointing out that it had "been deemed expedient that Divine Service should be performed on Sunday Evening at St. John's Church," and asking for the sum of Rs. 4000 to meet "the expence of the shades and lamps with the cost of putting up the same." The petition was granted.

The next great improvement was commenced in 1823. On the 20th of August the Vestry wrote —

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD AMHERST,
Governor-General in Council,

MY LORD,

We beg the honour of your Lordship's attention in Council to a short statement submitted with the view of promoting what is understood to have engaged of late the liberal consideration of Government. This is the improvement of the Cathedral.

The climate of this country obliges us annually to have a sloping double roofed shed of Dhurrah mats and bamboo erected on the south side of the Cathedral, the invariable effect of which is some injuries to the cornice and plaster of the building, the eventual expense being also, we believe, greater than would attend the construction of a suitable pookah verandah such as was in contemplation during the late Lord Bishop's life. In strict necessity the circumstance stated makes only one verandah necessary, but as [the] Building would want in uniformity in that case, and as there would be substantial advantage from a verandah to the northward, we beg to prepare an addition of a verandah on that side likewise. The improvement accruing to the aspect of the City from this two-fold addition to the Cathedral will be obvious to your Lordship in Council, and the substantial advantage intimated by us is that we can thus provide a more convenient ingress and egress for the people who sit under the galleries of the Cathedral and who come in palkees.

There is another improvement, which has been strongly recommended to us and which appears to be in itself desirable, namely, ventilators in the roof. We have consequently obtained an estimate for side ventilators, of which two will be placed at equal distance in the roof of each aisle.

Our practice and desire are not to trouble Government for expenses of the Cathedral so long as the assets derivable from the Pewage enable us to carry into effect what appears desirable; and on this principle we solicit at present Government for one half only of the necessary expenses, viz., Rs. 15,204-11-7, according to the accompanying estimates.

We have, etc.,

DANIEL CORRIE.
J. PARSONS.
G. MONEY.
J. L. STUART.
HENRY V. DARRILL.
W. AINSLIE.

The following is an extract of a letter from Bishop Heber to Lord Amherst:—

I am much concerned that I have been compelled to delay for so long a time the documents which your Lordship has done me the honour to communicate to me respecting the proposed additional verandahs and ventilators to the Cathedral. I was, however, so deeply impressed with what I apprehended to be architectural deformities in the details and elevation shown to me, that I was anxious before I replied to your Lordship to converse with the Architect and some distinguished Engineer Officers whom I have had the privilege of consulting. The result has been that they agree with me in the propriety of (1st) shortening the verandahs by the omission of three pillars at each end; (2ndly) erecting the pillars on a continuous casement, instead of distinct pedestals, and (3rdly) extending the width of the stone steps within to the whole depth of the verandahs. By these alterations, if approved of by your Lordship in Council, a saving will be effected in the expense of, perhaps, a few hundred rupees, but what is of more importance, a more convenient shelter will be obtained for palanquins, a more spacious and handsome access to the side aisles, and a much more chaste and elegant façade to the North and South Fronts of the Cathedral. Thus modified, I can with confidence recommend the plan to the munificence of your Lordship in Council, as likely to add materially to the comfort and convenience of the congregation, as well to the beauty of the structure and adjacent streets of the City.

In January, 1824, the Government contributed Rs. 7,647-5-9 as its share for the verandahs and ventilators.

The third important change was made sometime in 1863-64. This was the building of the existing Sanctuary. In view of this change, Lt. Col. Beadle, on behalf of the Dalhousie Institute, put in a request that Zoffany's Altar Piece might be transferred from the Church to the Institute. The cost of the new sanctuary appears to have been Rs. 6128-10-8, and the amount contributed by the Vestry Rs. 3323-10-10. On December 28th the Vestry were asked to consent to the surrender of a twenty-foot strip of land in the East of the compound for the purpose of widening Council House Street.

Elsewhere in the present issue I have given the inscription from the grave of Mr. Jacob Rider at Ghazipur. I suppose that this Mr. Rider is to be

identified with the Jacob Rider who was dismissed from the Service by the Select Committee on 5th January 1767 for having joined in an address to Sir Robert Fletcher, when the latter was under sentence of Court Martial, and who was restored in the following year. (See General Letter of the Court to Bengal 9th December, 1768). Rider had been appointed in 1762 together with among others, Simeon Droz, John Grose, William Harwood, and Alexander Higginson. Of the last name the late Mr. R. C. Sterndale writes :

Amongst the worthies who contributed to the New Play House erected on the site of the Old Church was one Alexander Higginson, a member of a notable and adventurous family of Salem, Massachusetts, for so far back as 1695, we find Colonel John Higginson of Salem, writing to induce his brother, Nathaniel, one of the Company's servants and for five years Governor of Fort St. George on the Coromandel Coast, to open up an Indian trade with Salem by way of London. A son of Nathaniel Robert Higginson died in Madras in 1726, being seventh in Council, though only 23 years in age. The Salem merchants, however, soon began to trade with Calcutta direct, and the *Atlantic of Salem* was the first ship that carried the American flag in the River Hughli in 1788.

From Volume 1 of "Writers' Petition" preserved at the India Office I have reaped the following biographical facts relative to John Cartier, Warren Hastings's immediate predecessor as Governor of Fort William. Cartier was the son of John and Mary Cartier: he was born on the 23rd May 1733, and baptised at St. James' Church, Westminster, on the 17th June following. He was educated by Francis Swinlen, Master of the Academy at Greenwich, and later by Ellis Webster at the "School in Orange Court, near the Mews, Charing Cross," who writes :

This is to certify that Mr. John Cartier has been duly instructed by me in writing and arithmetic, and has regularly gone through two sets of Books in Merchants accounts of Dr. and Cr. by Double Entry and thoroughly qualified therein.

Cartier's "arrival" is dated 25th September 1750. In the dread year 1756 he was Factor and an Assistant at Dacca and for a short time a prisoner. In January, 1757, he is described in a list of Covenanted Servants (Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. III p. 414) as "Volunteer," while next to him comes Warren Hastings "Head Assistant Zemindary."

ST. JOHN'S HOUSE.

Calcutta.

}

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have been temporarily transferred to Shillong, and owing to the journey I have not been able to give to the proofs the amount of attention I should have desired.

W. K. F.



CHUPRA. VIEW OF THE OLD CEMETERY.

Photo by Walter K. Firminger.

Some Old Burial Grounds.

IT is with the very greatest reluctance and with many misgivings I send the following pages to the press. The inscriptions here given were for the most part copied beneath a blazing sun, and with but the shortest time to do the work I attempted. It may, however, be long before any one with more leisure and skill comes forward to do the work in a scientific fashion, and during that time it is most probable that not a few of the inscriptions will have vanished forever. I would warn the reader that there may be many inaccuracies in these transcriptions of the epitaphs, although I hope for the best—that there will be found to be but few if any.

MONGHYR.

(1). *Closed Cemetery.*

The old cemetery at Monghyr is a burial-ground for the most part of children, young wives, and aged men. Probably more than 75 per cent. of the graves are those of children. I noticed, but had not time to copy, the inscriptions which show that in a sad fortnight of 1850 Sub-Conductor White buried three of his children close together in this sacred ground. The reader should consult *The Journal* of Bishop Heber.

1. Beneath this Stone / are deposited the earthly remains of / MAJOR-GENERAL / JAMES MURRAY MACGREGOR / of the Honourable East India Company's Service; / who departed this life on the 7th December / Anno Domini 1818 in the Fifty-ninth year of his age. / Oppressed and broken / by a series of unmerited misfortunes, / His Spirit, it is hoped has found repose, on the bosom of a Merciful Redeemer. / The remembrance of what he was / and of those qualities which rendered him dear / while living, to all who really knew him / will remain written in indelible characters / on the mournful hearts / of his disconsolate survivors.

2. Sacred / to the memory / of / WILLIAM MUNDY / Pensioner Sergeant / who departed this life / the 3rd of May, 1810 / Aged 74 years.

3. To the / Memory / of / CAPTN. RICHARD FRENCH late / of the Honer'ble (sic) Company Service / who departed this life the / 15th November in the year 1814 / Aged 74 years. / This Monument is erected by his two / Sons.....French and Richard French.

4. Here are deposited / the mortal remains of CORDELIA CORFIELD / wife of / Charles Corfield, Esq., / Surgeon of His Majesty's 17th Regiment of Foot / who departed this life / September 18th, 1814 / Aged 32 years and 7 months. / This Monument / is erected in grateful remembrance / of the many virtues that endeared her / to Private Affection / and Public Esteem / Richd. Blechynden *Arct.*

5. Sacred / to the / Memory of / MAJOR JAMES / DAVIDSON / of the 18th Regt. N. I. / who departed this life / August the 4, 1802.

6. Sacred / to the Memory of / CAPTAIN JOHN WILLIAMS* / Formerly Commanding the Invalid Battalion / of this Garrison / In which he resided many years / His Gallantry and exemplary conduct / Excited the Applause / and regard of his Brother Officers / and of those who were placed under his Command / while his general deportment in Society / secured the Esteem of all who knew him. / This Stone / is placed by a Friend / who respects his Memory / and deploras his loss. / He died at Sea / on board the Hon'ble Company's Ship / *Northumberland* / Captain J. R. Francklin / near the Westward / Islands / On the 20th June 1809 / In the 68th year of his Age.

7. Beneath this humble Pile / Rest the remains of / JANE and HENRY / the wife and son / of / Captain John WILLIAMS. / Henry died the 13th of July 1798 / Aged twenty months / and his Mother / on the 29th of the same month / of grief / for the loss of her Child.

8. Sacred / to the memory of / CHARLES / son of CAPTAIN JOHN WILLIAMS / died. [*Continuation buried.*]

9. In Memory / of / MRS. MARY CHAMBERLAIN / Relict of / the late Rev. J. Chamberlain / Died August 27, 1833. / Aged 59.

10. In Memory of / JANE / late beloved wife of John PARSONS Missionary / who died August 26, 1842. / Aged 27 years. When Christ who is our life shall / appear, then shall ye also appear / with Him in glory.

11. / EBENEZER LAWRENCE / son of John and Mary Lawrence, Missionaries / who died August 7th, 1843 / Aged 3 years and 9 months. / Of such is the Kingdom of / God.

12. Sacred to the Memory / of / ENSIGN PATRICK QUIN / Died XXII April, MDCCXCV. Aged LXVI years

13. Sacred to the Memory / of / CAPT. NATHANIEL ALEXANDER / who died suddenly / on / the 31st of January 1792 / in the 52nd year / of his Age.

14. This / Monument / was erected / to the memory of ENSIGN JAMES STEWART / by his Friend L. Clearchue / by desire of his Brother / He died on the 5th of June / 1769 / aged 19 years. / A Clayton *fact.*

* The author of a well-known history of the Bengal Infantry.

15. Here lieth the body / of / Mr. JOHN M. CABE / late / Deputy / Commissary / at this place / Died January 26th 1798. years.
16. Sacred to the memory of / LIEUT.-COL. WILLIAM MACNABARA / who died at Monghyr / the 31st of January 1821 / Aged 62 years.
17. LIEUT. G. DWYER. Died March 17, 1856.
18. Sacred / to the Memory of / JOACHIM PIRON Esquire / Uncovenanted Deputy Collector / who departed this life / on the 18th May, 1857 / Aged 63 years and two months.
19. Sacred / to the Memory of / JOHN HENRY HARTLEY / PIRON / the only Son of / Joachim and Louisa / Piron / who departed this life / on the 15th August / 1852 / Aged 22 years 2 months / and 28 days.
20. Sacred / to the Memory of / HENRY PIRON / only beloved Son of / THOMAS GRANT Esquire / of Bhagulpore / who departed this life / on the 16th October 1856 / Aged 22 months and 4 days. / The Lord gave and the Lord / hath taken away. Blessed / is His Holy Name.
21. In Memory / of / ENSIGN RONALD DAVIDSON / who departed this life / the 3rd day of August / 1788 / Aged 45 years / Truly lamented by all who knew him.
22. MRS. DE FOE / An aged widow died August 31, 1857 / Them which Sleep in Jesus / Will God bring with Him.
23. Sacred to the Memory of Lieut. / EDWARD FROUD / SPENCER of the / Bengal Native / Infantry / Died June 25 / 1827.
24. Sacred / to / the Memory of / LEUT. JAS MOORE. H. M. 20th Reg. Foot / Departed this life 30th December 1845 / Aged 38 years. / Leaving a widow and three Orphan Children / to Deplore His Irreparable loss / This Monument is erected by His Disconsolate Widow.
25. BISCO DALE / Son of Captain JOHN WILLIAMS / died 7 August 1799. Aged 13 Months.
26. RALPH IRVING. M. D. Died XVIIIth April / MDCCXCV / Aged XXXV years.
27. of / MARTHA / a Native Christian of sincere and / practical piety / who after upwards / of 40 years of faithful service in / Major-General Shuldham's family / died at Monghyr 8th of September 1844. / Blessed are the dead which die / in the Lord.
28. S. M. / of / CHARLES FRANCIS LE VASCHI / Son of / John Francis Le Vaschi / who departed this life 8th May A. D. 1829 / Aged 8 years 11 months and 3 days.
29. Sacred / to the Memory of CATHERINE MARIAE / LOWTON / Daughter of George and / Maria Lowton / of the Bengal Artillery / who departed this life / on the 7th of May 1805 / Aged 8 months and 10 days.

[Continuation beneath soil.]

30. Sacred / to the Memory / of Miss AMELIA / WATSON, who departed this life 23 / November 1829 Aged 17 / Leaving an aged Mother and numerous / friends to lament her early loss.

31. Sacred / to the Memory / of / CAPTAIN FRANCIS LATTER / of the 2nd Regt. N. Cavalry / who departed this life / 2nd day of April 1808.
[Continuation under soil.]

32. Here lies interred / the Body of / LIEUT. GEORGE HYDE / of Invalids / who departed this life / at Monghyr / Thursday 18th October 1827- / Aged 58 years.

33. In Memory of / WALTER FLETCHER / of Chesterfield, Derbyshire / An Ensign in the H. E. I. C. Service / who departed this life / 22nd August 1820 Aged 16 years. / A young man / whose excellent disposition / secured him the love of his friends / and his talents, correctness of conduct / the respect and esteem of all who knew him.

34. In Memory / of / MRS. HELEN TRESHAM / who died 3rd December 1847 13 rows below Suckreegully / Aged 33 years. / Such was her worth our loss is such / We cannot love too well, or grieve too much.

35. Sacred / to / the Memory / of / CAPTAIN JOHN CARIGE / who departed this life / on the 48th year / of his age / Sincerely and deservedly / lamented. / April 21, 1813.

36. Sacred / to the memory of / CHRISTIANA TYTLER / [Wife of] / Henry William Tytler, M. D. / Surgeon to His Majesty's Forces. / Born December 25th 1753. / Died January 4th 1823.

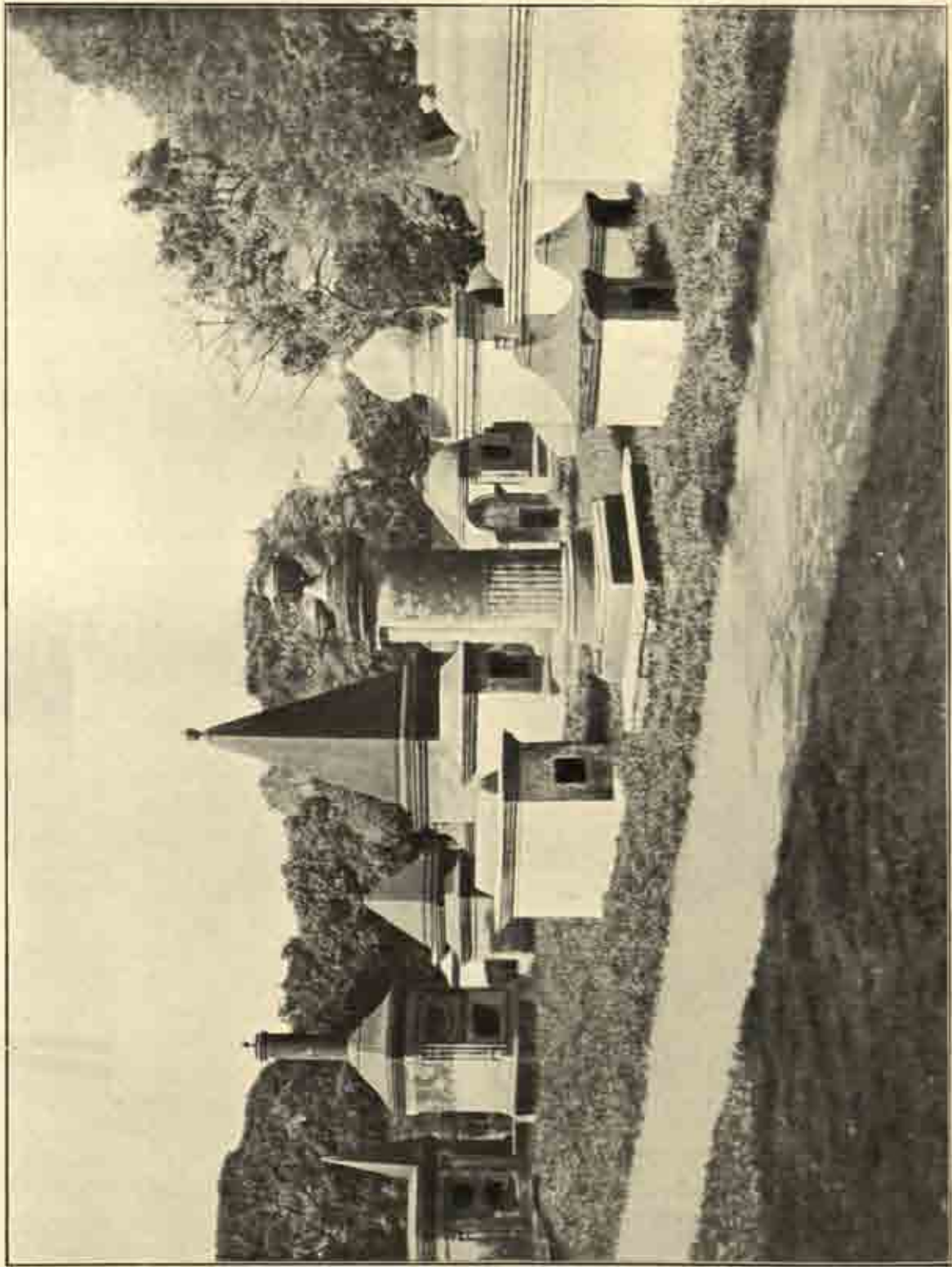
[This tablet is broken and lies on the ground. Conclusion lost.]

37. Sacred / to the Memory of / CHRISTIANA MARGARET / Daughter of / John TYTLER and Anne Gallies his wife. / Born September 8, 1823. / Died December 21, 1823. / Of such is the Kingdom of heaven.

38. Here lies interred / HANNAH PAULINA the Daughter of BRYAN GLOVER. / Born the 30th December 1779. Died 27th August 1780.

39. Sacred to the Memory of / LIEUT. JOHN C. McDOUGALL / of H. M. 87th Fusiliers who died at Monghyr / on the 28th April, 1881. / Aged 21.

40. Sacred / to the Memory of / BREVET ENSIGN WILLIAM GRAHAM / aged 86 years / who died at this place / Monghyr / on the 21st August 1829 / in the the respect and consideration of all around him / William Graham came out to India / a private in the Hon'ble Company's Army / In the year 1766 / Was honoured with the Brevet of Ensign. / Frugal and judicious in his course of life / after retiring from the active duties / of his profession, / he creditably educated his children and maintained his family / and accumulated a considerable fortune.



MONGHYR, OLD CEMETERY.
Photo by Walter K. Firminger.

41. GEORGE POYNITZ RICKETTS / Born 10th July 1774 / Died 29th April 1813 / The goodness and benevolence of his heart, / the strict integrity of his character / endeared him to his many friends / and rendered his loss more severe / and irreparable to his affectionate wife / and numerous family connections.

42. ... of WILLIAM GARDNER / the Son of / Alan Gardner / Died the 24th August 1823 / Aged 2 years and one month.

GHAZIPUR.

(1). *Old Cemetery.**

1. Sacred to the Memory of / CAPTAIN JAMES ROBERTSON / of Engineers / This Monument is Erected / by His Affectionate and Grateful Wife / Sarah Anne Catherine Robertson. / Ob. 4th of November. 1810 / Aged 35 years.

2. Sacred / to the Memory (*sic*) / of Mrs JANE STEWART, / who departed this life / on the 9th September / 1811 / Aged 59 years / This monument was erected by her / affectionate / husband / Charles Stewart.

3. In / memory / of JACOB RIDER ESQ / who died regretted / on the 23th day / of August / 1809. / Aged 63 years.

4. Sacred to the Memory / of / LIEUT.-COL. P. PIGOTT / of the 6th Regiment of Native / Cavalry / who died at this Station on the / 12th of November 1800, Aged 46 years. / By his affectionate Friend, / Thomas Alcock.

5. Here are deposited / the Remains of / CAPTAIN WILLIAM MERCER / of / the Hon'ble Company's 5th Regiment N. Cavalry / Deceased 5th August 1801. / Aged 47 year.

6. To the Memory / of JOHN THRESHER, / Overseer in the Depy. Qr. Mr. Genl's Dept. / who died at this Station the 13th January / 1801 / Aged 59 years. / By his Affectionate Daughter.

7. Sacred / to the Memory of / LIEUT. P. HERRING / of H. M. 67th Regt. / who departed this life / on.....of June.....Aged 31[?] years.

8. Sacred / to the Memory (*sic*) / of JAMES RICHARDSON, / late Sergt. and Drum / Major, H. M. 67th Regt. of Foot, / who departed this / life the 6th day of June / 1810. Aged 28 years.

9. CHARLOTTE DE MOMET, / Born the 10th August 1829. / Died the 10th June / 1830.

* I noted also the graves of the following children of Robert and Catherine Barlow:—

- | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) Hilaine Elizabeth. | 25th September 1821. | Aged 1 year and 6 months. |
| (2) Arthur Pakenham. | 15th June 1819. | " 5 months and 2 days. |
| (3) Maria Catharine. | 27th September 1820. | " 2 years and 4 months. |
| (4) Francis George. | 11th August 1826. | " 10 months. |
| (5) George. | 27th July 1817. | " 1 year and 3 months. |

10. JULES DE MOMET / Ne le 6 Aout 1827. / Décédé le 13 Février, 1828.

11. JAS. TOOPER / died 19th April, 1816. / Aged 24 years / Also / THOS. DOLBY / died 19th September 1816. / Aged 42 years. / Both of the 17th Foot.

Stop poor Sinner ! Stop and think
Before you further go.
Will you sport upon the brink
Of everlasting woe ?

—
Once again I charge you stop,
For unless you warning take
Ere you are aware you drop
Into the eternal lake.

12. Sacred / to the Memory of / the late MRS. HANNAH WARD, / who departed this life / the 14th September, 1817 / Aged 39 years.

13. Sacred / to the Memory of / MRS. ANN DELANEY, Wife of / Mr. Delaney Merchant / who died at Ghazee-pore on / the 3rd Day of June, 1817. [*Continuation obliterated.*]

14. Sacred / to the Memory / of ELIZABETH / late wife of Lt. A. CHILD / of H. M. 24th Foot who departed / this life on the 7th May 1819 / Aged 38th years. / Erected as a tribute of affectionate / regard and esteem by her afflicted / Husband.

15. Sacred to the Memory of / CAPTAIN R. H. BUCHANAN / 2nd Battn. 24 Reg. N. I. / who departed this life on the 10th of May, / 1816 / Aged 32 years. / Erected / as a Mark of Esteem and Regard / By the Officers of His Corps.

16. Sacred / to the Memory of / Mr. WILLIAM WARD / late of Mahomedabad / who Departed this Life / on the 2nd Day of September / 1812 / Aged 39 years.

17. To the Memory of / BREV. MAJOR MYLNE / of His Majesty's 24th Dragoons, / who died at Ghazee-pore / on the 3th Day of November, 1815. / Aged 47 years.

18. Sacred / to the memory of / ENSN E. W. CHAMBERLAIN / of His Majesty's 24th Regiment of / Foot / who departed this life the 21st / of June 1814 / Aged 16 years. / Erected / as a mark of esteem and regard by the / Officers of his Corps.

19. Sacred / to the Memory / of / Mr. JOHN BUR / who departed this life / 10th May 1818. / Aged 32 years.

20. Sacred / to the / Memory / of / HARRIOT / wife of Mr. James



GHAZIPUR. IN OLD CEMETERY.



GHAZIPUR. ALTAR-SHAPED MONUMENTS.

Photos by Walter K. Firminger.

WATSON. Merchant of this / Station / who departed this / life on the 10th day of.....A. D. 1819.[?]

21. In memory of / MRS. ANN REILLY, / wife of Nicho. Reilly B. E. H. / who died 24th January 1821 / Aged 31 years. / Also of JOHN NICHOLSON / Son of the Above / who died 25th1821.

(2). *New Cemetery.*

22. Sacred / to / the Memory of / JAMES FINLAY, / Late of H. Ms. 3rd Regt. / A Volunteer from the 1st Bengal Regt. of Foot, / who departed this / life August the 17th / 1834. / Aged 32 years. / Leaving a wife and child / to lament his loss. / This Tomb was erected as a Tribute of affection / by his Widow.

23. In Memory of / JEAN. / Wife of William Orde Ruspini, / District Chaplain. / Born 7th February 1815 / Entered into rest 25th September 1834. [*Texts not transcribed.*]

24. To the Memory of / WILLIAM FIRTH ESQUIRE / Companion of the most Honorable Military Order of the Bath, / Lieutenant-Colonel H. M. 38th Regt. / Born July 1780. / Died 27th May 1831. / This Column / has been raised as a tribute of their / sincere esteem and respect by the / Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers / and Privates of the Corps.

25. Sacred / to the Memory of / LIEUT.-COL. HENRY HAWTREY, / Commanding the 5th Light Cavalry. / Died 7th July 1833. / This Monument is erected as a mark of respect / By the Officers of his Corps.

26. Sacred / to / the / Memory of ANN / Daughter of Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. / Doveton, who dep- / arted this life on / the 19th November, 1826 / in the 17th year of her age.

27. To the Memory / of / LT.-COL. I. C. L. CARTER / His M's. 44 Regt. / who departed this life / the 5th September 1827 / Aged 45 years.

28. Sacred / ot the Memory of / CORNWALLIS LA TOUCHE ESQ., / Bengal Civil Service / who died at Ghazepore / on the 27th April 1837. / Aged 29th / The Tribute of attached friends.

29. Sacred / to the Memory of / LT.-COL. F. M. MILLER C. B. / of H. M. 87th Regt. / who departed this life / the 18th May 1823. / This Monument is erected as a token of sincere affection / by his Brother Officers / by whom his numerous virtues / as a Man and a Soldier / will be long and deeply lamented.

30. To the beloved Memory of / EDWARD PLANTAGANET ROBIN HOOD HASTINGS / Fourth Son of Hans Francis / 12th Earl of Hartington / who died at Ghazepore / on the 17th day of October 1857. / Aged 39 years / Jesus said. Weep not: he is not dead but sleepeth.

31. In affectionate / Remembrance / of THE VEN. JOHN HENRY PRATT / M.A., F.R.S. / Archdeacon of Calcutta / who died of Cholera / at Ghazepore / December 28th / 1871 / in his 63rd year / Having just entered / on his Final Visitation / after a residence / in India of 33 years. / "A good soldier of Jesus / Christ. 2 Tim. 11.4." "Be thou faithful into / death and I will give thee a Crown of life. Rev. 11.10."

(3). *Ghasipur Church.*

32. M. S. / CHEVALIER ANTOINE DE L'ETANG. / Kt. of St. Louis. / Born 20th July, 1754. / Died 11th December 1840.

LT. EUGENE DE L'ETANG, / 1st Europe Regiment. / Born 5th May 1803 / Died 15th November, 1829 / Requiescat in pace.

33. In Memory of / CAPT. THE HONORABLE EDWARD / PLANTAGANET ROBINHOOD HASTINGS, / late of the 32nd Regiment N. I. / He died at Ghazepore, / Aged 39 years / from the effects of exposure / during Major V. Eyre's / memorable advance from Buxar / to the Relief / of the Arrah Garrison / in July and August 1857. / This Tablet is erected by his Companions / in arms and by his friends who were / so timely succoured by an Expedition / which owed much of its origin and of its / brilliant success to his self-devotion, / energy, and distinguished courage.

34. Sacred / to the Memory of / GEORGE WILSON, ESQ., / who departed this life / on the 3rd of April, 1885—, Aged XLVIII.

35. Sacred / to the Memory of ANNE ALEXANDER / Wife of A. C. HEYLAND Esqr., / Judge of this District. / Born March 30th 1808, died Oct. 11th, 1839 of Ghazepore. / And all wept and bewailed her: but He said Weep not: / She is not dead but sleepeth.

DINAPUR.

At Dinapur there are two closed cemeteries and one open. Here, as at Ghazipur, a friable kind of sandstone has been made use of for memorial tablets. I was with difficulty just able to make out the names of Robert Hutchison and Mrs. Eliza Mench [?] on two tombs.

In the oldest cemetery there is a rather long row of graves belonging to the Penhearow family. The inscription on the first grave has worn away, but it commemorates a Mr. Elizah Penhearow. I had not sufficient time to transcribe the inscriptions, but I noted that the second and third inscriptions are seemingly to the parents of the children whose graves follow as—

1. Daniel Penhearow. Born 23rd December 1800. Died 1st May 1876.

2. Elizabeth Haig. Wife of Daniel Penhearow, Senior. Born 1812. Died 1866.



CHUPRA. DUTCH TOMBS.



CHUPRA. DUTCH TOMBS.

Photos by Walter K. Firminger.

The children are—

Samuel.	Died 24th June 1859.	Aged 12 years 6 months 2 days.
Joel.	Born 27th January 1859.	Died February 1859.
Priscilla.	Died 22nd June 1857.	Aged 11 years 11 months 4 days.
Benzamin.	Died 23rd April 1849.	Aged 1 year 1 month.
Hannah.	Died 27th May 1843.	Aged 11 years 6 months 8 days.
Sarah.	Died 1st July 1842.	Aged 9 months 20 days.
Jonathan.	Died 21st May 1840.	Aged 4 years 1 month 15 days.

(1). *First Old Cemetery.*

1. In Memory of / JAMES GEE / of Dinapore / who departed this life / 1790.

2. In / Memory of Lt. JOHN STEWART / Commissary of Ordnance / who died January 1795 / Aged 44 years.

3. ISABELLA ELIZABETH SPENS / Sister of Colonel Norman Macleod / married / Captain James Spens 73rd Regt. / November 25th. Died December 19th, 1787. / The joy of the Husband and Brother / was short / and their regret will be lasting.

4. M. S. / ELIZAE. Fil. / Guil. WOOD - Duc. / Ob. XXIV August / A. C. / MDCCLXXXII.

5. Sacred to the Memory of / ELIZABETH MANN / who departed this life on the / 10th August / 1793. Aged 44 years. / This Monument is ere (sic) by her most disconsolate / and ever regretting husband / Robert Mann / Marchant (sic) at Dinapore.

6. In memory of / LIEUT. ALEXR. GUTHRIE who died at Dinapore the 2nd of May 1785 / Aged 34 years. / A man of the most / benevolent disposition and tenderly / affectionate Brother and sincere / Friend and agreeable Companion, / who was much esteemed by his / Brother officers and other friends. [*Conclusion not transcribed*].

7. To the Memory / of CAPT. HENRY GRAHAM / of His Majesty's 73rd Regt. / Obiit. Anno MDCCLXXXVII. / Aetat XXIII

8. In Memory / of JANET Wife of / J. STORMONT, / who died at Dinapore / the 2nd April / 1786. Aged 29 years. [*Conclusion not transcribed*].

9. THOMAS HUMFRAYS / Died September 17th, 1784 / Aged 10 months.

10. To the Memory of / ARTHUR AHMUTTY, Esq., / Colonel in the Service of / the Honourable East India Company, who departed this life / the 6th day of December, 1793 / at Dinapore / Aged LXIII years.

11. Here lyeth the body / of ALEXR. SAVILE SHAND / who departed this life October 10th, / 1792 / Aged 27 years.

12. Sacred / to the Memory of / LIEUT.-GENL. SAML. WATSON / who served the Hon'ble Company / faithfully / for forty-six years / and departed this life on the 11th of July / Anno Domini 1814 / Aged 65 years. / I am the Ressurrection and the life / Saith the Lord / He that believeth in Me / though he be dead / yet shall he live / and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me / shall never die. / Respectfully inscribed / by an afflicted / and affectionate Daughter.

13. HENRY GOODELL, Son of / Goodell, Sergt. / 5th European Regt. / who died ye 25th of July 1793 / Aged 1 year 3 months, and 24 days. Opening bud thy early infant charms / saw well pleased, and snatched ye to its arms.

14. ROBERT DOWNES, A.M. / Catherine Hall, Cambridge. / Died 25th June 1771 / Aged 26 years.

15. To the Memory of / LIEUT.-COLONEL / JAMES BROWNE / who departed this life / June 22nd, 1790. / Aged 48.

(2). *Second Old Cemetery.*

16. Erected by his Brother Officers to the Memory of / CAPTAIN CHARLES DUNBAR, His Majesty's 10th Regiment / Killed in Action with the Mutineers near Arrah / July 29th 1857. / Aged 51 years.

[On other side.]

Erected by his Brother Officers to the Memory of / ENSIGN HENRY JAMES ERSKINE, His Majesty's 10th Regiment / who died at Dinapore July 31st 1857 from wounds received in / Action with the Mutineers near Arrah. July 29th. / Aged 29 years.

17. MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN ST. LEGER / Died 29th July 1799. / Aged 42.

18. Sacred / to the Memory of / SPENCER DYER / Merchant / who departed this life / 28th May 1810 / Aged 42 years.

(3). *Cemetery in Present use.*

19. Sacred / to the Memory of / STANLAKE HENRY BATSON, M. D. / Surgeon Major / Bengal Medical Service / Retired List. / Died August 27th A. D. 1869. / Aged 59. / Field Surgeon to the Force before / Delhi during the Mutiny / A. D. 1857. / " In the shadow of Thy wings shall be my refuge / until this tyranny be over-past / Ps. LVII / Also of CAROLINE MARY his wife / Born May 17th. Died September 19th, 1880. / Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life.

PURNEAH.

Old Cemetery.

1. Sacred / to the Memory of / JAMES COLNETT GREAVES, / who died on the 3rd April 1825. / Aged one year.

2. Sacred / to the Memory of / CAPTAIN WILLIAM MACPHERSON / of the 24th Regiment Native Infantry, / who departed this life / on the 14th September 1819. / Aged 35 years. / In him without Flattery may be said / there combined the Suaviter in Modo / with the Fortiter in Re.

3. Sacred to the Memory of / CHARLES GRÆME, JUNIOR Esq., / Judge and Magistrate of Purnea, / who departed this life on the 24th April, 1864. / Aged 31 years 7 months. / An affectionate Husband, Father, Son and Brother, / a warm Friend, zealous upright Magistrate. / He liv'd beloved and respected; / and died sincerely lamented.

4. Sacred / to the Memory of / JOHN CHARLES JOHNSON, / Born 7th February, 1818 A. D. / Died 15th December 1860 A. D. / In the midst of life / we are in death.

5. Sacred / to the Memory of / REBECCA, / WIFE OF / CAPTAIN JOHN LITLEDAL GALE / who departed this Life / the 6th August 1826 / aged 26 years / also of / CHARLES EDWARD and JAMES / their Children.

6. Dedicated / to the Memory of / CAPTAIN AND MRS. ISAAC ROWE, / who departed this life in the year 1808.

Death, cruel spoiler, tears (sic) each tender tie

And each new day inflicts a sower pain.

Yet severed Friends in joy shall live once more,

And bind anew the ties that death had rent,

And they who loved on transient earth before

Shall meet to love eternally in heaven.

7. In Memory of / ROBERT JARRETT / who departed this life / the 27th February 1805. / Aged 60 years.

8. Sacred / to the Memory of / P. I. FLOR, M.D., / who died at Purneah / the 28th August 1778. / Aged 40 years. [*Persian or Urdu lines follow.*]

9. Sacred / to the Memory / of / Mr. GEORGE MARQUIS / who died at Gondwarra / on the 27th of July 1811. / Aged 23 years / This Monument is erected / by his affectionate Brother who will ever deplore / his premature / fate.

10. Sacred / To the Memory / of / Lieut. ALEXANDER McVEAGH / who died May 6th, 1780. / Aged 22.

11. To the Memory / of / WILLIAM SCOTT, Esq., / who died on the 13th August / 1792. / Aged 40 years.

12. Sacred / to the Memory of / THOS. C. SCOTT, Esq., / late Register, Acting Judge, and / Magistrate of the District, / who died on the 7th day of March 1811. / Aged 29 years. / This Monument is Erected / By two of his most intimate / Friends who despair of / Ever seeing his like again.

13. To the Memory of / JOHN HANNAY, Esq., / late Judge and

Magistrate / of the Zillah of Purneah, / who died on the 19th September, 1795. Aged 50 years.

14. To the Memory of / J. A. DAVIDSON, ESQ. / Assistant Surgeon / Died at this Station / In the year of our Lord / 1819 /

15. Sacred / to the Memory of / MARIA / wife of / CAPTAIN WILLIAM BERTRAM / Barrack Master / 16th Division Barrack Department / who departed this life / at Purneah on the 10th of February 1825 / Aged 26 years.

16. Sacred / to the Memory of / ELIZABETH PETRIE / Relict of JOHN ANGUS MACLEAN / who departed this life / 27th May, 1829, / aged 52 years. / This Monument was Erected / by her affectionate Daughter Catherine Kerry.

17. In / Memory / of / FREDERICK WILLIAM / who died at Purneah on the 18th day of August 1828. / Aged eleven months and twenty-five days. The only son of Frederick and Anne CORFIELD.

18. Sacred / to the Memory of J. V. BISCO, ESQ., / Died at Purneah / On the 26th July 1827. / In the 35th year of his Age.

19. In Memory / of / JAMES KING KILLWICK / who departed this life / 1st of December 1843. / Aged 25 years.

20. Sacred / to the Memory of / THE HON'BLE F. DRUMMOND, / Magistrate of Purneah / who died the 15th May, 1848. / Aged 26 years. This Monument is raised / By the Residents of the District / In token of their sense / of His worth. [*Remainder illegible.*]

21. In / Memory of ALEXANDER TURNBULL / Lieutenant of His Majesty's VIIth Bengal European Regiment / and Commandant of the IIIrd Police Battalion. / Died March 14th 1859. Aged 34 years. / Surely I come quickly. Amen / Even so come Lord Jesus. Revelation. XXII, 29.

22. Sacred / to the Memory of / GEORGE PALMER, ESQ., / who departed this life / on the 10th September, A. D. 1846 / Etat 44 years. / He lived beloved and respected / By both the rich and poor / and died regretted by all. / Requiescat in pace. / [*4 lines of Urdu or Persian follow.*]

23. [The following inscription is much defaced, and I had not time to attempt to copy the closing lines.]

Her[e is in] terred / of / [Ja]mes..... Steel, [Surg]eon in the Service of / The Honourable East India Company / who departed this life / On the of June 1791.

BUXAR.

There is in this burial ground a large masonry structure evidently intended as the basis of a mausoleum. The Executive Engineer informed me that

* There is a tablet to George Palmer in St. John's Church, Calcutta.

according to local tradition the English soldiers who died on the famous battlefield of Buxar are buried here. This tomb is numbered 35 on the official plan of the cemetery.

1. Sacred / to the Memory / of / LIEUT. W. INNES, XII Regt. Inf. / Son of Colonel Innes C. B. Bengal N. I. / Died August 25th / 1832 / As a testimony of their esteem, / This Monument is erected / by the officers in his Regiment. /

2. Sacred / to the Memory of / MR. ANN TOONE / Wife of / Lieut.-Colonel Toone / Commanding this Station / whose Philanthropy / endeared her to her Family, / Friends and all who knew / Her Worth / Obiit 10th August A. D. 1811.

3. Sacred / to the Memory of / E. M. STERLING / Wife of / Captain R. C. Sterling / of the 7th Native Cavalry / who departed this life / on the 7th of April 1811. / Aged 30 years. / This Monument was erected / By his disconsolate Parents.

4. Sacred / to the / Memory of MAJOR JOHN LINDSAY, / of the 10th Regiment Native / Infantry, who died on the 22nd / of October 1817 / Aged ... years. / An excellent disposition / and sound judgment added to / integrity of principle and / sincerity of heart endeared / him to all ; and beloved by his / Friends, he died respected / as an officer and lamented as a man.

5. This Monument / is erected / by the officers / of the 36th Native Infantry / to the Memory of / MAJOR WILLIAM GAGE / of that Regiment / who died at Buxar / while proceeding to the Presidency / on the 28th March, 1829.

6. Sacred / to / the Memory of / CAPTAIN ALEXANDER COCK, / 6th Regiment Light Cavalry who departed this / life 21st September 1823 in the 37th year of his Age / This Monument is erected by his beloved wife as the last honor / she could show towards a kind and affectionate husband / whose loss she will as long as breath remains lament, /

O thou removed from this world's strife,
Whose relics here below are laid,
May peace who watched thy harmless life
In death protect thy harmless shade.
Yet not alone around thy bier
Thy Charlott's sighs unfeign'd ascend.
The mourner's pity drops a tear,
And virtue weeps a vanished friend.

7. Sacred / to the Memory of / JOHN GIBBS / LT.-COLONEL / Commandant of Buxar / who departed this life / on the / 7th December 1847 / Aged 47 years / This tomb is erected as a / Tribute due to departed / worth by his affectionate Lady / M. A. May.

8. To / the Memory / of / LIEUT. JOHN HAMILTON SMITH / Adjutant and Quarter-Master / 5th Sepoy Brigade / Who departed this life / the 12th of September 1789.

9. Sacred / to the Memory / of ENSIGN / JOHN BECHEATON / of the 9th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry / who died at Buxar on the 31st January / 1811. Aged 15 years. / This Monument is erected / by his Brother Officers as a mark / of their affection and esteem.

10. To the / Memory / of LIEUT. RANDOLPH RANSFORD / who died / the 19th of April 1783. / Aged 39 years. / Dedicated by his affectionate Friend, / Major Thomas Gardiner

11. In Memory / of WILLIAM CHARLO / who departed this life 14th July / 1800 / Aged 44 years.

12. To the Memory / of / CAPTAIN PETER DAVIS / who departed this life most sincerely regretted / on the 13th day of March 1788. / Aged 51 years / This Monument is erected / by his Brother Officers.

GYA.

Closed Cemetery.

1. Sacred / to the Memory of / FRANCIS GILLANDERS, Esq., / many years Collector of Taxes / on Pilgrims at Gya, / who departed this life / on the 27th August 1821. / Aged sixty years. / A faithful and zealous discharge of public duty / Secured him the most unqualified approbation of Government. / An intimate knowledge of Indian character and customs / With his great attention to the wants and comforts / Of the Pilgrims visiting the sacred Temples at Gya / Gained him the utmost veneration and regard, / Whilst many able qualities and a blameless life / and the practice of every virtue within his reach / Placed him high in the esteem and affection of his Friends / by whom this Monument is erected to record his worth.

2. Sacred / to the Memory of / LEWIS DANNIEL, / Assistant Surgeon / who departed this life / on the 29th January / A. D. 1819 / Aged 25 years.

3. Erected by their Brother Seamen / to the Memory of / HENRY WHITE, / JAMES ALLAN, / JOHN SYVETT, / JOHN ANSON, / HENRY SCOTT, / THOMAS MCCAULAY, / THOMAS ALLEN, / J. BRUCE, / HENRY DROUGHT, / GEORGE LEMON, / JAMES ALLEN, / No. 1 Company. No. 5 I. N. Brigade / who died of disease while serving at Gya / during that year of sorrow 1857-58 / Their warfare is accomplished. / Isaiah XI. 2.

4. Sacred / to the Memory of / CAPT. THOS. C. GRAY, R. M. L. I. / of the *Shannon's* Naval Brigade. / Died May 8th, 1858. Aged 37. / At Gya

of Dysentery. / This monument is erected / By the officers of the *Shannon* / who lost in him a valiant comrade / and much esteemed friend.

5. Sacred to the Memory of / HENRY HODGSON SCOTT, / Son of / Robert Hodgson Scott, C.S. / Born 2nd October 1836 at Dacca / Died 27th February 1857 at Gya. / "Their Angels [etc., St. Math. XVIII, 6]."

6. Sacred / to the Memory of / FRANCIS CHARLES ANNESLEY / Captain H. M. 60th Rifles / and 3rd son of the late Captain the Hon'ble Francis Charles Annesley, R. N. / who departed this life / on the 30th May* 1854 / Aged 31 years and 11 months.

7. Sacred / to the Memory of / ELIZABETH, / the beloved wife of / Charles GARSTIN, Esq., / of the Civil Service / who departed this life / on the 22nd August 1843 / in the 24th year of her age / "Her end was perfect peace." /

8. Sacred / to the Memory of CHARLOTTE LOUISA, eldest daughter of / the Hon'ble Edmund DRUMMOND / of the Civil Service. / Born on the 16th January 1840. / Died on the 26th July 1844. / Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, / for of such is / the Kingdom of Heaven.

9. [Not copied in full] DUNCAN CRAUFORD McLEOD, C.S. Born in Fort William, 1st May 1808. Died at Gya 16th June 1833.

SHERGATHI.

1. Sacred to the Memory / of CHARLES PATTON, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, / who died on the 9th July 1813. Aged 30. / Deservedly respected by the Native population of these / Provinces for a faithful zealous and honorable discharge / of his public duties and endeared to his relations and / friends by the warmth of his affections and the / benevolence of his heart.

2. LT.-COLONEL SAMUEL JONES: / Died the 29th June 1802 / Aged 40 years.

3. THOMAS PALMER. / Obiit September 24th 1799 / Ætatis 27.

4. WILLIAM SMITH, Esq., / Late Register of Ramghur. / Departed this life / on the 3rd October 1821. / Aged 30 years.

5. Sacred / to the Memory of / HESTER DANCE, / Infant daughter of Nathaniel SMITH and Eliza his wife, / who departed this life / May 4th / 1822. / Aged 5 months and 20 days. / And Jesus said, suffer little children / and forbid them not to come into Me / for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.

6. Sacred / to the Memory of / GEORGE HOGSFLESH, / Gunner of the Bengal Artillery, / Overseer of the Grand Trunk Road. / Died the 22nd July 1847 / Aged 32 years and nine months.

* An inscription on another side gives the date of death as 29th May.

7. Sacred / to the Memory of / CHARLES O'CONNOR / of the Department of Public Works, / Overseer of the Grand Trunk Road, / Died 27th July 1847. / Aged 45 years.

8. C. W. MORAVIA.

9. Sacred / to the Memory of / CHARLOTTE AMELIA, / Second Daughter of GEORGE THOMAS. / Born 9th November 1842 / and departed this life / 13 April 1844.

Silent be all my anxious fears,
My heart no more repine;
Since Jesus in His bosom wears
The flower that once was mine.

10. Sacred / to the Memory of / GEORGE, / Infant Son of GEORGE THOMAS. / Born 13th October / and departed this life / 2nd November 1845. [*Verse not copied.*]

11. To the Memory of / ELLEN ELIZA, / the beloved wife of / CHARLES VON BIBRA, / who died at Dabec G. T. R. / on the 28th December 1868 / in her 23rd year.

12. Sacred / to the Memory of / WILLIAM CHARLES, / Infant Son of / Fulwer Craven FOWLE. / Bengal Civil Service / Died 11th August 1853. / Aged 1 year 4 months and 11 days. / Suffer the little children to come / unto Me, and forbid them not for / of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.

13. Sacred / to the Memory of / WELLS BUTLER, ESQ., / of the / Bengal Civil Service, / Youngest Son of / Henry and Ann Butler / of Royston, Cambridgeshire, England. / Born at Royston, June 27th 1833. Died at Shergotty, June 20th 1859.

BALASORE.

Old English Burial Ground.

1. Here lyeth the body of / ELIZABETH PLAYDEL* who / departed this life the 10th day / of August, ye year of our Lord 1758. / Aged 19 years.

2. 1684. / Here lies the body of ANN, late wife of Captain Francis / WILSHAW / who died ye pmo. 9 bris. Aged 26 years. / Also the Body of EDWARD, his son, who deceased 27th of the same month. / 4 years Anno Domini 1684.

3. Here lyeth the body of / ISABELL KELSALL who departed this life the 28th day of / April in ye year of our Lord, / 1751. / Aged 17 years.

Old Dutch Burial Ground.

1. Michel Jans / Burggraaf / Vanseven / Huizen obiit / 23rd November / 1696.

2. in Bella—8 y ULIA

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

* A well intentioned restorer has painted over two inset letters of this name and made the name "Playad."

Calcutta Historical Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held on the 17th March 1915 at 6.30 P.M. in the Hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, Lord Carmichael, presided. There were present (1) the Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, M.A., B.D., (2) Sir R. N. Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, G.I.E., the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Roy, Rai Radhacharan Pal Bahadur, Rai Lalit Mohan Sing Bahadur, Mr. H. G. Graves, Mr. F. C. Scallan, Mr. G. O'Connell, Mr. R. D. Mehta, G.I.E., Lt.-Col. N. T. Parker, Mr. S. C. Sanial and several others.

In opening the meeting His Excellency said that the Society had not prospered greatly during the year just ended. The income was considerably less than before, and he suggested that during the coming year they should set themselves to increase the interest taken in the society. A suggestion had been made by one of the members, Mr. F. C. Scallan, of the Surveyor-General's Office, that the name should be altered from the Calcutta Historical Society to that of the Bengal Historical Society. He thought it was a very good suggestion, because the work of the Society was not confined to Calcutta alone, but to the whole of the Province, and the change of name might commend itself to those in the mofussil interested in historical research. Another suggestion was that they should have as Vice-Presidents men who took an active interest in the Society. He understood that Vice-Presidents hitherto had been gentlemen who were excellent Vice-Presidents in many ways, but who did not take much interest in the business of the society. One name, that of Colonel Buchanan, stood out among the new Vice-Presidents. His Excellency said they could not have a better man, because his interest in historical research was known to everybody. He wondered whether something could be done to stimulate the interest of members to make individual efforts in original historical research. One point had been brought to his notice, *viz.*, the need of tracing the history of the names of Calcutta streets. Very little was known of Calcutta history between 1785 and 1850. If any members had time to examine the files of the old newspapers or periodicals, they would probably obtain interesting information about old street names. His Excellency concluded by paying tribute to the splendid work done in the interests

of the society by Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger and Mr. S. C. Sanial, the Hon. Secretary.

The Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, M.A., B.D., in moving the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for 1915 as circulated to the Members (*taken as read*) said that the year had opened with a balance in hand of Rs. 860, and had closed with the reduced amount of Rs. 372. They had fewer members owing to the circumstances of the war. He would have preferred to see the list of new members larger than ten. He referred to the late James Campbell Mitchell, and said that by his death the society had sustained a great loss, for his place as an organiser would be difficult to fill. He had died the death of a patriot, and the society was very proud of the fact that it had his name on its rolls.

Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, C.I.E., seconded the motion which was carried.

Mr. H. G. Graves moved the election of the following Members to constitute the Council of the Society for 1916 with power to add to their number:—

President.—His Excellency the Governor of Bengal.

Vice-Presidents.—Sir Charles Bayley, G. C. S. I., etc., Sir Harry Stephen, Kt.; Sir Robert Fulton, Kt.; Lt. Col. W. J. Buchanan, C. I. E.

Members.—The Hon'ble Maharaja Dhiraj of Burdwan, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., (2) Maharaja Sir P. C. Tagore, Kt., (3) The Hon'ble Raja Rishi Kesh Law, C. I. E., (4) Sir R. N. Mookerjee, K. C. I. E., (5) The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Cumming, C. S. I., (6) The Venerable Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, M. A., B. D., (7) Mr. W. R. Gourlay, I. C. S., (8) Mr. A. Cassella, I. C. S., (9) The Hon'ble Mr. F. H. Stewart, C. I. E., (10) Mr. Justice A. Chowdhuri, (11) Lt. Col. W. J. Buchanan, C. I. E., (12) The Hon'ble Rai Preo Nath Mookerjee Bahadur, (13) The Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Kesteven, (14) The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi, K. C. S. I., of Kasimbazar, (15) The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Roy, (16) The Hon'ble Mr. W. W. Hornell, (17) Messrs. R. D. Mehta, C. I. E., (18) G. B. McNair, (19) F. C. Scallan, (20) J. A. L. Swan, (21) E. W. S. Russell, (22) H. G. Graves, (23) W. C. Beaumont, (24) H. A. Stark, (25) Khan Bahadur Dewan Faal Rubbee, (26) Mr. C. F. Hooper, (27) A. G. Macpherson, (28) the Rev. C. J. Grimes, (29) Rai Lalit Mohan Singh Bahadur, (30) Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitra, B. L., (31) Mr. J. H. Little, B. A., (32) Professor E. F. Oaten, M. A., (33) The Rev. H. F. F. Williams.

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

Sir R. N. Mookerjee K.C.I.E., moved election of the following Members to form the Executive Committee of the Society for 1916 with power to add to their number:—

(1) Lt. Col. W. J. Buchanan, C. I. E., (2) The Hon'ble Rai Preonath Mookerjee Bahadur, (3) Mr. R. D. Mehta, C. I. E., (4) The Venerable Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, M. A., B. D., (5) Mr. H. G. Graves, (6) Mr. J. A. L. Swan, I. C. S., (7) Mr. C. F. Hooper, (8) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice A. Chowdhuri, (9) Mr. E. W. S. Russell, (10) The Rev. H. F. F. Williams, (11) The Hon'ry. Treasurer, (12) The Hon'ry. Secretary.

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., moved the reappointment of Sir R. N. Mookerjee, K. C. I. E., and Mr. S. C. Sanial to act respectively as Hony. Treasurer and Hony. Secretary of the Society for 1916.

The motion was seconded by the Hon'ble Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur and was carried.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sutendra Nath Roy moved the reappointment of the Ven. Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, M. A., B. D., and Mr. S. C. Sanial to act respectively as Editor and Assistant Editor of *Bengal Past & Present* for 1916.

This was seconded by Rai Lalit Mohan Singh Bahadur and was carried.

The Ven. Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, M.A.B.D., proposed that Dr. David Spooner of the Archeological Survey Department of Bihar and Orissa Government be elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

This was seconded by Mr. S. C. Sanial and was carried.

With a vote of thanks to His Excellency for presiding, moved by Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., the meeting separated.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL REPORT.

For the year ending 31st December, 1915.

Office-bearers :—At the last general meeting held on the 9th March 1915, the Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, M. A., B. D., resigned the Presidentship of the Society, and His Excellency the Governor of Bengal was graciously pleased to succeed him. In August last the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Herbert Holmwood was obliged, owing to his ill health, to resign the Vice-Presidentship of the Society. Sir R. N. Mookerjee and Mr. S. C. Sanial continued to act respectively as Hon'y. Treasurer and Hon'y. Secretary of the Society.

Membership :—The Society deeply regrets the loss sustained by the death of the following members :—

- (1). Sir Robert Laidlaw.
- (2). Mr. C. H. Mead.
- (3). Mr. C. J. A. Pritchard.
- (4). Mr. Irence Lehuroux.
- (5). The Rev. Mr. E. M. Wheeler.
- (6). Babu Raj Chandra Chandra.

It is with the deepest regret that the Council also records the death of Mr. James Campbell Mitchell, in the service of the King-Emperor in Mesopotamia. Mr. Mitchell for a long time was Secretary of the Society, and to him, in no small degree, the Society owed its continued existence and financial prosperity.

The following members resigned :—

1. Mr. J. W. Baker.
2. „ A. A. Brown.
3. „ Lionel Burrows.
4. „ D. A. Darvid.
5. „ John Davenport.
6. „ W. Dillon.
7. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Fletcher.
8. Mr. R. Godwin.
9. „ A. P. Muddiman.
10. „ P. M. Robertson.
11. „ J. N. Sammadder.

12. Dr. M. L. Smith.
13. Mr. W. T. Spink.
14. " T. W. Spink.
15. Mrs. Stewart.
16. Mr. A. P. Stockwell.
17. Sir F. G. Dumayne.
18. Mr. D. F. Mackenzie.
19. Mr. A. Topping.
20. Mr. T. H. D. Latouche.

Under the operation of Rule 13 twenty one members ceased to be members of the Society during the year.

During the year the following gentlemen joined the Society as new members:—

1. Mr. O. F. Argles.
2. " T. H. S. Biddulph, C. I. E.
3. Sir Hugh Daly, K. C. S. I.
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A complete list of the members is appended with this report.

Bengal Past and Present :

Nos. 18, 19, 20 & 21 of the Society's journal were published during the year and No. 22 is in the press. The Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger and Mr. S. C. Sanial continued to act respectively as Editor and Assistant Editor of "Bengal Past & Present". The consolidated index of volumes one to eight has been published and is sold at Rs. 3 a copy.

Excursions :

No excursions have taken place during the year.

Finance :

A statement showing the actual receipts and disbursements is appended with this report. It shows a credit balance of Rs. 372-2-4 at hand. Twenty six members have not yet paid their subscription for 1915.

Society's Library :

It is continued under the charge of the Hony. Secretary at his residence at 26 Shampukur Street.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1915.

RECEIPT.		EXPENDITURE	
1. Balance on hand in Bank on 31-12-14	Rs. 864	1. Printing "Bengal Past and Present"	Rs. 174
2. Collection of Arrear Subscription of 1914	658	2. Illustration Do	1339
3. Subscription of 1915	3510	3. Binding	114
4. Do of 1916	20	4. Establishment	434
5. Cash Sale of Publications	383	5. Indexing	50
	5433	6. House-rent	220
		7. Postage	957
		8. General Charges	139
		9. Furniture	47
		10. Purchase of books and MSS.	433
		11. Honorarium to Asst. Editor	300
		Balance Cash with Mercantile Bank	5977
		Less Petty Cash due to Hony. Secy.	372
			15
			5433

Compared with Books and Vouchers and Certified Correct

CALCUTTA, }
13th March 1916.

(Sd.) PATTON & Co.

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The Black Hole.

FULL PROCEEDINGS OF THE DEBATE.

A special meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held on the 24th March 1916 at 9 P. M. in the hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to have a discussion on the Black Hole Question. The Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, M.A., B.D. presided. Mr. J. H. Little, who started the controversy in the pages of *Bengal Past & Present*, opened the debate:—

MR. J. H. LITTLE:—

I SHALL place before you all the contemporary evidence we have in favour of the Black Hole story; I shall show that this evidence is neither great in quantity nor trustworthy in character; then I shall give you three good reasons for rejecting the evidence which are quite independent of its unsatisfactory character. I have assumed that you have read my article in the Society's Journal and have omitted as much of that as I could.

Take any historian you please who has written on the subject and you will find that he has derived his information, directly or indirectly, from Holwell's Narrative or from Cooke's Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons or from both. These are the two primary authorities for the story. I have dealt at length with Holwell's Narrative in *Bengal Past & Present* and I need not go over the ground again, but there is one point in connection with the Narrative which I have not treated in an adequate manner and another which I have not mentioned at all. The former point is this. Holwell's Narrative is essentially different from the original story he told. He has omitted, he has altered, he has added. The main outlines of the story concocted in Calcutta before the prisoners were dispersed will be found in a letter written by Francis Sykes at Cossimbazar on the 8th July, 1756. Sykes gives the purport of a letter which Holwell, who had just passed Cossimbazar on his way to Murshidabad, wrote to the Englishmen who were there and he informs us that Holwell made the following startling statement:—"all the night our poor gentlemen were in the Black Hole the Nabob's people kept firing at them through the door." Nor have we any reason to suppose that Sykes reported Holwell incorrectly for the same story was current at Fulta. Captain Grant wrote on the 13th July:—"Some of those who give us the account say that they fired upon them all night with small arms through the doors and windows, but this is contradicted by others." The Fulta story, too, sprang up quite independently of Sykes' letter for even assuming that his letter was sent direct to Fulta, and we do not know that it was sent there at all, it could not have reached Fulta before the 13th, the day on which Captain Grant wrote his account. The Consultations at Fulta given in Long's *Unpublished Records of Government* inform us that a letter of Warren Hastings' from Cossimbazar dated the 3rd October was received at Fulta on the 8th. In July it would probably have taken

longer. Why was this part of the story discarded? The reason is to be found in a letter written at Chandernagore on the 3rd July which relates that the two first days after the capture of the fort "passed in licence and all the disorders of a place taken by assault, with the exception of massacre to which the Moors are not accustomed in regard to people disarmed." This incident, then, was a fatal flaw in their story. People would say, perhaps they did say, "the Muhammadans of Bengal do not do such things." I think we have evidence, too, of how this incident was explained away. M. Law in his account of the tragedy has these words:—"The most bitter insults were employed to excite the rage of the Moors and persuade the guard to fire on the prisoners. One of the latter, seeing a pistol in the belt of a companion, seized it and fired on the Moors who were passing the window. The pistol had only powder in it, but the guards were so frightened that immediately several guns were thrust through the bars and fired several times. This was exactly what the wretched prisoners wanted. Every shot was a *coup-de-grace* which they strove with each other to obtain for themselves." No one else relates this incident. Unless Law is retailing idle rumour this is how Holwell explained away his former statement when he returned to Cossimbazar on the 19th July. In August Holwell amended his statement still further. He said the guards "ceased not insulting us the whole night." In his Narrative it was the prisoners who insulted the guards to provoke them to fire upon them and put an end to their misery. Holwell also made important additions to his original story. On the 3rd August he made lists of the victims and survivors of the tragedy and those two lists were, he declared, deficient in nothing. They contain the names neither of Leech nor of Mrs. Carey. Yet in the Narrative we have a pretty story about Leech and the statement that Mrs. Carey accompanied her husband into the prison.

The second point to which I referred is this. Hardly had Holwell put his Narrative together than, in the most deliberate manner, he knocked it to pieces again. He wrote the Narrative on his voyage home in the early part of 1757. In August he was in London and while there replied to a letter written by William Watts, chief of the factory at Cossimbazar. The letter of Watts was, in turn, a reply to a letter of Holwell's. Watts complained of Holwell's "laboured endeavours through five sheets of paper" to set his conduct in the worst possible light and pointed out that Holwell, when he surrendered Fort William, had five times the number of men that he had had at Cossimbazar. To this Holwell replied:—"Had not Mr. Watts been guided more by malice than truth in this and his subsequent interrogatories, he would, from the letter he is answering, have found the number left in the Factory did not exceed 170; that of these we had 25 killed and 70 wounded by noon, the 20th, and that every man who survived was exhausted of strength and vigour." The number of prisoners in the Black Hole was 146; but 25 from 170 leaves 145 and when we make further deductions for the deserters and those who escaped when the fort was taken* Holwell's

* "I did not advise that the guard there and a great part of the garrison, military and militia rushed out the moment the gate was opened and endeavoured to escape; many were killed, some escaped and others received quarter." Holwell's Letter of 3rd August, 1756.

Narrative is clearly absurd. But it may be asked; Were there any non-combatants in the fort? I have not been able to find a trace of any except women and children and these were allowed in the fort because their men folk refused to fight unless they were admitted. Is Holwell, regardless of consequences, trying to score a victory over Watts? He is careful to point out that he made this particular statement in the letter to which Watts was replying. Did Holwell include all the defenders of the fort? In the previous letter he had declared that the number included "officers, volunteers, soldiers and militia"; that is, every class of men in the fort. Then Holwell is deliberately overthrowing his Narrative.

Cooke's Evidence was given in 1772 when Holwell's story had established itself. He states that nearly 150 souls were thrust into the dungeon among whom were one woman and twelve of the wounded officers. Picture the scene of 150 people being crammed into a room which would hardly hold them and then compare the picture of your imagination with the reality as described by Cooke. He says:—"The circumstances of the Black Hole affair, with all the horrors of that night, are so well known, and so much surpass any description that words can paint it in that I shall say no more upon that subject than that a little before eight we were all of us directed to withdraw and remain in a place contiguous to the Black Hole (where our soldiers were usually confined in the stocks). While we were wondering what this should mean and laughing at the oddity of it, a party of fellows came and ordered us to walk into the place before mentioned called the Black Hole, a room or rather dungeon, about 18 feet long and 14 wide, with only two holes, barricaded with iron bars, to let in air, which opened into a low piazza, where a guard was set. Into this hole we were forcibly crammed about eight o'clock in the evening, and the door immediately locked upon us." How simple it all was. One might almost believe those men wished to be shut up. I think, however, there would be no reason to find fault with these words were it not for the figures which follow them. For what he is really describing is how a very few men quietly walked into the prison and were locked up for the night and I shall endeavour to prove that this was the case with John Cooke as my chief witness. I must first put you in possession of certain facts. Who were the men shut up in the Black Hole prison? They were the defenders of the fort. Then who were these defenders? There were the military who before the Nawab attacked Calcutta numbered 180. Of these 45 were Europeans. The rest, we are told, were black Portuguese. In one list they are called topazes and Holwell's definition of a topaz is "a black Christian soldier; usually termed subjects of Portugal." There were 50 European volunteers. There were 60 European militia and 150 militia consisting of Armenians and Portuguese. There were 35 European artillery men and 40 volunteers consisting of sea-officers and Portuguese helmsmen. The figures are those of Governor Drake who had the rolls in his possession. The Europeans consisted of British and Dutch and it is necessary for me to estimate the number of the Dutch. At first sight it seems strange to find any Dutch at all among the defenders of this fort for the Dutch authorities, before the Nawab attacked Calcutta, absolutely refused to help the English in any way and after the capture of Calcutta they

refused to supply them with food and other necessaries. The mystery is cleared up by Governor Drake who says they were deserters from Dutch ships* and the word *matross* is used in connection with them which, according to Mr. Hill, means a sailor and almost all the artillery men were sailors. The number of Dutch, then, could hardly have been very great. According to Drake's list the total number of Europeans was 230. You will find the names of 194 of them in the list I gave in the Society's Journal. The remaining 36 were Dutch. The prisoners in the Black Hole, then, necessarily consisted of British, Dutch, Armenians and Portuguese. This is confirmed by the various accounts of the tragedy we have. One account says 200 Europeans, Portuguese and Armenians were shut up. Holwell heads his list of victims thus:—"A list of those smother'd in the Black Hole, the 20th June, 1756, exclusive of the English, Dutch, and Portuguese soldiers, whose names I am unacquainted with." Now I can return to Cooke and his evidence. Before the Nawab left the fort on the evening of the 20th and two hours before the prisoners were put in the Black Hole Cooke asserts that "the Armenians and Portuguese were at liberty, and suffered to go to their own houses." Mr. Hill endorses this and states in his Introduction, "the Portuguese and Armenians were allowed to go free and disappeared." If they disappeared, if they went to their own houses, they were not put into the Black Hole. With regard to the Dutch Cooke relates that a "Dutchman of the Artillery Company broke open the back door of the Factory, and with many others attempted to make their escape that way." Perhaps we ought not to assume that the "many others" were all Dutch but no doubt a part of them were. Holwell asserts that these men broke open the gate with the aid of friends who had deserted the night before and Mr. Hill, following other authorities, relates that on that night, "a corporal and fifty-six soldiers, chiefly Dutch, deserted to the enemy." I think the number is exaggerated but this, at least, seems clear that a party of Dutch deserted on the 19th and another party broke out of the fort on the 20th. There were only 36 to begin with so that even assuming that none left the fort with the Governor and that none were killed in the fighting, the number of Dutch who remained to go into the Black Hole was negligible. Only the British are left. On the 19th, says Cooke, a prodigious number of the garrison was killed and wounded and we may assume that a fair proportion were British. On the 20th all the attacks of the besiegers were beaten off with great loss to them, but as far as we can learn from Cooke with no loss to the defenders. If, however, you will accept provisionally my statement that most of the British were killed in the fighting, then you will be able to discern at once that very small band of men who walked quietly into the Black Hole prison in the manner so truthfully described by Mr. Secretary Cooke.

In addition to those of Holwell and Cooke we have the accounts of two other so-called survivors. One of these was Captain Mills who states that 144 men, women and children were shut up in the prison. The addition of women and children may have been careless exaggeration on the part of Mills, but I suggest that he made the

* "We could have but few Europeans and those deserters from the Dutch ships, the remainder country-born Portuguese wedded to a place of tranquillity." Drake's Narrative.

statement deliberately knowing full well that it was impossible to find such a number of men and that those were the only possible conditions under which the tragedy could have occurred.

We do not know who the fourth survivor was, but the letter he wrote came home in one of the India ships and appeared in the *London Chronicle* in June 1757. From a list appended to this letter we find that nine men who were supposed to have died in the Black Hole were killed in the fighting and we also learn that Captain Mills was not in the Black Hole at all. This, then, is what we find about the evidence of the four chief witnesses:—two of them overthrow their own stories. The remaining two contradict the two former and also contradict each other.

Now I will deal with the secondary authorities for the story. First in order come the men who took part in the defence of Calcutta or who were in Bengal at the time. Their accounts which are all very short were, with one exception, written in the month of July. Captain Grant referred to the tragedy on the 13th, Watts and Collet on the 14th, Governor Drake on the 19th and William Lindsay's letter is merely dated July. Then in November William Tooke wrote a narrative of the loss of Calcutta and mentioned the tragedy in it. All these accounts agree in one respect. They contain the true story side by side with the false and we must choose which of the two we will accept. By September, 1756, Governor Drake, Watts and Collet had made their choice and it was the Black Hole story they rejected.

In December the Madras expedition, with Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive in command, arrived in Bengal. I shall now ask you to consider what these two men had to say on the subject and I will take Admiral Watson first. On the 17th December, 1756, he wrote to the Nawab as follows:—"The King my master (whose name is revered among the monarchs of the world) sent me to these parts with a great fleet to protect the East India Company's trade, rights and privileges. The advantages resulting to the Mogul's dominions from the extensive commerce carried on by my master's subjects are too apparent to need enumerating. How great was my surprise therefore to be informed that you had marched against the said Company's factories with a large army, and forcibly expelled their servants, seized and plundered their effects, amounting to a large sum of money, and killed great numbers of the King my master's subjects." There is nothing here about the Black Hole. On the 3rd January 1757, Admiral Watson declared war on the Nawab in the following terms:—"Whereas the President and Council for the affairs of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies in Bengall have represented to me, that in consequence of the many hostilities and acts of violence committed against the servants of the said Company, His Majesty's subjects, by the Subah of Bengal, Bahar and Orisa, and his officers to the great detriment of the Company, the ruin of many private people His Majesty's good subjects residing under their protection, many of whom have also been deprived of their lives in the most barbarous and inhuman manner," and so forth. "Many of whom have also been deprived of their lives in the most barbarous and inhuman manner." Do these words refer to the Black Hole tragedy? If so, it is strange that Admiral Watson was not more explicit. We should

not expect to find such reticence in a declaration of war. We should not expect it from Admiral Watson at any time, for he was in the habit of using terribly plain language. I will give you two examples of this. On the 27th January he wrote to the Nawab:—"Your letter of the 23rd day of this month I have this day received. It has given me the greatest pleasure, as it informs me you had written to me before, a circumstance I am glad to be assured of under your hand, as the not answering my letter would have been such an affront as I could not have put up with without incurring the displeasure of the King my master." Again on the 4th March he wrote to the Nawab in this strain:—"It is now time to speak plain, if you are really desirous of preserving your country in peace and your subjects from misery and ruin, in ten days from the date of this, fulfil your part of the treaty in every Article, that I may not have the least cause of complaint; otherwise, remember, you must answer for the consequences: and as I have always acted the open, unreserved part in all my dealings with you, I now acquaint you that the remainder of the troops which should have been here long since...will be at Calcutta in a few days; that in a few days more I shall dispatch a vessel for more ships and more troops: and that I will kindle such a flame in your country, as all the water in the Ganges shall not be able to extinguish. Farewel: remember that he promises you this, who never yet broke his word with you or with any man whatsoever."

It is the fashion to say that the Nawab was innocent in the matter of the Black Hole murders. Those who say this are merely repeating the statements of Holwell and Cooke, and this is but another instance of how they made truth serve the ends of falsehood. Those who use the argument have still to explain how the officers of the Nawab dared to disregard his known wishes with regard to the prisoners. The officers of the present Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad would not dare to act in such a manner. But assuming that the Nawab had no direct responsibility for the crime could Admiral Watson have written to him in the following manner if he had not disavowed it and punished the guilty? "I call upon the Almighty," wrote the Admiral, "whom we both worship, to bear witness against me and punish me, if I ever fail in observing to the utmost of my power every part of the treaty, concluded between yourself and the English nation, so long as you shall faithfully observe your part, which I make no doubt will be as long as you have life. *What can I add more but my wishes, that your life may be long and crowned with all manner of prosperity?*"

As a matter of fact I claim Admiral Watson as a witness on my side. He is not referring to the Black Hole tragedy at all but to the men who were killed at the time of the capture of the fort. He knew those men had been killed after the fort had been formally surrendered by its governor and put the worst construction on this. I have no doubt he learned subsequently that the slaughter had been a terrible mistake and had been stopped by the Nawab himself. If you are inclined to doubt this I will remove your doubt by showing that Mr. Pigot, Governor of Madras, used almost the same words as Admiral Watson—they are precisely similar in meaning—and plainly said he was referring to something that happened before the Nawab entered the fort. On the 14th October, 1756, he wrote to the Nawab—"I received

the letter you was pleased to write me on the 30th June advising me that it was not your intention to remove the mercantile business of the English Company out of the subah of Bengal, and at the same time I received information that all the Company's factories in the said province with their effects, amounting to several kerows had been seized by your people, also the effects of all the merchants who resided in the said settlements amounting to a great many lacks more, and I was further informed that the greatest part of the merchants *were killed by your people in a cruel and barbarous manner beyond what can be described in writing.*" After relating how the English had enriched the province, how the Emperor had granted them certain privileges and how they had been treated by the Nawabs of Bengal he goes on "all that the Subahs, your predecessors, have done is nothing in comparison to what you have lately done. I should have been willing to have believed that the violence and cruelties exercised by your army against the English was without your knowledge but I find you commanded your army in person and *after killing and murdering our people took possession of the Fort.* The great commander of the King of England's ships has not slept in peace since this news and is come down with many ships, and I have sent a great Sardar, who will govern after me, by name Colonel Clive, with troops and land forces. Full satisfaction and restitution must be made for the losses we have sustained. You are wise: consider whether it is better to engage in a war that will never end or to do what is just and right in the sight of God: a great name is obtained by justice as well as by valour." Were all the English in India of the tribe of Chadband?

I pass now to Clive and will first give you extracts from the family papers of the Earl of Powis. I had no difficulty whatever in obtaining these. The papers have been examined twice—first by Sir John Malcolm whose life of Clive was published in 1836 and recently they were examined again by Mr. Hill. The extracts I shall give were taken from Malcolm's *Life of Clive* and Mr. Hill certifies they have been copied from the papers at Walcot. Before Clive left Madras he wrote to the Directors thus:—"From many hands you will hear of the capture of Calcutta by the Moors, and the chain of misfortune and losses which have happened to the Company in particular, and to the nation in general: every breast here seems filled with grief, horror, and resentment: indeed, it is too sad a tale to unfold, and I must beg leave to refer you to the general letters, consultations, and committees which will give you a full account of this catastrophe." Apart from any Black Hole affair is this more than Clive should have said of the loss of the Company's most flourishing settlement in India attended with the deaths of a great number of men and the infliction of great suffering and privation on the survivors? Writing to Mr. Mabbot he observes:—"Providence, who is the disposer of all events, has thought proper to inflict the greatest calamity that ever happened to the English nation in these parts; I mean the loss of Calcutta, attended with the greatest mortifications to the Company, and the most barbarous and cruel circumstances to the poor inhabitants." In a letter to Mr. Roger Drake a gentleman then high in the Court of Directors, Clive writes, "A few weeks ago I was happily seated at St. David's, pleased with the

thoughts of obtaining your confidence and esteem, by my application to the civil branch of the Company's affairs, and of improving and increasing the investment; but the fatal blow given to the Company's estate at Bengal has superseded all other considerations, and I am now at this presidency upon the point of embarking on Board His Majesty's squadron, with a very considerable body of troops, to attempt the recovery of Calcutta and to gain satisfaction from the Nawab for the losses which the Company have sustained in those parts." In a letter to his father he wrote:—"It is not possible to describe the distresses of the inhabitants of this once opulent and populous town. It must be many years before it is restored to its former grandeur. It is computed the private losses amount to upwards of two millions sterling." In an earlier letter also Clive did not think it worth while to mention the Black Hole story to his father. Mr. Hill gives us another letter written by Clive to his father in which after describing his attack on the Nawab's army early in February, 1757, he writes "This blow has obliged the Nawab to decamp and to conclude a peace very honourable and advantageous to the Company's affairs." The day before Clive had written to the Secret Committee, London:—"I have little to observe on the terms obtained from the Nabob except that they are both honourable and advantageous for the Company." A British historian declares that no sufficient apology can be found for that treaty. "Peace was desirable," he adds, "but even peace is bought too dearly when the sacrifice of national honour is the price." The explanation is very simple. The historian was thinking of the Black Hole affair, Clive was not.

I will now give a different series of utterances by Clive which are not to be found in the family papers, but among the Orme Mss. Writing to the Nawab in December, 1756 he refers to "great numbers of the Company's servants and other inhabitants inhumanly killed." However, if the Nawab would make proper satisfaction for the losses sustained by the Company he would make Clive his sincere friend and get eternal honour for himself. On the 21st January, 1757, Clive wrote to Jagat Seth and clearly referred to the Black Hole incident:—"It would be unfolding a tale too horrible to repeat if I was to relate to you the horrid cruelties and barbarities inflicted upon an unfortunate people to whom the Nabob in a great part owes the riches and grandeur of his province. No less than 120 people, *the greatest part of them gentlemen of family and distinction* being put to an ignominious death in one night and in such a manner as was quite inconsistent with the character of a man of courage or humanity, such as I have always heard the Nabob represented to be, and for this reason I believe it must have been done without his knowledge." After the battle of Plassey and when Siraj-ud-daula was dead Clive wrote a different version to the Emperor Alauddin Shah. Then he said: "The English, who as merchants were destitute of all implements of war, were easily defeated and Surajah Dowlat 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." Comment is needless. It must be remembered, however, that the standard of honour in the 18th century was not very high where politics were concerned. Twenty years had hardly passed since

Walpole talked of 'a man and his price';
Nobody's virtue was over-nice.

Clive would have scorned to do for his own private benefit what he thought he was justified in doing for the good of the Company.

I have next to deal with the French and Dutch accounts of the capture of Calcutta. I will take the Dutch accounts first. The extracts I shall give were obtained by Mr. Hill from the archives at the Hague. On the 5th July the Dutch Council at Hugli wrote to the Supreme Council at Batavia thus:—"The whole world thought and expected that the Nawab would have knocked his head against such a strong place, but time has shown that the English defended themselves for three days only. A part of them fled in their ships down the river, and the rest, *who did not perish by the sword*, have fallen into the Nawab's hands, and are bound in irons." We know that only four men were bound in irons. Therefore, according to this account the rest perished by the sword. It may be that this account is absolutely accurate. In any case the error is a very trifling one. There were probably one or two prisoners who were not put in irons. The next account is that of the chief of the Dutch factory at Cossimbazar and is dated the 7th July, 1756. It runs thus:—"The Nawab in accordance with our letter of the 10th ultimo having left for Calcutta and arrived there on the evening of the 15th, has met with the same success as here; for after a five days' investment he took the same, but, according to the testimony of everyone not by his tactful management or bravery, but rather owing to the ill-behaviour of the Governor Drake, who taking a good 200 picked soldiers with him left the fort, on pretext of attacking the enemy, but far from doing so, he embarked with those men, accompanied by the Commandants Messrs. Marmingham and Frankland, after putting considerable treasure and all the women on board a few days before and dropped down the river leaving to the fury of the Nawab a number of brave men, among whom, when the fort was taken, a great carnage was wrought, but soon after put a stop to by the French." On the 24th November the Dutch Council at Hugli sent a reasonable account of the Black Hole tragedy to the Supreme Council at Batavia. "The rest who were taken prisoners at Calcutta," they wrote, "have had, in the first fury, a dreadful time of it, about 160 prisoners being sent into the so-called Black Hole or Dunkergat (Dark or Black Hole) in which there was not room for 40 prisoners, and there shut up. Thus they were trampled underfoot or suffocated, all but 15 or 16 who were brought out half dead next morning and being fettered were led by the Nawab in his suite in triumph to Muxadavad. In the following January the same Council, writing to the Assembly of Seventeen in Holland merely state that the Nawab treated the British who had fallen into his hands with great cruelty. How was it the Dutch Council at Hugli gave one account in July and a contradictory account in November? I think there is a simple explanation of this. Holwell was at Hugli in August. It was there that he compiled his first list of victims. He probably stayed with the Governor and must certainly have talked about the tragedy to him and the members of his Council. The result was that the Dutch changed their story. The numbers given in the Dutch account are not correct, but they approximate very closely to the figures which Holwell gave in his first account and subsequently corrected.

The French accounts of the capture of Calcutta are greater in number than the Dutch and more varied in character. Mr. Hill gives nine of the year 1756 and one dated 1757. Five of these, including one written by the Governor of Chandernagor,

do not mention the tragedy. Another refers to the many jocular stories that were made up about the business. The first account that mentions the Black Hole incident was written on the 3rd July. The writer seems to have been under the impression that the affair lasted two days and gives some grotesque details on the authority of "an Englishman who survived this Hell." I have shown elsewhere that this Englishman was, in all probability, Captain Mills who had arrived at Chandernagore a day or two before the letter was written. No further reference was made to the tragedy until October 8th. On that date a letter from Chandernagore contained the following extraordinary account:—"They put in prison more than 120 persons, men and women, and forgot them there for seven days at the end of which time when it was opened, only 14 came out alive, the rest were dead." The prisoners, then, died of starvation. On the 16th December, 1756, the French Council at Chandernagore wrote an apparently reasonable account of the incident. They say that "the prisoners to the number of 200 having been hurriedly shut up in a warehouse were almost all suffocated in one night." But were the Council thinking of the tragedy described by Holwell or were they thinking of a fire? Mr. Hill found in the British Museum a French manuscript entitled, "Revolutions in Bengal". It seems to have been written two years after the capture of Calcutta by a Frenchman of Chandernagore and contains the following account of the Black Hole affair:—"Night was approaching and the Moors wishing to make sure of their prisoners, shut them up hurriedly in a warehouse which caught fire. There were nearly 150 suffocated." M. Law also has something similar to this. He says—"The Moors looked with pleasure on the scene of horror which was passing in the dungeon, for them it was a *tamasha*. To increase their pleasure the idea suggested itself to them of placing below, outside the window, a heap of damp straw to which they set fire. The outer air drove the smoke into the dungeon but the hopes of the Moors were deceived, they could see nothing more." If the French Council were thinking of a fire then the first reasonable French account of the tragedy is dated the 7th March, 1757, and came from the Isle of France (Mauritius I think). This relates that the defenders of the fort were made prisoners and thrown into a dungeon so small that the next morning 124 were suffocated.

I have placed before you all the contemporary evidence in favour of the Black Hole story. I will now give you three good reasons for rejecting that evidence.

(1) The story of the tragedy was, for many years, unknown to the people of Bengal. In 1789, 33 years after the event was supposed to have occurred, the translator of the *Seir Mutagheria*, not seeking to prove or disprove anything, but engaged in the task of annotating the historian he was translating, gave this evidence: "This much is certain, that this event...is not known in Bengal; and even in Calcutta, it is ignored by every man out of the four hundred thousand that inhabit that city: at least it is difficult to meet a single native that knows any thing of it; so careless and so incurious are those people." This silence of a whole people has hitherto been dismissed in summary fashion. The people were indifferent to the tragedy says one. Their mouthpieces, the historians, says another, were partial and suppressed the story.

How can I meet these indictments of a whole nation? Will it be sufficient if I prove that when a real tragedy occurred the people were not silent and their historians recorded the event in their pages? Seven years after the capture of Calcutta another band of men of British birth became the prisoners of a Nawab of Bengal and he, maddened with defeat after defeat, wreaked his vengeance upon the helpless captives. Let the Muhammadan historian tell the story. "A few days after that, on hearing that the English had possessed themselves of the fortress of Monghyr by treason, his temper, soured by misfortunes and perfidies, broke all bounds: incensed beyond measure at so unexpected a reverse, and mistrusting the future still more than the past, he gave orders to Sumro, the European,* to put to death all the prisoners of that nation; and that man, of a flint-like heart, without any regard to the ties which bound him to those unfortunates, who were of the same Christian religion with him, accepted the commission without horror, and without reluctance. That stony man repaired to the house, then called Hadji-ahmed's, where those ill-fated people were confined, and without the least hesitation, or the least remorse, he ordered all those unarmed men to be killed with musket balls. It is reported, that in such a moment of distress and perturbation, those unfortunate men, without losing courage marched up to their murderers, and, with empty bottles, and stones, and brickbats, fought them to the last man, until they were all killed." We seem to recognise our countrymen in that story but do we recognise them in the howling, frenzied mob fighting with each other for water or for a place at the window and ruthlessly trampling down the weak? The translator adds a note which has a direct bearing on our subject. "The next year after that catastrophe," he writes, "and it was in 1765, I remember to have seen, both at Benares, and at Moorshoodabad, three or four commanders, who had refused the commission with indignation. One of them, an elderly stout man with a large pair of whiskers, speaking to a company where I was, expressed himself in these words: I did not refuse to do it; no: I only desired the Nawab to give them swords and bucklers and that I would fight them then: but, as to killing prisoners disarmed that I will never do. Send your scavengers for that business." This was the class of men whom Holwell, exonerating the Nawab, charged with the Black Hole murders. He declared that they revenged themselves in that manner for the number of their body who had been killed in the siege. A real tragedy, then, was talked about by the people of Bengal, and the story is recorded in the pages of their historians. They were silent about the Black Hole affair because they were ignorant of it and they were ignorant of it because there had been no tragedy. In the pages of their historians you will find the true story of the capture of Fort William.

(2) My second reason for rejecting the story is that the Bengal Council by their conduct ignored it and by their words contradicted it. The Council unanimously agreed that before the capture of the fort the enemy destroyed a great many of their officers and private men. When the Council speak of their private men I do not think they are referring to the Dutch or the Armenians or to the topazes but to their

* The translator of the *Seir Mutagherin* states that Sumro was a German.

own covenanted servants and "young men in the Settlement" who, Drake said, "entered as volunteers in the military doing duty in every respect as common soldiers." In their next letter the Council remove all doubt on this point. They said that most of their covenanted servants that died in the year 1756 "were killed at the taking of Fort William." According to the Black Hole story 12 officers and 23 of the covenanted servants of the Company died in the Black Hole. Further, in their letter of the 17th September, 1756, the Council unanimously agreed that the fort surrendered upon promise of civil treatment of the prisoners. How could they have left the matter there if the promise had been broken? In all their acts, too, they ignored the tragedy. In July they wrote to the principal ministers of the Nawab begging them to intercede for them. In August Major Kilpatrick was anxious that the Nawab should look upon him as a friend. It has been said that the necessities of their situation forced them to conceal their true feelings. There is no excuse for the statement. It has been said that they dissociated the Nawab from the crime. We have not their authority for this. But those who use these arguments must admit that when they came to an open rupture with the Nawab they had no necessity for concealment. When they declared war on the Nawab they would not nicely discriminate between his responsibility and that of his officers. They would have stated that on the night of the 30th June the Nawab had done to death over a hundred men in the Black Hole prison. In reality their declaration of war was milder than that of Admiral Watson. "Whereas the aforesaid Sirajud Dowla," runs the document, "not satisfied with this violent proceeding and, without assigning any reason or even proposing any demands to us the President and Council, did sometime in the said month of June 1756 march towards Calcutta and Presidency of Fort William with a large army and train of artillery, attacked the said factory, took the fort, seized and plundered the effects of the Company and of the private inhabitants to a considerable amount, killed many of their servants both civil and military and expelled the few who escaped" and so forth. Surely common decency and the bonds of fellowship and nationality demanded that the Council, as a Council, should somewhere, at some time, have expressed their sorrow at the miserable deaths of the victims of the Black Hole tragedy, their detestation of the crime and their resentment against the perpetrators of it. They did none of these things. Contrast their conduct seven years afterwards when they were confronted with a real tragedy. When the news of the Patna massacre reached them they met together and passed this resolution:— "After reflecting with the most unfeigned sorrow and regret on this act of unparalleled and barbarous cruelty, which we have now no room left to doubt has been perpetrated at Patna by the emissaries of Cossim Aly Khan on the lives of our countrymen who were prisoners in his hands; although in the ordinary and usual calamities of war it becomes the business of the Heads of a Government to avoid shewing any marks of public concern which may be attended with the bad effects of depressing the spirits of a Colony, yet as the situation of our affairs is such as to give no occasion for apprehending any ill consequences to our public operations from a contrary conduct at this time, and the present calamity being in itself of so singular

and heavy a nature, we think it highly proper to enter upon some public methods of manifesting to the world our concern on this occasion, as well because it is a necessary tribute to the memory of the unfortunate gentlemen who have thus fallen the victims of a horrid cruelty, as that it will serve to testify to the Natives of the country the sentiment we feel for the loss of our friends and imply our resolution of revenging their untimely fate. It is therefore agreed and ordered that a general deep mourning shall be observed in the settlement for the space of fourteen days to commence next Wednesday, the 2nd of November.

That the morning of that day shall be set apart and observed as a public fast and humiliation, and that intimation be accordingly given to the chaplains to be prepared with a sermon and forms of prayer suitable to the occasion." They then order minute guns to be fired and proceed —

"After paying this necessary duty to the memory of our countrymen, we are further agreed and determined to use all the means in our power for taking an ample revenge on the persons who may have been concerned in this horrid execution, and with a view of deterring in future all ranks and degrees of people from ordering or executing such acts of barbarity.

Resolved therefore that a Manifesto of the action be published throughout all the country, with a proclamation promising an immediate reward of a Lack of Rupees to any person or persons who shall seize and deliver up to us Cassim Aly Khan, and that he or they further receive such other marks of favour and encouragement as may be in our power to show in return for this act of public justice.

That an immediate reward of Rs. 40,000 shall be given to any person or persons who shall apprehend the Chief named Summerville and bring him a prisoner to us."

Could the Council have called the massacre an act of unparalleled cruelty if a greater act of cruelty had been perpetrated seven years before? Would not that greater act of cruelty have recurred to their minds again and again and could they possibly have refrained from referring to it when they framed the above resolution? By this resolution alone the Black Hole story stands condemned.

(3) My third reason for rejecting the Black Hole story is the mass of evidence which proves that the men died fighting. Most of the English evidence, but not quite all, will be found in my article in the Society's Journal. The Dutch evidence I have read to you to-night. The French do not say very much on the point but it must be remembered they were enemies at the time. In addition, after the fall of Calcutta, the Nawab had forced them to pay 350,000 rupees and they blamed the English for this. In their opinion the English were cowards unworthy of the name of Europeans. But even the French were not silent and their evidence is all the more valuable. They testify to the procession of wounded men that passed by their factory on the 19th June and in their first account of the capture of the fort, written the day after the occurrence, they state that those who made no resistance were spared which implies that some did make resistance and were not spared. Governor Renauit states that the English lost 200 men at the siege of Calcutta and the natural inference is that the men were lost under circumstances usually attending a siege. Another

account says that when the Nawab's troops broke into the fort they killed many of the English and still another relates that they killed all who tried to resist. Lastly we have the evidence of Persian historians. Two of these speak of the suicide of the defenders of the fort, but there is a general agreement on two points (1) men lost their lives (2) only a few became prisoners. Test the Black Hole story by this evidence. Take the evidence most favourable to the story—that of Holwell. Holwell suppresses all reference to the men who were killed at the capture of the fort but he states, in four separate letters, that 25 men were killed and 70 wounded by noon of the 26th and those were among his best men. In my article in the Society's Journal I have shown that these men must have been one officer, perhaps one foreigner, and perhaps a carpenter, a court serjeant, a farrier, another foreigner and a fiddler.* The rest must have been Dutch, Armenians and Portuguese. Difficulties such as this are no new discovery of mine. They were noted and pointed out on the 12th July, 1756, by the Dacca Council who wrote thus to the Court of Directors:—"The accounts we have vary much and are difficult to reconcile. All agree in this that many brave men died miserably whose lives might have been saved by the smallest degree of good conduct and resolution in their leaders." The accounts vary much and are difficult to reconcile; in fact, they cannot be reconciled and we must choose between them. We know the choice made by Richard Becher the chief of the Dacca factory. All agree in this that many brave men died. If you believe they perished in the Black Hole you must reject all this evidence. You must say with Stewart and Orme—"In this scene of confusion no resistance was made" or with Macaulay—"The fort was taken after a feeble resistance." But if you accept this evidence the Black Hole story disappears at once and brave men come to their own again for their deeds will no longer be obscured by

a lamentable tale of things

Done long ago, and ill done.

PROFESSOR E. F. OATEN:—

Investigation of disputed problems in modern history is seldom free from bias of some sort. The events of the last two hundred years are still comparatively near us; passions stirred up by those events, or passions of which those events were the outcome, are sometimes not allayed for centuries; and we are in regard to those events rarely free from the danger of consciously or unconsciously allowing our judgment to be swayed according as we are Whig or Tory, Radical or Conservative, Royalist or Republican, or bear any other of the various labels by which modern men have in politics been distinguished from their fellows of opposing schools of thought.

The history of British India is recent enough to provide numerous examples of this truism. Warren Hastings provides, of course, the classic example. In his case what should have been the clear river of history has been made muddy by two baleful influences, party feeling in England and race prejudice in India. For instance,

* Two of the wounded (Talbot and Pickering) died the next day. The remaining 98 must have died in the Black Hole according to Holwell.

whereas under the influence of English party prejudices Hastings' character and actions were depicted in unfairly dark colours, there has been for some time a tendency which is exhibited, to take an example, in Forrest's introduction to the *Consultations of 1772-85*, and which is not unnatural in Englishmen writing of a great Englishman to whitewash his actions overmuch.

It is an unfortunate fact that in the question before us, there is a tendency, or rather an eagerness, to take sides on other than historical grounds. Now I entirely fail to understand this. Rather I would say, we all ought to be prejudiced—and in one direction. For the sake of our common humanity we ought to hope that the view which Mr. Little is championing will finally triumph.

In approaching the mystery of the Black Hole I confess myself frankly prejudiced. I want to be able to disbelieve the story. I want to have a real excuse for relegating Holwell's Narrative to a museum of literary curiosities, side by side with fourteenth century Sir John Mandeville, the father of English sensation writers, as Sir George Birdwood calls him, or nineteenth century Louis de Rougemont. I want to disbelieve Holwell's Narrative for the same reason as that for which I would, if I could, wipe off from the page of history the massacres of the ancient democrats of Corcyra, or, to come down to our time, the sinking of the *Lusitania* or the murder of Edith Cavell. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to see the names of Mr. Little, Mr. Akshay Kumar Manna, and other gentlemen, who have ere this whispered their suspicions of Holwell's Narrative, flame across the Historical Reviews of Europe and America as authors of the most remarkable and valuable discovery in the realm of British Indian historical research. For there are certain happenings of the past the mere memory of which brands and sears the sensitive places of our common human nature; history, too, places, as Germany will yet discover, certain dreadful barriers between nations and races, which only time can remove. For this reason, I should regard any one who could prove that Holwell's Narrative is a tissue of lies as one of the truest servants of our Indian land; but for the same reason I would enter a caution against the subject being too frequently dragged to light, and made a topic of newspaper controversy in a land such as modern India, unless the cogency of the aggressive argument is indubitable, or new evidence can be adduced. It is emphatically not a matter for leading articles in newspapers, or for polemic letters from politicians and professors, however distinguished.

Prejudiced though I am in favour of Mr. Little's hypothesis, I am as yet quite unable to go all the way with him. Mr. Little and his supporters must not forget that they are in the position of assailants and not of defenders; the current view of the Black Hole incident has been practically unchallenged, even from the very beginning, for a hundred and fifty years; and the orthodox historians are not likely to yield the fort except in the face of overwhelming artillery. That Mr. Little, by his skilful selection and marshalling of the evidence contained in Hill's Records and other documents of the time, has seriously weakened the conviction with which most of us hold the received story, is, I take it, indubitable. Before however he can claim to have destroyed the received story, and ask us, as he does, to execrate Messrs. Cooke, Holwell

and Co., he has to establish *indubitably* the main props of his argument, to face all possible objections, and perhaps new evidence, which, if sought for, may come to light, and get the subject at least considered and pronounced upon by trained minds in Europe and America. In other words, there remains a good deal of bombardment yet to be done. I am of opinion that Mr. Little, though he has been able to gall the garrison with a very disturbing rifle and machine-gun fire, has failed as yet to bring up those seventeen-inch howitzers which the capture of most forts to-day seems to demand. The question is: Is his theory the only possible explanation of the facts? And can he explain every new difficulty to which his theories, if true, give rise? I cannot in a short paper deal exhaustively with Mr. Little's views; I shall mention merely one or two points on which I disagree with his views, or on which I should like fuller conviction that he is right.

One of the shots which Mr. Little may, perhaps, fairly consider to be heavy ammunition, is his attempt to show that Holwell was a scoundrel. Perhaps he was; from the point of view of our 20th century morality a good many of the eighteenth century folk both in India and in England were. Mr. Little has succeeded in proving that Holwell was not above current morality of the time. It may be he has proved that he was below it. I do not, however, dwell on this point, because I consider it comparatively unimportant; the Black Hole question is not solely a question of Holwell's veracity; it is, as I shall mention presently, the question of the veracity of a considerable number of people. But I must enter a protest against any attempt to discredit Holwell on the ground that he did not know Sanscrit in the middle of the eighteenth century. How was Holwell to know that a mixture of colloquial Bengali and Hindustani was not the ancient language of India? Cleverer men than Holwell have been deceived by wily pundits not averse to fooling the inquisitive sahib and making a little money thereby.

However, suppose we admit that Holwell was not the bright unsullied character of certain history books. We reach the position that Holwell, given sufficient motive, was ready to deceive and even forge. What sufficient motive has Mr. Little provided to bind together Holwell and his twenty-two or twenty-three companion-survivors in a conspiracy of silence, nay, more, in a conspiracy of misrepresentation? First, what did Holwell get out of it? Which is the noble figure, Holwell inspiring the garrison to a resistance so desperate that only twenty-three prisoners were taken, or Holwell escaping death in the Black Hole by an admitted fight for the window with his gasping and often weaker fellow men, Holwell clinging to the bars while a woman lay gasping (presumably) in the interior of the prison? What possible motive could have bound together Messrs. Cooke and Lushington, Captains Milla and Dickson, Holwell, Court, and Burdet, and fourteen seamen and soldiers in backing up so fearful a story? It is one of the weaknesses of Mr. Little's attack that he omits to provide any *adequate* motive to explain why so many men should have joined in concocting and backing a story so singularly unheroic. For by the nature of things in the Black Hole the survivors were those who most successfully fought and trod their fellow creatures to death. Judged by our standards of to-day (though we should

be on our guard against such judgment) to have survived the Black Hole was rather disgrace than glory. I have never been able to see Holwell in the Black Hole as a hero; one might as well consider as heroes those struggling wretches, victims of a wreck, who clasp their fellow victims in the water in one last sub-conscious attempt to seize something solid, till they sink together in the embrace of death.

Suppose, however, Mr. Little provides us with a motive powerful enough to cause all the survivors of the attack upon the Calcutta Fort to spread the story of the Black Hole, though they never suffered it. This implies at least that Holwell and the leading survivors agreed to concoct a tale. If that is so, why did their accounts differ? If the various accounts were various impressions of a real event, it would be perfectly natural that they should differ; but why could not the concocters agree as to the kind of story which they should spread abroad? Why did Holwell in his first official letter of July 17th put 170 people in the Black Hole, and only allow 16 to escape? Why did Mills put 144 in, and save twenty-four of them? Why did Secretary Cooke's notes, from which he gave his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, in 1772, put "near 150 souls" in, and rescue only 22? Why did Holwell tell Sykes at Cossimbazar, on the 8th July, as he passed as a prisoner on his way to Murshidabad, that 160 went into the Hole, and 110 came out dead. "And that all night the Nabob's people kept firing at them through the door." (I would enter a "caveat," however, against much reliance of any kind upon this report by Sykes of Holwell's statements, since Sykes says that "the 20th and 21st they fought all day and night." Holwell could not have written or said this.)

Why did Holwell eventually reduce his numbers on August 3rd to 146 in the Hole, and 123 dead? Does it not seem possible that the first accounts were the excited and inaccurate impressions of men who had passed through a fearful experience, and that Holwell, as he became calmer and thought and talked about the matter, had somewhat to alter his numbers and statements? I cannot but feel that the differing accounts given of the tragedy are some testimony to its truth. Had the narratives agreed in unessential details, there would then have been strong ground for suspicion. There are, I know, other suggested explanations, less favourable to the alleged victims; but if they are true, the new difficulty is raised that the most gigantic and successful hoax in history was successfully perpetrated by the most arrant set of clumsy bunglers imaginable. In any case, an exhaustive and close hypothetical narration of the genesis and growth of the legend, which creates no new difficulties, is a desideratum.

The most important part of Mr. Little's argument is his attempt to prove that the English in the Fort made such a desperate final resistance on the 20th June that there were not enough survivors left to make up Holwell's Black Hole numbers.

In proof of this final desperate resistance, he quotes:—

1. Ghulam Husain Khan, a gossipy writer who certainly cannot be relied upon in any matter of doubt. He wrote 25 years later.
2. Captain Grant, who deserted on the 19th June, and was not in the Fort during the last resistance. If he may be quoted as an authority for this, he may

also be quoted as an authority for the Black Hole, which (13th July) he also describes.

3. Mr. Grey, Junior. He was in the Fort on the last day, till it was taken, and then escaped by the river. He is the latest of the witnesses except Holwell. We learn from him that, on the 20th, several men including one officer, Captain Smith, was killed, and several officers were wounded. He tells us nothing of a desperate final resistance: on the contrary, when the officers were out of sight, the men "skulked and would not go up." "About four o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy called out to us not to fire, in consequence of which the Governor shewed a flag of truce, and gave orders for us not to fire." "At the time the fort was taken, there was not above the number of twenty men upon the walls. The greatest part of the soldiers were drunk." I find no evidence here of a desperate final resistance, in which most of the officers and writers fell. We may notice in passing that Grey also accepts the Black Hole story.

4. Holwell, who admits 25 killed, and 70 wounded, "of the best men." This leaves an insoluble difficulty if we regard "best men" as meaning officers and writers: but surely it means what it says, *men*. We get over the patent difficulty that no officers were killed besides Smith when we remember Cooke's evidence before Parliament, that twelve wounded officers went into the Black Hole. And if the *London Chronicle* letter be adduced to prove that some of the alleged victims like Blagg and Baillie perished fighting, the defender of the orthodox view will reply:—

- (a) In a scene of such horror as the fall of the fort memory plays strange tricks. And how was the writer, who was presumably doing his duty fighting, to know whether a writer or an officer whom he saw fall, was killed or only wounded?
- (b) Who is to be believed, Holwell, and Cooke giving evidence before Parliament, or an anonymous newspaper correspondent? And if you accept that part of the evidence of the anonymous newspaper correspondent, which suits you, can you reject that part which you don't like, namely his testimony that "170 of us were crammed into a hole," and only 16 were alive next morning?

5. Drake, and William Lindsay, both of whom left the Fort on the 19th June.

6. William Tooke, who fled with the Governor on the 19th.

Thus, of Mr. Little's witnesses to the alleged last desperate defence, only three stayed till the taking of the fort. Of these one declares that the soldiers were drunk, and that only twenty were on the walls at the last rush; another is anonymous; and the third is Holwell, Mr. Little being in the unfortunate position of having to make him his best witness. All these testify to the Black Hole story, and two say they were actually in the Black Hole.

I am forced reluctantly to the conclusion that the attractive *argumentum ad hominem*, the picture so attractive to Englishmen, of Englishmen resisting to the death and dying gloriously on the bastions as English officers know how to die so gloriously, that there were not enough left to fill the Black Hole, needs more convincing testi-

mony, if it is to be one of the main props of Mr. Little's theory. I am far from saying it is false; I have a leaning towards faith in it; but it is so important a part of the foundations of his theory, that the fact must be placed beyond a doubt.

There are numerous other points I should like to take up in Mr. Little's argument. But I must restrict myself to one or two.

Mr. Little's view is that a month or two after the Fort was captured it was generally recognised by the Council and most thinking men that Holwell was the biggest liar in existence; but that for the credit of the Company, and because the tale of the Black Hole might have its uses, people, including the other members of the Council, tacitly agreed not to show him up, though they refrained from giving the story confirmation by an official account to the Directors. The absence of an official account is curious: but surely the sending home of five separate accounts of the fall of the Fort partly explains it, Holwell, being the only member of the Council of Futta, who was in the Black Hole, would naturally be the only one to spend any time on the subject. The members of the Council at Futta were too busy attacking one another on far more important topics. Why should we assume that their inability to agree upon the Black Hole question was the reason why they were unable to send home a joint report? The fact that the four of the members of Council who do not mention the story also sent home separate accounts, shows that the Councillors' points of difference involved quite other questions than the precise way in which Baillic and other Company's servants died. At the same time, I do not wish unduly to minimise the significance of the absence of an official account. And yet it is worth while asking whether the following extract from the letter of the Council, Fort William, to the Court of Directors, dated 31st January 1757, does not constitute at least official recognition of the story within seven months of the event: "Our chaplains having both denied, *Mr. Gervais Bellamy in the Black Hole*.....we have appointed the Reverend Mr. Cobbe our chaplain etc." This casual reference, which certainly is official testimony to the story, was made in a letter signed by Drake, Kilpatrick, Becher, Pearkes, Frankland, and Mackel. Holwell was not a signatory, so that the Council's recognition of the story was not due to him.

In any case, Mr. Little is not, in my opinion, entitled so easily to dismiss the testimony of Clive and Pigott. His view is that at the time it was recognised by the leading Englishmen of the day that Holwell was a liar, and that Black Hole story was a myth. He is not entitled to disregard the following words, written by Clive to the Mogul Emperor: "Surajah Dowlat took and plundered Calcutta the 20th June, and all the great men and other Englishmen that fell into his hands were by his orders suffocated in one night." (30 July, 1757). Pigott too, on the 14th October, 1756, wrote to Suraja Dowlah, thus: "I was further informed that the greatest part of the merchants were killed by your people in a cruel and barbarous manner beyond what can be described in writing." It is true, as Mr. Little says, that these letters were written to Indians for a political purpose, but one of them was the greatest of all Indians. I am not yet convinced that the great men of Bengal knew at the time that the Black Hole story was an invention of Holwell. If it had

been general knowledge in high places, I believe that Orme the historian, would have learnt enough of the truth to make him minimise the story in his History, or exclude it altogether. I do not believe, in short, that a secret, known on Mr. Little's hypothesis to so many, could possibly have remained a secret for ever, especially in fierce years of party controversy that followed.

We may admit, and gladly admit, that Holwell, through ignorance or forgetfulness of the concluding features of the struggle, placed some people, like Blagg, in the Black Hole, who died honourably outside it. Reduction of the number to nine, of whom three died of their wounds, is an attractive theory, but surely as yet scarcely a matter for historical assertion.

If Mr. Little is right, we are face to face with a stupid and enormous hoax. It is extremely difficult to believe that if Mr. Little's assertions are correct, no hint exists in the periodical literature of the last hundred years, except the "Calcutta Review" (reference to the "said catastrophe of the so-called Black Hole" (1856). If Mr. Little can discover more such sceptical references in journals, say between 1757 and 1800, in India or England, he would remove one of the greatest difficulties in the way of accepting his position. Otherwise, one cannot but be reminded of the Americanism: "You can fool some of the people all the time, and all of the people some of the time; but you can't fool all the people all the time."

Thus it remains for Mr. Little to—

1. Suggest a motive adequate to causing twenty people or more to bolster up a fearful tale of suffering, and three or four men of outward respectability to give written testimony to it.
2. Prove that Mills and Cooke were active liars and scoundrels, and Lushington, Court, Burdet, and the rest of them were at least passive ones. It is scarcely enough to prove only that Holwell was dishonest.
3. Prove incontrovertibly his theory of the fierceness of the final struggle, especially the numerous killings of officers and writers at the final rush.
4. Search for evidence, which may possibly exist, to show that people were sceptical, in India or in England, say between 1760 and 1800. Surely, if the twenty-three survivors, and all the leading men of Bengal knew the story was a fraud, some reference to the fact must have crept into newspapers or reviews before 1856.

I by no means assert that all these four tasks are beyond Mr. Little's powers. I merely throw out the suggestions as lines along which further pressure may usefully be applied when he has leisure. Some of us who, dreading the unknown, hesitate to abandon the old familiar landmarks, feel that, detest and hate the orthodox story as we may, we cannot throw aside history which has stood for a hundred and fifty years unchallenged, unless certain points of difficulty which remain are fully cleared up. In other words a good deal of work yet remains to be done. We all ought to hope that it will be successfully accomplished.

THE HON'BLE MR. E. J. MONAHAN:—

Observed that one or two of Professor Oaten's observations seemed to him rather like begging the question. Professor Oaten spoke of the account of the Black Hole

being the orthodox view and accepted history. That was not a position which could be safely taken up in a discussion of this kind. The burden of proof in this matter did not lie on one side more than on the other. Anyone who wished the story of the Black Hole to be believed must produce the evidence or refer to the evidence in favour of it. The speaker was not prepared to go into the evidence in detail. Not very long ago he went through the records which were published by Professor Hill and compared them with considerable care, and he supposed there was room for two opinions on the subject, but, personally he was entirely unable to understand how anyone could find in those records satisfactory evidence of the truth of the Black Hole story, or satisfactory evidence that the incident of the Black Hole as described by Holwell or any incident similar in kind and dimensions ever took place. They had official documents in which they would expect to find the incident referred to if it had really happened, and to him it seemed almost incredible that there should have been no record of it in those documents if it was a real occurrence. Then they had discrepancies and improbabilities in the different accounts, and the various explanations that had been put forward to account for them, seemed to him entirely inadequate and unconvincing.

At the same time the man who tried to prove that the Black Hole incident did not occur was met by certain difficulties. Mr. Little had put forward a theory to account for Holwell's motive in inventing the story to the effect that it was a story which accounted for the deaths of a number of people who really lost their lives in the defence of Calcutta. But then they had to ask themselves why Clive accepted the story. His theory was that as Holwell had a private motive, Clive had a political and patriotic motive for making public opinion hostile to the Nawab. Hence Clive's acquiescence in Holwell's story. He (the speaker) would say that while the "orthodox" historians' view rested on extremely weak evidence, it had not been conclusively proved that the story was false.

MR. AKSHAYA KUMAR MAITRA, B.L.—

Few had access to the vast literature which should have been carefully scrutinised to come to an independent judgment on the genuineness of this unheard-of story; but few felt the necessity of taking so great a trouble; because the tradition recorded by Robert Orme—a contemporary—was ready at hand.

Thus, the story has been handed down to posterity as an undisputed episode of History, which can no longer be questioned without stirring up popular sentiment against critical inquisitiveness.

This was noticed twenty years ago, when I ventured to publish my doubts.

The times have now changed rapidly to make it possible for Mr. J. H. Little to utilise more abundant materials with conspicuous ability, and to announce with calm confidence in the *Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society*, (Vol. XI, Part I, Serial No. 21) that the story of the Black Hole was a "gigantic hoax."

Yet, even now, a keen controversy regarding the propriety of this verdict has been roused in more quarters than one; and Mr. Little has come to be belittled with a taunt that he has managed "to play off a clever and audacious practical joke."

This justifies the reopening of the question.

I.
Foreword:
Orthodox
Tradition.

The
Modern View.

The
New School
of Historians.

I must confess, at the outset, that I find it more reasonable to adopt the critical methods of investigation recommended by "the historians of the modern school in Europe," than to follow the time-honoured practice of swallowing all extravagant stories without any sort of investigation. I cannot, therefore, look upon them as "a generation of iconoclasts," as represented by *The Pioneer*, for the simple reason that a mere iconoclast exults only in his work of wanton destruction, while "the historians of the modern school in Europe" have shown by example that if they are obliged to destroy any old fetish of faith, they destroy it only to replace fiction by truth.

The
Critical Method.

Their critical method, when it lights upon an interesting statement, "begins by suspecting it" (Lord Acton's *The Study of History*, p. 40); because the maxim that "a man must be presumed to be innocent until his guilt is proved" was not made for the historian. The main thing for him "is not the art of accumulating material, but the sublimer art of investigating it,—of discerning truth from falsehood." This art, according to Harris (*The Discovery of America*, VI), consists "in determining with documentary proofs and by minute investigations duly set forth—the literal, precise, and positive inferences to be drawn at the present day from every authentic statement without regard to commonly received notions, to sweeping generalities, or to possible consequences." J. S. Mill (*Imaginal Address*, p. 54) rightly pointed out that "there is no part of our knowledge, which is more useful to obtain at first hand,—to go to the fountain-head for,—than our knowledge of History." The modern critical method goes a step further, and wants to test all first-hand informations without regard to commonly-received opinions about them, because it looks upon "consistency in regard to opinions as the slow poison of intellectual life." Every authentic statement is not necessarily true. This may be best illustrated by many authentic statements of Col. Clive, in one of which, in a letter to Alamgir Sant, King of Hindostan, dated the 30th July, 1757 (Hill, II. 402), he asserted that after the battle of Plassey, Sirajuddowla retreated to the city of Murshidabad, "nor stoped there, but continued his flight, and was killed by his servants who followed him to demand their pay." This statement, though authentic, suppressed the real truth and suggested a deliberate falsehood. Instances need not be multiplied to show that no story of this notorious period should be accepted without a critical investigation. The story of the Black Hole cannot, therefore, be treated as an exception. We should not only go to the fountain-head of this story, but we should also carefully investigate it according to the well-established rules of modern critical method, which is a method of Science. There can be no investigation in any other way to ensure accuracy in our knowledge of History. In this the modern method differs from the old,—the critical from the uncritical,—the historical from the romantic.

II
Suspicious Cir-
cumstances :
Mahomedan
Historians.

My suspicions were roused by the significant fact that no Mahomedan Historian of the Eighteenth Century made any mention of the Black Hole story, or of any catastrophe, which could be reasonably identified with it. Mr. Little has also noticed this only to ask his readers "to note the fact." But it requires some elaboration to enable one to appreciate the full significance of this omission.

One of these historians, and the most important one, was Nawab Golam Hosain Khan, the author of the celebrated *Syera-ul-Mutakhirin*. He was a relation and

adherent of Showkatjung, who disputed the succession of Siraj-Uddowla. After the overthrow and death of his patron, this historian lived in banishment at Benares, until he was restored to his *jagier* after the battle of Plassey. He completed his work in 1783, when the fall of Calcutta would not have still continued to be regarded as the only or the chief matter of interest, and the story of the Black Hole a mere subsidiary one, as has been ingenuously suggested by *The Pioneer* to account for the non-mention of the catastrophe in the public records of the day.

Another historian, Golam Hosain Salim of Malda, the author of the *Rias-us-Salaten*, completed his work in 1787-88, under the orders and patronage of his kind and benevolent master, George Udney, who was well-known for his piety and scrupulous regard for historical accuracy.

These two Mahomedan historians received just recognition from all celebrated English writers of the Modern History of India. Neither of them had any motive to conceal the truth; yet neither had a word about the Black Hole.

Haji Mustapha's
Observations.

A renegade Frenchman, named Haji Mustapha, translated the *Syev-ul-Mutahherin* into English. He noticed this significant omission, and recorded his own views about the incident in a note, which included the following observation—

"This much is certain that this event, which cuts so capital a figure in Mr. Watts' performance, is not known in Bengal; and even in Calcutta it is ignored by every man out of the four hundred thousand that inhabit that city; at least it is difficult to meet a single native that knows anything of it; so careless and incurious are those people."

Mr. Hill supposed this "to be a sarcastic hint that the translator himself did not believe this story." Be that as it may, this observation reveals a fact and an explanation;—the fact relates to the want of knowledge of the people even of Calcutta;—the explanation relates to an estimate of their character. The explanation is, however, untenable; because Holwell's monument, built in 1760, was then in existence to refresh the memory of the people; and also because the Mahomedan histories make it abundantly clear that the "natives" were not altogether "careless" or "incurious" about other matters of public notoriety during that period of change of Government, when gossip about every little event naturally ran in every direction with incredible rapidity. If the story of the Black Hole was really true, it could not have failed to reach their ears; nor could it have been kept a profound secret by the people of the Nawab.

Mr. Hill's
Explanation.

Mr. Hill, while writing the Introduction to his book on Bengal in 1756-57, did not notice or discuss this significant omission, so prominently noted by Haji Mustapha. He has, however, now noticed it (*The Englishman*, Town Edition, 16 February, 1916) with an observation,—that knowing by his "own experience how very insouciant are the bulk of the people of India to whatever concerns only those of other castes and creeds, it did not produce sufficient impression" upon his mind for him "to think it worth while to discuss the question."

Prof. William's
Contention.

But Mr. Rushbrook Williams, Professor of Modern History in the Allahabad University, has not taken the same view. He has tacitly conceded that this omission carries some weight. So he has made an honest effort to enquire if some faint

reference,—even a figurative one,—cannot after all be discovered in some obscure Mahomedan History. For this purpose he contended for a while that a veiled reference might be discovered in the *Maasir-furranama*. Maulavi Abdul Wali of Murchidabad, whose knowledge of Persian cannot be inferior to that of the learned Professor, quoted the text (*The Statesman*, Dawk Edition, 23rd. February, 1916) from the manuscript belonging to the Nizamut Library, and annexed the following translation:—

"Having seen that they are incapable to resist, and being in despair of concluding peace, the English gentlemen seated themselves on board ship and left for the sea; and a few of the English soldiers who saw the road of escape closed on them killed themselves out of excess of the sense of honour and a few persons became prisoners of the claws of predestination."

Moulavi Abdul Wali has rightly pointed out that "this passage,—which is the only passage on the subject,—does not prove that the English were put into the Black Hole. The sentence that a few persons became also prisoners of the claws of predestination is a figurative one, and proves nothing." Those who are acquainted with the oriental methods of polished composition, will readily admit that the figurative expression cannot indicate imprisonment; the context shows that while a few committed suicide, a few were also killed during the capture of the fort; a fact admitted also in the English reports.

After this analysis of the text, it must be idle to contend that the story was referred to by a figurative description by at least one Mahomedan historian,—or to contest the fact so definitely and confidently recorded by Haji Mustapha about the complete ignorance of the people even of Calcutta,—or to question his authority for such an unqualified acknowledgment.

This then is the first important fact which should not have been at first ignored and at last dismissed by Mr. Hill as unworthy of consideration, upon a plea of personal experience, which is as exceptional as it is inapplicable to the bulk of the people of India. In writing the Introduction to his book, Mr. Hill could not have really missed the undeniable proofs which clearly disclosed that the people of this country, even at the risk of their lives, had actually felt compassion for the English fugitives, and supplied them with necessary provisions, "by stealth in the night" (Hill, I, 171), in spite of the strictest prohibition of the Nawab.

Turning to the important public records of the day, we find the same significant omission. If considerations of unavoidable diplomacy demanded a studied silence on the point in the earlier correspondence with the Nawab, because the English were then very naturally anxious to re-establish their trade at any sacrifice, the same explanation could not be put forward in support of a studied silence in the Minutes and Consultations of the English Council; or in the first report submitted to the Court of Directors. Even in respect of the correspondence with the Nawab, this explanation would be inapplicable to the last letter at any rate which Colonel Clive addressed, complaining only of "the loss of many crores of Rapoes" said to have been sustained by the English "in the capture of Calcutta." In the two treaties,—one with Siraj-ud-dowla (9 February, 1757), and another with Mir Jaffier Khan (3 June, 1757),—

Mr. Abdul Wali's
Interpretation.

Mr. Hill's
Attitude.

Omission in
Public Records.

no satisfaction was obtained for the atrocities of the Black Hole. Thornton (*History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. I, 212-13) observed that the absence of any provision for this purpose was "the greatest scandal attached to the treaty." Mr. Hill has not quoted or questioned this unbiassed verdict of a truly "eminent historian." He has only quoted the Third Article of the Treaty, without seeing eye to eye with Thornton, that that Article can in no way be spun out to cover, as Mr. Hill contends, "compensations for every thing." It related only to compensations for clearly specified losses of property: and did not and could not include a compensation for loss of life in general, or in the Black Hole. In the same strain Mr. Hill now adds that,—"it is quite certain that a large number of the British were killed after Drake deserted his post. If they perished in the Black Hole, then Holwell's story is substantially true, though it may be incorrect in details." It is needless to point out that no verdict of History can be based upon this "if." Even if it were possible, it would not banish the need for proof; for, "the living do not give up their secret," as Lord Acton pointed out, "with the candour of the dead; one key is always excepted; and a generation passes before we can ensure accuracy."

First Official
Report.

In the first official report of the fall of Calcutta (dated Fulta the 17th September 1756) submitted to the Court of Directors, nearly three months after the event, there was no mention of the massacre, although it was signed amongst others, by Holwell himself. This document narrated on the other hand that the fort had surrendered "upon the promise of civil treatment of the prisoners" (Hill, I, 214-19) without saying that the promise was ultimately broken.

Mr. Hill's self-
contradiction.

Mr. Hill's present contention (although he did not put it forward in his Introduction) is that it was not mentioned, because "no two members of the Council held the same opinion." This was really so, (Letter from Fort William to the Court of Directors, 31st January, 1757). Mr. Hill has not, however, shown how in the face of such an undeniable fact, he can justify his present self-contradictory observation that the story received "general acceptance,—unquestioned by any of the Europeans present in Calcutta at the time."

Consistency of
First Report.

The first official report was consistent with several well-established facts:—(i) that many of the besieged fled when the fort surrendered (Hill, I, 145) nay they simply walked out without opposition; (ii) that a Mahomedan Janadar of the Nawab's army escorted unmolested several English ladies, and restored them to their husbands at Fulta that very night (*Mutakhirin*, Vol. II, 190); (iii) that all who had ventured to approach the Nawab in person were pardoned (Hill, I, 108-9) and allowed to go away; and (iv) that when Holwell was brought before the Nawab "with his hands bound, the Nawab released him from his bonds" and promised him (Hill, II, p. 151), "on the word of a soldier" that no harm should be done to him,—which he is said to have "repeated more than once."

The Causes of
Imprisonment.

Why was any one imprisoned at all? We are indebted to Holwell for the suggestion that it was due to his inability to disclose the hidden treasure of the garrison, which the Nawab was naturally anxious to secure. This makes it difficult to discover a motive for the imprisonment of 146 persons,—men, women and children,—all of whom could never have been treated as privy to the secret.

Why were then so many persons imprisoned? Holwell assigned no reason to it in his first statement, (reported by Sykes of Cosimbazar) on the 8th July, 1756. In his second statement, (said to have been forwarded from Muradabad to the Councils of Bombay and Madras) on the 17th July, 1756 (Hill, I. 115), he hazarded an opinion, not a fact, that—"the resistance made by the English and the loss suffered by the besiegers so irritated the Nawab that he ordered the imprisonment of all."

This was, however, quickly given up in his third statement, (sent from Hugli to the Council of Madras) on 3rd August, 1756 (Hill, I. 186), in which he suggested another reason, *viz.*,—that the number of the English in the fort was "too great to be at large";—a reason which ill-fitted the fact that permission and facilities had already been granted to many to leave the fort, after which the Nawab could not have been really anxious to detain any but those who could be reasonably supposed to know anything about the hidden treasure. It could not also have been probable for a really large number of men, women, and children, to have actually lingered in the fort, after many had died in defending it, and some had managed to escape during the confusion which followed the surrender. This reason was accordingly abandoned by the historians, who found it more consistent to adopt a different plea, *viz.*,—that "some of the drunken soldiers had drawn the misfortune upon all by attacking the soldiers of the Nawab." This explanation was originally put forward by Governor Drake (Hill, I. 160) either from hearsay or from his own imagination of which he has been proved to have had an ample fund. As he was not an eye-witness, he could not have spoken from personal knowledge.

This plea, however, received no support from Holwell, who was an eye-witness. He, on the other hand, recorded in his letter of 3rd August, 1756 that,—"*I charged the Nawab with designedly having ordered the unheard-of piece of cruelty of cramming us all into that small prison; but I have now reason to think I did him injustice.*"

This significant admission may justly give rise to an interesting and instructive inquiry into its motive, which Mr. Hill has not tried to pursue. When Holwell deliberately charged the Nawab, the English had by that time lost all hopes of returning to Bengal; as soon as the first ray of hope began to dawn upon them, on account of their submitting a petition on 6th July, 1756 to the Nawab to be restored to Calcutta, the charge was as deliberately withdrawn on the 3rd August;—but when Siraj-ud-dowla was no more, the revolution was over, and the country had quieted down to enable Holwell to build his monument, he inscribed with equal deliberateness on his obelisk that 123 persons had been suffocated to death in the Black Hole prison of Fort William.

"By
The Tyrannic Violence
of
Surajud-Dowla
Suba of Bengal"

This is the man whose testimony is our chief guide in discerning truth from falsehood.

"He was known," says Prof. Rushbrook Williams as "a clever rascal even in his own day." He was "clever" indeed in never asking the English Council, not even when he acted as Governor, to commemorate the catastrophe, which would have necessarily called for a critical investigation of his extravagant story. He, on the other hand, built a monument at his own cost, and "cleverly" attached two inscriptions to it,—one for the tragedy and another for the "revenge" taken by Clive and Watson, evidently to ensure the preservation of his monument, at least as a trophy of victory. An Englishman, a ship's doctor, however, found it in 1817 in a deplorable condition, (Mss. of a Voyage in the private collection of S. O'Mally Esqr. I.C.S.)—"no railing, nor shrubs,"—"totally unworthy of the universal interest excited by that most hideous event"; nor did it seem to have "arrested the attention of natives, none of whom could point out the Black Hole close to it." That monument was unhesitatingly demolished in 1821 to make room for the Customs House. The new monument, built in 1902, by a noble donor, has omitted the "revenge," excluded the reference to "the tyrannic violence of Sirajuddowla," revised the list of victims, and included some names which are names of those (Hill, Introduction, p. xcix, note 4) Mr. Hill has given "as being killed during the fighting." This monument, in the language of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, may, therefore, be justly liable to be looked upon as "a big thumb of stone, raised in the midst of a public thoroughfare to proclaim to the heavens that exaggeration is not the monopoly of any particular race or nation."

Unavoidable
Presumption.

These circumstances naturally raise some presumption against the genuineness of the story; and that presumption gradually gains in strength when we find, as Mr. Little has shown in detail, that the presence of so many persons in the fort at that late hour would be a matter of great improbability.

III.
Development
of the story;
Admissibility of
Evidence.

Before we turn to that important question, we must decide another,—the question of the admissibility of evidence. Should we admit, as required by a correspondent of *The Statesman* (Dawk Edition, 15th February, 1916), half in jest and half in earnest, *The Confessions* of De Quincey, in which the ill-ventilated coaches of England in the early days of the nineteenth century were compared to "Governor Holwell's Black cage at Calcutta," in support of Holwell's story? Sober sense will readily concede that all sayings and doings of third persons, after the story had gained a fair currency, must stand on the same footing, whether they related to Lord Clive's endorsement of the petitions of those who said that they had lost their relatives in the Black Hole; or to the writings of the French and the Dutch, who derived no knowledge except through Holwell and his party. The story must stand or fall with the statements of the aggrieved party,—the alleged survivors of the grim tragedy of the Black Hole; for, they and the Nawab's people, and no one else, could supply us with real proof.

Mr. Hill has referred to a book, *Memoire Sur l'Empire Mogol*, written in French by a Scots-Frenchman named Jean Law of Lauriston, to show that the writer, who was an independent spectator in Bengal, "accepted the story of Holwell." This book, written under the orders of the French Ministry, partly in Paris in 1763, and partly on a second voyage to India in 1764, was published by Alfred Martineau

in 1913, I am indebted to my learned friend, Prof. R. C. Majumdar M. A., for an extract of the Preface, which shows that the author was an old Chief of the French Factory of Cossimbazar, who was well-known to the Durbar of the Nawab. In his Memoir (Hill, III, 160) he distinctly noted that he could not be "certain as to the correctness" of all he had heard; he preferred, therefore, "to refer" us "to what the English themselves have written." Mr. Hill should have found that a reference to the story of Holwell by this writer could not be accepted as an "acceptance."

Modern research has discovered, with commendable diligence, many useful materials, which tend to show that a story of the Black Hole was actually in circulation among the European residents of Bengal from a certain date, before it was transmitted to Europe,—but it does not fail at the same time to reveal that that story was the result of a gradual development.

The letter of 3rd July from Chandernagor (Hill, I, 50), Syke's letter of the 8th July (Hill, I, 61) and William Lindsay's letter (Hill, I, 168) relied on by Mr. Hill as tests of Holwell's story, cannot be treated as real tests; because these letters are not the letters of eye-witnesses. They can, however, be referred to to show, why, in spite of them, Holwell's story fails to carry conviction; because these letters prove a gradual development of the story, and supply us with many useful materials to discover how the story stood at each stage of such development.

This did probably induce Prof. Rushbrook Williams to contend that "our true concern is not with Holwell," and that the Black Hole incident does not stand or fall with the truth or falsehood of Holwell's story. An analysis of the first accounts in circulation in Bengal will, however, show at a glance that we cannot have the story of the Black Hole without Holwell, as we cannot have *Hamlet*, without the Prince of Denmark. Holwell cannot altogether be dismissed for the simple reason that the story of the imprisonment of the 146 persons and of the death of 123, which constitute "the main features of the tragedy" was the story of no one else but of Holwell; and even with him it was not the first story, narrated by him as soon as he got the earliest opportunity to do so. Our true concern must, therefore, be with Holwell and his principal associates, not with those, who reported from hearsay only; not with those who accepted the story without any critical investigation.

The first story of the fall of Calcutta, that could be gathered by the French or the Dutch from really independent sources, including the wounded, who passed by their settlements, did not disclose an episode of the Black Hole (Hill, I, 22-24).

The news of the fall of Calcutta was speedily carried far and wide. But (i) the letter written by the Council of Fort William from Fulta on the 25th June 1756 (Hill, I, 25) asking for aid and succour from the Dutch in the distress of the English, (ii) the Consultations of the Dutch at Hugli from 25th to 27th June, 1756 (Hill, I, 25), (iii) the letter from the Dutch Council to their agent written on 27th June, 1756 (Hill, I, 33), (iv) the Dacca Consultations of 27th and 28th June, 1756 (Hill, I, 34 and 35) showing that the news of the fall of Calcutta had already been received through the French at that distant station, and (v) the secret Consulta-

Modern Research.

True Concern.

First Uncertainty.

tions of the Dutch at Hugli on 28th June, 1756 (Hill, I, 37),—do not disclose an account or even a mention of the Black Hole story.

Although the Dutch were at first afraid to succour the English, the French speedily accommodated matters with the Nawab, and readily offered a shelter to the English at Chandernagur. To this asylum arrived Watts and Colett, after their release, "in palanquins in the evening of the 28th June, 1766" (Hill, I). After a well-earned rest at this place for three days, Watts and Colett wrote to the Council at Madras on 2nd July, 1756, giving an account of the fall of Cossimbazar and of Calcutta, as well of their imprisonment and release (Hill, I, 45). But this letter contained no reference to the Black Hole, or to any catastrophe, which could be placed in it. Although they were prisoners in the Nawab's camp before their release, they did not carry with them any information even from that source.

Holwell's First Story.

According to Holwell (*India Tracts*, Third Edition, pp. 387-418) he was sent to Murshidabad along with Court, Walcott and Burdett. On his way, as a prisoner of war, he sent a letter which was reported by Sykes of Cossimbazar on 8th of July, 1756 (Hill, I, 61-62).

This was the first story of Holwell;—a story which was begun with a confusion of dates obviously to assert that the fort had held out till 21st June. It did not disclose that the fort had really surrendered on "a promise of civil treatment of the prisoners"; it recorded another story,—the story of a dishonourable "surrender at discretion." What was worse, it made out a case of wilful murder with an allegation that,—“all the night our poor gentlemen were in the Black Hole, the Nawab's people kept firing at them through the door.”

Evident Concoction.

Strangely enough, an account recorded by Captain Grey, on the 13th July 1756 (Hill, I, 73) at Fulta, discloses that the story of firing had also been carried to that station by some, although it was contradicted by others.

This shows, beyond doubt, that as the fact of firing could not have been independently imagined by more than one person, it must have been concocted in consultation to be circulated in different directions by different associates to make out a case of wilful murder, which came to be given up only because every one could not prove clever enough to repeat that story without contradicting others.

Probable Motive

One is, therefore, naturally tempted to enquire into the reason of the invention of such a story; specially in view of an observation of the French on 30th July 1756 (Hill, I, 50) that "the two first days passed in license and all the disorders of a place taken by assault, with the exception of massacre, to which the Moors are not accustomed in regard to people disarmed."

Was it not due to the consciousness that the dead bodies thrown into the ravelin actually bore marks of gun-shot wounds which caused death during the defence of the fort? When the story had to be given up, something had to be retained to account for these marks of injuries; and so the final story retained the allegation that many "wounded" persons had also been thrust into the Black Hole; although there could be no motive for any one to take such an unnecessary step; in as much as the "wounded" could have raised no apprehension in the minds of the Nawab's army.

Holwell's Caution.

Under these circumstances, Holwell very soon came to take caution. He nowhere acknowledged in his subsequent correspondence that he had given out a story at Cossimbazar, much less a story of "firing," although he admitted he had written a letter to Mr. Law, the French Chief of that station.

In his letter to his dear friend, William Davis, written on 28th February 1757, Holwell gave a detailed account of his voyage to Murshidabad as a prisoner (*India Tracts*, Third Edition, p. 411). In this letter he referred to the English factory at Cossimbazar by saying only this,—"passing by our fort and factory at Cossimbazar raised some melancholy reflections amongst us." Maintaining a discreet silence about the statement made at Cossimbazar, he deliberately placed his arrival "in sight of the French factory" of that station on the 7th of July, (Hill, I, 125 and *India Tracts*) evidently to ignore Sykes, who noted (Hill, I, 61) on the 8th July that,—"this morning Mr. Holwell, Court, Walcot, and one Burent (Burdett?) a writer, passed by on their way to Murshidabad, prisoners in irons." The omission on the part of Holwell to refer to his Cossimbazar-statement is significant,—it betrays an evident solicitude to suppress his connection with the discarded first story of the "firing."

Different Stories.

When Drake and others left the fort, they left behind more than 200 men (Hill, III, 169). "Without counting the Armenians and the Portuguese (Hill, II, 129) those who were left behind found that "They numbered 170 men Capable of defence." The story that was carried to Captain Grant (Hill, I, 88) and to Roger Drake (Hill, I, 160) at Fulta, was the story of the imprisonment of 200 persons. This story of the imprisonment of the entire garrison, thoughtlessly left behind by Drake, was carried only to two places,—Fulta and Chandernagore,—evidently to blacken the character of the deserters, whose conduct had been harshly criticised by Holwell on the rampart. This number had, however, to be subsequently changed. Why was it changed? The inference is irresistible that when the story was found to be insupportable and inconsistent with the dimensions of the Black Hole, it came down to the imprisonment of 160 persons. Holwell, immediately after his release, in his letter of the 17th July 1756, narrated the imprisonment of 165 or 170 persons; and the death of all but 6. His next account, written from Hugli on 3rd August 1756, disclosed another story. In this he said he had "over-reckoned the number of the prisoners and the number of the dead," the former being really 146, and the latter 123. Why had Holwell at first "over-reckoned" and what materials he obtained afterwards to ascertain the correct figures, he never condescended to disclose.

Probable Reason.

One is, therefore, naturally tempted to enquire into the cause of this change. The Black Hole, according to Mr. Holwell, was 18 feet square; and reserving 2 x 1 square feet for each person, ordinary Arithmetic would allow only 162 persons to be put into it. Was not this Arithmetic responsible for fixing upon the number of 160 persons? Strangely enough, Holwell gave the number as 160 in his first account communicated to Sykes. Strangely enough, news had also been carried to Chandernagore (Hill, I, 50),—the first news of the tragedy,—by another informant, who also reported the imprisonment of exactly the same number of persons.

The current story shows that this number was also ultimately abandoned. Was

it due to any further calculation that more than 146 persons could not have been in the fort on the 20th June?

Evident Concert. The records of the period can hardly explain the psychology of this "over-reckoning" of prisoners to the same extent by two informants, who carried the earliest account to two different stations.—Cossimbazar and Chandernagore. Was not this another and equally convincing instance of concert?

Final Account. A mystery hangs about the letter of John Young, Prussian Supercargo as to its date,—the 10th July 1756 (Hill, I, 63). In this letter he noted that "Holwell with his fellow partners of misery and affliction, from the moment of their capture to that of their release, came to Chandernagore a few days ago." Their coming to Chandernagore was no doubt a fact; but that must have been an event of a date subsequent to their release, which took place on the 16th of July,—subsequent also to the 17th of July on which date Holwell wrote from Murshidabad,—and probably subsequent to the 3rd of August, when he wrote from Hugli. Thus, the letter of John Young must have been a letter of a subsequent date. By that time the story had been finally settled, viz.,—146 "wounded and unwounded of all ranks" had been imprisoned, and 23 only survived. This going round the European settlements by Holwell and his fellow-sufferers coincides with the final reduction of the number. It makes all subsequent French and Dutch reports lose their value as independent accounts of a real episode of History.

Nationality of Prisoners. If there was uncertainty about the number of prisoners, there was no less uncertainty about their nationality. According to some the prisoners included Portuguese and Armenians, "of which many were wounded" (Hill, I, 88). But according to another, all Portuguese and Armenians received pardon, and left the fort (Hill, II, p. 182; p. 301). Holwell on the other hand, alleged that the prisoners included Dutch and English whites and Portuguese blacks. If any Dutch had actually died in the Black Hole, the Dutch in Bengal took no notice of it: this was hardly probable.

The Real Question. Mr. Hill is satisfied with the truth of the story, not as a historian, but as one who takes the contemporary historian to be his infallible guide. The special "acceptance by the great contemporary historian Robert Orme" weighs greatly with him. He cites Captain Mills, Sykes, William Lindsay and the French at Cossimbazar and Chandernagore as witnesses, who are said to supply "confirmation and corroboration." Neither in the Introduction to his work, nor in his letter now published in *The Englishman*, has Mr. Hill tried to face the real question,—a question, which is concerned only with the direct evidence of the imprisonment of 146 persons, and the death of 123; because the imprisonment of Holwell and a few of the principal persons likely to know the hidden treasure, and the death of no one from suffocation would not constitute the tragedy. To support the current story, there must be evidence of the imprisonment of 146, and the death of 123. Who were they? That is the real question, which must legitimately demand to know the names of all. In the absence of evidence on that point, a true historian cannot go beyond saying that the story should be called "not to be proven."

This verdict, which really applies to the story in question, has been, by an irony

Future Research.

of fate, sought to be applied to the theory advanced by Mr. Little. Mr. Hill has, therefore, sincerely hoped "that in future, instead of indulging in practical jokes, Mr. Little will direct his energies into some more fruitful lines of historical research." One such fruitful line for Mr. Little should have been the History of the History of this period, which alone could have cleared the ground of all unscholarly freedom of language and verdict.

In the absence of such research work, *The Pioneer* discovers a formidable obstacle for Mr. Little to overcome. "If the Black Hole incident had never taken place at all," says *The Pioneer*, "Holwell, who was no fool, would have known better than to put forward his own account of it." But in spite of this "formidable obstacle," Holwell actually invented another story,—the story of the Dacca-massacre,—about which the English Council of Calcutta had to record that it had "not the least foundation in truth." Although Mr. Little referred to this, *The Pioneer* did not notice it, or refute it in any way. Such is the critical atmosphere in which knowledge struggles to advance in India.

IV.
The Last Questions : Names of Victims.

Coming now to the last question,—the names of the victims,—we have to admit that, do what we may, we shall never know the names of all who were imprisoned,—of all who perished,—and of all who survived. We must abandon all critical inquisitiveness and remain conveniently satisfied with nothing better than the allegation that 146 persons were thrust into the Black Hole, 123 died of suffocation, and only 23 survived. But who were they? We must never ask to know.

Knowing how the number of prisoners gradually came down from 200 to 146, and knowing how the number of survivors gradually mounted up from 6 to 23, it will be an insult to human intelligence not to suppose that the names, of all who were imprisoned and of all who perished, and also of all who survived, must have been ascertained at some stage to find out the definite numbers related in the current story. But do what we may, we shall never know—when, where, how, and by whom such an enquiry was made, and with what result.

The List of Holwell.

This leads us to only one source of information; and that source leads to the available lists.

The list annexed to the "genuine narrative" of Holwell (Hill, III, 131-154) contains only some of the names,—not all. This list begins by excluding, without any reason, the names of 69 victims; and, therefore, it purports to disclose the names of 54 persons; though as a matter of fact, it comes abruptly to an end with the names of 52 only; still giving us 4 more names than those which Holwell caused to be inscribed on his monument. The list does not give us the occupation or nationality of the excluded 69. This exposes the list to the just criticism of all students of History.

"The Genuine Narrative".

This must have convinced Holwell to some extent. His "genuine narrative," with the list annexed, was not published until 1764. It contained a fore-word "to the reader," written by Holwell himself, which revealed that he too was not without some misgivings regarding his performance. This "genuine narrative" was originally written as a private letter to a dear friend, on board the Syren-Sloop, when Holwell was going home with the natural expectation of meeting his dear friend in person.

Why was this letter written at all, or written during the voyage? It was not written like a letter of *The Citizen of the World* for the purpose of publication. Holwell assures us that "only through a chain of unforeseen accidents" it came "to appear in print." But it was printed and published with a grim picture, made to order, showing "Governor Holwell confined in the Black Hole," which cannot fail to show that a motive of advertisement could not have been altogether absent; and the alleged cause of publication could not have been absolutely colourless.

Be that as it may, the list, thus published, failed to render any account of 71 victims,—a large number indeed,—too large to be lightly disregarded as an unimportant matter of unnecessary detail. Yet this list and this "genuine narrative" are the chief foundations on which the current story stands.

Captain Mill's
Diary.

The diary of Captain Mills (Hill, I, 40-45), recorded in an octavo pocket book of 16 pages and given to the contemporary historian, who was then in Madras, is another piece of evidence which Mr. Hill now characterises as the first test of Holwell's story: because "this diary still exists and cannot be ignored"; it purports to be a contemporaneous account of events, which happened from day to day from 7th June to 1st July 1756. That it "still exists" cannot show that it "cannot be ignored." Although its existence cannot be ignored, its value will always be ignored whenever it will be properly examined.

How was it
written?

We have no evidence that it was recorded from day to day. Such an assumption would lead to many more;—(i) that it was taken by the writer with him into the Black Hole; and so it happened to be preserved during the sack of Calcutta; and (ii) that it was clung to with more than a martyr's steadfastness during all those long hours of unbearable agony in that "night of horrors." It shows at a glance that it could not have been recorded, like an ordinary diary, from day to day; but that it must have been written afterwards for being sent to Madras to Robert Orme, the historian, who had a well-known hobby not only of collecting, but also of preserving all such original documents. This diary records the names of victims and survivors in pages 9-11. In the next page it records the names of those who escaped, when the fort was taken; and then, in the next page, it records what had happened before the fort was captured. This anachronism makes it forfeit its bonafide character as a diary written up from day to day.

Supplementary
Account.

As the personal narrative of a Captain, engaged in active military work, this diary reveals a significant and disappointing feature, in that it does not disclose any item of personal work done by the narrator. Another account (Hill, I, 194) was sent to Robert Orme to supplement it. But that also gave only an account of what happened to the writer, after he had come out of the Black Hole, until he reached Fulta, on 10th August 1756. According to this account Captain Mills and his companions, after their expulsion from Calcutta on 1st July, came to the Prussian Supercargo, and then to Chandernagore, where they resided till 8th or 9th August 1756.

The Prussian
Account.

This makes the Prussian account one of great importance to History. According to this account "20 of the English that escaped death" were the first to come up. John Young recorded what he had heard from them about the fall of Calcutta. He

did not hear a word about the Black Hole. Next appeared Messrs. Watts and Colett; and they too could not disclose the story of the tragedy. Lastly came Holwell and his companions, and from them the story of the Black Hole was heard. This interesting letter of John Young, the Prussian Supercargo (Hill, I, 62-66), discloses an important secret,—it shows at a glance that when Captain Mills appeared, he had no story to tell about the Black Hole.

A report, published in the *London Chronicle*, a year after the event, (Hill, III, 70-74), gives a list of the Europeans "who were in Calcutta when it was taken, but escaped being put into the Black Hole, and were ordered to leave Calcutta by the Moors." This list contains only four names,—the very names of Captain Mills and his companions, who were not included in the list of survivors, published in the *London Chronicle*. This makes it difficult to regard Captain Mills' diary as the diary of an eye-witness. He can be hardly put forward as a witness to corroborate Holwell. The same remark applies to Gray Junior (Hill, I, 106-109) who was not also a "survivor," and who did not note (Hill, I, 109) that Captain Mills was one of the survivors.

The report of the *London Chronicle* makes the lists, left by Holwell and Captain Mills, equally unreliable. William Bailey was a member of the Council, and an important person. It was reported in the *London Chronicle* that he had died "with a shot in his head." Of the "gentlemen in service," Carss is said to have been "cut to pieces," having rashly fired a pistol after the place was taken. Lt. Bellamy "shot himself before the attack." Blagg was "cut to pieces on a bastion." Lieutenants Bishop and Paccard died "before the place was taken." Sea-Captains Parnell, Stephenson, Carey, and Grey, "were killed in the attack." But, according to Holwell, these very persons died in the Black Hole; and what is more,—Carey died with thankfulness on his lips for having been offered by Holwell a convenient place, which he could not live to occupy.

The name of Blagg has now been unanimously omitted from the list of victims, and excluded altogether from the names inscribed on the new monument.

Mr. Hill has not, however, considered the effect of this exclusion upon the whole testimony. As the name of Blagg occurs equally in the lists of victims left by Gray Junior, Holwell and Captain Mills, was it possible for them to have erred independently or to have dreamt simultaneously regarding his death in the Black Hole? If this is a circumstance, which indicates concert between them, as it does without doubt, does it not affect the entire testimony, and make it difficult to discard one portion and retain the rest?

Holwell disclosed the names of only eleven "survivors, including his own." One of them, Secretary Cooke, was examined by the Parliamentary Committee appointed in 1772. Instead of giving an oral disposition, like the other witnesses, Cooke preferred to hand in a written narrative (Hill, III, 290-303) said to have been "copied with his own hands from notes taken by him soon after the transactions" of 1756. Although the massacre of the Black Hole was not then one of the subjects of the enquiry, Secretary Cooke volunteered an account of it in his statement; an account which must remind one of Holwell's narrative, which had already been then in print.

The London Chronicle.

Incredibility of List.

Evidentiary Effect.

Veracity of Eye-witnesses.

These facts and circumstances affect the veracity of all the eye witnesses alike, even if we do not allow ourselves to be prejudiced against them on account of the little regard for veracity which they enjoyed from their own contemporaries.

Mr. Little has supplemented his original essay with a long letter in *The Statesman* to discuss Holwell's motive for concoction, and the motive of his concocted story being accepted. The value of this labour lies chiefly in showing that an absolute want of motive cannot be urged in defence of Holwell. When an improbable story is proved to have been started, developed and supported in concert, the question of motive does not really arise, or affect the verdict.

The Story: a
libel.

Although the Black Hole story was open to these objections from the very beginning, yet it was never subjected to any critical investigation by any of the contemporaries of Holwell. In that respect it has left us in utter darkness,—perhaps also in the suffocating atmosphere of a real Black Hole. But this negligence on the part of contemporaries, whose hands were then always full with one question of life and death after another, cannot be accepted as a test of Holwell's story;—the truth of which must be established by evidence, not by any conduct, opinion, or want of critical faculties of the contemporaries.

As the story goes, it is an undoubted libel against some at least of the British heroes, who sacrificed their lives in doing their duty;—nay, it is also a general libel against the British love of truth, which Col. Clive and Admiral Watson took every opportunity to refer to in their correspondence with the Nawab.

Mr. Little's
Theory.

In the midst of all these harrowing circumstances, Mr. Little's theory—as to what really happened—comes as a welcome working hypothesis, which agrees better with probable human conduct than the current story of the Black Hole. Mr. Little may, therefore, be congratulated upon his honest attempt to do justice, where justice has been either ignored or delayed for more than a century and a half.

The noble band of heroes, who sacrificed their lives in ignorance of Holwell's solicitude to surrender, have a legitimate claim upon the recognition of History. A tribute, paid to their memory by an alien historian, Nawab Golan Hosain Khan, makes the reticence of their own countrymen all the more prominent and deplorable. Mr. Little, will therefore, command the admiration of all lovers of justice for his noble attempt, in spite of the hesitation of many of his countrymen, which is really due to their inability to look upon his work in its true perspective.

Holwell had associates and devoted ones too. He had more than one in those, who carried the story of the firing at Fulta; and a principal one in Captain Mills, who supported him regarding the death of Blagg in the Black Hole, and helped him greatly by sending a diary to the contemporary historian. Thus supported, Holwell acted in concert,—which related to two important matters, (i) the number of prisoners (ii) and the death of those in the Black Hole, some of whom at any rate had actually died as heroes in the defence of the fort. With this concert vanishes the large number that is said to have created the suffocation; and with it vanishes the story of the Black Hole. An unshaken faith in it reveals a want of critical faculty, which Mr. Little is unwilling to claim.

"When we are told," said Lord Acton (*Lecture on the Study of History*,

June 11 1895), "that England is behind the continent in critical faculty, we must admit that this is true as to quantity, not as to quality of work." Mr. Little's work may now be rightly cited as an example of such quality, in contrast with the great body of unscholarly criticism that has cropped up against him.

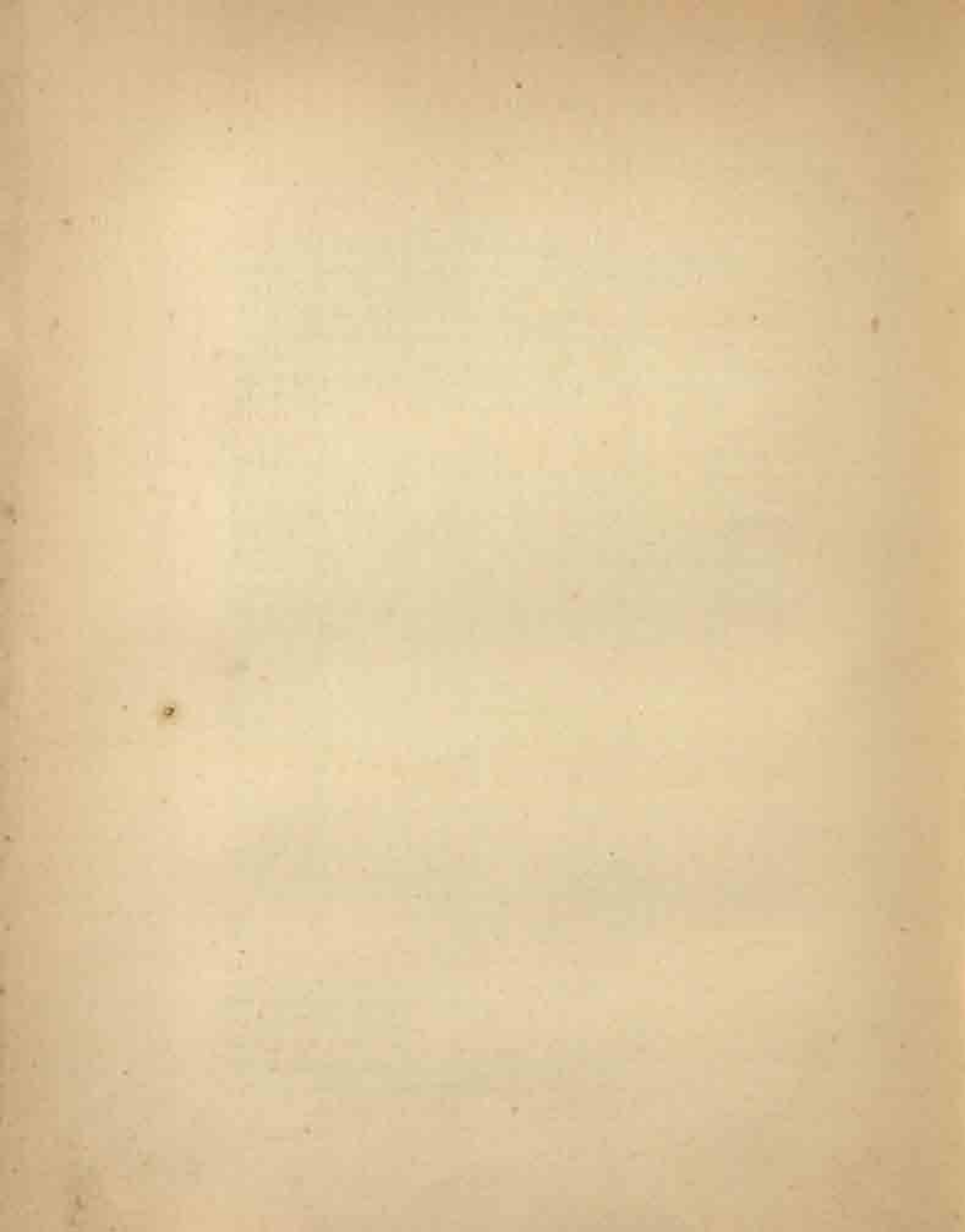
The Conclusion.

True it is that this "gigantic hoax" of Holwell is recorded in every text-book as an actual event of History, and we have to teach it, and generations after generations have to continue to learn it by heart. But it is also true, as Lord Acton told us, that,—"the historians of former ages unapproachable for us in knowledge and in talent cannot be our limit. We have the power to be more rigidly impersonal, disinterested, and just than they; and to learn from undisguised and genuine records to look with remorse upon the past, and to the future with assured hope of better things; bearing this in mind that if we lower our standard in History, we cannot uphold it in Church and State."

Mr. Little briefly replied.

The Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, said that as the hour was late, nearly midnight, he would not detain them beyond expressing the hope that the ladies and gentlemen present who were not members of the Calcutta Historical Society, would join the Society. At present the Society was in a bad way as regards funds, and by becoming members they would not only be engaged in interesting historical work but would also help the Society.

The meeting then separated.



General Jean Baptist Talhiade.

JEAN Baptist Talhiade was born at or near Toulouse, went to India at the age of fourteen years, and eventually became a colonel in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad and second-in-command of his army. In 1799 he proceeded to England with the object apparently of entering the service of the East India Company—or probably he had already entered that service. On this point I have no information, but in 1804 he was "Collector of the District of Caman." He usually signed his name "Baptist Talhiade," omitting "Jean."

On 18th February, 1800 he was married at St. George's, Hanover Square, by the Rev. J. Greville, curate, to Phoebe Charlotte Roche, spinster of that parish. She was the daughter of Richard Roche and Frances, his wife, and was born on 18th February, 1784 and baptized at Chatham Parish Church on 8th April, 1784. She was married therefore on her sixteenth birthday.

A younger brother of hers was Captain Joseph Roche, R. N., an officer who saw much service on the North and Baltic stations; in the Great Belt in protecting British and attacking Danish convoys. He contributed to the capture, on the coast of Norway, of two Danish gun-vessels, the *Balder* and the *Thor* and to the destruction of a third. In 1811 he had command of a boat at the cutting out of a 10-gun schooner from under the fire of the Dutch fort of St. Jago d'Elmina on the coast of Guinea; and in July, 1812 he participated in an attempt made by four boats to bring out in open day four armed vessels together with a convoy, lying under the batteries in the Bay of Saros on the coast of France. On the coast of Ireland in 1823 he made prize of a smuggling lugger. Later he sailed for the West Indies, and in 1835 commanded the *Seaflower*, employed in protecting the Jersey fisheries. He died in 1862 in his 73rd year. His eldest son, Charles Kellett, married Emily, daughter of William Parker Goad of the Indian Civil Service (Bengal?) who died of small pox just before the Mutiny. Their son, Colonel Charles Kellett Roche, V.D., D.L., of Purley, has furnished me with a copy of the MS. account written by Madame Talhiade of the shipwreck at the mouth of the Hooghly in which her husband the general and their infant daughter* lost their lives, and from which she herself had an "all but miraculous" escape. It is here printed for the first time.

Madame Talhiade does not give the name of the "country ship" which

* This was Frances Eugénie, born 27 January 1802, baptized 29 February, 1804, at St. George's, Hanover Square.

was wrecked, but no doubt further particulars about the shipwreck as well as about Mr. and Mrs. Gammidge of "the Farm" on Fultah Island, are available in the local records. As to "Mr. Stephenson, the Master Attendant" of Calingapatam, perhaps he was Edward William Stevenson, who had been Master Attendant at Porto Novo and also at Cuddalore, where he died in 1823. Madame Talhiade's description of her terrible experiences—she was only twenty at the time—is a characteristic example of the peculiar sentimentality of the period. This very young lady might just have stepped out of "Northanger Abbey" to pass a season in London and to meet General Jean Baptist and her fate—a bride at sixteen and a widow stranded in Bengal at twenty. Of her subsequent career I have been unable to obtain any particulars, but she does not seem to have married again.

(The manuscript of this narrative of a perilous and disastrous voyage from Madras to Calcutta, made in 1804, was penned by the writer on paper which bears the water-mark of 1840. The phraseology and quaint spelling of the period are reproduced as they appear in the MS.)

PENRY LEWIS.

Narrative of the providential and all but miraculous preservation of Phoebe Talhiade, Widow of General Talhiade, formerly second in command of the Nizam's Army, and Collector of the District of Caman.

Tho' nothing can be more painful to my feelings than to trace the causes of my forlorn situation, I will endeavour to perform the task with fortitude and composure.

Our affairs requiring our presence in Bengal, for which place my husband and self embarked at Madras on board a Country ship on the 6th May 1804. We were accompanied by my infant Daughter, A natural Daughter of my Husband about ten years old, Monsieur Pierre Talhiade his Cousin, and three male and two Female Servants. Most unfortunately my husband put on board 50,000 Roupees in Specie. Adverse winds compelled us to stop at Coringa when Monsieur Talhiade took up various articles for sale at Calcutta to the value of from 15 to 20,000 Roupees.

On the 4th July we embarked but were forced by stress of weather to enter the Bay of Calingapatam, and were received in the most hospitable manner by Mr. Stephenson, the Master Attendant. After a stay of three days we proceeded on our voyage. In eight days we hoped to reach the place of our destination; but were kept a fortnight at sea in weather so boisterous that we every moment expected to perish. At length we arrived at the mouth of the Ganges. Off Saugor Island our Ship suddenly struck and fell on her side, in only two fathoms of water, tho' at the distance of

nearly four miles from the Shore. This fatal event took place about 6 p.m. on the 15th July. Our only Boat had been carried away from the stern at 9 o'clock of the same morning. This loss at the time seemed to portend something fatal: and now left us without the means of gaining the Shore. The Ship beat with violence against the Sands, and in less than an hour was falling to pieces, when the Iron Chest (which contained all the money we had brought to India) was perceived to go to the bottom. My poor husband then exclaimed in an agony of grief, "Alas! my dearest Wife! should you be extricated from this danger you are deprived of the means of subsisting by my imprudence!" From that moment his faculties were overpowered by the horrors of the scene, and Monst. P. Talhiade was nearly in the same state of helpless distraction. Happily, my confidence in the divine Being was never lost, so that I became cool and collected amidst the dangers.

I perceived two Iron Rings fastened to the Ship's side thro' which I passed a Rope, observing to my poor Talhiade that under the favour of Providence this might prove the means of our preservation. It enabled us to regain the planks as often as we were washed off by the Sea. Immediately the Ship struck the Lascars and Native Commanders abandoned us to our fate and swam away. As they have never been heard of, they either failed in their attempt to reach the Island, or became the prey of the numerous Tigers and Alligators by which it is infested.

On the first alarm I had enveloped my darling Babe in cloathes which I wound round my neck and body and thus preserved her for about six hours. The apprehension of her being smothered, induced me, most unfortunately, to untie the cloathes and throw them away, finding their weight impeded my progress thro' the water. Whilst in the endeavour to save myself I clung to the Planks that were opened by the waves, they closed with violence on my left hand and ankle. Of the use of my hand I was deprived for four months: more than a year was requisite for the healing of my foot, which still remains so weak as to render much walking painful.

The swell of the sea increased and my dear Husband's strength nearly exhausted; in this extremity he fastened a handkerchief round our waists, and placed our Infant between us, in the hope of sheltering her from the wreck that beat continually against us. We ardently wished were it our fate to perish, to have, at least, the melancholy consolation of dying together. In this fond hope were we cruelly disappointed! At times we separately became the sport of the waves, and in a struggle to join my husband, the Sea completely covered me and washed my darling Child from my arms. On my regaining breath I searched for her, indeed, I really think I swam, and luckily found her, tho' to all appearance lifeless. After holding her above water for a short time (which I was enabled to do by supporting myself against a Mast) I had the inexpressible joy to see my sweet Babe revive. At length I was

completely overwhelmed by the increased violence of the sea, from which I arose, Alas! to behold my dearest Child no more!!—About half an hour after this dreadful calamity I was separated from my beloved Husband—and for the last time!!!—His Cousin and natural Daughter had been carried off long before on a part of the wreck.

My servants who had hitherto been wholly intent on their own preservation had never quitted their hold of the Rope, which I fortunately secured to the Rings before the Ship went to pieces, and their sitting on the planks prevented the nails being driven out by the force of the water, and thus preserved them so far in safety. My female attendant perceiving me almost senseless dragged me out of the water by my hair. I appeared to be lifeless for the space of an hour. On my recovery I descried my poor Husband holding by the same Mast that supported him when I was driven from him, but unavailing were my efforts to join him—my only alternative was to bid him a heart-rending Adieu, as we were borne away by the waves in opposite directions!

The following noon myself and Servants were cast on Saugor Island, where the dangers that awaited us exceeded, in point of horror, those from which we escaped. I should not omit to add the Planks (to which we owed our preservation, together with the assistance of the Rope) separated as we got within a mile of the Island, so that we were obliged to wade up to our throats through a very heavy surf, which our exhausted state rendered us almost incapable of resisting. I consider it the greatest miracle that we reached the Island alive. During the five days and a half of our stay in this place of desolation, we could find no Roots but such as we apprehended to be poisonous. Hence were we destitute of nearly all sustenance. Our only drink was rain water, to collect and preserve which we made holes in the mud and spread leaves on the sand, but so small was the rain, tho' almost incessant, that it merely soaked the leaves which only served to moisten our mouths; so that our sufferings from intense thirst were beyond description. This evil I increased by a vain attempt to alleviate it with salt water. In the forlorn hope of reaching a fresh spring we followed the direction of a Creek for some distance, but were soon deterred from our pursuit by observing numerous prints of Tigers feet fresh on the Sand. Against the scorching Sun by day the Trees, or rather Shrubs, yielded no shade: and during the nights we were exposed to continued rain with no covering but a *yard of cloth each!*

My individual case was peculiarly distressing, several splinters having remained in my flesh too deep for extraction and my skin much blistered by exposure to the Sun: but the most intolerable of my pains arose from the stings of Flies and other insects inflicted on my numerous wounds and bruises. The Island of Saugor is situated at the mouth of the Ganges

and is wholly uninhabited, and so replete with dangers from ferocious animals that few persons were ever known to have escaped from it. At one moment our fate appeared inevitable. How kind was Providence in our preservation! We had made a kind of shed with boughs under which we had passed the night. Early in the morning we perceived a Royal Tiger at the distance of twenty yards in pursuit of a herd of Deer. Happily, our fears rendered us mute, and the eagerness of the animal after the prey before him, caused us to remain unobserved, or we must have been instantly devoured.

On the sixth day of our wretched abode on this spot some Fishermen whilst entering a Creek were hailed by one of my Servants, but seemed determined to refuse us assistance. Being stopped on their return they persisted in this inhuman refusal, expecting, as I suppose, no adequate reward from our forlorn appearance. Fortunately, among other trifling things, a Deal Box containing a few Silver Spoons and Knives and Forks had been washed on the Shore; these we offered as a pledge, assuring them they should be redeemed by money on our arrival in Calcutta; and thus extorted from their avarice what ought to have been the result of a more amiable principle. These Fishermen conveyed us to Mr. Gammidge's Farm at Fultah, a small Island on the river Ganges about a day's journey from Calcutta. Immediately on our arrival there I had Boats sent to search for the body of my unfortunate Husband, but they returned without success.

Our reception at Mrs. Gammidge's was most kind, and during my stay of nearly six weeks, I experienced continued proofs of the most tender hospitality. No mother could have been more assiduous than Mrs. Gammidge in fomenting and dressing my numerous wounds, or in soothing the agonies of my disconsolate mind. This kindness extended to my servants, and no entreaties could induce them to accept of remuneration. I feel at this moment all the gratitude I owe to these worthy persons, but no words can do justice to their endearing, their disinterested benevolence.

My Husband's Attorney, to whom I had written, came to Fultah and conducted me to his House at Chandernagore where every possible care was taken of me by him and his wife. Thro' their attentions my health was gradually recruited, and my mind restored to composure and resignation.

In lamenting the loss of my dearest Husband and Child, I am thankful to Heaven my other Daughter had been left in England, and still lives to console my Widowed hours. Thus am I not wholly bereft of comfort. The duties I owe to this interesting pledge of my poor Talhiade's affection are ever before me, and the gracious Being who has preserved me to watch over her tender years, will not, I humbly trust, leave me destitute of the necessary means for training her up in the paths of Religion and every Virtue.

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—IX.

No. 388.

CALCUTTA,

To RUSSELL SKINNER, ESQ.

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Skinner,

I have received your letters of 20th May and 12th November 1773, and 17th March 1774. My long absence from the Presidency, and a total occupation of my time since my return, puts it out of my power to give you any satisfactory information touching your private affairs. This task I leave to Harry Grant who I make no doubt will make up for the deficiency on my part.

Your nomination of Mr. Magee was perfectly agreeable to me though I think unnecessary while Grant continued to act. You may depend on any assistance in my power to benefit your concerns in India, and as you are a considerate man, I am sure you do not expect from me a minute attention to your accounts which is properly the province of your acting Agent.

No. 389.

CALCUTTA,

To WALTER WILKINS, ESQ.

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Wilkins,

I have received your letters of the 28th April 1773, 25th February and 15th April 1774. On looking over the last, I find it for Miller whose activity and attention to the final adjustment of your concerns, I cannot sufficiently commend. The transactions with Gocul, the opium business and others are of so complicated a nature that without a volume written in explanation of them by Miller they would be unintelligible to the rest of your attorneys, and even stated clearly as they are, the obstacles to the close of them are such that I apprehend it will now not be in my power to influence the parties to an amicable settlement. To descend to minute particulars is not in my power. This I leave to your trustworthy agent whose particular

province: it is, and who is indefatigable in whatever respects your interests. Upon my word, Wilkins, you should make him some handsome present for his trouble. He merits well, and unless your ideas are contracted by the frozen clime of England, you will steward him, I do not mean after the English fashion, but like yourself an honest Indian.

The monies you have laying in this country it is absolutely necessary you contrive means to draw to Europe, for I imagine by the end of 1775 the whole bond debt of the Company in Bengal will be discharged. Our political and internal economy has been such that we have already found means to pay off 20 lacs of the bonds, to reduce another part of them from 8 to 5 per cent., to pay off all the Navy claims and those of the Restitution. Besides which we have now a large balance in the Treasury and a growing fund that will increase to 80 lacs by the end of next year to be applied to further payment, and a sufficiency exclusive to purchase further cargoes for the ships and supplies to Bombay. You may believe me I do not exaggerate, and if you do not take the hint and get your money home, it will in a very short time be laying as a deposit in the Company's Treasury without interest.

I am glad to hear of Rumbold's success, but confess myself surprised at the preference he gives to the Madras station. The control vested with the Council General over the politics and revenue of the other Presidencies makes me apprehend he will not find the Government of Madras an agreeable or an eligible station. My associates have high notions of their supremacy, and I am convinced, will assert their prerogatives with a high hand.

Wishing you success at the ensuing canvas as a candidate for Radiceshire, I am etc.,

P.S.—I do not write Rumbold as I suppose he will have left England.

No. 390.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

TO MR. THOMAS SMITH.

Dear Sir,

I take this earliest opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31st January last. It will, I assure you, yield me a very sensible pleasure in any way to be instrumental to the prosperity of your family, and as far as my little influence I have it may be conducive to that end, I shall be happy in exerting it. I beg you will present my respects to Mrs. Smith and believe me to be with a warm regard for you both, etc.

No 391.

CALCUTTA,

TO ROBERT GREGORY, ESQ.

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Sir,

The value I have placed on your friendship enhances the pleasure I receive from your correspondence. You must, therefore, my dear Sir, be a little more communicative and indulge my wish to be favored with your sentiments more frequently. Be not quite so great a niggard of your time, but dedicate a little more of it to the satisfaction of a person who in every station of his life will rank your friendship amongst the chiefest distinctions paid him in passing through his probationary test. I confess, I am not a little gratified and pleased with my honorary appointment, and being so you may imagine my only object will be to approve myself worthy the Minister's nomination. To fill with credit the station allotted me is, I think, within my own power, and as to fortune I had rather be blessed with a moderate competence than be burthened with any odium to which greater affluence may be exposed. Professions of forbearance are indeed so common that no one has a right to expect implicit belief of them, but when a man's interest and honor strongly unite to render forbearance the line of his conduct, he may with confidence make such professions as they cannot be impeached and are entirely consistent with the situation of life in which he is placed.

The change in the Government took place the latter end of October, and at a time when the circumstances of the Company were rising superior to the incumbrances by which they had been for a length of time involved. The war in which we had been engaged as auxillaries on the side of the Vizier was brought to a happy issue. A treasury in a good state, 20 lacs of the bond debt paid off and the Navy and Restitution claims fully discharged, and should no precipitate resolutions subsequently occasion differences with Suja Dowlah, the loans due and expected from him with a growing fund from the Bengal Revenues will enable us by the end of 1775 to liquidate the whole bond debt of this Presidency, besides furnishing cargoes to the Europe ships and supplies to Bombay. In all the following years the surplus revenues will be net profit to the state.

You would scarcely expect to see so great a change in the circumstances of the Government. Indeed, it would not have been so easily effected had not the measures pursued by Hastings brought into the Provinces nearly a crore of rupees in specie. This is supposing the stipulations with the Vizier shall be realised, a thing not in the least precarious, if we do not make it so by our own precipitancy in the measures to be taken to secure it.

To enter into a minute detail of every particular that has occurred since the commencement of the new administration, would not only lead me beyond the bounds of my paper, but for want of a ready reference to the records to connect such a detail it is at present out of my power. When this ship is gone, and the hurry of business passed, I shall probably employ my time in collecting and arranging the materials, and if I think they are of a nature to engage your attention, give them to your perusal.

Believe me, with truth and regard, etc.

No. 392.

CALCUTTA,

TO JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Sir,

The friendship and civilities with which you were pleased to honor my deceased brother, claims an immediate acknowledgement from myself. Not satisfied with the thanks I have already paid you through my sister, I take up the pen to repeat them directly from myself and to express the obligations, I feel in the services I understand, you have been so kind as to do me by the mediation of your ministerial connections. Believe me I shall be happy as far as in my power to return those favors and beg you will freely command me on any occasion wherein you think I may be useful to you. I shall spare no pains nor think any degree of trouble burthensome that affords me an opportunity to evince that I esteem myself obliged.

Various are the opinions of the multitude respecting the change judged necessary by the Minister. In the political line it certainly has every advantage over the old system that can be conceived. The external and internal economy of the several Provinces will undoubtedly be better regulated and guarded. A check upon the spot in the immediate controlling power of the Council-General must produce greater consistency in the political intercourse with the Indian Princes, and by directing the powers of all the Governments to one point and strength and vigor to each. I must, however, confess that the advantages to be derived from the new system depends much on the intimate knowledge the members who are to conduct it, have of the various views of the Hindustan Powers, their connections, interests and natural weaknesses. It is from their divisions alone the English Government can be benefited with little risk, and on seizing happy occasions of extending our influence and revenue. This knowledge is absolutely necessary. It gives me, therefore, concern to remark that our first meetings are defaced with differences on the subject of some political engagements entered into with

Suja Dowlah by the late Administration, and that when we should have deliberated on the best means of securing the benefits coming in from them, those benefits have been risked by precipitate resolutions on the impropriety of measures that had been fully operated in producing the effects they were planned to bring about and could not possibly be retracted. I concurred with the Governor-General on this subject in opposition to the majority. And as I was not either consulted by or concerned with the old Administration in the political engagements that gave rise to the differences that have happened, my sentiments, I flatter myself, will carry the weight of those of an unbiassed spectator, and of a man who from the many mortifications he has experienced from the late Administration cannot possibly be partial in its favor. Believe me, I am very much concerned at what has occurred, because I know it will be extremely disagreeable to the Ministry whose service and whose views I am bound by every tie to promote, but it, however, be remarked that these differences have been introduced without necessity by my associates, that had they checked their impatience, they would have found the Company's political situation with the Vizier in the very stage to which they so hastily and with so little deference to subsisting engagements proceeded to reduce it. An instance of such vehemence so instantly on the commencement of the new Government, though it seems to indicate no favourable disposition among the members who compose it, I would willingly flatter myself, will prove both the first and the last. My apprehensions to the contrary are, indeed, strong. Yet from the conciliatory manner in which Mr. Hastings has conducted himself throughout this affair, I may reasonably expect the best effects and remain in that hope.

No. 393

CALCUTTA,

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

The 1st December 1774.

My dear Sister,

I have already written to you by this packet. I now enclose for your perusal letters addressed to Lords North and Sandwich with one to Mr Stables, and as I apprehend it may be proper, I propose a short address to Mr. Robinson whose friendship may be extremely serviceable to the cause he shall espouse, and as I flatter myself his mind is not biassed by any particular attachment to the General and the other gentlemen, his sentiments on the papers you deliver to him, will be candid and impartial, his connections with the Minister make it proper to inform him of occurrences, for they give him an opportunity of presenting them in a light the most favorable to the public

interests and the views of the administration. I am very sensible the Ministry must be displeased to find on the commencement of their new Government, differences so immediately arise, but I hope and think the Ministry will impute them to their true source, persuaded that neither the Governor-General or myself can have any wish except such as are entirely compatible with whatever system they may lay down for the rule of our conduct, and I must here take occasion to enjoin you in all matters which the Minister shall choose to pass through the medium of the Company, though they may appear adverse to immediate interests of my own, that you do not hesitate in promoting them to the utmost of your power and engaging all the friends you can influence to carry them through the Proprietary Courts, for as the line I am determined to take, is implicit devotion to the Government, it is necessary my friends should act from the same disposition and be satisfied with leaving it to the higher power to regard me with attention or not. I am already gratified beyond my expectation and am contented, though my views should be no further advanced.

The Government of Madras which you inform me, has been an object of your endeavors, I am glad, fell not to my share. Its dependency on the Council-General is one great objection, and my removal from Bengal another. In short I am fixt to Bengal, and when I can no longer continue to fill a station here with credit to myself and advantage to the public, I relinquish the scene for one in England.

But to return to the subject of my letter. Nos. 1 and 3 are the Governor-General's Minutes on the assembling of this new Board; they were read on following days, the second part though promised not being completed for the records in time.

On the second day of our meeting, before the second part of the Governor-General's Minutes was read, giving a summary account of the political state of the Hindoostan Powers, a motion was made by General Clavering for considering the present state of Bengal respecting its political connexions and foreign alliances. The treaties and engagements entered into by the late Council with the Vizier, were brought in consequence upon the table. A motion was then made for all the Governor-General's public and private correspondence with Mr. Middleton, and a proposition adventured, though not upon record, that the Military Commander-in-Chief should be the channel of communication between the Vizier and the English Government. This was afterwards modified to the Commander of the Troops acting in the field and carried by 3 to 2, the General, Messrs. Monson and Francia for—the Governor and myself dissenting. The motion for the public and private correspondence of the Governor-General had the same fate, but did not produce the same effect, for the Governor-General questioned the powers

of the Board to demand his private correspondence, declaring at the same time he would arrange and lay before the Council every letter that could possibly give the least light on public affairs. The rest were immaterial to the subject and, therefore, declined compliance with the requisition. But if he afterwards should judge it necessary to submit his private correspondence to public inspection, it was not to the demand now made upon him; it should be to a superior power, and in vindication of himself he yielded it. He said he little expected such an indignity; that before they had communicated with him, before he had had an opportunity given him to satisfy them on all points which he was proceeding to do with all the despatch in his power, he was mortified with motions of injurious tendency and fraught with suspicions that carried the imputations of his secreting from their knowledge what related to the public interests. He was, indeed, greatly disappointed. The disposition with which he met them was widely different from that which they appeared to bear towards him, for without waiting for information, they proceeded with precipitancy to question the measures of his Government. He begged, however, they would make themselves masters of the subject, before they proceeded to form any hasty resolutions, and that the papers he had pointed to with Mr. Middleton's correspondence, might be read by all the members. Instead of attention to this recommendation they voted the correspondence incomplete and as conveying no information, left the letters unopened on the table where they laid without being perused during the whole course of time the several propositions made by General Clavering were in debate and voted upon—a strange instance of the necessity of calling for papers not to use them, except for a protest against withholding such as were of a private nature and did not relate to the public subject.

On the refusal of the Governor's private correspondence it was immediately moved and carried to recall Mr. Middleton from the Vizier's Court and to direct the Officer commanding the Brigade in the field to perform the functions of Mr. Middleton's office.

This on the next day was followed by a variety of propositions, No 3 which gave rise to the subsequent Minutes 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9.

It is to be remarked that the propositions No. 3 were brought in the form of a letter from General Clavering before the Board, as if the propositions had been already made, voted upon and passed, and the letter constructed upon the votes. Instead of this the resolutions were anticipated by the General who divined they must accord with his letter, though the different points on which it was written had not come under consideration. Nothing so strongly marks a preconcerted plan as this anecdote, for what man in his senses would propose a letter involving a variety of propositions

which had never been taken; was not he assured confidentially they should be taken? The Governor-General simply for his cause pointed out this absurdity. The letter was in consequence retracted, and propositions for resolutions to be taken substituted in its room. Loath, however, not to mark such a circumstance I have noticed it in a short reply to one of Mr. Francis's motions, and it is authenticated by the General's own acknowledgement. The letter nevertheless does not appear which sufficiently stamps its impropriety.

The papers enclosed are so detached that I am apprehensive they may not be well understood. Go, however, they must, and the connection with every other paper shall be prepared by the next ship.

As I had not a share in the Councils of the late Government, nor was consulted on the political engagements entered into with the Vizier, I am freed of the responsibility of those measures, and as the many mortifications I have experienced from that Government, gives me no bias in its favor, the sentiments I have delivered may be deemed impartial and to proceed wholly from my conviction of their rectitude. As such I make no doubt they will have weight and claim the attention of the Minister who may possibly regard what is urged by one under different circumstances with distrust. Every man is apt to tell his tale his own way, I have no inducement to vindicate another, much less a set of men I always regarded with indifference.

Before I close this letter I must once more lay my injunctions on you, in all things be directed by Ministerial views even in the most trivial, and Mr. Robinson, if you consult him, will put you in the proper path.

No. 394.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE LORD NORTH, ETC., ETC.

My Lord,

Permit me (though personally unknown) to make my acknowledgment to your Lordship for the distinction, unmerited on my part, that your Lordship has been pleased to show me in naming me to a seat at the Council appointed by Parliament to direct the affairs of this country. The best thanks I can return to your Lordship and my country for this mark of your good opinion, is by approving myself worthy of your choice, and by assuring you that I shall take every opportunity of convincing the world how much it is my wish to co-operate with the views of the Government in placing the affairs of this country on such a footing as will enable the Company to answer the just expectations of the public and secure some permanent advantage from their acquisitions here to the Mother Country.

It has been intimated to me that your Lordship had some apprehensions on account of the differences which formerly subsisted between Mr. Hastings and myself. Whatever those might have been, I can assure your Lordship that it is my firm intention to assist and support the Governor-General in all such measures as I think will best answer the great ends of our appointment.

It gives me much concern to think that your Lordship will find on a perusal of our public Proceedings that the Governor-General and I have been so unfortunate as to differ in opinion with our colleagues in regard to some late political transactions; in delivering our opinions though contrary to the sentiments of the majority, we had no views but the public welfare, and I trust that my sentiments must appear to your Lordship uninfluenced and unbiassed, as from my former destination in the Service I had not an opportunity of assisting at those Councils which determined on the measures that gave rise to the late debates.

I shall with your Lordship's permission acquaint you from time to time with anything of importance that may arise during the course of our administration, and I flatter myself you will not find me undeserving of your countenance and protection on any future occasion.

No. 395.

CALCUTTA,

The 13th November 1774.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF SANDWICH, ETC., ETC.

My Lord,

It having been hinted to me by some of my friends that I am in a great measure indebted to your Lordship for the attention that has been paid to me in the late appointment by Parliament of a Council to conduct the affairs of the East India Company in this country, I flatter myself you will excuse me the liberty, I take in addressing your Lordship on that head. Permit me then to make my sincere acknowledgement to your Lordship for the part you took in the interests of a person wholly unknown to you unless from report, but who wishes for nothing so much as to have an opportunity to testify the high respect he bears for your Lordship's eminent character, and to assure you he will seek every occasion of deserving your good opinion and future support by exerting to the utmost those talents which first recommended him to your Lordship's notice.

I forbear at present to trouble you with any account of the public affairs of this country. Should, however, any thing of importance hereafter arise I hope that your Lordship will permit me to request your advice and

assistance, and to assure you that I shall esteem my labors well rewarded if at any time it may be in my power to retain in the least degree the obligations I have received at your Lordship's hands.

No. 396.

CALCUTTA,

TO ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, ESQ.

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Sir,

I will not arraign you for having so long disappointed my wishes. The pleasure I feel in finding them at last gratified supersedes the little discontent I began to perceive by being so long in appearance neglected. Welcome my old friend, I meet you with pleasure and am thus early in acknowledging your favor of the 28th of last January to evince how grateful it is to me and how much I flatter myself with the duration of our acquaintance. An "habitual indolence and abhorrence of every implement of writing" was ever my foible, and I should have received the remark as most applicable to myself, had I not so much reason to be persuaded it applies so strongly to you. Indulge not, however, to excess the tribute of one—half hour to an absent old acquaintance is all he asks of you in a year.

I beg when you see my Lord Clive you will pay my respects to him with my congratulations on the sequel of the Commons' Proceedings on India affairs, where he rose so much superior to the illiberal attacks of his enemies and vindicated with his usual firmness of temper, his own honor and his right to the acquisitions his great merit and successes in the service of his country commanded, and which undoubtedly are his due, however much the voice of Envy may attempt to depreciate his just pretensions to the thanks of the nation and of the East India Company.

The new Government appointed by the Act of the Legislature you will have heard is established. The members who compose it arrived with us the latter end of last month and commenced their administration with dispositions that do not appear to bear the most favorable aspect to a future harmony amongst ourselves. I am concerned at the prospect and regret that an occasion should so early be sought for to reprobate the measures of the late Government, especially when those measures had fully operated in producing the political effects they were planned to bring about and were beyond the possibility of retraction. To descend to particulars that involve a variety of matters would engage me in a tedious detail, besides the subject is too unpleasant to me to dwell on and does not demand it, as you, of course, may have access to the most authentic information. My

destination in the Service did not afford me an opportunity to participate in the Councils of the late Government. The support, therefore, I give to the acts in which I am wholly unconcerned, cannot, I think, be imputed to any bias; and less so when it is considered on how many occasions I have not hesitated singly to advance my objections to measures I did not approve of that administration.

With my compliments to Mrs. Campbell, admit my assurances that on any given opportunity, I will with pleasure promote the interests of the young gentlemen you recommend.

No. 397.

CALCUTTA,

TO WILLIAM LUSHINGTON, ESQ.

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Lushington,

After so long a silence to give you a mere chit-chat letter is rather an impeachment of the friendly confidence I repose in your attachment. It would, however, be a greater imputation to treat you with disguise by appearing to communicate an important nothing. Besides I have not the least talent of talking a great deal at any time even on the most important subjects; much less have I the gift of invention to embellish the story of a tub mainly to amuse and lead you to imagine I am not trifling, while I write a great volume containing light and immaterial subjects. My reason for that apparent reserve proceeds entirely from the dependence of my situation and the line I have determined to pursue. I confess it will give me pleasure to hear you take the same path, as it is the best and most eligible, and the only one in which you can ever render to yourself or your friend a service of the least importance. My advice had formerly weight with you, and a sense of past attachment is the strongest argument to convey to your mind conviction that what I now offer combines as usual your interests with my own. Should you, as I wish you may, place an entire confidence in the Ministry and look up to the Government alone to gratify such pretensions as you have a right to form, your submitting this letter to my sister will satisfy your curiosity on those points she is entrusted with, and while the medium of the Company is the mode pursued in perfecting the Minister's plan of Government in this country. A coalition—a full coalition of your family interests with mine, will increase the claim you have to consideration and give to those of your friend an additional weight.

In whatever disposition you departed hence, I beg of you, Lushington, to support to the utmost of your abilities and your interest the policy pursued by the late Government in its engagements with the Vizier, hold forth the

advantages derived from those engagements in securing a natural barrier to the Vizier's dominions by the possession of the Rohilla country; the stipulation of 40 lacs for the assistance of the English troops to reduce it; and the subsidy of two lacs ten thousand per mensem for the expence of the Brigade while retained in Suja Dowlah's dominions. The wealth this brings into the country possessed by the Company and the saving at least of one-fourth of our military charges are great objects and will enable us to the end of 1775 to wipe off all the incumbrances of the Government. The Navy, Restitution, Army and twenty lacs of the bonded debt is already discharged and a part of the bond debt reduced to 5 per cent. A large balance is now in the treasury, and when the stipulations with the Vizier are answered the means of liquidating the whole of the Company's debt at interest will be ample.

No. 398.

CALCUTTA,

TO JOHN ROBINSON, ESQ.

The 30th November 1774

Sir,

The confidential office you fill under my Lord North and your connection with the most eminent characters in the Ministerial line might apologise for me in the present instance (even if it had not been intimated to me by my friends that I may assume that freedom) without apprehension of being esteemed an intruder on your time—the important avocation. The detail of a part of the business of the Government that falls to your lot, I am too sensible, leaves you but few hours to dedicate to indifferent subjects. The Administration, however, of this country is now become so consequential an object to the Legislature of Great Britain that I must suppose any matter of information respecting it will prove agreeable to a gentleman in your sphere of action. In this idea allow me to solicit your correspondence and advice, and if on a person unknown it may be conferred, your future friendship. My situation has been such that until the late distinction shewn me by nominating me to a seat at the Council appointed by Parliament for conducting the affairs of the East India Company in this country, it never was in my power to evince my implicit devotion to the views of the Government. Engaged in its service, I can have no other wish than to merit its protection, and I shall be happy if my labors and the experience I have attained by many years' residence in India, prove in any respect conducive to give success to measures that have and may be adopted to insure permanent advantages to the mother country from her Asiatic conquests.

The medium of the Company, appearing to be the line in which the pursuits of the Ministry are to be perfected, I have enjoined my confidential agent,

Mrs. Barwell, to be wholly directed by you in all matters that shall be agitated in the Proprietors' Court. Permit me the pleasure of making this small acknowledgment where I am so deeply indebted. It is the only return (exclusive of the services I may be enabled to render in discharging the duties of my station) within my power, and trifling as it is, may I hope be accepted. This tribute Lord North will find constant and invariable—to be commanded even upon occasions that may clash with partial interests of my own and devoted without reserve to the service of Government.

This address is forwarded through Mrs. Barwell who will confirm its purport and submit to you such information as you may be at leisure to receive and judge worthy of my Lord North's attention relative to measures since the commencement of the new Government.

No. 399.

CALCUTTA,

TO HARRY VERELST, ESQ.

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure to receive your letter (wherein you express your wish for my acting as one of your attorneys) at Dacca. My situation at that time would not permit me to engage in such a trust, and since my arrival at the Presidency, my whole time has been so much taken up that I have not as yet had an opportunity to call upon Mr. Darell in order to take a view of the concerns you left in the hands of that gentleman. In a few days I hope to perform this duty, and though it is out of my power to be responsibly engaged in the management of your affairs, every attention I can shew and every service I can render to you, you may with confidence depend upon. The kindness, I received at your hands binds me in gratitude to your interests, and with those in view my first object will be an adjustment of the engagements I understand subsisting between you and Mahomed Riza Cawn on which I do imagine you have fully written to Mr. Darell, with explicit instructions touching the latitude to be taken by your attorneys in finally settling that important business. I call it important for if your engagement to answer the joint bond is absolute, the stake you have depending is a great one and can only be lessened by a compromise. When I see the engagement and your instructions, I will write you more fully, for until I see the engagement I cannot determine how far you are bound by it, and I hope to find it only a kind of assurance calculated to satisfy the Nabob without involving yourself. This you might possibly have given from a full persuasion of the responsibility of the persons to whom Mahomed Reza Cawn lent the money.

Ashburner has arrived and has delivered me your letter of the 25th of last April. I wish I could have served him in the way you recommend, because you wished it in particular and imagined it to be in my power, and really it is not so. I shall frankly intimate this to Ashburner and inform him he has a call on my services on any occasion where he may judge them useful.

The change in the Government took place the end of last month. With dispositions such as you described my associates, the most pleasing prospect offered to my view. How far I am disappointed you will hear from authentic information to which I must refer you, as it involves minute circumstances that in detail would be equally tedious and unpleasant to me. Health and domestic happiness attend you.

P.S.—The bills you advise of will be duly honored.

No. 400.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

TO MR. ROBERT CONWAY, BEAUFORT BUILDINGS.

Dear Sir,

My connections with Mr. Barton and the respect I bear for the memory of his father, our mutual friend, must be sufficient incitement to me to assist the views of any person intimately related to you, but when you urge the interests of your own son and one whom you describe so worthy of your affection, you particularly engage me in his prosperity, and I assure you I shall be happy on any occasion to show how much I wish to cultivate your friendship.

I have just received intelligence that Colonel Champion has quitted the command of the army and is on his way to Calcutta with intention to embark for Europe in one of the ships of this season. Should his lady be in England when this letter arrives with you, be so kind as present her with my compliments and inform her the coins she desired me to collect for her are procuring, and that she may depend on my sending them in the course of this year.

No. 401-2.

Calcutta, 5th Dec. 1774. TO BEAUMONT AND LEYCESTER—Of no interest.

Calcutta, 6 Dec. 1774. J. CATOR TO BEAUMONT & LEYCESTER—Of no interest.

No. 403.

CALCUTTA,

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

The 8th December 1774.

My dear Sister,

Since closing the second letter I have written by this conveyance I find matter offered for a third. The spirit of my associates in the Government has obliged me to take a more decisive part than I had already in support of the Governor-General, and the principle on which I take this part is explained in an additional public minute. The points on which that minute turns are simple truths and fix beyond a question the material objections to be urged against their conduct:—*1st*, that they commenced the Government with dispositions adverse to the Governor-General and his administration; *2nd*, that they sought occasion for dissensions unnecessarily; *3rd*, that the state and posture of political affairs was such as to be rapidly tending to the prescribed limits to which they wished to confine them; *4th*, that their object should have been to secure the benefits arising to the State and not risk them by impeaching past measures that did not affect themselves, for in so doing they seemed to lose sight of the primary object, the advantages to the State, in order to censure and to find fault; *5th*, that it was not their province to prejudge the sentiments of the Court of Directors. They should have waited their decision, as the subject was before their tribunal and not have assumed to themselves the right of their superiors by pointing out what judgment they ought to pass. At all events, the anticipation of the sentiments of the Company which must have been already given, though not as yet received by their administration here, was improper and presumptive; *6th*, that a formal separation of one part of the Administration was alarming, irregular and exceptionable. No instance of this ever before known or to be traced in the records of the Company. The weight of these objections to the conduct of the new members rests wholly on the judgment of the impartial.

As much has been dropped in the private discourses of the Gentlemen lately arrived touching the cruelties and ravages of the Vixier in the course of the war, I will just mention what I have heard respecting his conduct in that particular from many gentlemen of the army, especially from Major Hannay Adjutant-General of the Forces. The heads of the most considerable families have fallen in the course of the war, and the family of Haffiz Rhamut Cawn, in the opinion of the superior class of people, has not been treated with the distinction usually shown to families of such rank, and though the appointments and allowances made by the Vixier set the family above any degree of want, yet it is esteemed rather penurious and unequal to the rank of the people. The whole weight of the war has fallen on the chiefs and leading men of the

Rohilla nation. The husbandman has not experienced any of its effects that could be avoided. On the commencement of the war villages were burnt and destroyed, but through all Hindoostan this mode is practised. Yet in all this devastation (which was not of any duration) of the common people scarcely one hundred fell by the sword; that before and after the decisive battle on St. George's day the Vizier's attention to the safety of the people was evinced by his peremptory orders not to touch their lives and to induce them to return to their habitations that they had deserted and to the peaceable cultivation of their lands, and that in order to give weight to his assurances of protection he immediately engaged Cawn Mull in his service who had for 30 years acted in capacity of Dewan or Collector of the Revenues. That this had such an effect, that when the troops lay in the camp at Bissooley in June, and Major Hannay was ordered out by the Commanding Officer to examine the country, he was surprised to find within 8 miles of the camp all the country reinhabited and the people busy at their ploughs in as full confidence as in the midst of a profound peace. So agreeable a scene exciting the Major's curiosity he satisfied it by questioning the villagers who fell in his way, and the result of their answers are as follows: we fled at first from our habitations under apprehensions of experiencing the same treatment from the Vizier we had met with from the Mharattas. We fled for our lives. The Vizier has assured us through Cawn Mull, our ancient Dewan, that we had no reason for our fears. He has likewise taken Cawn Mull into his service, and we make no doubt he will be a good master to us. We are, therefore, returned and are the Vizier's servants. Upon being asked whether the Rohilla Sirdars were not good masters, they answered yes; they allowed us all the necessities and conveniences of life; we lived happily under their Government, and we hope to live happily under the Government of the Vizier. Our ancient Dewan is in his service. From this picture given by a field officer and from others who could have no particular view and who from their stations must have known all the facts, renders it indubitable that the Vizier has directed his measures with policy and not made a desert of the country he aimed to rule over; that if the same policy required of him to extirpate families dangerous to his power, it may be supposed he will be influenced by that policy, but in effecting the Rohilla conquest there is no instance of his destroying in cold blood any of the nobles, though I do not imagine either the Vizier or any other Prince of India would hesitate to sacrifice any individual to their safety or ambition. The imputation of deceit, treachery, unfaithfulness, and duplicity is merely expressive of dispositions averse to the connexion and not to the Prince, for in politics every engagement should have for its basis a precise object that may be commanded on being made the interest of the Prince to secure it. But here it has been necessary to make Suja Dowlah out the greatest villain

that the public may impute to him and not to the precipitate measures taken, a disappointment. However, I flatter myself, no disappointment will arise. Private advice by Express is received as low down as the 21st of last month, that says 15 lacks of the 40 is paid, and an order issued for the remaining 25. Our public advices are only to the 16th of the month, and, of course, do not mention this agreeable piece of intelligence, but it may be depended upon, as the information is from a gentleman of high military rank who was with the Vizier at Fyzabad.

I have heard it rumoured that the savings to the Company by stationing the Brigade with the Vizier is trifling; account the excess of the extra charges. This either proceeds from a premeditated design to impose or absolute ignorance, for I am certain from the accounts I have examined there will be at least one-fourth of the whole military charges of the establishment of Bengal saved by continuing the troops with the Vizier.

In addition to the papers sent you in my last you will receive the following:—

The Governor's letter of appeal.

Mr. B.'s minute in support of the Governor-General's appeal: an answer from Mr. Francis that should have gone with the last papers.

The appeal of Messrs. Clavering, Monson and Francis is but just delivered. The little I have seen is heavy, partial and full of disingenuous insinuations. The want of argument, I suppose, makes this attack so very unequal to the defence.

No. 404.

CALCUTTA,

TO CAPTAIN ROBERT CARR.

27th December 1774.

Dear Sir,

This accompanys your account with me to 3 July 1774, the balance whereof together with the sums due for interest on your Company's bonds will remain in my hands, till Company's 5 per cent. bonds can be procured which are more advantageous than those of 8 per cent. on account of the very high premium they bear and the likelihood of their being soonest paid off. You will perceive I have allowed Mr. Joseph Cator a commission for keeping the account, as my time is so much engaged in public business that I cannot possibly attend to it myself and for your satisfaction all your concerns will continue to be entered in my books, though he will in future advise you relating to them, as I leave the management to him for whose conduct and integrity in these matters I consider myself as answerable, but

if you are able to negotiate a remittance of your money in this country let your bills be drawn on me.

No. 405.

CALCUTTA,

27th December 1774.

TO ROGER HOPE ELLETON, ESQR., & MR. JOHN PURRIER.

Gentlemen,

I have received your letter of 1 November 1773 respecting the concerns of Mr. Richard Gamon to whom I wrote the 8 October 1773 and enclosed his account with me to 5 July 1773 which I make no doubt have been long since delivered to you as his assignees, and that you may be fully acquainted of what concerns belonging to his estate are in my hands. I now enclose you his account with me to 5 July 1774 which only contains the balance brought from the account transmitted last year, though I have noticed the state of the securities remaining in my hands for your future government the interest on which shall be received, and if possible, vested in Company's bonds, for they are difficult to procure over those that bear only 5 per cent. interest which I think the best, because the 8 per cent. bonds are sold at a very high premium and likely to be first paid off. My time is so much engaged in public business that I cannot possibly attend to Mr. Gamon's concerns myself. I have, therefore, entrusted the management of them to Mr. Joseph Cartor, a gentleman in my family whom I allow a commission for keeping the account, and for whose conduct and integrity in these matters I consider myself as answerable, but for your satisfaction, as he may be an entire stranger to you, all Mr. Gamon's concerns will continue to be entered in my books, though Mr. Cartor will in future advise you relating to them, but if you are able to negotiate a remittance of Mr. Gamon's effects in my hands let your bills be drawn on me.

No. 406.

CALCUTTA,

27th December 1774.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQR.

Dear Beaumont,

I now enclose your account with me to 10 January 1774 wherein the interest is calculated on both bonds to that day, but as the Company do not take money at 8 per cent. or any other rate of interest now, and their 8 per cent. bonds sell at so high premium that it is more advantageous to vest your

money in 5 per cent. Company's bonds when to be obtained which is not to be done at all time, and as I am under the necessity of drawing in all my commercial concerns they will furnish me with what money is requisite to comply with all my engagements. I, therefore, cannot allow more than 5 per cent. on what remains of yours in my hands which I hope you will fall on some good mode of getting it remitted to England.

I am for the same reasons desirous of Miss Keene's money being remitted to England or lodged in the hands of some other person here, as it is inconvenient for me to allow her 8 per cent. when I can only get 5 per cent. secure for my own money. I, therefore, beg the favour of you to see that lady get me relieved from her money concerns.

No. 407.

CALCUTTA,

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQR.

27th December 1774.

Dear Leycester,

I now transmit your account with me to 1 October 1774 the balance whereof together with the sums received since remains in my hands till Company's 5 per cent. bonds can be procured. You will perceive I have allowed Mr. Joseph Cator a commission for keeping the account, as my time is so much engaged in public business that I cannot possibly attend to it myself, and for your satisfaction, as he is an entire stranger to you, all your concerns will continue to be entered in my books, that he will in future advise you relating to them, as I leave the management to him for whose conduct and integrity in these matters I consider myself as answerable, but if you are able to negotiate a remittance of your money in this country let your bills be drawn on me.

P.S. Pray inform me what proportion Charlton is entitled to of the Restitution in your joint names.

No. 408.

CALCUTTA,

TO STANLAKE BATSON, ESQR.

27th December 1774.

Dear Sir,

This serves to accompany your account with me to 5 July 1774 which contains only the trifling balance of the amount I transmitted you last year, though some money hath been since received on account of your claim on the Restitution Fund, and more is due which I expect will soon be paid, and some interest is also due on the Company's bonds belonging to you in my

possession, all which shall be vested in Company's 5 per cent bonds as soon as they can be obtained, which are more advantageous than those of 8 per cent. on account of the high premium they bear and the likelihood of their being soonest paid off. My time is so much engaged in public business that I cannot possibly attend to your concerns myself. I have, therefore, entrusted the management of them to Mr. Joseph Cator a gentleman in my family whom I allow a commission for keeping the accounts and for whose conduct and integrity in these matters I consider myself as answerable, but for your satisfaction, as he is an entire stranger to you, all your concerns will continue to be entered in my books, though he will in future advise you relating to them, but if you are able to negotiate a remittance of your money in this country, let your bills be drawn on me.

No. 409.

CALCUTTA,

TO THE REV. DOCTOR LUSHINGTON.

27th December 1774.

Dear Sir,

This serves to accompany your accounts with me to 1 October 1774, the balance whereof together with the sums received since remains in my hands, till Company's 5 per cent bonds can be procured which I esteem more advantageous than the 8 per cents. on account of the very high premium they bear and because they are likely to be first paid off.

You will perceive I have allowed Mr. Joseph Cator a commission for keeping the account, as my time is so much engaged in public business that I cannot possibly attend to it myself, and for your satisfaction, as he is an entire stranger to you, all your concerns will continue to be entered in my books, though he will in future advise you relating to them, as I leave the management to him for whose conduct and integrity in these matters I consider myself as answerable, but if you are able to negotiate a remittance of your money in this country, please let your bills be drawn on me.

Nos. 410-11.

Calcutta, Dec: 20, 1774: J. Cator to Anthony Polier.

[“Dr. Lushington is very exact as to the interest of his money.”]

“ “ 30, “ J. Cator to Wm. Barton. Of no interest.

No. 412.

CALCUTTA,

TO GEORGE DAWSON, ESQ.

2nd January 1775.

Sir,

Having taken charge of Mr. Charlton's affairs from Mr. Killican who acted in them during my absence from the Presidency I find the *Snow Good*

Hope on which Mr. Killican lent respondentia to Mr. Lewis D'Costa payable at Madras hath met with an accident that has very much damaged her cargo, but as Mr. Killican informs me you have insured the amount of the respondentia bond I hope you will not be a sufferer. I now send you copy of Mr. D'Costa's invoice accounts sales and account current relating to the adventure, as also his letter to Mr. Killican on the subject which together with the complaint protest already sent, as Mr. D'Costa informs me by Captain Karr, I flatter myself, you will enable you to settle with the insurer.

Nos. 413-18.

Calcutta, 6th Jan. 1775. J. CATOR TO J. PURLING—of no interest.

Calcutta, 10 Jany. 1775. To Beaumont and Leycester—of no interest.

" " " " Mrs. Mary Barwell—

[Informs her that Col. Maclean has settled with him for the bonds.]

Calcutta, 25 Jany. 1775 To Mathew Day—Of no interest.

" 10 Feby. 1775 To Beaumont and Leycester—

" 13 Feby. 1775 J. Cator to W. Barton—

No. 419.

CALCUTTA,

TO WILLIAM LUSHINGTON, ESQ.

The 15th February 1775.

Dear Lushington,

After keeping by me unopened the letters from Europe to your address with intention to inform your attorneys of any particulars they might contain, I resolved in my mind the necessity of following your instructions in that point. It struck me that the trust was a confidential one delegated to your friend, that it was reposed merely from an idea that it was necessary to your affairs, and if not necessary, that the letters were to be returned leaving it to his judgment to open them or not. After considering the subject in every view I could not make out how it could be material to your pecuniary interests that I should peruse your letters. It was evident to me you did not wish them perused by confining your instructions on that head to myself. I therefore return them all to you in the state in which they came into my hands.

No. 420.

CALCUTTA,

TO THE HON^{BLE} FREDERICK STUART.

The 24th February 1775.

Dear Stuart,

The pilot delivered me the letter you wrote on your departure.

In consequence of the accusation preferred by the Vizier against Col. Champion, the Colonel has addressed the Board in the most artful and insidious manner, imputes the Vizier's charge wholly to Mr. Hastings's artifice and management, and makes Col. McLeane the agent in this mysterious business. He likewise descants on the whole political scene including the Rohilla war, passes the severest strictures on the views of the late administration and takes every occasion in the course of his work to inculcate a belief of the measures being influenced by private and base considerations. This piece is drawn up with great art, is highly coloured and will prove very inflammatory, if not read with the greatest caution. A variety of letters from the Rohilla captives and representations taken down from the mouths of their servants are produced, and the miseries of these people described in so touching a manner that Sujah appears like a devil. But when it is considered that an allowance of Rs. 3,000 per mensem was from the instant of their captivity ordered for their support, no one can suppose they could be in want of common necessities, much less be famished, and when it is further considered that neither policy nor interest required him to treat his female captives with rigor, it may fairly be deduced that his reigning passion for women must have secured them against the barbarity of the conduct charged to him. At the same time it is natural to believe that his captives restrained of their liberty and debased by their bondage, would exaggerate and misrepresent in order to excite pity in the English, and through their means, to raise their fallen fortunes. And admitting the treatment of the captives in some degree rigorous, it should be well weighed how far the fault is Suja Dowlah's. A Prince involved in business of the most material consequence, obliged to be in the field, frequently confined by a fatal distemper to his bed, unavoidably reposed a confidence in his servants, and the care of the prisoners as is evident being given to them. Now as it does not appear that he either authorised or countenanced any severities or refused to redress any he knew of; under these circumstances he is to be judged.

The villifying Suja as a monster of cruelty and infamy, the blaming Hastings for his connexion with him, the imputing that connexion to the basest motive and calling the attention of the public from his (the Colonel's) conduct (charged with spinning out the War and forcing the Vizier into a compromise with Fyzulla Cawn) to the transactions of the late Government and the enormities of the Vizier, constitutes the defence he makes against the Vizier's charge inferring that a prince capable of such villany is capable of everything and merits no attention when he attacks the character of the English Commander-in-Chief, a character long known among Indians to want every happy distinction and need only to be

known to be seen through. This letter of Champion's is so lately delivered that I imagine it will not be answered by this conveyance. Mr. Hastings will, however, ask some questions of the Field Officers in Calcutta respecting the time wasted in pursuing the war, the situation, strength, etc., of Lalidong, and the probability of success if the enterprise had not been protracted; whether private agents did not pass frequently between the camps, who were never sent to the Vizier; whether the enemies' supplies were not introduced by the Colonel's banian, Colly Churn, and some even under the Colonel's passport; whether the Colonel's banian did not carry on during the whole course of the campaign, a private intelligence with the Rohillas, etc., etc. Of all these matters I am given to understand Mr. Hastings is fully master, and can prove to the banian, though not to his principal. How or in what degree this may affect the Colonel's character will be seen in the sequel. Mr. Hastings has written a short letter to the Colonel leaving it to his option to defer his departure for Europe and wait to clear up the conduct with which he is charged, offering to protract the dispatch of the *Pacific* on which the Colonel has taken his passage for that purpose.

About nine days ago the death of Sujah Dowlah was communicated by Colonel Galling with intelligence of the nomination of his eldest son, Mirza Aumance, to the succession who accordingly took possession of the Government and proclaimed himself Subah of Oude, etc. This revolution in Oude has not hitherto been attended with the least disturbance, nor is there any intelligence in town that gives room to imagine commotions will follow it, and I flatter myself, the presence of the English troops will preserve the present tranquillity that reigns, as well as to establish the Government of the new Nabob. As yet the Council have not come to a definite resolution on the advantages to be drawn from this incident, but some material ones I hope will result. I am only apprehensive of the spirit of the times and the want of unanimity amongst ourselves.

Advices from Bombay bring us intelligence of the conquest of Salset and Bassien, a measure precipitated by the views of the Portuguese who had planned the reduction of those places from the Marattas, and who have a force at Goa very capable of disturbing the tranquillity of the west of Hindostan. The famous Bishop of Halicarnassus has in great measure (I understand), the direction of the Portuguese armament, and as he was a French partizan in the last war and honored by the Nizam in the French interest with the title of the Nabob Salar Jung, strong suspicions arise to my mind. It is not possible that any immediate object of the Crown of Portugal will compensate the heavy charges it has incurred by fitting out this great armament, besides the pretext on which it has been sent, is so very frivolous that to allow it to be the cause would speak the greatest

credulity. The Portuguese give out they have no other view than to chastise the Marattas and repossess some of the settlements they anciently held on the Malabar Coast.

Their naval power consists of two ships of 70 guns, 4 ships from 30 to 50 guns, and I do not know how many gallivats. Their land army, infantry, cavalry and artillery consists of 2,800 effective Europeans and they are levying a body of 6,000 seapoys on the same establishment as the English.

As on a rupture between the Crowns of England and France, India will certainly be struck at, and as the history of former times enumerates a variety of important transactions in the East, while the Powers contending for the Empire were in perfect amity in Europe, too much attention cannot be given to the safety of our possessions. Goa with all its dependencies may in an instant be made over to the French and ceded in a fuller manner than ever Bombay was to the Crown of England, and as the cession with the warlike stores etc., with liberty to the troops to engage in the French Service, cannot be too dearly bought by that Crown to facilitate its views in India, it should, I conceive, be dreaded and guarded against; at least every precaution of human reason should be taken to render abortive any enterprise the French may have formed. Do not think me a visionary. Strong as the English Empire is against the attacks of Hindostan powers, it is very weak and may fall a prey to the first European invader who, if he can subsist in the country for a short time, be assured, will grow formidable by alliances immediately to be formed. In short, Stuart, the forces on the Coast and Bengal ought to be more respectable in the number of Europeans; 3 complete regiments exclusive of artillery should be at each Presidency and our seapoys, if practicable, introduced into the service and pay of our Indian allies.

The President and Council of Bombay in apology for their conduct insist on the necessity of being beforehand with the Portuguese, and the protest made by that nation against their military enterprise at Salset and Bassein declare their views upon those islands and the rights of the Crown of Portugal to their possession. To palliate the measure to the Maratta State the Council of Bombay have represented the design formed by the Portuguese which rendered it indispensable; they go still further and say they hold these islands only during the distractions that prevail in the Maratta Empire; that they are desirous of obtaining the grant of them, or upon the re-establishment of peace in the Maratta Empire, to treat for the surrender of their conquest.

This policy appears to me the most absurd that I ever was witness to. It is full of contradictions, and if its object is merely to preclude the Portuguese

it is the strangest way of doing it that could be devised. The Power which it proposes to oblige it offends and reconciles it to that it would oppose. It commences with hostilities against the nation it pretends to assist and makes foes of those that should be friends and united by one common interest in the prosecution of the same object, (the exclusion of the Portuguese). These are my ideas of the Bombay Proceedings, and in my judgment the time chosen for possessing ourselves of Salset and Bassein the most improper that could have been seized. Admitting the probability of the Portuguese hiring out their troops as auxiliaries to the Marattas for reconquering these islands, you will ask possibly what other means we had to exclude the Portuguese. I conceive the Maratta State apprised of their designs, would gladly have embraced any overtures from our Government to guarantee the islands against all invaders; that in such a treaty the Marattas might from regard of their own interests have been influenced to concessions advantageous to the Company. If not, the Company would at least have avoided a rupture with the Marattas, and the Government of Bombay more secure of Salset and Bassein and better able to counteract the progress of Portugal and France. But their politics are now so managed that every power is made an enemy.

Rogooboy, the Maratta Chief in opposition to the Ministerial Party, having made overtures to the Government of Bombay for the aid of troops to drive out his competitors, his proposals have been listened to, but I am uncertain how far this Government may approve of an union. I am clearly of opinion that if Rogooboy is capable of making the least head against his enemies, we should unite with him, unless we can obtain as advantageous terms from the opposite party, or effect a pacification and keep the conquest we have made. For not to unite with Rogooboy, and yet be as effectually engaged in a war with the Marattas would be a strange policy. It would be giving up all the advantages offered by Rogooboy and losing the opportunity held out to indemnify us in the expenses of the war, a war engaged in without a single alliance and upon the absurdest principles. But be that as it may, the remedy is now to be applied, and we are to make the best of the intestine divisions of the Marattas. As the overtures of Rogooboy for the cession of 20 lacks of country round Surat were made before the expedition to Salset, it is wonderful to me to see Bombay rush into a war which must equally support Rogooboy without previously securing so great an object, and in it the means of supporting the war. Whether this will determine Rogooboy to prosecute his own schemes independently and leave the Bombay Gentlemen to prosecute theirs will be soon apparent. Mr. Hastings is of opinion that the Bombay Gentlemen had not time to negotiate a treaty with the Marattas for the preservation of Salset and Bassein, and that unless

they had seized upon these islands as they did, they must have inevitably fallen into the hands of the Portuguese, that in the present position of Maratta affairs the excuse of the Bombay Government will be admitted by that State, and the cession of the islands obtained from it. He is likewise of opinion no engagement should be entered into with Rogooboy (who is a fugitive) on presumption that the ministerial party will concede to everything the English Government may in reason expect from them. There is much reason in what Mr. Hastings surmises, and if it is profitable to form an union with the ministerial party it is most certainly to be preferred, for Saubuljee Bouncella the Chief of Berar, the head of that party and the most powerful of the Maratta Chiefs, borders upon Bengal to the west and in this situation his alliance is much wished for.

The demise of Suja Dowlah has been already mentioned in some part of this letter and is attended, in point of political argument, with every advantage Mr. Hastings could desire over his opponents. At my particular request he declined giving his ideas on the measures to be adopted on so important an occasion and desired that he might first be furnished with the sentiments of the several members. This the Gentlemen had given him so little encouragement to advance his own opinions or to recommend any particular systems of policy, that he wished to avoid the mortification of proposing measures to be treated with the same degree of inattention he has already experienced. Upon this call, in the true spirit of a Dutch concert, every man sang his own song, and all in different keys. The result, however, is this: a proposition for hiring out the troops at three lacks per mensem, instead of two lacks ten thousand, and to guarantee the conquest of the Rohilla country. Mr. Hastings was called all filthy names for making the troops of Britain serve as the mercenaries of an infidel Prince, and it is now proper they be more mercenary than ever. He was called daring, presumptuous and what not, for stepping beyond the line of the Company's orders. Their *positive* and *precise instructions* peremptorily forbidd him to embark in the Vizier's schemes. Yet these orders are forgotten, and these positive, precise instructions are not binding to the very Gentlemen who have declaimed ingenuously in their favor. All the accusation laid against Mr. Hastings is for a partial direction the object and service of which is defined and limited and capable of being contracted to the confined bounds marked out by the Company. But a treaty is now proposed which by guaranteeing the whole Rohilla country etc., leaves it not in our power to recede or come back to the Company's line, even should the Company be highly dissatisfied with the measure. Yet this policy is right; it is proper to be pursued by General Clavering, etc., however wrong when adopted in a smaller extent by Mr. Hastings. It will be in vain for the General, etc., to say this results from Mr. Hastings's former measures, and is

the natural consequences arising from the state of the Company's political interests. The absolute and full disapprobation of Mr. Hastings's conduct, the express and solemn declaration of reverting to the line prescribed by the Company, can never be reconciled to the system now proposed to be adopted.

I find in a second letter written by the General, etc., to the Company notice is taken of Mr. Bristow's appointment. As this relates particularly to yourself I give you the abstract.

I find likewise my name introduced in a manner I did not expect, but I am certain, all that is said will be attributed to the ebullition of disappointed views. I shall not reply to the notice taken of my connexion with Mr. Hastings. Speaking of the Burdwan Ranni's petition the following stricture is passed on one of my minutes. "The Company will see in Mr. Barwell's Minute with what terms of gross insinuation a Counsellor of this State permits himself to treat a woman who is one of the first subjects in it." This alludes to my giving the Company information respecting a particular of the Ranni's character in the infamous prostitution of her person to the embrace of her menial servants, a crime of the deepest dye in the meanest of the Hindus and is punishable with death. Had I treated the Ranee with personal disrespect, there might have been some color for this censure, but surely so far from its being a crime it is a duty I owe to the public to point out the infamy of a person who is brought forth to their view in a very conspicuous manner, and who is precluded by the customs of the country from any intercourse with men, in order for a true judgment to be formed of the propriety of that restraint the Government for its own credit laid her under.

Another remark upon my minutes on this subject is my declaring it to be improper "first to punish a man by depriving of his honors and employments and by such decisive acts using influence on his fears." This they say is to condemn "the Resolution of the Court of Directors which ordered the sudden removal and confinement of Mahomed Reza Cawn, but does not stand in opposition to the act of the Revenue Board which is now in question a temporary suspension, is no punishment, and to prove the charge of embezzlement against the Dewan of a Province while he continues in actual possession and exercise of his power, be it ever so well founded, we know to be difficult in every country, but in this country impossible: as to the Peishkar or Steward we consider it as a family office which ought not to have been taken out of the disposal of the zemindar or his representative."

Whatever parallel may be drawn between a resolution of the Court of Directors for removing a man to whom was delegated the whole power of the Dewan, and for abolishing the office and the removal of a mere zemindary officer whose trust was limited to the private revenue of the zemindary and the guardianship of a minor, such parallel, I imagine, will not hold no more

than the application of sentiment delivered on one fact to another dissimilar to it in many circumstances. Neither do I conceive any positive act of Government can be altered either in its nature or consequences by the name selected to distinguish it. "The Peishkar or Steward is a family office the disposal of which ought not to have been taken from the zemindar or his *representative*." Who is the zemindar? *a minor*. Who is his *representative*? by the constitution of the Dewannee the *person appointed by Government*. This being the fact, to what does such reasoning go? That a child is supposed to appoint the officers of his household, and that whoever by blood or connexion may take upon him or herself, without legal authority, the management of that child's affairs is, therefore, his representative. A strange idea this, and confounded by applying the legal right exercised by zamindars capable of conducting and managing their own concerns. These, indeed, do appoint their own officers and such as are to represent their persons. But here, as in England, the Legislative Power appoints the guardians of infants, etc., with this difference that here it rests wholly on the Government, and there on the laws, when no particular nomination has been made by the will of the deceased. Speaking of the persons recommended by the Rannie to the vacant offices it is remarked: "Mr. Barwell remembers their having been formerly in competition for these very offices," whereas the Governor says they "are persons unknown." Besides many other advantages our colleagues have, that of a superior "local memory over us." It is very certain the Governor did say so, and it is possible he might not have known the circumstances, for the competition was previous to his administration, and therefore, he might be supposed ignorant of it. This is such an impudent manner of charging him with an untruth that I shall not wonder if he loses patience; and when I consider it to be a trifling instance among the innumerable ones dispersed in their voluminous minutes, I am surprised (knowing his temper) to see him preserve the equanimity of mind he does. My best wishes attend you. I am, etc.

P.S.—I have written to Col. MacLean on the disappointment the Company will experience in their investment of the season by not engaging the *Ashburham* to convey a part of it to Europe.

No. 421.

CALCUTTA,

TO LAUCHLIN MACLEANE, ESQ.

The 25th February 1774.

DEAR SIR,

Though you will probably receive from Stewart an extract of what relates immediately to yourself; lest you should not, I enclose you a copy both of what

has been said by the Gentlemen of the Council in their letter of 11th January respecting your resignation and by Col. Champion on your journey to the camp at Fyzabad. I find myself likewise regarded with a degree of notice in the letter of 11th January, but as all that is said only charges me with the heinous crime of coinciding in opinion with Mr. Hastings on some occasions, I do not propose to reply to any part of it. The public will judge the opprobrium cast on my conduct, and the censure it merits for not conforming to the views of an opposition, and as my opinions on points on which I have differed from Mr. Hastings did not proceed from, or can be imputed to, pique and prejudice, I claim not the merit the Gentlemen are pleased to allow me of "sacrificing my private resentments to the public good." The same principle that has led me at all times to speak my sentiments with freedom will still be the rule of those I may subsequently deliver, and Mr. Hastings shall find me as well disposed to support the measures of his Government my judgment approves, as to controvert others that may not strike me in the same light of propriety.

The death of Suja Dowlah the news of which we received a few days past, has not nor is likely to be attended with any extraordinary revolutions in the country he governed. Before his demise he appointed (as I understand) his eldest and only legitimate son, Mirza Aumancee, to the musnud, and he has succeeded his father accordingly. On this occasion the Company are furnished with some political ideas that lead their judgment in determining on the differences that have existed touching the engagements entered into by the late Government with the Vizier—engagements described as ruinous to the State and directly violating the precise and positive instructions of the Company. Yet counter to these sentiments the Gentlemen now propose the English Government to guarantee the Rohilla country for a valuable consideration and to increase the subsidy for a brigade from Rs. 21,00,00 to Rs. 3,00,000 per mensem. Thus their Government being more mercenary than the last and engaging deeper in the interests of the Subah of Oude than Mr. Hastings chose to do; acts more consistent with the orders of the Company and less mercenary. And all this I suppose is reconcilable to reason, and the principle by which Mr. Hastings' policy is decisively condemned.

The manner in which the Company have been deprived of a large part of their investment this season is so worthy of public notice that I must trouble you with what has passed on the subject, and how the Company have been disappointed of the freight of the *Ashburnham*, a ship tendered by Mr. Price to carry home the goods now laying in the warehouses. A mistaken notion that Mr. Price had not other means of employing his ship, and, if I am not misinformed, a desire to introduce Mr. Churchill to the command, to the prejudice of the person who came out chief mate of the ship, whereas Mr. Churchill was only third, induced the Gentlemen to oppose

so many obstacles and to cavil so long that Mr. Price conceiving they were not willing to engage his ship, and apprehensive of letting the season (during which she must sail out of the river) pass away, as well as being obliged to give a peremptory answer touching the lading of the freight he had been offered to Batavia, determined to employ her in a country voyage; instantly it was resolved to accept the offers that had been so long demurred about; it was too late, Mr. Price had passed his word, the ship was engaged. The anger expressed against poor Price only for doing what any other man in his circumstances would have done long before, shocked me both on account of the friendship, I have for the man, the universal character for probity which he has maintained under the most trying misfortunes, and the apprehension of his suffering from the resentment of the General, etc. In this predicament I must beg of you to remove any aspersions that may be cast on Price, or any impressions given the Court of Directors to his prejudice. After the first ebullition of disappointment a thought occurred to Col. Monson (the known connexion between Col. Monson and Mr. Grant makes me judge that Grant and Falkner's tender of the ship was at the Colonel's instigation) for removing the censure which was supposed might arise from leaving the Company's goods to rot and spoil in the damp warehouses of Bengal when they had an opportunity of transporting them to Europe. The expedient was as follows. Mr. Harry Grant and Captain Falkner were persuaded to make a tender of a country vessel of about 500 tons at £22 the ton on condition of being indemnified for the seizure of the ship in England as a foreign bottom, and the privilege of loading her back to India with stores on account of the owners—two impossible conditions, but were they not so, the terms would have been most exorbitant, for though they appear more advantageous to the Company by £3 the ton than those offered by Price, they are in reality much higher. A ship purchased in India at Rs. 90,000 if sold in England, will not produce more than £1500 or Rs. 15,000; if the same ship returns to India, she will in all probability sell within Rs. 10,000 of her first cost. That is, for Rs. 10,000 exclusive of this benefit to the owners in the sale of the vessel in India instead of Europe, he will receive a profit of upwards of cent. per cent. on every article of mariner stores he shall import. So that in fact including all advantages Mr. Grant and Captain Falkner were to draw, their terms may with moderation be computed at £70 per ton to themselves, though the Company from the India House paid only £22 of the 70 and deducting every incidental charge in sailing the vessel to and from England, they must have divided a profit of £25,000 between them.

I shall say nothing respecting myself confiding that your friendship will seek and seize occasions of obliging me if in your power.

P. S.—Mr. Middleton who had lent Mr. Price a sum of money on the *Ashburnham* which was to have been paid in England, had the ship been freighted on the Company's account, speaking of the ship very improperly said he was concerned in her as if he had been an owner. The General has taken advantage of this expression, but as Mr. Middleton was not, nor ever was, an owner of the ship, any inaccuracy of expression will not, I hope, either call Mr. Price's veracity into question or injure Mr. Middleton. Two letters which have passed from Mr. Price to Mr. Monson and General Clavering fully explain this circumstance and may be used at your discretion.

No. 422.

CALCUTTA,

TO JOHN GRAHAM, ESQ.

The 25th February 1775.

Dear Graham,

Though the Governor proposes to send to yourself and Col. MacLean every paper of importance, I cannot omit furnishing you with such as relate most immediately to the Rannie of Burdwan. What has been said on the subject by the General, etc., in a minute of the 11th January transmitted to the Court of Directors, is in consequence extracted, and a copy of it with the reply made by the Rannie to your answer I now enclose. This piece to which the Ranee's seal appears is so foreign to the idiom of the Indostan language that I know not in what way it can be rendered into Persian, or how reconciled with the original petition when that is called for, a circumstance I imagine that will tend in the strongest manner to elucidate the private influence under which such libels are fabricated, and how shamelessly the Ranee's name has been prostituted in being affixed to papers written in a language she is utterly a stranger to.

How just the censure past on the information given to the Company in one of my minutes respecting the Ranee's infamous gallantry with her servants, will be determined by the simple question, "whether or not it is proper and the duty of a Member of the Government to give to the Public a just exposition of characters introduced to its notice." If this is expected, any strictures that are calculated to preclude such information, must be condemned as tending to substitute ignorance in the place of knowledge, and keeping from our superiors who are to judge the personal merits of their dependents, what is essential for them to know. Nor is there any personal disrespect in presenting characters in their true colours to the public, while in our intercourse with the persons themselves, a due degree of decorum and respect is preserved. In this particular no deficiency is

charged to me, but I have informed the Company of a fact—this is my crime—this the heinous offence I have committed against the nice rules of decency and decorum, a privilege the following para. makes peculiar "to the mercenary auxiliaries of Suja Dowla to ruin individuals, to burn villages and violate the sacred retirement of the zenana," and applied by the same new rules of decency and decorum to a man unconcerned in the Rohilla war, but who unfortunately, if it be criminal, has delivered his sentiments impartially on the political measures of the late Government and adventured not to act in with the views of the present to censure what could not be remedied.

But with respect to the Ranee of Burdwan. I am still painted in more terrible tints. In the 46th para. it is observed, "I have dared to say it is consistent with justice and the practice of former Governments to enquire into the merits of a petition before the prayer of it is granted." What strange doctrine: how different is this from the humane interests and high notions of equity and justice professed by my opponents. They declare "that when petitions of this nature and consequence, etc., so fairly introduced are brought before them, they must renounce every idea of decency as well as of justice before they can *refuse* them." Did I *refuse* this cognizance of any petition? Yes, I refused implicit credit to the allegations of the Ranee of Burdwan's petition and demanded facts to be established before I could decide upon its merits and be hurried into a precipitate compliance with the prayer of it, a compliance that might prove an act of cruelty and injustice and inflict punishment on a man who was no otherwise criminal to my knowledge than in being charged with matters unsupported by any positive evidence.

"Mr. Barwell thinks it very improper first to punish a man by depriving him of his honors and employments" and by such decisive acts using influence "on his fears" we leave him if *he can* to reconcile the doctrine with the "resolution of the Court of Directors ordering the removal of Mahomed Reza Cawn." Very easily is it reconciled, for it is justly remarked in the following instance that the act of the Directors "does not stand in opposition to the act of the Revenue Board which is now in question, and, therefore, my doctrine can only apply to the Revenue Board. And, indeed, no parallel can be drawn between the removal of Bridjookishor and the measures prudent and necessary to precede the annihilation of the Dewanny powers vested in Mahomed Reza Cawn and the abolition of the important office he filled. Policy and an anxious concern for the safety of the State might dictate in the one case with a variety of nice points that never can be involved in the removal of a mere official zemindarry officer. To distract and puzzle the judgment, terms are cautiously chosen

and expressions peculiarly adopted to make the most decisive and injurious resolutions appear with an air of moderation. All this may speak invention and ingenuity in the perversion of truth, but the essence of truth is of a nature that can never be altered by abuse of words, nor enveloped in that degree of obscurity from which it cannot break forth. To apply this digression and illustrate it with an instance. Bridjookishore's removal from office and the appointment of another absolutely and unreservedly in his place is spoken of in the following manner, *vide* para. 48. "A temporary suspension is no punishment, and to prove a charge of embezzlement against the Dewan of a province, while he continues in the actual possession of his power, let it be ever so well founded, we know to be difficult in any country, but in this country impossible," etc. Would my uninformed reader suppose that the office is kept open and the reinstatement of Bridjookishore seriously intended? How far is this from truth, neither the one nor the other has been considered, and he is positively precluded. Mark the concluding sentence, "We consider it as a family office which ought not to have been taken out of the disposal of the zemindar or his representative." Thus strangely jumbling the rights of an adult and a minor, the powers inherent in the Government to nominate a guardian, establish the household of a minor zemindar, has the complexion given to it of an extraordinary deviation from the laws and customs of Hindustan. Whereas it is in all respects conformable and consistent, but this was necessary as a bar upon Birdjookishore's reintroduction to office, supposing the man so very a fool as to wish to fill the dewan's and guardian's office against the declared pleasure of the leading men in this Government. But enough of these strange incongruities. I flatter myself they cannot impose on the discernment and discerned. They will be noticed with the degree of indignation arising in every man's bosom on detecting an artifice that pays to his understanding so high a compliment as to suppose him the dupe of it.

In my scrawl to Col. McLean I have mentioned the circumstances which have deprived the Company of the freight of the *Athburham* by which means a large quantity of piece goods lay rotting in our damp godowns. I wish you to see those papers. Such a fact ought to be made as public as possible.

In despite of all this can be done I am apprehensive Dr. Burn will not be gratified in his wishes, a piece of intelligence I know you will be hurt by, but it is better that you know the utter inability of your friends than that you should suppose them able to answer your expectations, and yet not fulfill them.

The demise of Soja Dowla etc. consequent affairs and political views of the English Government on topics of a nature too extensive for present discussion, I must, therefore, refer you for information to Mr. Hastings's papers,

whom I congratulate on the inconsistency of his opponents. You will find in those papers they propose to guarantee the whole Rohilla country, etc., and to become more mercenary auxiliaries to Asoph ul Dowla than the former administration was to his father, Suja. It will be in vain for them to say this policy results from the state of the Company's interests, their full and unreserved condemnation of Mr. Hastings, the express and solemn assurances given to revert to the prescribed line of the Directors' instructions can never be reconciled to the system they now propose to adopt. Adieu.

No. 423.

CALCUTTA,

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

The 25th February 1775.

My dear Sister,

Your letter of the 13th July is received by the way of Aleppo. If the pearls and diamond ring are not disposed of I recommend your returning them to me immediately. I can sell them at double the price here. It is not my intention to take out of Beaumont's hands the monies that may be remaining after the drafts and orders in your favor are answered. I wish to retain a sum in his hands exclusive of what I entrust to your disposal, that I can spare for the purposes of creating an interest and rendering you consequential. I shall throw into your management a fluctuating fund to answer bills, redrafts and commercial engagements I propose to charge Beaumont with, and I flatter myself he will not decline the trust. Do, my dear Friend, keep the old gentleman in good humour. I have drawn bills this season to the amount of £600 nearly, as my friends may fall short in case the French bills are not made good. You must assist Beaumont and Leicester to answer my engagements. I had hopes of furnishing you with a pretty large remittance this season, but unfortunately I have been dissatisfied in my schemes of sending money to that end. The money, however, that is advanced to the owner of the ship *Anson* will be paid to you soon after the arrival of that ship which is to sail in about 20 days, and in case of accidents you will receive it from the assurance that has been made upon her. This will turn out between £4 and 5,000.

I have likewise negotiated another private remittance for £10,000 through Captain Mercer a trader to this port. I do not expect to get the bonds to send in time by this ship, but you may depend upon those by the *Anson*. This remittance will take some time in realising, as the bonds are payable at a long period. Captain Mercer is a man of probity, and you may, therefore, depend on their being made good at the end of the term from which they run.

As I do not propose to repeat what I have written to others I send under this cover copies of letters that convey information of the affairs of this country. I likewise send my original letters which you will take care to have delivered to the persons to whom they are addressed. My reason for sending you originals is lest time may not allow me to give you by this ship complete copies of them in which case you must have waited for the information they contain.

What is hinted in my last letter of———touching the application of money to particular views is, I doubt, too dangerous for you to attempt, and should that be your idea you will make no use of the hint my sanguine wishes influenced. Keep well with all parties, operate with Purling and Sullivan and Hastings's friends, but in all questions for or against them made a point of by the Ministry, go implicitly with the Ministry.

To you, my good Genius, I recommend my fortunes. Heaven make and preserve you happy and strengthen the ties of amity and affection which bind us together. I thank you for the advice relative to a family connexion with the Claverings; eligible as it is and inclined as myself and that family may be, yet may it never happen. Domestic infelicity I dread above all things and will not risk such a course without every precaution previously taken to avert it. My own temper though placid and even, is inflexible. Knowing this and the General's sentiments the influence with which they may operate on my domestic ease, in case a union did take place, must be fully considered and weighed in a most nice balance.

No. 424.

CALCUTTA,

The 4th March 1775.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

As I have omitted in all my letters to notice the measures of the Government respecting the reduction of the debt at interest, it is necessary I should touch upon it here. What I have already said on this subject in my first letter of this season cannot now be doubted, and the world will be convinced that I had very maturely weighed the important measure I proposed in April 1773 before I ventured to offer the project, as it was then called, to the public consideration for reducing the interest from eight to five per cent. on the Company's whole bond debt.

General Clavering, etc., who were acquainted with the scheme proposed by me for lowering the rate of interest, about two months ago made enquiry of me relative to the subject, and remarked that they thought it strange the scheme should have been so partially adopted, when by effecting a decrease

in the rate of interest upon 15 lacks, it appeared almost certain to a demonstration that the interest on the whole debt might with equal facility have been reduced, and whether, as I am more intimately acquainted with the resources of the State and the dependance to be placed on the bond holders than they were, (*sic*) I was still of opinion the measure might with safety be executed, or whether any apprehensions were to be entertained of the Bond holders entering into any association to defeat it, as it would so materially affect their interests; that if I thought there was no danger, would I propose it, etc., etc.? In reply I entered into a long explanation of all the circumstances that would have operated in favour of the scheme and shewed to their satisfaction from what had been partially done that the success of my scheme was beyond a doubt, had it been heartily concurred in and supported by the Members of the Administration but that the circumstances of the Company had since then undergone a very material change, and I understood from the Governor that he had it in contemplation to liquidate entirely the debt on bond by a full discharge of the principal. I, therefore, wished to hear what the Governor had to offer and to examine the means by which so great an object was to be accomplished, and as it certainly would be more advantageous to the Company to be freed from the whole burden of their public debts than to continue to pay even the smallest premium of interest for money they had no occasion to borrow, it was necessary I should inspect the funds, for the first object was certainly to pay off the public debt and the next to pay the lowest rate of interest for the debt that was to be continued; that as soon as the Governor brought the subject before his Council they would be able to judge whether they would have occasion for any sums at interest, and then the proposition for a reduction of the interest on the moneys to be borrowed would with propriety arise.

Being convinced there was no difficulty in reducing the premium of interest from eight to five, and perceiving that I did not chuse to revive a proposition unreasonably that could have no end, but to point out to the public more strongly than already appeared, the improper opposition that had been given to the reduction of the rate of interest on the public debt, General Clavering (not chusing to let the opportunity escape him) took the task upon himself, a task attempted to be imposed on me which I shunned equally from delicacy and a reliance on the Governor's word that the whole debt was to be discharged, and that he would propose it in a few days, and considering within myself that the entire extinction of the debt left no opening for a motion on my former proposition.

The General, however, made the motion for the reduction of the rate of interest, and at the same time, the Governor proposed the entire payment of the Bonds of 1772. Upon these motions I delivered it as my opinion that

the discharge of the public debt was certainly to be preferred, and as the Governor was satisfied it could be done from the resources of the Government, I voted for it; but if the Council not convinced of their ability to pay off the whole debt, determined on continuing a part of the debt, and the question was whether a new loan should be effected at five per cent., and the eight per cents. liquidated, I was clearly of opinion for a new loan and would engage a subscription of five lacks at five per cent, any time within three months from the period it should be resolved to take up monies at five per cent. The resolution being passed to take up monies at five per cent. and a compliance with the Governor's proposition protracted, until it became clear and evident the Government would not be distressed by paying off the public debt, I immediately got the subscription I offered at 5 lacks filled and paid into the Treasury. My reason for relating all these circumstances is that you may be able to point out any misrepresentation and secure to me the credit I have just pretension to.

No. 425.

CALCUTTA,

The 6th March 1775.

TO ANSELM BRAUMONT, ESQ.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you the last anna of the Restitution was lately paid which with your other monies remains in Mr. Barwell's hands till he can vest it in Company's bonds.

J. CATOR.

No. 426.

CALCUTTA,

The 6th March 1775.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you the last anna of the Restitution was lately paid. That due to Diaram was received by Mr. Inglis as attorney to Mr. Cartier who paid your proportion of it into Mr. Barwell's cash. Mr. William Barton has been applied to for payment of his bond, and I suppose, will pay it when he comes to Calcutta which will be very soon, as he is summoned to take his seat at the Council of Commerce.

J. CATOR.

No. 427.

CALCUTTA,

The 6th March 1775.

TO THE REVD. DOCTOR HENRY LUSHINGTON.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you the last anna of the Restitution was lately paid off which lays with your other moneys in Mr. Barwell's hands till Company's bonds can be obtained. Major Polier has been written to for payment of his bond, but as he is shortly expected in Calcutta I will apply to him in person and doubt not of his discharging it.

J. CATOR.

No. 428.

CALCUTTA,

The 6th March 1775.

TO FRANCIS CHARLTON, ESQ.

Dear Charlton,

Soon after my return to Calcutta I took charge of your concerns in this country and received the balance of Mr. Killican's account with you being C. Rs. 211-2-8. When I was at Dacca Mr. Killican sent me four bonds of Barton and Sheeles, whereof two were for D. M. Rs. 11,640-1-7 each 1 for D. M. Rs. 985-4-10 and one for D. M. Rs. 738-15-8 the amount of all of which Mr. Barton paid to me, but on looking over your papers I perceive there are two other bonds of those gentlemen due for payment of which application is made to Mr. Barton, as Sheeles died a few months ago. I have received the last anna of the Restitution in your name, as also that in the name of Leycester and Charlton which for the present is carried to the credit of Leycester's account, till I hear from you or him what is your proportion of it. I have paid a bill of G. Dawsons for A. R. 10,950 and also your bill in favor of Admirault and eldest son for C. Rs. 19,300 which, I think, are all the transaction in your concerns, since I last took charge of them, for I have not time to draw out a regular account current of them, and, indeed, my time is so much engaged in public business that I cannot possibly attend to the management of your concerns myself. I have, therefore, entrusted them to the care of Mr. Joseph Cator who has for some time past lived in my family whom I allow a commission for keeping the accounts, and for whose conduct and integrity in these matters I consider myself as answerable, but for your satisfaction all your concerns will continue to be entered in my books, though he will in future advise you relating to them, but if you are able to negotiate a remittance of your money in this country, let your bill be drawn on me.

No. 429.

CALCUTTA,

The 10th March 1775.

TO MESSRS. SCOTT PRINGLE AND CO. AT MADEIRA.

Gentlemen,

I have received your letter of——— and Mr. David Anderson has delivered me your letter to him dated Madeira 5th February 1774 and his account current with you made up to the 5th instant the balance whereof being Rs. 745-9-6. I have received from him as also the following Company's notes; *vis.*, one in favor of Wm. Tryon dated 28th February 1772 for Ppl. C.Rs. 1,004-2-3 on which interest is paid to 28th February 1774 bearing 8 per cent. per annum; one in favor of Ramjoy Chatterjee dated 1st March 1773 for principal C.Rs. 10,635-5 on which interest is paid to 12th February 1775 bearing 8 per cent. per annum; two bonds in favor of Russell Skinner Thomas Pearson, etc., agents for the Nabob's donation to the army dated 30th April for Ppl. C.Rs. 5,000, each payable in 12 months from that time with interest at five per cent. per annum.

As all channels for remitting money from hence to England are at present shut, and no prospect of any opening I would recommend your drawing upon me for the whole of the above as soon as possible, because it is very probable the Company's bonds of 1772 and 1773 will be shortly paid off and not renewed even at five per cent. interest, and in that case as by your letter to Mr. Anderson you do not seem to wish to have your money lent to private merchants, the Company's five per cent. bonds shall be purchased if possible. But my time is so much engaged in public business I cannot possibly attend to the management of your concerns. I have, therefore, entrusted them to the care of Mr. Joseph Cator, a gentleman who has for some time past lived in my family whom I allow a commission for keeping the account, and for whose conduct and integrity in these matters I consider myself as answerable, and for your further satisfaction all your concerns will be entered in my books, though he will in future advise you relating to them, but if you can negotiate a remittance, let your bills be drawn on me.

No. 430.

CALCUTTA,

The 16th March 1775.

TO MR. PETER ANTHONY SAPTE.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 6th December 1773, as also the consignment of coral therein mentioned which remains unsold, as no price

has yet been offered for it that I thought myself authorised to sell it for. I, therefore, keep it in the hopes of selling it more to your advantage by and by, but when it is sold I cannot give you much expectation of receiving the proceeds in diamonds or good bills, as all channels of remittance are at present shut, and people here are so much distressed to get their money to Europe that many send it home in specie at a loss of about 20 per cent. and with respect to allowing you interest for the proceeds I do not trade, therefore, do not borrow money. As far from it that I have large sums laying dead by me which I cannot invest in Company's bonds, even though they bear only five per cent. interest, as I am not an advocate for lending money to private merchants. But if you can effect a remittance or by the advice of your friends, fall upon a method of using your money to advantage, till diamonds or good bills can be procured, the net proceeds of your coral assigned to me shall be paid to whoever you shall authorise to receive it, but it is necessary to inform you my time is so much engaged by public business that I cannot devote any to commissions or attorneys. I have, therefore, entrusted them all to the management of Mr. Joseph Cator, a gentleman that has for some years past lived in my family whom I allow the commission for his trouble in attending to such concerns and keeping the accounts, and who will in future correspond with you on this subject, and for your security, as he may be a stranger to you, I consider myself as answerable for his conduct and integrity in these matters, and your concerns will be entered in my books; and though Mr. Cator will in future advise you concerning them, yet if you can effect a remittance, let your bills be drawn on me.

No. 431.

CALCUTTA,

The 25th March 1775.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF SANDWICH.

My Lord,

As it is natural to expect that the same cause which laid me under the highest obligation to your Lordship, may still continue to operate in my favor, I am induced to trouble your Lordship with a short view of the internal resources and interests of this Government, together with such other matters as may nearly or distantly concern the future security of the British possessions in India. Your Lordship may be assured I shall ever esteem myself happy in meriting your countenance and support. With

regard to pecuniary interests, etc., as per folio 105 in my letter to Lord North to the end of that letter.

I have done myself the honor to write Lord North to the same effect.

No. 432.

CALCUTTA,

The 25th March 1775.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE LORD NORTH, ETC., ETC.

My Lord,

Conformably to the assurances in the letter I had the honor to address your Lordship I shall continue to the utmost of my power and abilities to support in the degree they may merit every measure of Mr. Hastings's Government. Believe me, my Lord, I shall not, nor did I ever oppose that gentleman from pique and resentment as misrepresented to your Lordship. So narrow a principle of conduct is quite opposite to my way of thinking and acting, and the more your Lordship becomes acquainted with my character, the more you will be convinced how little my public opinions were ever swayed by private and personal objections. Devoted to the service of my country, I shall be happy to merit your Lordship's approbation in the conduct I may observe in my station. I, therefore, beg and solicit your Lordship to favor me with your advice and commands in full persuasion that I will respect what comes from your Lordship with the most scrupulous attention.

The peculiarity of circumstances will, I flatter myself, apologise for a request so warmly preferred. The conjuncture, the unhappy difference that exist in the Council calls for your decisive orders; those alone can calm the prevailing spirit of contention which carried to the great length, it is I fear, may affect those public interests that are centered in the Bengal Government. From what cause they proceed I will not pretend to develop. The papers that will be laid before your Lordship must enable you to form the most perfect judgment. Any crude conjectures, therefore, of mine would be unnecessarily intruded.

My late designation in the Company's Service had put it out of my power to possess that intimate and accurate knowledge of all the reforms that had been made in the affairs of the Presidency and the state of its finances which it was necessary I should be master of, before I could adventure to inform your Lordship of the internal resources of this Government and engage my word for the exactness of the representation. It is very certain a large proportion of our resources have flowed from external

means, the pecuniary engagements of the Vizier, but it is likewise certain, the annihilation of 24 lacks, the tribute formerly paid to the Shah, the reduction of 16 lacks of the Subah's salary, and other stipends and allowances to the amount of about 5 lacks, proved a yearly fund gained to the Company. The detention of the tribute was a measure determined by Mr. Hastings and his Council; the other reductions were ordered by the Company during the time Mr. Purling filled the Chair. The tribute, the reduction of the Subah's salary and the pensions took place all at the same period about the month of June 1772, and from that instant this Government began to emerge from its distresses. But such had been the imprudence of the former times that the arrears of tribute, stipends and salaries due, absorbed the whole savings from that source. The sums due on these and other accounts appear in the account No. 1.

All these demands were a heavy load, and as the reductions which took place in the civil charges, did not begin to contribute to the relief of Government, until the conclusion of the next year, they, of course, could not produce material effects till the year elapsed in 1774. The alteration in the military establishment in converting the six battalions of Europeans into three regiments, gives a saving estimated at 24 lacks per annum, but the benefit proposed by this measure will not be felt until the present year 1775, and then not in its full extent, for the reduction of supernumerary officers which it brings upon the establishment can only be effected in a course of time. It is supposed, however, that the sum of 24 lacks may be saved by an additional cause. The incompleteness of the European regiments which, instead of consisting 3000 effective men, scarcely muster 2,400, but as the recruits of 1775 from Europe may complete the regiments, this cause will not long operate. Yet I hope it may continue a sufficient time to bring the establishment of officers to the prescribed number. Having enumerated the various articles of reduced expences, permit me to refer your Lordship to the account No 2 exhibiting the sums actually received and to be received into the Treasury and the issues from it, in progressive order to the 30th April 1776 at which period, admitting the receipts of the revenue to remain the same and the expences not to exceed those of last year, every debt the Company owe ought to be paid off, and a clear balance remain of about 28 lacks of current rupees.

Much has been said by General Clavering, Col. Monson and Mr. Francis respecting the Accountant's statement of the balances of cash in the different Provincial Treasuries. They remark that between the periods at which the balances are placed to account of the Provincial Treasuries and the making up the estimate drawn by the Accountant, remittances were made from those treasuries to Calcutta, which in proportion reduces their balances and

increases the balance in the Treasury of the Presidency. But while the Gentlemen argue in this manner they forget there is no stagnation in the payment of the revenue; that in the time immediately succeeding the period in which the balances appear in the Provincial Treasuries, the receipts of revenue are much larger than in the preceding months; consequently that any sums remitted and received at the Presidency must have been fully replaced by the subsequent receipts into the Provincial Treasuries. For to state remittances in order to reduce the balances in those treasuries without noticing the revenue arising at the same instant to replace them, is a fact to say the revenue payments are stopped. Your Lordship will immediately perceive the mistaken principle of such reasoning, and how far the imputation is just of the balance in the Provincial Treasuries being partially stated by the Accountant.

No. 433.

CALCUTTA.

The 25th March 1775.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE LORD NORTH, ETC., ETC.

My Lord,

In my letter of this date I have given your Lordship a view of the state of the revenue and pecuniary interests of the Bengal Government. Permit me now to touch on such other matters as concern nearly or remotely the future security of the British possessions in India. Dominion acquired by force and followed by innovations in the least degree subversive of laws, customs and usages revered for ages, must be odious to the subjugated natives of any country and regarded with jealousy and distrust by all neighbouring states. It is a happiness, however, that the natives of the soil of Hindostan ever since the first Tartar invasion and their final reduction to the Mussulman power have, in a manner, separated themselves from the ambitious and political views of the Moorish Government; and being inured by frequent and various revolutions of the State to regard changes with indifference, have from time immemorial received without much repugnance such new masters as the fortune of war has given them. This peculiarity, though it promises internal security to dominion acquired by the sword, points out at the same time that in its defence nothing ought to be expected from the subject, that the conqueror must depend on his own force to repel an invader; and as neither affection or interest bind the natives to give support to his Government, to this cause the rapid conquests in Asia may be wholly ascribed, and why single battles have so frequently decided the fate of the Empire.

Your Lordship is well acquainted with the natural strength, not only of Bengal, but of all the English Settlements; and perhaps it was superfluous to mention the opposite interests of the rulers and the governed, in order to place before your view how far the internal security of the different Governments might be regarded as a powerful means to their external defence.

It has been of late a policy of the Company to check the extension of that influence established by the uninterrupted success of their arms. Your Lordship will determine the degree in which this policy should be pursued, and how far it may be deviated from in support of alliances with bordering States. In resolving this point it is essential your Lordship should consider the English Settlements as an independent State formed in the heart of the Mogul Empire in natural enmity with all the powers composing that vast Empire, and to be more or less affected by the different convulsions that shake it.

The death of the Vizier of the Empire may, I think, be regarded as a forerunner of commotions in the Government devolved to his son (a weak Prince); the vicinity of whose dominions in that case will probably involve Bengal in the consequences. But as a timely exertion can check the apprehended evil, so a neglect of the necessary means will not fail to promote it. We are unhappily divided in opinion on the policy to be pursued in this situation; two Members are for exacting the cession of Gauzipore independent of the subsidy of three lacks per mensem for the aid of one of our brigades; while the other Members think support should be given to fix Suja-ul-Dowla's son in the peaceable possession of his Government without insisting on the grant of Gauzipore as an indispensable article for the assistance he may claim. Bengal thus circumstanced with respect to Oude, had the cession of Gauzipore been made an indispensable article and been unattainable, until the distresses of a war compelled the Government of Oude to compliance, it would hardly have compensated the scene of confusion in which this Government might have been involved. At present though we have less prospect of adding Gauzipore to our possessions, the peace of the provinces is better secured, and a formidable barrier preserved against any power attempting an invasion from the north west, the only part from which Bengal can be attacked by the Mogul or Mahratta States without great risk and difficulty.

The divisions in the Mahratta Government still exist and are likely to be perpetuated, and should the report of the death of Saubuhgee Bouncello, Chief of Berar, supporter of the Ministerial Party, be true, Rogoobay will be enabled with the assistance of Mahdoogee whose creature he is, to increase those civil commotions that had their rise from his practices. The peace too of the Western side of India from this accident, may be earlier restored,

for as the whole power of the Government of Berar which devolves to Mahdoogee on the demise of Saubahgee, will turn the scale greatly in favor of Rogoobay. The Government of Bombay from its connection with Rogoobay will, I think, find little difficulty in obtaining from him the cession of Salsett and Bassein and conciliating the differences which have arisen in consequence of the reduction of those islands by the English. From the Bombay advices and the circumstances related of the conquest of Salsett and Bassein, it appears to have been a hasty and undigested measure, especially when the alliance proposed by the Bombay Government with Rogoobay must with greater advantage have preceded the invasion than to have followed it. By becoming a party in the war against the Ministerial faction at Poonah, the Bombay Government stands in as much need of any diversion Rogoobay may make, as he does of their assistance in the war he conducts. Exclusive of this the Portuguese force which is respectable, may be engaged in the war and side with the very power from which it is proposed to wrest Salsett and Bassein and obtain those islands by treaty, for the Bombay Government only pretend to have taken possession of these islands in order to secure them from an invasion meditated by the Portuguese. It will be a contradiction, therefore, to pretend to oppose the Mahrattas' resignation of a right while they profess to admit that right.

The Government of the Deccan is no further engaged in the intestine commotions of the Mahrattas than by shewing a degree of countenance to the Ministerial faction at Poonah and by drawing every advantage from their distresses. Hitherto Nizam Alli has not afforded any effectual aid to the side he pretends to espouse. I, therefore, conclude him insincere and rather inclined to perpetuate the divisions of the Mahrattas than to establish one party upon the ruins of another.

Mahomed Alli Cawn, Subadar of the Carnatic, we are informed by the Government of Madras, has formed an alliance with the ancient enemy of this Government, Hyder Ally Cawn. As I am unacquainted with the object of this treaty, it is out of my power to give your Lordship an idea of the policy on which it is founded, but I suppose it is merely with a view to preserve the peace of the Carnatic which in the present situation of affairs was not likely to be disturbed by any other power.

The Presidency of Bencoolen is neither nearly nor remotely concerned in any political interests of the continent. Weak and incapable of extending its influence over the island of Sumatra by military power, it continues a mere commercial settlement agreeably to the principles of its first establishment. The natives of Sumatra are free and brave, and the country itself being full of natural defences, any scheme of conquest would be difficult to execute and attended with great hazard. It is certain, however, if a reduction

of it could be effected, that the acquisition would be more to the interest of Great Britain than all its other possessions. Sumatra might vie with Dutch Empire in Ceylon and supply your marts with a variety of the rich spices the Hollanders now import, greatly facilitate the English commerce to China by opening the ports on the eastern side of the island, and by supplying the valuable article of tin for which there is an unremitting demand by the Chinese. The intercourse by the junks of China is likewise easy with the Eastern coast of Sumatra.

The emporium proposed to have been established at Ballavbargar (?) from the most authentic intelligence I can obtain, will not answer the expectation of the public. Much is imputed to mismanagement, but I apprehend the defect will be found to lie rather in the plan than in the execution of the project. Such a Settlement in such a situation had to combat innumerable obstacles and to struggle with insurmountable difficulties, whereas the benefit to be derived from it, if any, were precarious and could only be ascertained by the steadiest perseverance, unerring judgment and comprehensive knowledge of the various interests to be made conducive to its success. That the Company will not long persist in their attempt, I think, I may affirm, the expence of the Settlement being immense and the returns it makes very trifling and inadequate.

Your Lordship's time is so much devoted to the momentous affairs of State that I am almost deterred intruding upon your remarks respecting the personal conduct of the Gentlemen I am associated with. Allow me, however, to say I feel deep concern for the differences that exist, and for their natural consequences in diverting attention from public concerns to a gratification of private resentments. The Council Board, instead of being held sacred to the discussion of affairs of Government, your Lordship will find dwindled to a Tribunal of Inquisition with no other professed design than to obtain and record injurious complaints and arraign the Governor-General as a criminal at the very Board at which he presides, and because he will not submit to what he thinks an indignity and the annihilation of the supremacy of his office, which, the Legislature is pleased to declare, shall be maintained in the eyes of the natives and Princes of India. They impute to him a supercession of the powers of Government under which he acts. "Are you not bound, Sir, by the votes of the majority?" "Do you presume to oppose the sense of the Parliament of Great Britain," as if the Parliament could possibly have had the most remote notion that a principle laid down for the conduct of public business could ever be perverted to degrade and render contemptible the first and most dignified office in their commission of Government. It is impossible to judge to what extent this levelling principle may be carried, and how far the popular prejudice may be imposed upon by misrepresentations.

I forget in speaking of the son of Suja-ul-Dowla to give your Lordship information of a report propagated with some industry. It is affirmed a conspiracy is formed to cutt off the brigade stationed at Oode, but when circumstances are considered and the interest of the parties perfectly known, it must appear evident the rumour of this plot founded on the apprehensions which have been repeatedly expressed by the present Government of a possibility of this base design, and when your Lordship considers how studiously such fears have been whispered for the space of five months, it is a wonder no villain should have taken the hint sooner and fabricated a mysterious tale. To your Lordship's discernment I submit whether a Prince just advanced to a throne whose power is unfixed, whose Government is unsettled, and who can only look up for support to the English, could possibly have formed a scheme in which his own destruction must inevitably be involved.

No. 434.

CALCUTTA,

The 25th March 1775.

TO HENRY SAVAGE, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

The various matters which at present engage me is the best apology, I can make for a short introduction. I shall, therefore, immediately proceed to give you such information of circumstances here as I imagine will be agreeable to you, and date my own pleasure in the performance from the assurance of your being satisfied.

You are, I am sure, convinced that no personal pique or resentment ever had an influence on my public principles or opinions. I have, therefore, supported and shall continue to support every measure of Mr. Hastings's Government in the degree they may merit, and in the unhappy differences which now exist in Council, I shall give every just assistance he may be entitled to with the utmost of my power and ability.

It is certain that a large proportion of our resources have flowed from external means as per folio 103 in my letter to Lord North to the end of that letter.

No. 435.

CALCUTTA,

The 25th March 1775.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

Loath as I am to give you trouble, the present occasion, as it particularly relates to myself, I must recommend to your minutest attention.

The petition which is calculated to asperse my character being introduced at a time when there is no possibility of controverting it by a fair disquisition on the public proceedings of the Council, may lead the Gentlemen in the Direction from what may have occurred in other instances, to receive the libel and view it in a sight prejudicial to the integrity with which I have always acted and the uprightness of my intentions. To defeat, however, the effects of Party chicane which would fix a stigma on my name, to render the support I have given Hastings suspected, I wrote immediately to the Secretary of the Revenue Council, a copy of which is enclosed and will inform you of the principle on which I proceed. The profits which I have made by the salt contracts I shall fairly lay before the Board, and as my rights to these contracts are justly founded, I will submit without hesitation the whole to the pleasure of the Company, who, I have not the least doubt, will confirm them to me in preference to the man who pretends to them and was no more than my manager on condition of paying a certain sum to be entitled to whatever advantages he might make above that sum and whom for mismanagement and suspected malversations I afterwards removed.

This removal, if I mistake not, took place in August or September 1774, after undoubted information had been received that the quantity of salt engaged to be delivered to the Company from the pergunnah of Selimabad would be short of the farmer's contract about 20,000 maunds, a deficiency which the mismanagement or embezzlement of the Coja Kework had occasioned and which I was obliged to make good with the penalty annexed to such failure of the contract.

In the petition of Kework scarce any notice is taken of the farm of Selimabad. He insists only on that of Savageport. The reason is evident. The deficiency and breach of engagement to the Company is in the former and not in the latter farm.

The contraband commerce which he charges himself with, is introduced to mitigate his offence and throw the whole odium of it upon me, but in this he is mistaken, for my engagements with him plainly shew I countenanced no such commerce, and that my advantages were computed on a fair management on his part. If he chose to risk a contraband trade and defraud the customs as more beneficial to himself than the fair advantages he was to derive, surely this should not be imputed to me. The culpability entirely rests on his own shoulders, as no punishment could be inflicted, until a detection was made of those illicit practices which I was a stranger to, for it will appear from the evidence I shall examine, that he had repeatedly urged me to allow a contraband traffick which I as constantly rejected, and at the same time informed him that if he did engage in such

transactions and was discovered, the salt would be liable to confiscation, and he would loose the whole. Yet this man has the impudence to prostitute truth by so gross an assertion as that I ordered him to make clandestine sales, which upon my honor and everything I hold dear and sacred I never did. But the hope of gratifying a party by villifying me, which he may have been taught to believe a means of obtaining his ends, I apprehend, must have made him introduce such a falsehood. Possibly I might have devised better checks than such as had been placed before my time, for preventing such malpractices, and in consequence be blamed for not doing it, but when the multiplicity of affairs to be transacted and the pressure of business in the station I filled at Dacca is considered, it is not to be wondered at if I interfered not in the minute detail of the customs, an office in a degree too wholly independent of the Chiefship.

My enemies, nay my friends, will naturally say, from so small a quantity of salt to be provided for the Company as 50,000 maunds, and that only at Rs. 80 the 100 maunds, how was it possible you could expect such a profit as Rs. 65,000 without authorising illicit practices. I well knew a great quantity of salt could be made at Savagepore. I knew it was there an immemorial custom for the workman to be compensated for his labour by a proportion out of the produce. I likewise know that by increasing this proportion (an act which could not be detected by a legal proof,) large douceurs were to be drawn, and lastly that a surplus quantity, if not embezzled or the manufacture ill-managed, must result to the Company. From these three sources Rs. 65,000 might reasonably be derived, and after all a handsome compensation to the manager for the 50,000 maunds ought to yield the whole advance back and the surplus 105 per 100 maunds.

The Selimabad contract is at Rs. 110 per 100 maunds. The quantity he engaged to deliver was 103,000 maunds, but with management it should produce as appears by old accounts 1,30,000 and which he said he would deliver. The purchase of this at Rs. 50 per hundred maunds yields on the 1,03,000 maunds, a profit of Rs. 61,500, and then the surplus which this man has doubtless made away with of 27,000 maunds at Rs. 137 per 100 maunds, purchased or worked at the rate of Rs. 50 per 100 maunds, gives a profit of Rs. 87 per 100 maunds or Rs. 17,400. Deduct this from his engagement to account with me for Rs. 60,000 he gives to himself 19,000 Rupees, so that even supposing he got nothing by his engagement with me for Savagepore, he ought to have made enough by Selimabad where he has embezzled and brought in a balance against me.

I have told you what is my intention. I desire not to benefit my fortune in any manner the public may disapprove, or take from the Company's purse in order to put into my own. If, therefore, the Company think themselves

entitled to the profits arising from the salt contracts I engaged in, I will account with them to the last shilling. But if the Company claim no right to themselves, mine, of course, remain to me, nor can they be affected, because in Bengal names for it will appear the interest and responsibility is mine, though in conformity with public orders Hindoos were ostensibly the contractors. Yet, however, the Company may determine from my reasons with regard to establishing this mode of right in future. I have to hope and expect that the past advantages which have accrued when the then state of affairs and my station are considered, will be secured to me.

The reason for precluding Europeans from farms and contracts in the first instance, was their screening themselves from the Dewanny powers under the laws of England, and by such means evading payment of their rents, but as the objection could not be made to their having an interest under the powers of the Dewanny, in a variety of farms and contracts, the whole responsibility, though not ostensibly, is European. I notice this that it may not be said I infringed a Regulation in taking these contracts. For ostensibly I am not the contractor, however, really I may be so.

No. 436.

CALCUTTA,

The 25th March 1775.

TO EDWARD WHEELER, ESQ.

Sir,

By Mr. Plowden I was lately favored with your letter of the 27th March 1774. Exclusive of my wish I may have to merit your friendship the warm affection I am bound by to Mrs. Barwell has fully engaged me to the interests of Mr. Plowden. The circumstances of the times are too well known to you to lead you to imagine that it can be at present in my power to serve Mr. Plowden essentially. Any proposition from me would in all probability be opposed. All, therefore, I can pretend a merit from, is my support and concurrence to any measure for the benefit of Mr. Plowden, and that you may with confidence depend upon.

No. 437.

CALCUTTA,

The 28th March 1775.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

I have not time to write to all the gentlemen I ought. Do, therefore, make to those who may have expected letters from me, the best apology you can, particularly to Purling and Sullivan.

My letters to Lords North and Sandwich and to Mr. Savage are sent open for your perusal as they treat not on any personal topics. Some information from yourself will probably be necessary on those points. I choose rather to entrust such communications to your discretion than to make them directly myself to the persons, for I was entirely ignorant of their views and diffident of the manner that might be agreeable to them in treating such matters. I flatter myself from the papers you have, you will be fully mistress of all points that are personally of moment to myself and the Governor, and I am sure I cannot have a more zealous and able advocate to set things in the best light than yourself.

I could wish that by some means or other, the following anecdote might reach Lord North and get abroad without involving me personally in the communication. The promulgation of it is necessary, because it sets in a clear light the disposition and views of the new members, particularly of Col. Monson.

The Rannee Bowannee some time since presented a petition to the Board for relief in matters that concerned the interests of her zemindarry. Colonel Monson upon being applied to, made answer that if she had any complaints to make against the Governor-General etc. they should be listened to and her business considered, but the Rannee Bowannee's officers replying they had no complaints to prefer, the Colonel dismissed them. Subsequently Raja Nuncomar and some of the Colonel's servants called them and gave them to understand that the only way they had to obtain what they solicited, was by charging the Governor with malversations, that the Rannee of Burdwan by this means had effected all her purposes, and that if they followed her example, the same success would attend their business, but if they neglected this advice, they had nothing to expect from the countenance of the new members. Can there be anything more shameful than this transaction? Yet true as it is, the fact cannot be brought upon the records without exposing the Rannee of Rajshaye to inevitable ruin. A decided majority of the Board determined in their object, will instantly make her a victim to their displeasure without hesitating about the means to accomplish it. A circumstance that strongly corroborates the relation given me by the Rannee Bowannee's officers is the rejection of the application they made to the Council of Muxadavad who have no power to grant the relief solicited by the Rannee. How very different is this mode of proceeding to that adopted by the same gentleman upon the Rannee of Burdwan's application. The end, however, is exactly the same as well as the means of obtaining that end.

I have not written to my young friend, Stuart. You must, therefore, lay before him what is necessary. Mr. Robinson likewise I have neglected

to address, as well as Col. McLeane and Mr. Graham. Pressed down as I am by a weight of business it is not possible for me to be so attentive to all my correspondents as I wish. The deficiency, of course, you must supply.

I shall send a short letter to Mr. Wheeler, and you may be assured as far as lays in me I will advance the interests of Mr. Plowden. He lives in Mr. Francis's family.

Mr. Levis is happily provided for through Mr. Francis, I believe. He is fully sensible of my friendly intentions to him, but I have no further merit in his appointment to the Military Storekeeper's office than in not dissenting from it. It was agitated by Mr. Francis. Had it been proposed by me it would as certainly have been rejected.

Under this cover you will receive some detached minutes hastily spoken by me in support of the Governor-General's conduct touching the adjournment of the Council, and denying the members any authority to arraign him or to subvert the order of the Government by any attempt to degrade the dignity of his office and render the Governor-General contemptible in the eyes of all ranks and degrees of people.

Nos. 438-39.

Calcutta, 30 March 1775. To Jeremiah Tinkar
 " 3 April " J. C. to P. A. Sapte.

Of no interest.

"

No. 440.

CALCUTTA,

TO THE HON'BLE FREDERICK STUART

The 4th April 1775.

Dear Stuart,

You will hear by this ship the various matters brought against Hastings. Though the proof may not to be most full and clear, they are sufficient to ruin him in the public estimation. I am concerned to find he is so vulnerable and names of so many involved with him. Should the same spirit continue the charcoal mark will be fixt on almost every Indian and the support I, your friend, have given him may ultimately affect me. If it does I shall fairly stile him my evil genius, equally so in his elevation as in his fall. How far it may be in the power of my friends to shield me from participation of the stigma fixt on Mr. Hastings I cannot tell.

You must apply to my sister for further lights and act as your judgment leads you. The part I have taken I shall strictly pursue, but to the measures of the Ministry whatever they may be, I have strictly enjoined my family to conform.

No. 441.

CALCUTTA,

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

The 17th May 1775

My dear Sister,

From my last letter you will naturally imagine that whatever was the rage of opposition against Mr. Hastings, no personal ill will would have been extended to me, and indeed, I flattered myself from the exterior deportment of General Clavering, etc., that a degree of candor would have marked their conduct towards me. In this I find myself egregiously mistaken, for soon after writing to you and which letter I showed to the General, the mask was thrown off and the enclosed paper produced at the Board. You may imagine my surprise at so covert and unfair a mode of proceeding, when in all probability by exhibiting in secret a charge by the last ship of the season they precluded me from all means of vindicating myself to the Company, until the dispatch of the ships of the next season, and this would really have been the case, had not the destination of the *Northumberland* been accidentally altered owing to her detention in the river until the season was past for her proceeding to Fort St. George. Now the public may judge of my conduct is my only solicitude. I am wholly indifferent to the opinion of a faction which may, indeed, call names and anger me with the illiberality of the invectives thrown out, but if by the preservation of facts my character is not traduced, I can forgive the baseness that attempts it, amply gratified in rising superior to the acts of calumny. The heinous offence charged to me by General Clavering, etc., is that in January 1774, a few months after I succeeded to the charge of the *Dacca* Chiefship, I asserted a right to the salt farms held by my predecessors, and in so doing sacrificed the interests of the Company and the trust reposed in me, because an old obsolete order of the Company's forbade Europeans having any interest in farms, and because the profits I made upon the salt contracts should have been carried to the credit of the Company. In my letter of—I informed you on what principle that obsolete order from the Company was given, and that it had been invariably allowed to Europeans to take farms after a mode which subjected them to the laws and usages of the country Government. I need not, therefore, enter a further explanation here, but that in the names of black people I found the salt contracts of *Dacca* had been taken by the Chief and had been a source of advantage to his station antecedent to the time I was advanced to it. General Clavering, etc., urge the contracts were made at too low rates and collusively set apart for the *Dacca* Chief. Admitting it is so (which I cannot allow unless they will prove higher offers were tendered and rejected than those which were accepted), how can it apply to me? did I make the contracts? had I any power or authority at the

time they were made at Dacca in 1772? No, and yet with matchless effrontery the contrary is insinuated by the minute of the Majority, which was secretly sent to the Court of Directors and kept from my knowledge, until the *Anson* had sailed, when it was introduced on the public proceedings of the Council. In the Resolutions since past, it is said the Company is entitled to the advantages I reaped by manufacturing the salt, and in another article of the same resolutions, that the farm is the property of the Armenians, because they are the securities for the performance of the conditions under which it is leased by the Company. Can anything be more contradictory to common sense and reason than to assent in one place that the Company is entitled to certain conditions on a certain public lease, and again that exclusive of those conditions the Company is entitled to the profits made by the lessee? Admitting the lease which is not attempted to be questioned, it is evident the only right the Company have is in the conditions under which it is granted, and those conditions being once performed, any benefit beyond them can only centre with the contractor or farmer. The competition, therefore, I justly observe is between the Armenian and me, in which the public have no interest, and that they must either account to me, or I to them as shall be adjudged by the Supreme Court of Justice upon the prosecution I have commenced against them. Although it is remarked by the Majority in their resolutions that the management of salt manufacture had been entrusted to the Armenians, no notice is taken of the abuse for which they were deprived of the management. The reason is plain. Those abuses were of a public nature, distinct and entirely unconnected with their private agreement for certain profits to me, and of course incapacitated them from being continued in employ by the Company, even if they had been in the first instance farmers or contractors of Government. By their engagements under me as Chief of Dacca they were to answer all the conditions of the public lease: one was to deliver all the salt they manufactured to the Company, but instead of this, it is proved they clandestinely conveyed away 12,000 maunds of salt of the last year's produce which had been lodged in the warehouse, and in the year they were dismissed, as much more as they could collusively make away with, by which abuse of their trust they fell short of the quantity expressly engaged to be delivered to the Company, 30,000 maunds in their contract with me for the Selimabad salt and ran off all the surplus made at Duckinsavagapore, urging in excuse that it was to enable them to answer their pecuniary engagements to me, forgetting in this absurd assertion it was obviously my interest that they should have delivered all the salt to the Company, as in that case I could have paid myself from the money they would have been entitled to from the Company and have settled it off in account with them, whereas by their secretly and clandestinely running the salt I was deprived of the security and obliged, as the contractor with the

public, to pay the penalty of Rs. 15,000 for the 30,000 maunds deficient in the Salimabad contract. It does not appear by any public paper, nor is it insisted upon by any person but by the Armenians themselves, that they are in the first instance the contractors. The public records declare otherways, and the first *perwannah* or *dustick* issued in "directs the Beparries, Pycars, Molungees and officers of the Government to consider Radachurn to be the farmer, to receive his advances and deliver the salt to him." Had the Armenians been the farmers in the first instance, such a *perwannah* could never have been issued for establishing their rights upon the grant of a farm to them from the Company. As to the charge of compulsive means used to influence the Armenians to come into the terms they engaged in with me, I declare upon my honour that all the compulsion consisted in my telling the Armenians I had had such proposals made me by others for managing the salt farms under me, but as they had the management hitherto I would continue it to them if they would account with me for 60,000 rupees in lieu of all profits to be derived from the Duckinsavagepur farm which they accepted upon condition I would let them manage the farm of Salimabad in lieu of the profits of which they would engage to pay me 65,000 rupees more, for Salimabad was a farm formerly under the management of one Bulram and on which the Armenians had lately entered by an under-contract with one Joynarrain, who had an under-contract from Bulram, who in the first instance had contracted with my predecessor. Now, as something must be sunk in all these contracts, and as the prime right was in the Chief, the Armenians' engagements to Joynarrain were in consequence converted into direct engagements to myself who then held the Chiefship of Dacca. This is the state of the two contracts or farms. For the first of Savagepur, the Armenians were originally securities. For the second of Salimabad they neither had originally the management nor were originally the securities. One Ramhury, a nominal lessee for the Dacca Chief, was farmer and Bulram security, and originally entrusted with the management. Yet in the 8th resolution General Clavering, Col. Monson and Mr. Francis say, "Coja Meihail and Keawork" are the only persons who appear to have had in fact the original management of the farms in question, or upon whom the Company could have claim, supposing the quantity of salt contracted had not been delivered, etc., and in the 10th resolution that "Coja Keawork and Meihail" should be put in possession of the two farms for the remainder term of the original lease on account of their engagements as securities for the nominal farmers, etc. Hence it is evident the pretext on which the 3 Members adjudge to Coja Keawork and Meihail a right to the farm of Savagepur, etc., on their being originally in the management and originally securities for the farm of Salimabad, of which

they neither had originally the management, nor more originally the securities, but come at first into the management by a private sub-contract in the fourth degree from the original proprietor the Chief, and in the third degree from the ostensible security to the Company, Bulram. I confess I cannot see what particular merit has recommended the Armenians to the consideration of the Majority. It cannot be for the faithful discharge of the trust they held under the Chief of Dacca. In that they were notoriously culpable and stand detected and exposed by their own confession in a clandestine appropriation to the detriment of the public revenue. Their affirming they were authorised in it by Mr. Grueber and shared with him such appropriation is no excuse. It would, indeed, palliate their offence, it did not appear to me in the light of a finesse to involve Mr. Grueber and utterly incapacitate him from checking all their future collusive management of the salt. But what excuse can they make in my time? I never warranted any clandestine appropriation of the salt; all my advantages were to derive from a fair execution of the contract on their part, and my collateral security from their pecuniary engagements to me, was the Company's treasury on which in the name of Radhachurn Dey I should have had claim in proportion to the extraordinary quantities of salt delivered by the Armenians. It was, therefore, as obviously against my interests, as the interests of the public, that the Armenians should secret the salt manufactured by them, as much as it might prove their interest to do it. Next it cannot be for delivering the full quantity of salt contracted for under me to the public, for in Salimabad they have fallen short about 30,000 maunds, and at Dackinsavagepur they have made away with 12,000 maunds after an accounts had been gained of it, after it had been lodged in the *galahs* (salt warehouse) and after it had been sold by the Company. Next it cannot be that because for these public malversations the Board of Dacca at which Mr. Barwell was head, deprived them of all connection with the salt farms, that they are fitted better for the management of them and men worthy of public trust. If this cannot be, may I ask in what their merit to public favour consists? Other farmers would have been turned out fifty times for their abuses, and yet these men who were under-contractors detected of defrauding equally the public and individuals, have conferred on them the rights of their principal whom they have equally deceived and abused. If their merit is decided by this criterion they are welcome to their reward, and I am satisfied with the obloquy of having dismissed them from my agency and the oppression of having usurped the rights now decreed them.

What advantage the Company is to derive from this decision, does not appear to me. The end and object of the Armenians' application to the Council as pointed out in my letter to Mr. Sumner the Secretary, are, indeed,

in a degree obtained, but upon what principles of equity a claim litigated by individuals has been thus determined, will be hereafter pointed out in the judgment to be passed upon it by the Judicature to which I had previously submitted my pretensions and the claim I grounded on those pretensions and the express engagement of the Armenians.

That I have acted against law in holding salt contract of Dacca after the 1st day of August 1774, is a declaration consistent with the views of the Majority. But if I understand the spirit and words of the Act of Parliament prohibiting Europeans trading in salt, the law will not pronounce me guilty of any breach of the Act, and that I might be noways obnoxious to the law. Before the expiration of the 9 months limited by the Act, I sold all the property I had in the salt farms on certain specified conditions, but as I all along esteemed the right in those farms to be more in the station of the Chief of Dacca than in myself after I left that station, any benefits deriving from the sale I had made in consequence of the prohibitory clause in the Act of Parliament would *bona fide* have been accounted for to my successor, had he judged himself entitled to it. If he did not, I saw no objection to my benefitting from the sale I made, instead of letting the advantage fall wholly into the hands of the men to whom I had disposed of the contract. For further particulars I refer to the enclosed papers, but as these are extremely diffuse and involved, it becomes necessary to give you a connected view of the transaction that you might not be bewildered in a labyrinth.

I begin this sheet distinctly from the rest, for although it has relation to matter previously recited, yet it may not be necessary for you to make use of it. It is a common observation and a true one that when the malevolent design of Party is frustrated to fix a stigma on any character it intends to depreciate, that it proceeds from facts to inventions and from arguments to assertions unsupported by proof against the person obnoxious to Party. And as every personal indignity is not always borne with equal placidness of temper, it frequently happens that a vilifying expression is retorted with epithets suited to that expression. The General at the Revenue Board made use of language that excited my resentment, and as I could not on the instant suppress my sense of the injury, I very plainly spoke my sentiments of the man who should presume to say "that I had acted contrary to the dictates of honour and in direct contradiction to my solemn oath." As I pointed my speech direct to the General, he applied it to himself, but in his letter calling upon me in consequence he does not avow the language at which I took fire, and as he did not avow it when in answer to his call, I bid him recollect whether the expression or language he used was not such as I had noticed. I determined to satisfy my own honor and meet him, and subsequently to make such declaration before the persons present when I gave the affront as

I could with propriety. The series of letters with the apology I read at the Council table, will give you a full idea of the subject. I am still of opinion the General made use of the words, which I pronounced could only be uttered by a person deserving the epithets I bestowed upon him, but as he did not avow the words and declared at the Council table he had no intention of giving me a personal affront, I said I was sorry for the epithets I had used, that had brought on so disagreeable a consequence and might have terminated unhappily, although I met him on the cool deliberate principle of vindicating my honour from aspersion and not raising my hand against his life. The Governor likewise thinks with me the General did make use of the words I noticed, but observed if he had not chosen to avow them, it would be improper in me to insist on his having used them.

I have the pleasure to advise you I have paid into treasury of the Dutch Company at Chiosurah a sum equal to £30,000 on condition of having bills on the Dutch Company payable in London granted to me in November next. As these bills will be in your favour I am thus early in my advice, as the remittance is certain and to be relied on, as much as if the bills were in this instant in your possession. The bills will all be payable in three months after they are presented to the bankers who are to honour them.

P.S.—From the determined faction of the new Members, General Clavering, Col. Monson and Mr. Francis, it is necessary you exert all your powers in favour of Hastings and your Brother.

No. 442.

CALCUTTA,

The 17th May 1775.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

In my letter of this date you have all that relates particularly to myself. I wish to give you in this a general notion of the various measures of the Majority, the accidental occurrences in consequence; but there is such a multiplicity of matter that my ideas are confused, and I scarcely know how to beg in the relation.

The system laid down by the New Members you are already informed, was to vilify the characters of every man who was or had been in employ and to increase that popular odium with which the Indians had long struggled. To this end it was necessary to represent past Governments as uniform scenes of corruption, and every one who had been in office acting in them conformably to a fixt and general state of venality that had long subsisted and prevailed, even to the time of the establishment of the new

Government. And as reformation and virtue are the inexhaustible pretexts of every administration at its commencement and peculiarly insisted upon by every faction that has in view the obtainment of the first offices of Government, such professions should be received with the utmost distrust, and regarded only in the degree they operate for the public benefit. The true test of every measure of Government is the good that is to result from it. Therefore any which the zeal of party adopts that does not stand this test, may at once be denounced partial and calculated to impose on the credulity of mankind to the prejudice of particular men. The Legislature certainly designed the 1 August 1774 to be a new era in the annals of India and constituted a Government with such powers as might, if properly directed, have produced every benefit the Legislature had in view, and as I am convinced, it never was imagined that powers given to be exercised in regulating affairs of Government providing for its future interests and stability, and for securing every possible advantage to the mother country, would even be prostituted to party designs and aims. The disappointment to the nation and Company will be great, when it appears that all matters of moment and consequence, have been neglected in a great degree for no other object than that of finding fault and seeking out every possible occasion for cavil and traduction. What excuse can be made for such a conduct? Can any reasonable man believe (whatever may have been the mistakes or demerits of their predecessors) that it is laudable? Rather they will say their time would have been better employed in attending to the immediate and consequential affairs of the Government entrusted to them and placing them on a permanent and stable footing, and they will naturally ask why this has not been done, and why so much of their time and care have been given to fruitless researches, and whether the mistakes and demerits of others, or their own acts as supreme guardians of a State is to prove the criterion of their merit with and services to, the public.

In my letter of the 28th March I mentioned to you the requisition made of the Rannee Bowannee, Zemindar of Rajshaye, by Col. Monson, and in what manner Raja Ramkissen, her adopted son, had been treated and the effects of that treatment upon him. This adopted son by the late Administration was not acknowledged as heir or successor to the Rannee Bowannee's zemindarry, but the right of succession insisted on in behalf of the Company upon failure of issue, and provided no legal heir could establish his claim in opposition to the rights of Government to the heirship of all lands upon the extinction of a zemindar's family. Adoptions when they do not prejudice the Government's rights are universally allowed by the immemorial usages and customs of the country. Such adoptions are not of force, until the sanction of Government has been granted to them. Was it otherwise, no lands could possibly fall into

the Government, as families by adopting in failure of heirs would be perpetuated to infinity. The Rannee Bowannee's two great objects were 1st (August) to fix the adoption of Ramkissen and his succession in consequence to her estate, the 2nd, to dispossess the farmer of her revenue and obtain the management of it to herself. These, I understand, are points which the Majority have promised to secure to her on condition of her taxing the Members of the late Government directly or indirectly by their banians and dependants with presents made. The result has been that the Governor's banian, Mr. Middleton's banian, Mr. Graham's banians, etc., names are recited in an accounts delivered into the Council as receivers of sundry sums to the amount of upwards of 2 lacs of rupees, but for what services or on what occasion does not appear, and the whole is so loosely affirmed that it carries all the appearance of a made-up accusation in order to fix the patronage of the New Members, and gain for the Rannee Bowannee the two objects she has so much at heart, the fixing Ramkissen's adoption and the obtaining the management of her zamindary now held in farm. The first is obviously against the interests of Government, as the Government will thereby be deprived of the lands which would otherwise fall in, and the second is obviously in breach of the public engagements under which the farmer now collects the revenue of Rajshaye. Yet for all this, I am certain, the Rannee's requests will be complied with, and some pretext or other used to give the measure a color of justice. Nevertheless, the management is so plain that I think New Members will be disappointed and covered with shame for bribing the Rannee Bowannee of Rajshaye in which light alone their acquiescence to her requests can be received, for it certainly was bargained for and the condition it was granted upon, the Rannee's charging the banians of the Governor with the receipt of sundry sums as presents made by her.

The arts by which obloquy is thus cast on many characters, though hitherto successful in a degree, have not proved entirely so. One Cummauloo Dein has laid before the public some curious and most extraordinary transactions relating to the manner of procedure of the principal agents, Raja Nun Comar and Mr. Fowke, in the business of collecting accusations against the Governor, etc., for the New Members to lay before the Council, that is before themselves to transmit to Europe. This Cummauloo Dein being strangely involved, and apprehensive of consequences from the use going to be made of different papers to which Nun Comar and Fowke had influenced him to subscribe, to disentangle himself went to the Chief Justice and made a deposition circumstantially relating the particulars of the facts into which Nun Comar and Fowke had drawn him and the stages and progress to the day of his appearing before the Judges. As by this deposition, a design was obviously formed by Nun Comar and Fowke to asperse the characters and

reputations of different persons and the Governor's. Mr. Vansittart's and my name being expressly mentioned in Cummauloo Dien's affidavit, I received with the others a letter from the Judges requesting my attendance at an examination of certain persons who upon the oath of Cummauloo Dein, were charged with conspiring against my character and reputation, etc., in order to a prosecution of the persons if there appeared sufficient cause. You may imagine my surprise when upon reading the affidavit of Cummauloo Dein I perceived mention made in it of a paper which he declared Nun Commar and Fowke had made him subscribe to setting against my name payment of 40,000 rupees which I declare I never received, nor ever before heard of. Warned by such abominable business, no sooner had Mr. Fowke finished his harangue on honor and virtue and the integrity of his character than I began to make my observations on the nature of the transactions with which he was charged before the Judges, remarking it would have been more consistent with that openness and candor he professed in words, to have given me information of the accusation he was about to lay before the public, as probably I might have had it in my power to have convinced him of its fallacy and explained and set it in a light that would not have reflected on my name, but that the proceeding as it appeared was dark and like the state of an assassin who skulks from detection. Angered heartily by this he arose and said—"Sir I call upon you to declare upon your honor whether you have not received the money." I replied, "Sir, I have not." The Judges interposed forbidding me to answer any questions and commanding silence, for high words had arisen and Mr. Fowke had said, "Sir, I will talk with you hereafter," and I had replied "you are most welcome; you will always find me prepared to hear and answer you." Some hours after, for the examination before the Judges lasted from 10 in the morning to 11 o'clock at night, the existence of this paper in which my name was mentioned was absolutely denied by Mr. Fowke, and to my surprise he has ever since persisted in his denial of it, although the call he made upon me to declare upon my honor whether I had received the money charged to my accounts in that paper, implied positively that such a paper had been in his possession, and that he supposed I had received the money, of which Nun Commar had given him an account, but as he now uniformly denies the paper, and no legal proof can be brought of its having ever existed, I did not take any security or was bound over to prosecute, for I was not in the same predicament with the Governor and Mr. Vansittart, and the only offence committed against me was the paper which it is affirmed by Nun Commar and Fowke never existed. However, as the Governor and Mr. Vansittart prosecute I will put Cummauloo Dein to the proof of the paper and have the denial of Fowke and Nun Commar made in the most public and solemn manner that no reflection may be cast on my character for not

bringing the matter to a public disavowal or proof. In consequence of this examination Nun Comar and Mr. Fowke were bound to take their trials at the next sessions for a conspiracy. The former was bailed by Col. Thornton and Captain Webber, the aid-de-camps of General Clavering, who knowing nothing of Nun Comar, must have acted by the General's orders and the other by Mr. Farrer who appeared as Counsel in behalf of Fowke and said he was commissioned to offer any bail that might be demanded; he was sent, it is supposed, by Col. Monson with the General's concurrence and Mr. Francis's. When we see the first people in the Government interfere in behalf of men charged with base actions, what are we to imagine? Will the public believe it proceeds from conviction of their innocence of the crimes with which they are charged? But this can never be, for it is notoriously known that Nun Comar is capable of any species of villany and is a character branded for various deceptions and intrigues. Not satisfied with bailing Nun Comar the very evening after the examination before the Judges, General Clavering, Col. Monson, Mr. Francis and the dependants on their families, set out from the General's house in two coaches and a post-chaise and four horses with various other vehicles, paid a visit to Nun Comar. In all the time of Nun Comar's prosperity in the zenith of his power, never did he see so formal and ostentatious a cavalcade, nor never had such extraordinary honors paid to him. It would seem as if it was intended to insult the Governor and every moderate man, the Judges and the authority of the Supreme Court of Justice, and to impress the native Indians with an idea of their power and determination to over-rule all obstacles in pursuit of their system and absolute sway in the Government.

In this state matters rested from the 22nd April to the 4th or 5th instant, and in the interval a charge of forgery against Nun Comar which had been long in suspense, was brought forward and the witnesses so pointed that he was committed for felony on the 5th or 6th instant. It will scarcely be believed that under such circumstances that General Clavering and his party would have interfered to check the course of justice by an attempt to remove the criminal from the country goal, to which effect they addressed the Judges, alleging they were influenced by a principle of humanity to interpose in behalf of Nun Comar, as they understood from a sincere and true piety and regard to the tenets of his religion being a Hindoo, he had refused all sustenance and could not, nor would not, take any aliment while he continued under confinement in the common prison, and in the same letter affirmed a right to interpose, when the operation of the Judicature proved oppressive to the natives, saying that all the subject of the Dewanny Government were peculiarly placed under their protection as the Council of State, and it was their duty to extend such protection to them where they applied for relief

under any species of oppression, and that the judicial powers of the Supreme Court of Justice in their operation upon Hindoo natives attached to the severe tenets of their religion, might under many circumstances and in particular cases be grievously oppressive, that they conceived it to be so in the present instance and proposed that Nun Comar should return to his own house over which a guard should be placed, or have apartments assigned him in the Fort under a military guard. The Chief Justice, etc., replied that it was a mere pretext used by Nun Comar, that the restraint under which they had put him would not, as he pretended, deprive him of his caste, that they had taken the opinions of the religious and found the laws of the *Shasta* declare any contamination from his confinement was to be removed by some trifling oblations without any prejudice to his sect or religious principles; that as to the alternatives proposed it was not in the power of the Judges to resign the civil authority into the hands of the military by releasing Nun Comar from prison and entrusting his person to a guard of soldiers, concluding with this remark that if Nun Comar's religion was a sufficient plea in Bar to his commitment, every Hindoo of his or of a superior sect were perpetually exempted and would not be made amenable to their Judicature. Nothing could be so absurd as this application to the Judges upon such ground, for if General Clavering, etc. had only enquired whether Hindoos were usually committed to and confined in prison on judicial processes, they would have found it to have prevailed ever since Calcutta had existed, and that Brahmins of a far higher sect than Nun Comar had suffered close imprisonment for years. The Judges, however, to avoid the appearance of severity, have allotted Nun Comar the best apartments in goal, permit him daily to repair under charge of the goaler to his tent erected just without side the walls to perform the offices of religion and to eat his food. This interposition of the Council General with the Judges, as might naturally be supposed, caused much speculation and gave rise to various conjectures and surmises which received additional force from the General, Col. Monson and Mr. Francis sending two or three times every day to prison to enquire after Nun Comar's health and the Gentlemen in their families frequently visiting him in his confinement; not only this, but Lady Anne Monson, Mrs. Clavering and the Misses Claverings sending their compliments and enquiries after his health, a practice so unusual and so extraordinary in this country that I am not surprised, it should create a rumour of its being the intention of Council General to remove Nun Comar from the goal by force, if the Judges would not be otherwise prevailed on to remit his confinement. This report is just touched on in one of the Chief Justice's letters and treated as an idle rumour by him, but it is taken up in a high tone by (the General and his Party) the Majority of the Council General who reflect on the Chief

Justice charging him directly with having allowed such an aspersion to have had weight with him and declaring on oath, God knows how truly, that they never had an item of such a rumour, until they read of it in his letter. What they may have heard I cannot say, but I declare upon my honour that for these ten days past in most companies I have frequently heard it was a question whether General Clavering, etc., would not use force if other means failed to remove Nun Comar from the country prison. Nor in this to be wondered at taking all circumstances into your view, for on the Monday following his commitment which was on the Saturday night preceding, the Council General sent for the Sheriff and the Deputy Sheriff and the keeper of the prison and examined them severally touching the confinement of Nun Comar and then addressed the Judges to remit it. The further countenance of sending every two or three hours to enquire after and compliment Nun Comar, and the General and Col. Monson enjoining their ladies to do the same, and the Gentlemen of their families visiting him, and they publicly declaring their patronage of Nun Comar: I say, taking all these circumstances together, is it to be wondered at that strange rumours prevail, and that all degrees of men are in suspense and know not to what lengths the Majority of the Council General will proceed? The Native Inhabitants are strangely startled, so much so that it will not surprize me, if these arts deter the evidence and save Nun Comar from the ruin which hangs over him.

Exclusive of all this, to impress on the minds of the Natives the highest idea of their despotic sway in the Government, the Majority on the Tuesday following, because the Begum Guardian to the Nabob would not authenticate the accusations falsely preferred in her name by Nun Comar against the Governor, superseded her from her office. The plea is a false balance stated in the accounts delivered by her in the year 1772, when she took upon her the guardianship and management of the Nabob's household. The papers in support of this charge is presented by Nanut Roy a dependant of Nun Comar's to be copied by him from original papers in the Nizamut office, to which he formerly belonged and by Mr. James Grant (who formerly lived with Mr. Floyer and went to England with him), the dirty instrument of this dirty business. This Nanut Roy with his papers are introduced to the public. I have said already that upon this ground without any examination the Begum is dismissed from the guardianship and household. Not only this, but she is further mortified by the appointment of Raja Goordass, the son of the Nun Comar beforementioned, to the charge of her office and person. Mr. Goring is deputed to execute this order, to receive the papers and accounts of the Nizamut, and with Messrs. Maxwell and Anderson to form a Committee at Muxadvad to examine and report upon them. What will you

at a distance, think of it? A Princess of one of the most potent sovereigns of the East, until the influence established by the English arms treated with so little ceremony? But it has answered the purpose; every man of consequence is frightened out of his senses and all ranks of natives shrink before a power so decisive and resistless.

The false balance which is said to be stated in the accounts delivered at the accession of the Begum in 1772 I have reason to think, will prove on investigation to be a groundless charge, a mere engine created by party to give color for her removal and to blind the people in England as to the real object of the charge and the end proposed to be accomplished by raising the son of Nun Comar to the supreme power over the Nabob's household.

Agreeably to the same system the Majority have removed from his office Gunga Govind Sing, the Dewan of the Calcutta Provincial Council, a man obnoxious to Nun Comar and have placed in his room Ram Chunder Sein a creature of Nun Comar's. The story of the man they have advanced is so curious that I have given it to you*. Mr. Graham knows both Gunga Govind and Ram Chunder and will give you the character of each.

The offence on which the dismissal of Gunga Govind took place is such that I am certain, you will not credit me when I relate it. The fact, however, stands on the public records and will vouch the truth. A sum of money was due to Government from the renter of a land farm. This renter was at the same time a contractor to Government for the provision of salt, on which accounts he had a large sum of money to receive from the Company. When the order was given for the advance to be made to the renter accounts the salt, Gunga Govind insisted on selling off the sum due to Government account the land farms and would pay him no more than the balance between what he was to receive from and what he owed to Government. The man thought to startle him into compliance by a fictitious complaint charging him for withholding the money unjustly, and made his application to Nun Comar to whom he knew Gunga Govind was obnoxious, but in making the complaint he told Nun Comar he would not absolutely prefer it to the Council, until he has consulted with his friend, Sudder-oo-Dein, and found it could not be otherwise adjusted. A few days after, by the advice of Sudder-oo-Dein he gave up this pursuit and acquiesced to the adjustment of demands in the manner first proposed by Gunga Govind. Having done this he asked Nun Comar to return him the complaint with which he had calculated to startle Gunga Govind. Nun Comar told him, he had delivered it with his petition against Mr. Archidikin to Mr. Fowke. "Why have you done this?" replied the man, "it is true I desired you to deliver the complaint against Mr. Archidikin,

* Vide Ram Chunder Sein's character later on.

but I particularly desired you to keep the other. I beg you will get it me back again. I have no complaint against Gunga Govind." Nun Comar made answer, "well, come to me tomorrow." When the man came he made a difficulty in obtaining back the petition from Mr. Fowke, and then, as if recollecting himself, said, "follow my advice and every obstacle will be removed and you will recommend yourself to the new gentlemen. Mr. Fowke is very uneasy at what you related of him some time ago to the Governor; now if you will make out a paper and say the information you gave against him was at the Governor's instigation and go with it to Mr. Fowke, you will meet with no kind of difficulty in getting back the paper complaining of Gunga Govind." The man answered, "how can I do this? It will bring me to shame." Nun Comar observed, "it was only by Mr. Fowke's satisfaction; it would do him no harm." "Well then" returned the man, "what shall I say?" Nun Comar in consequence wrote out a paper, but when this paper was about to be made public and the man found himself entrapped, he went and deposed to all the particulars of the management before the Judges, with what related to his dispute with Gunga Govind. But not having got back the paper he had deposited with Nun Comar against Gunga Govind, this paper was subsequently delivered by Mr. Fowke into the Council, and upon this paper which proves nothing more against Gunga Govind than I have already related, and though the man when called before the Council and asked whether that paper was delivered by him, replied he never intended it should have been given into the Council and that he did not complain against Gunga Govind—General Clavering, etc., however, proceeded upon it, and the Majority voted the dismissal of Gunga Govind for having stopped a part of the advances ordered for the provision of salt and set it against what was owing from the man accounts his land farms. Had Gunga Govind contradicted the man by denying the detention of the sum mentioned in the paper which had been delivered by the man to Nun Comar, it would have operated against himself and swelled into a crime, when in reality he had committed no fault. I am persuaded no one but General Clavering and his party will condemn an officer of Government for setting off a demand of Government against a claim upon it and accounting for the balance only on the adjustment.

I have it not in my power to write to any other of my friends. So pray excuse me and make up for the omission by giving to them the perusal of what is necessary for their information.

[To be continued.]

Mir Jafar and Siraj-ud-Daulah.

MODERN writers, in dealing with the battle of Plassey and the revolution which took place after the battle, make several mistakes, especially with regard to the character of Siraj-ud-daula, the relationship between him, Alivardi Khan, and Mir Jafar, and the age of Siraj-ud-daula, and bring false charges against Mir Jafar, and indirectly against the English. It is to correct these mistakes that I have written these few pages.

The charges are brought directly against Mir Jafar, but as the English were his staunch supporters, and by the cannon and guns of the English, Mir Jafar succeeded to the *masnad* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, blame falls unjustly on the shoulders of the English. Books that are written now-a-days in English, Urdu and Bengali, contain too many of these erroneous facts, and statements without foundation, and by reading these books our children learn to call Mir Jafar unfaithful and treacherous, and bad feeling is aroused towards those who helped him. Some historians say that Mir Jafar conspired with the English and killed Siraj-ud-daula, or that by the instrumentality of Mir Jafar the English won the battle of Plassey and wrongfully killed Siraj-ud-daula. Some say that Mir Jafar took the country from the hands of his countrymen and handed it over to foreigners, or that the English got India through Mir Jafar's collusion. Some think that Siraj-ud-daula was a mere boy of 17 or 19, and so regard him as quite innocent and faultless, while they put all the blame upon the shoulders of those who were guiltless and paint them in black colours. But Siraj-ud-daula was not a boy. At the time of his accession his age was 27 years. He was killed at the age of 28. The *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin* says that Alivardi Khan was appointed Naib Subadar of Behar some days after Siraj-ud-daula was born. Therefore according to this it is clear that Siraj-ud-daula was born in 1729 and he succeeded in 1756. His age then was 27. See also *Bengal, Past and Present*, Vol. VIII (Serial No. 15) pp. 138-140, Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 420.

In the *Muzzufur Namah* it is mentioned that Siraj-ud-daula was born in 1140 Hijra and sat on the *masnad* in 1169 Hijra. Thus his age was twenty-nine years. The author of the *Muzzufur Namah* was brought up by Alivardi Khan and was in Murshidabad in the time of Siraj-ud-daulah. He was an eyewitness to most of the facts he has recorded in the *Muzzufur Namah* which is in Persian and is still unprinted.

Modern writers attempt to screen the true character of Siraj-ud-daula.

This is not right, because all the historians of the time, Persian and English, mention his oppression and tyrannical acts. The author of the *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin*, Nawab Ghulam Hussain Khan, was an able and trustworthy authority, and he was related both to Siraj-ud-daula and Mir Jafar. He lived in or about Murshidabad at that time. He was an eyewitness of many of the events he records, and he gives impartially the good and bad points of Siraj-ud-daula, Mir Jafar and the English. I am writing these pages on the authority of the *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin*. *Muzaffur Namah*, Orme, private letters, treaties, firmans, sanads, letters from the Nizamat records and English records. By these authenticated documents I will show that Mir Jafar and the English were not to blame for the fate of Siraj-ud-daula.

The *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin* (pp. 594 & 623 of Persian text translated by Haji Mustafa) says:—

"It was this darling of his, (Alivardi Khan's) this beloved Seradj-ed-doulah, who by running up and down the streets, accustomed himself to hold such vile discourses, and to commit such unaccountable actions, as amazed every one. Patrolling every street and every lane with a cohort composed of Alyverdy qhan's children and grand-children, he fell into an abominable way of life; that respected neither age, nor sex, but was calculated to prepare from afar the ruin and desolation of that sublime building of fortune and sovereignty which its founder had been rearing with so much toil and danger. No notice was taken of so flagitious a conduct: and it was on such repeated connivances that the young man commenced a course of enormities that afforded materials and administered fuel, to the overtaking vengeance of an unerring observer. This conduct, which Aly-verdy-qhan overlooked in that infatuated young man, turned out to be so natural in him, that at last he became fearless, and was committing daily excesses and violences of all kinds, not only without the least remorse, but also without the least reprimand. He made a sport of sacrificing to his lust almost every person of either sex, to which he took a fancy; or else, he converted them without scruples into as many objects of the malignity of his temper, or the frolics of his inconsiderate youth. And having by this time provided himself with a number of followers consonant to his mind, he commenced a course of insolencies, infamies and profligacies; and either out of that ignorance incident to that age, or because of an ardor natural to his constitution, (although it was because of his perfect reliance on his uncle's forbearance), such a course of life became in him his real character. This is so far true, that he was observed to be low spirited and melancholy, whenever he fell short of opportunities to commit his usual excesses and enormities; and they became so customary to him, that he acted all along without a grain of remorse, or a spark of recollection. Making no distinction betwixt vice and virtue, and paying no regard to the

nearest relations, he carried defilement wherever he went: and like a man alienated in his mind, he made the houses of men and women of distinction the scenes of his profligacy without minding either rank or station. In a little time he became as detested as Pharo: people on meeting him by chance used to say *God save us from him!*"

I will now give the opinion that a celebrated Frenchman of Bengal formed of the character of Siraj-ud-daula and his testimony to the merits of Mir Jafar. M. Jean Law, Chief of the French Factory at Cassimbazar, wrote as follows:—

This successor was Siraj-ud-daula a young man of twenty-four or twenty-five, very common in appearance. Before the death of Aliverdi-Khan the character of Siraj-ud-daula was reputed to be one of the worst ever known. In fact he had distinguished himself not only by all sorts of debaucheries but by a revolting cruelty. The Hindu women are accustomed to bathe on the banks of the Ganges. Siraj-ud-daula, who was informed by his spies which of them were beautiful, sent his satellites in disguise in little boats to carry them off. He was often seen, in the season when the river overflows, causing the ferry boats to be upset or sunk, in order to have the cruel pleasure of seeing the confusion of a hundred people at a time, men, women and children, of whom many, not being able to swim were sure to perish. If there was any necessity to get rid of some great Lord or Minister, Siraj-ud-daula alone appeared in the business, whilst Aliverdi Khan retired to one of his houses or gardens outside the town, so as not to hear the cries of the persons whom he was causing to be killed. Every one trembled at the name of Siraj-ud-daula. People, however flattered themselves that when he became Nawab he would become more humane. One may judge of this by the terrible scene presented to us in the capture of Calcutta.

The violent character of Siraj-ud-daula and the general hatred for him had given many people the idea that he could never become Subahdar. Amongst others the English thought so.....

Siraj-ud-daula was one of the richest Nawabs that ever lived. Without mentioning his revenues, of which he gave no account to the Court of Delhi, he possessed immense wealth both in gold and silver coin and in jewels and precious stones which had been left by the preceding three Nawabs. Nevertheless he thought only of increasing his wealth. If any extraordinary expense had to be met he ordered contributions, and levied them with extreme rigour. Having never known himself what it was to be in want of money he supposed that, in due proportion, money was as common with other people as with himself, and that the resources of the Europeans especially were inexhaustible. His violence towards them was partly due to this. In fact from his behaviour it appeared as if his object was to ruin everybody. He spared no one, not even his relations, from whom he took all the pensions and all the offices which they had held in the time of Aliverdi Khan. Was it possible for such a man to keep his throne? Those who did not know him intimately, when they saw him victorious over all his enemies and confirmed as Subahdar by a firman from the Great Mogal,* were forced to suppose there was in his character some great virtue which balanced his vices and counteracted their effects. However this young giddy-head had no talent for government except that of making himself feared, and he passed at the same time for the most cowardly of men. At first he had showed some regard for the officers of the army, because until he was recognised as Subahdar he had felt the necessity of doing so. He had even appeared generous, but this quality which was quite contrary to his natural character, soon disappeared to make place for violence and greed, which turned against him all those who had favoured his elevation in the hope that Siraj-ud-daula would behave wisely when once he had become Subahdar, (Hill's Bengal in 1756-57. Vol. III. pp. 162, 172, 173).

* No Persian historian mentions this.

Mir Jafar.—The greatest difficulty which had presented itself to the English and the Sehs in their common plan, was the choice of a person to fill the place of Siraj-ud-daula.....Possibly indeed the plot would have never been executed if the unlucky star of Siraj-ud-daula, or rather his violent character and want of consideration towards those who alone could support him, had not produced the person in whose favour he was to be sacrificed. I mean Mir Jafar Ali Khan, a near relation of Siraj-ud-daula by his wife, and well-known to the Europeans, especially since the affair of the Ostend Company in 1744.

This Mir Jafar Ali Khan had been for many years *Bakshi* or Generalissimo of the army. He had enjoyed the particular confidence of Alivardi Khan, who, on his deathbed, had recommended Siraj-ud-daula to him and made him swear on the Koran never to abandon him. I am certain he intended to keep his word.

Mir Jafar had always passed for a brave and scrupulously upright man. Without his support Siraj-ud-daula would never have been Nawab. He alone kept him on his throne. He ought therefore to have had the greatest respect for this general. But for this he must have changed his haughty disposition. Impatient of all restraint and of all those whose rank gave them the right to make representations to him, the grossest and most cutting insults cost him nothing. Mir Jafar, the favourite of Alivardi Khan, had much trouble in restraining himself to ill-treatment. He was only restrained by the respect due to the memory of his former master and by the remembrance of the oath he had taken. At last, however, he was urged beyond his patience. Siraj-ud-daula, by I know not what caprice (I believe Raja Mohan Lal had something to do with it) after having addressed to Mir Jafar Ali Khan the most insulting epithets in full Darbar deprived him of his office of *Bakshi*. Mir Jafar outraged by the manner in which he had been treated accepted the propositions which had already been made to him several times by the Sehs and entered into a treaty with Mr. Watts. Mir Jafar was loved by the people; he had with him almost all the great officers of the army, to whom also there were heavy arrears of pay due from Siraj-ud-daula. (Hill's *Bengal* in 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 210, 211.)

After his accession Siraj-ud-daula never acknowledged the King of Delhi and rebelled against him and acted tyrannically towards the nobles of the King who were in Bengal. They and other sirdars for the safety of their houses and lives and for the good of the country, combined with the English and dethroned Siraj-ud-daula and put Mir Jafar in his place. (P. 633, 635, 637, 640 of *Seir-ul-Mutagherin*. Further I will show that Mir Jafar was not the Commander-in-Chief or *Bakshi* of Siraj-ud-daula's army. Mir Jafar was commander-in-Chief in the lifetime of Alivardi Khan. He never went with Siraj-ud-daula to Plassey. Siraj-ud-daula took his army under the commandership of Mir Madan, and his Dewan, Mohan Lal. (*Seir-ul-Mutagherin*, p. 637, 638, Mir Kasim's letter, Yar Muhammad's letter, Orme, p. 160, Stewart, p. 498). Mir Jafar with his own army of 4,000 men which he had by virtue of his *mansab* went to Plassey after Siraj-ud-daula and remained two miles away from him (*Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p. 371 and Letters of Meer Qasim and Yar Mohammed and Map of Plassey). It should be remembered that whoever got a *mansab* from the Court of Delhi, by virtue of that *mansab* according to the order of the King, he had to keep an army of as many men as were mentioned in the *sanad*, and he used to get a certain *jagir* to keep up that army and position, and his duty was in times of necessity to help the king and serve his government. (*Ain-i-Akbari*, etc.) Mir Jafar and Dulabram were both *mansabdars* of

the King. Mir Jafar's *mansab* was 4,000 men and Dulubram's *mansab* was 5,000. Yar Khan's was 2,000 men who were under the control of Jagat Seth (Orme, pp. 148, 165, *Tarikh Yusuf Ali Khan* and *Tarikh Bangala*). The total of these three armies was 11,000. This army remained separate at the battle of Plassey under the control of Mir Jafar (see Map of Battle, Orme pp. 148, 165, *Riyaz*, p. 370). Siraj-ud-daula's own armies and their sirdars were nearly all displeased with him and in heart were with Mir Jafar. Mir Jafar went to Plassey with the intention of leaving the country for good if Siraj-ud-daula was successful (*Muzanfur Namah* p. 98, 198, etc.) Before the battle Mir Jafar had had an open rupture with Siraj-ud-daula, and so they did not trust each other. (Stewart, p. 323, *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin*, p. 635, *Muzanfur Namah*, p. 195, Orme, p. 167, etc.). The nobles of the King and nobles of the country opposed Siraj-ud-daula to gain the pleasure of the King and to save their own lives, property and honour, and the English never fought at Plassey to take the country into their own hands, and by that battle the country did not fall into their hands (Treaty between English and Mir Jafar dated 4th June 1757). The English fought for their own safety and to help Mir Jafar and to bring the country in order. After the battle all the nobles and the people of Bengal submitted to Mir Jafar as their subahdar, and when Siraj-ud-daula ran away from the battlefield to Murshidabad none joined him, and so he was obliged to leave Murshidabad (*Seir-ul-Mutaqherin*, etc.) The King of Delhi, Alamgir II, was angry with Siraj-ud-daula because he disregarded him and did not acknowledge his overlordship. Therefore he ordered Shaukat Jung to get rid of Siraj-ud-daula and take the Subahdari of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, but Shaukat Jung was killed in battle by Siraj-ud-daula. For this reason when the King heard that Siraj-ud-daula had been defeated by the English at the battle of Plassey, and that Mir Jafar had succeeded, he sent at once a firman of Subahdari (dated 12th Rabi-ul-sani in the fourth year of his reign, corresponding to December 1757), a sanad of *mansab* of 8,000 men and the title of Itisham-ul-Mulk, Hesam-ud-daula Khan Bahadur Mahabub Jung with a jewelled sword (now in the Victoria Memorial Hall) to Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan, and to Colonel Clive for his great services he granted a *mansab* of 6,000 men and the title of Zabdat-ul-Mulk Sabat Jung Bahadur by a sanad dated the 12th Rabi-ul-sani in the fourth year of his reign corresponding to December, 1757. The King also conferred title and dignity on Mr. Watts, the Resident at the Durbar of Murshidabad who had been the channel of communication between Mir Jafar and the English, and who had arranged the treaty between the former and the East India Company, dated the 4th June 1757 before Plassey was fought. In the Proceedings of the Governor and Members of Council at Fort William, dated the 24th January 1758, it is written as follows:—"Agreed we write to the Secret Committee at

Fort St. George.....that we have the pleasure to acquaint them the Nabob of these Provinces is confirm'd from Delhi and great honours bestowed by the Mogul on Colonel Clive and Mr. Watts" (Bengal Historical Records: Proceedings of the Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal 1758: Edited by W. K. Firminger, B.D., F.R.G.S., Archdeacon of Calcutta, p. 6.) Siraj-ud-daula never obtained from the King the usual firman conferring the subahdari as Shuja Khan, Serferaz Khan and Alivardi Khan did. But Shaukat Jang, his cousin, who, was Governor of Purnea, through Nawab Ziaud-daula, Jhalal-ud-daula and Imad-ul-Mulk, secured the firman of subahdari from the King which was to this purport:—that he was to expel Siraj-ud-daula and take the subahdari of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and send to the King one crore of rupees as *peshcash*. Shaukat Jang, however, was killed. (*Seir-ul-Mutaqherin*, p. 624). For these reasons the King Alamgir II and his ministers wished heartily to get rid of Siraj-ud-daula, and they were considering how they might do it. Therefore the King immediately accepted the subahdari of Mir Jafar and honoured all those gentlemen who were connected with this revolution.

There were two classes of noblemen in Bengal at that time: (1) those who were appointed by the King had their title and *mansab* from him and had some office in Bengal; (2) those who were ennobled by the Subahdar and had some office. Mir Jafar, Dulabram, Jagat Seth, Eraj Khan, etc., were in the first class (*Tarikh-i-Yusuf Ali Khan* and other histories of Bengal). All the Omras or noblemen of the first and second class of the time of Alivardi Khan were hostile to Siraj-ud-daula on account of his ill treatment of them. Mohan Lal, brother of Lutfunissa Begam, the favourite of Siraj-ud-daula, and Mir Madan, were made nobles by Siraj-ud-daula and the first was appointed *Dewan-i-Kul*, and the second was made commander-in-chief of his army. Except these two all the Amirs and Sirdars, including Siraj-ud-daula's own relations and kinsmen, were in favour of Mir Jafar. (*Seir-ul-Mutaqherin*, pp. 594, 621, 623).

Siraj-ud-daula thought that Ghassiti Begam who was the eldest daughter of Alivardi Khan while his mother, Amina Begam, was the second daughter, would, after the death of Alivardi Khan, put forward her claim, although Alivardi Khan had nominated him as his successor. For this reason Siraj-ud-daula went, in broad daylight, to the house of Ghassiti Begam's *madar-ul-maham* or manager, Hossain Kuli Khan and killed him and his brother, Hyder Ali Khan there (*Seir-ul-Mutaqherin* p. 595). The nephew of Hossain Kuli Khan, named Hossainnaddin Khan, who was at Dacca, was killed in the same manner as his uncle by the order of Siraj-ud-daula. When Siraj-ud-daula sat on the *masnad* he carried off his aunt from her house at Moti Jheel and looted all her property. He imprisoned

her dewan, Rajah Rajballub, and ordered the house he had at Dacca to be looted, and his son Kishendas to be brought from Dacca to Murshidabad and sent men for this purpose. Somehow the news reached Kishendas before the arrival of Siraj-ud-daula's men at Dacca. He took all his zenana and ran away from Dacca to Calcutta with the intention of going to Jagannath. Kishendas reached Calcutta and took shelter with the English. Siraj-ud-daula wished the English to hand over Kishendas to him, but the English did not do so. For this reason, Siraj-ud-daula marched against Calcutta and took it. He burnt their factory, killed English men and women and took away all the rights and privileges that had been granted by Shahjehan, Aurungzeb and Farrukhsiyar, Kings of Delhi and by previous Nazims of Bengal to the English Company and turned out the English altogether from Calcutta (*Scir-ul-Mutaqherin*, Orme, Stewart, *Riyaz* etc.) Siraj-ud-daula degraded and insulted men and women of his own family by his tyranny. He took by force from Rabia Begam, his aunt, her daughter who was the widow of Ekram-ud-daula, his brother, and forcibly made her one of his wives. He dismissed the commander-in-chief, Mir Jafar, brother-in-law of Alivardi Khan (sister's husband) after grossly insulting him and appointed Mir Madan in his place (*Scir-ul-Mutaqherin*, p. 621). He degraded Maharaja Dulubram, Dewan of Alivardi Khan, and appointed Mohan Lal in his place. He ordered that Mir Jafar, Dulubram and Jagat Seth should give *nazar* to Mohan Lal. Dulubram and Jagat Seth perforce did so, but Mir Jafar refused altogether. Jagat Seth was a very rich and respected nobleman for whom Alivardi Khan had great regard and whom he used to call brother. One day when Siraj-ud-daula heard that Shankat Jang had received a firman of subahdari from the King he sent for Jagat Seth, abused him at the Durbar and asked him why he did not send *pesheash* to Delhi and get the firman of subahdari for him. Jagat Seth replied that he had not been ordered to do so. Siraj-ud-daula got angry, slapped his face and ordered him to send three crores of rupees to Delhi for the firman. Jagat Seth replied that he could not get such a large sum of money at a moment's notice. Siraj-ud-daula said that if the money was not forthcoming in eight days, he should be circumcised, and then imprisoned him. At this time Mir Jafar was coming from Purnea and heard the news on his way to Murshidabad. As soon as he arrived at Murshidabad he went straight to Siraj-ud-daula with other principal officers and asked him to release Jagat Seth immediately. When Siraj-ud-daula hesitated, Mir Jafar said to him, "Until you get the firman of subahdari of Behar and Orissa from the King we will not take our swords from our scabbards to fight for you." Siraj-ud-daula in his heart did not like these words from Mir Jafar, but nevertheless reluctantly released Jagat Seth. Siraj-ud-daula never obtained the firman, and Mir

Jafar never fought for him again. Siraj-ud-daula often used to abuse the sirdars of his army in Durbar and used to say to them whatever it pleased him to say. (Lang's *Selections*, p. 77, *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin* p. 635).

Before the battle of Plassey Mir Jafar never made any arrangement to give the country to the English, and the English had not the slightest intention of taking the country into their hands (see Treaty, dated the 4th June, 1757). He simply acknowledged by the above treaty the rights and privileges which had been given to the English by the Emperor of Delhi and the Nawab Nazims of Bengal, and Siraj-ud-daula himself. In addition he promised to pay certain sums of money for the cost of the war and as presents. It is quite clear that Mir Jafar never tried to give the country into the hands of the English, and that the English had no intention of taking it.

Of course there was a conspiracy between Mir Jafar and the English to depose Siraj-ud-daula from the subahdari. In this conspiracy all the nobles and officers of Bengal were included: Mir Jafar, Dulubram and Jagat Seth who were the chief nobles of Bengal sent their agents separately to Calcutta. Other Hindu and Muhammadan nobles wrote *mahazir-nama* (memoranda) with their oaths promising to help and asking the English to help, signed jointly and sent them to Calcutta. (*Seir-ul-Mutaqherin*, p. 637, Orme, pp. 149, 160, 165.) By such a conspiracy, of course, Mir Jafar was put on the *maznad* after the defeat of Siraj-ud-daula. But what was done by the whole of the nobles of the country with the approval of the King ought not to be called a conspiracy. It was rather an act of State done for the good of the country.

Mir Jafar was not a servant of Siraj-ud-daula. He was a servant of the Emperor Alamgir II. In Aitchison's *Treaties* can be seen his seal on the treaty of February 1757 between Siraj-ud-daulah and the East India Company:—"Mir Muhammad Jafar Ali Khan fidwi Alamgir-Sani" or "Mir Muhammad Jafar Ali Khan servant of Alamgir II."

If Mir Jafar and Clive used any deceit at the time of the revolution such things were always done on such occasions. Whenever any revolution took place in the time of the Hindu Raj or Muhammadan Government, such plotting and contrivances were carried on to a far greater extent. We know, for instance, what Rajah Kans did and how Alivardi Khan plotted against Serferaz Khan. These things have always occurred, and politicians have justified them when they have been done in the service of their country. But such things were not carried on against Siraj-ud-daula to the extent that had been common in former times.

The East India Company had a charter from the King of England and a *sanad* from the Emperor of Delhi in 1640, and by virtue of these they had been carrying on trade in Bengal. Why did they join the people of Bengal in this revolution? Because just as the people of Bengal wished to please

the King and settle the government of the country on a good basis for their own benefit, so the Company also desired that the country might have a good government. The people of the country feared for the safety of their lives, property and honour, and the English had the same fear and had already suffered a great deal from the tyranny of Siraj-ud-daula. The private treaty between Mir Jafar and the East India Company dated the 4th June, 1757 was signed and sealed by Admiral Watson on behalf of the King of England, and Clive's services were approved by the King of England and Parliament. For these services he was honoured by the King of England and Parliament and made a Major-General and a Companion of the Bath and a noble of Ireland with the title of Lord Clive of Plassey. At the time of Siraj-ud-daula England was at the height of its glory. Great men and a powerful Parliament controlled the administration of the country. The English people then, as now, had great care of its honour and dignity. Great men were members of Parliament. It was not possible for the East India Company to do any wrong, injustice or tyranny or to take part in the tyranny and dishonest acts of others and so degrade the English nation in the eyes of the world. If they did they had to answer to Parliament. Warren Hastings, the first Governor of Bengal, was impeached and had to answer all the charges brought against him, and to do this he had to spend his whole fortune. (*Life of Warren Hastings*).

The English did not get the country by the battle of Plassey. But from the time of the recovery of Calcutta from Siraj-ud-daula, the fight between the English and Siraj-ud-daula that took place soon after, and the peace the latter was forced to make and the treaty he had to sign on the 7th February 1757, every one feared the English and dreaded their cannon, guns and swords. (*Seir-ul-Mutakhirin*). After the battle of Plassey their power and dignity were established throughout the country, but up to the time of Mir Jafar they remained merchants as they had been before. After the death of Mir Jafar, the King of Delhi of his own accord and his prime minister, Sujah-ud-daula, Nawab of Oude, Nujm-ud-daula, the successor of Mir Jafar and other nobles of Delhi, Bengal and Oude, jointly and combinedly asked the English people to join them in the management of the country. For that reason the King gave a *sanad* and *firman* for the *Dewani* (management of the revenue) in perpetuity and put the reins of the State in the hands of the Company. The Emperor, Wazir and Nazim owing to the discord among the grandees, the invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the trouble with the Mahrattas, and above all, their own want of capacity, could not manage the country themselves; and, therefore, put the management into the hands of the English.

Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.

THE following paper I discovered among a bundle of papers which came into my possession when I purchased the MS. materials got together for Vol. IV. of Dr. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*. The paper contains some information of value and is well worthy of preservation and future comment.

MEMORANDUM.

Sutanuti, Govindpore and Calcutta were three ancient villages which constitute the present City of Calcutta.

In 1698 Mr. Walsh one of the servants of the Company trading to the East Indies was sent to the Camp of Prince Azim-ul-shan grandson of Aurangzeb (then appointed Governor of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa) to procure from His Highness a grant of the villages of Sutanuti, Govindpore and Calcutta. The Letters Patent of the Prince gave permission to the Company to purchase from the Zamindars, the said villages with the reservation to himself of an annual revenue of Rs. 1195-0-0 which the ground used to pay to the Nabob of Bengal. These villages, which in virtue of the Prince's Letters Patent or *Nishan* had been purchased from the Zamindars thereof, extended about three miles on the eastern side of the river and about one mile inland.

In 1717 A. D. the English, through the influence of Dr. Hamilton, who had given the well-known medical aid to the Emperor Farrukhsere, obtained from his Majesty a Farman or Imperial mandate confirming all former Lands to the Company in which among other things it is stated that the rentings of Sutanuti, Govindpore and Calcutta in the Pargana of Amnabad, etc., in Bengal were formerly granted them and bought by consent of the Zamindars from them and are now in the Company's possession for which they yearly pay them sum of Rupees 1195. 6 ann.

In 1758 the East India Company received from the Subah or Governor of Bengal the free tenure of the lands included in Pargana Calcutta in the enumeration of these lands is mentioned Sutanuti yielding a rent of Rs. 1506-0-15-3.

On the 12th August 1765 Shah Alam granted the Dewani to the Company and confirmed their Zamindari rights.

From 1758 to 1772 the Company continued to derive revenue from the said villages by letting them out to Farmers.—

The East India Company as original Talukdars of the said villages enjoyed the following rights and privileges.—

The land therein of which they had *Khas* possession they dealt with them as absolute owners and if they allowed tenants to occupy them these tenants were tenants at will.—

The bulk of the holdings, however, were in the possession or permanent occupation of tenants from whom they (the Company) could buy only rents fixed in perpetuity. These may be called property Talukdari lands. The *Khamr* or common or waste lands were also the absolute property of the Company and were sold, granted or let to applicants for buildings purposes. The *Rechnat* lands were also of this description. There were also *Lakhra* or rent-free lands. The Company

by granting *Mouras* Pattas which brought to them certain emoluments converted *Khar* and *Khamar* lands into Talukdars' lands, and in the case of these last class of lands fresh Pattas were issued whenever there was change of proprietorship.

In order to prevent encroachments on waste lands and persons holding more lands than they paid rents for, a rule was made that all lands should be reassessed and fresh Pattas taken out every ten years. In cases of waste lands the occupant was required to pay the value of the excess (*Khamar beshi*) before his possession was recognised and a Patta granted for it.

In 1774-75 or 1181-1182 B.S. Sutanuti was measured for the last time on behalf of the Government and *Chittas* and *Jamchandies* were prepared. According to the *Jamabandi* the Company continued to levy the rents of Sutanuti up to the time they remained Talukdars thereof. Attached to the Taluk of Sutanuti were two minor villages of Bagbazar and Hogulcures which came to the possession of the Government in the same way as Sutanuti.—

By the said measurement and assessment of 1774-75 the following results were obtained:—

AREA.

	Khara land	Lakhara	Khamar	Total	Assessment of Khara land includ- ing Mulharrifa Kutwali
	B. C. CH	B. C. CH	B. C. CH	B. C. CH	Sc. Rs. A. G.
Sutanuti	2169 10 8	157 18 6	12 12 0	2339 0 14	7177 11 11
Bagbazar	54 10 4	37 3 8	0 7 0	92 0 12	198 8 19
Hogulcures	92 14 0	185 5 8	8 5 0	297 4 8	300 10 17
Total	2323 14 12	354 7 6	21 4 0	2700 0 2	7669 15 7

ASSESSMENT.

	Sutanuti	Bagbazar	Hogulcures	Total
	Sc. Rs. Ans. G.	Sc. Rs. Ans. G.	Sc. Rs. Ans. G.	Sc. Rs. Ans. G.
Kharana	6366 9 12	151 1 8	299 1 12	6828 12 12
Mulharrifa	576 3 12	19 12 6	0 12 0	596 11 18
Kutwali	234 14 17	8 11 5	0 13 5	244 6 17
Total	7177 11 11	191 8 19	300 10 17	7669 15 7

In this year the Board of Revenue in their letter No. 10 dated 21st July directed the Calcutta Collector to consolidate the *Maul* with the *Mulharrifa* into one *Junma* as regards the Company's *Khas* Taluk and to desire the Maharaja [*Nabakissen* of *Sovabazar*] to do so, as regards his Taluk and to assess *Mulharrifa* on lands which had borne that tax.

The Maharaja continued to enjoy the Talukdars' right up to the time of his death which happened on the 22nd November 1793. Besides the old rents of the Taluk the Maharaja received Salaries by the grant of 667 Pattas to diverse tenants.

Soon after his death disputes between Raja Gopemohan, the adopted son, and Raja Rajkrishna, the son of the body of the Maharaja, commenced several proceedings in the Supreme Court: the disputes ended in an equal partition of his Estate by order of the Supreme Court.

In the Bengali year 1214 or 1807 A.D. a final settlement and an equal partition of the said Taluk, Sutanuti, etc. took place between the said Raja Gopemohan and Raja Rajkrishna and two lists of allotments in shares of the Taluk were prepared and executed dividing the same into two Lots marked respectively No. 1 and No. 2. Raja Rajkrishna made choice of Lot No. 1 and Raja Gopemohan of Lot No. 2.

These lists give the names of the old tenants or *Mokaddars*, the areas of their holdings, and the *Zamans* they bear.

Following is a statement according to the Butwara.

SUTANUTI, BAGBAZAR AND HOGULCOCKREA.

	AREA OF HOLDINGS.			JUMMA.		
	Ryoty Holding.	Net Jumma Land.	Total.	Jumma of Ryoty Holdings.	Net Jumma.	Total.
	B. C. CH.	B. C. CH.	B. C. CH.	Sc. Rs. A. U.	Sc. Rs. A. U.	Sc. Rs. A. U.
Raja Gopemohan	1045 2 5	113 19 11	1159 2 1	3,580 11 13	341 15 5	3,922 10 18
Rajkrishna	1045 2 14	113 19 11	1159 1 124	3,581 2 104	341 15 5	3,923 1 15
Total	2090 4 7	227 19 0	2318 3 13	7,161 14 31	683 14 10	7,845 12 104

Although the said *Deeds* gave the Talukdars full power to enforce the payment of their dues by the tenants, yet great difficulty has been experienced by them, especially of late years, in realizing the same from refractory tenants, on account of the various salutary laws which have been passed by Government from time to time for helping the *mutual Zamindars* not applying to a Taluk within the jurisdiction of Calcutta. Various efforts had been made by both branches of Maharaja Nawab's family to move the Government to rectify the anomalous state of things, whereby the Talukdars were obliged to pay the Government Revenue punctually, but were left without proper provision for the levy of rents from their tenants, and in 1839 at the instance of the then Lieut-Governor of Bengal and on the motion of Mr. Scoble the Legislative Council ordered the draft Bill prepared by the lawyers of the Talukdars to be printed. The departure of Mr. Scoble to England which soon followed and the retirement for good of Raja Radhakanta stopped all progress of the Bill.

Thus Raja Rajkrishna having obtained a moiety of the Taluk exercised during his life time the rights of a Talukdar and enjoyed its income. He issued 78 *Pattas*. After his death his Estate came into the hands of the Receiver, and from that time there has been a considerable diminution from the income from the Taluk, it being now scarcely sufficient to pay the Government Revenue which after remission on account of lands taken up for public purposes is now Rs. ———. The heirs and representatives of Raja Rajkrishna up to a certain time issued 141 *Pattas*.

It appears that in 1264 B.S. there was realized from Raja Rajkrishna's moiety Rs. 372, in 1265 Rs. 350 and in 1266 Rs. 200 when the Dow was Cos. Rs. 3,998. The collections from Raja Gopimohan's moiety though larger exhibited considerable falling off year by year.

Maharaja Nawabkrishna Bahadur after having been appointed Agent to the Council in Political transactions with the Country Powers, was for the many valuable and essential services he had rendered to Government, rewarded among other things with the grant of a certain Zamindary called Nawpara, which he took possession of, under the authority of Muhammad Riza Khan sanctioned

by the *Khalia*, but in 1777 its former proprietor Abdul Wahid resumed possession of it under a Decree of Court.

The Government therefore in lieu of the said Zamindari of Nawpara granted to the Maharaja by a Persian Sanud* dated 16th January 1778 corresponding with the 6th of Magh 1184, the Talukdari of the several villages of Sutanuti, Bagbazar and Hogulcoora with the reservation of an annual revenue of Rs. 1237-13-10.

On the 1st June 1778 the Maharaja applied to Warren Hastings for an English Lease of the Taluk, and Warren Hastings, the then Governor General of India, and R. Barwell, Philip Francis, and Edward Wheler, members of Council of the Presidency at Fort William in Bengal, by a certain Deed of Indenture dated the 28th April 1778 demised, gave and granted the Talukdari of Sutanuti, Bagbazar and Hogulcoora to the Maharaja, his heirs, Executors Administration and assigned for ever subject to the yearly payment of the said sum of Rs. 1237-13-10 to the Bengal Government. By this grant the Governor made over to the Maharaja all the Talukdari rights and privileges relating to the said villages which appertained to the East India Company as such Talukdar thereof. The grant mentions that it conveyed to him all the produce, issues and profits of the said Talukdari, all rents, tolls, taxes, commons, Khannar lands, waste lands, lands forfeited or to be forfeited, Patta Salanies, perquisites, benefits and advantages whatsoever arising from the said Talukdari; the Government also thereby authorized him to enforce the payment of the rents thereof by all such ways and means as would or could in the like case have been lawfully exercised by or on the part of the said East India Company.

Along with the grant the Maharaja received copies of the said measurement and assessment papers of 1774-75 the originals of which are still forthcoming in the Calcutta Collectorate.

The Maharaja entered into possession of his right according to the said Persian Sanud.

Subsequently some of the influential tenants of Sutanuti piqued at the good fortune of the Maharaja, prayed Government to be allowed to pay their quota of rents to some servants of the Government and not to the Maharaja, but the Government informed them that it is the will of Government that the dues of the Company which have been transferred to the Maharaja, shall be paid into his hands as the immediate proprietor, instead of being paid as heretofore into the hands of an Agent of the Company, and to this their obedience was required. A second petition of the said tenants met the same fate.

From 1778 to 1790 the Collector of Calcutta assisted the Maharaja in collecting the Jamma of the Taluk, the farmer reserving the Chowkidari tax and remitting the *Maal Mulherreifa* and *Kutwali* to the Maharaja.

In 1790 or 1797 B. S. when Sutanuti had become the property of the Maharaja a second survey of the Taluk was made through the officers of Government at the request and expense of the Maharaja, but there was no new Jamabandi. Originals of the Chittas of this survey are also forthcoming in the Calcutta Collectorate.

Following is a tabular statement of the result of the survey of 1790.—

AREA.

	Khetra],	Lahhara],	Khannar.	Total.
	B. c. ch.	B. c. ch.	B. c. ch.	B. c. ch.
Sutanuti ...	2238 3 8	116 11 4	3 14 10	2358 9 6
Bagbazar ...	95 18 0	5 8 0	0 7 0	102 13 0
Hogulcoora...	109 13 0	187 7 12	8 5 0	305 5 12
Total ...	2444 14 8	309 7 0	12 6 10	2766 8 2

* Vide translation of the Sanad.

The following record will be of interest to our readers in Assam —

TO MR. JOHN SNOW,

REVENUE DEPT., FORT WILLIAM.

Acting President and Members of the Committee of Revenue.

The 6th April 1783.

GENTLEMEN,

This is to advise you that we have, in consequence of Orders from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, annulled the Grant made to Mr. David Killican of the exclusive privilege of trading to Assam, but we have allowed him till the end of December next to dispose of a certain quantity of Salt which he has on hand, and to settle his concerns. You will therefore issue the necessary orders to the Collector of Rangpoore to give public notice of this to his District, and to continue to assist Mr. Killican with his influence and authority during the above period.

We are, etc.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

EDWARD WHELEN.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

JOHN STABLES.

A true copy

W. HAYESMAN,

Secretary.

Some years ago when, thanks to my friend, Mr. Shelley Bonnerjee, I had the great privilege of looking through, far too cursorily, the note books of Mr. Justice Hyde, preserved at the Bar Library of the Calcutta High Court, I found an entry concerning Thomas Frisby Hare, who was indicted, on June 16, 1780, on the charge of manslaughter, he having killed William Hyde Champion in a duel, fought apparently on the 28th January, 1780. Since my reprint in 1908 of *The Original Letters from India of Mrs. Eliza Fay*, so much fresh light has been thrown on the persons so vividly described by Mrs. Fay that it has become a matter of constant regret with me that there can be no prospect of the publication of a new edition of that most valuable and exciting work. The reader who has studied Mrs. Fay's book and who will consult the *Consolidated Index of Bengal Past and Present*, will find the following materials for the preparation of a new edition of Mrs. Fay of interest. I owe them to the courtesy of the Government of Madras.

TO SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD,

President and Governor of Port St. George.

HON'BLE SIR,

On my arrival at Mocha, the 8th of June, I found riding there a Snow of 16 Guns under Portuguese Colours, who weighed and stood out of this Road on my coming to an Anchor, and on my going on there I received the following Intelligence from the Governor of Mocha, Mr. John Shaw, and the English Broker, that the above Snow had on Board several French Gentlemen from Demau, one of whom declared himself to the Governor of Mocha to be an Ambassador sent by the Court of France to Dilla and Poonah, and that he actually was in behalf of the Mahattas in

(Extract from Military Consultation
Vol. No. LXVII
pp. 1094-96.)

the engagement that happened lately between the English and them: Being acquainted with this and several other things relative to him, particularly of his having made a great number of Irons at this place as if to secure Salma, I apprehended he had some bad intentions towards our ships, or to seize any packets that might be coming to India by the way of Suez. Therefore with the opinion of Mr. Shaw, and my passengers Messrs. Noulan and Wood, I judged it right and necessary to endeavour to take from out the said Vessel the French Gentlemen and their Papers, and accordingly cut and stood out for them and anchor'd along side of her, and sent my boat on Board to demand the Frenchmen whom they refused to deliver, and after three or four hours altercation was obliged to commence Hostilities in order if possible to effect the desire, but after exchanging three or four Broad-sides she cut her Cable and got into Mocha before the same could be done. The next morning the Frenchmen went on shore, hoisted French Colours at their Factory, and claimed the protection of the Governor at Mocha. On my going to the Governor to endeavour if possible to secure the above Frenchmen, or persuade the Governor to send them out of his Port, he told me that as they had permission from his King to hoist their Colours at Mocha, he was obliged to protect them, but at the same time assured me that he would be answerable the [Sic] should do no hurt to any of our ships, after my departure, and gave me his word, that he would not let him sail from Mocha till twenty days after all our ships had left that Port for India, and before I sailed he gave me a Letter from Governor Hornby, wherein he has bound himself for the performance of the above.

I have the Honor to be with the utmost Respect,

MADRAS

July 10th 1779.

Hon'ble Sir,

Your Most obedient and Humble Servant,

WILLIAM ROBINSON.

(Extract from Military Consultation Vol. No. LXIX, pp 47-53.)

The President delivers in the following Minute.

I am to inform the Committee that I have received a Letter from Mr. J. Hare dated at Calcutt 29th of November in behalf of himself and others with him, who have been made Prisoners by the Officer of Hyder Ally Cann. The Ship they came in from Suez has been detained, and all their Papers and Effects plundered. They have Addressed the Officer Commanding in these districts for the Nabob Hyder Ally (a copy of which Address I now lay before the Committee) to which they received no Answer. That some difference had arisen between the Nabob and our powers and that in order to adjust them some Gentlemen from Madras were arrived at his Highness's Court, and to these Gentlemen he promised to forward that state of their case.

As Mr. Hare and those with him are suffering much from the ill treatment they have, and are likely to experience, I think it absolutely necessary that a person should be immediately sent to the Nabob Hyder Ally to demand the release of these Gentlemen and Family's and to complain of the outrage committed on their persons, and property, at the same time to Assure Hyder Ally, if he will explain to us any just cause of complaint on his side against the subjects of the British Nation, we will endeavour to remove it. And as it appears from the Letters from Colonel Brathwaite that the Chief and Council of Tellicherry have improperly given protection to some of the Officers or Chiefs of the Nairs dependent on the Government of Hyder Ally, that we do assure him such interference has been without the knowledge or approbation of this Government, as the Officer Commanding the troops sent from hence had the strictest injunctions, not to assist or give protection to any of the disaffected Chiefs of that District; and that if the Chief and Council of Tellicherry have acted so contrary to the intentions of the Company's Government, that we shall endeavour to have a proper enquiry made and try to remove all cause of jealousy and uneasiness between him and the Company, and that we expect the same friendly conduct in his part.

To his Excellency Sardar Khán General in the service of his Illustrious Highness the Nabob Hyder Ally Khán Commandr. and Governor General of the Kingdom of Calicut.

The Memorial of John Hare on behalf of himself and 8 other subjects of the King of Great Britain.

Your Memorialist begs leave in the first place to remind your Excellency that the Humility and Policy of enlightened ages, have suggested Certain Rules of universal Conduct under the denomination of the Laws of Nations.

That the progress of civilisation has tempered and refined these Laws, so that a minute attention to their forms in some measure the perfection of National Character.

Your Memorialist is a subject of the King of Great Britain and having occasion to depart from England by the shortest route to the British Settlements in the East Indies, he arrived at Suet on the 30th day of August last, and found at that Port the *Nathalia* a Danish ship in readiness to depart for Calicut; he did not hesitate to embark on board that ship and with 8 other English subjects (and) arrived here on the 3th day November instant.

Your Memorialist and his Countrymen being apprized of that Wisdom, Honour and Magnanimity which celebrate the Name of his Illustrious Highness the Nabob Hyder Ally Khan, throughout Europe and the whole World, and being satisfied likewise that your Excellency's Honour is derived from the same Virtues they would admit no apprehension in this or any other quarter of his Highness's Dominions of their personal safety or freedom. But they have experienced the sad reverse of their expectations.

In a season of public peace and alliance between the powers of the Nabob and Great Britain, nine English Subjects have been seized by an armed force and their persons confined without the necessities of Life, separated from their property, the whole of it has been violently plundered, and such parts of it as remained are damaged and rendered useless by the salt water.

Their imprisonment besides being in the first instance unjust and contrary to the Laws of nations is aggravated, by circumstances of peculiar and wanton cruelty. The indecent noise and insolence of the numerous force which constitute their Guard, molest equally their peace by day and their rest by Night, their situation is moreover destitute of every domestic convenience and consolation and the whole of their Money has been taken from their chests and publicly confiscated. Your Excellency allows them no other supply than 2 Rupees per day to support 9 persons and their servants.

The Value only of your Memorialists property which has been forcibly seized, plundered, damaged, and detained, amounts to 6000 Rupees.

Your Memorialist proceeding from Europe to India by a shorter Route than the ordinary one was entrusted with many private Letters, and Packets, which his friends had requested him to preserve with care and forward with expedition, the nature and practice moreover of his profession of a Counsellor at Law (in which Capacity he was Authorized to proceed to India) require a great number of Manuscript Papers to the compilation of which he has dedicated some years of his life. All these Letters, Packets and Papers have been forcibly taken away and detained, and altho' their contents are found to be of no Public or Political Import but merely the intercourse of private friendship and the Materials of a private profession; Your Memorialist is denied a restoration of them, and bears with unexpressible concern that he is to be detained in prison while they are sent to His Highness the Nabob.

Your Memorialist therefore in the names of his unfortunate friends, and himself prays your Excellency's attention to this state of their case, and that your Excellency will manifest that humanity and benevolence which are the attributes of your character by ordering their immediate release, the restoration of their property and with all granting a Passport for the pursuit of their expedition. But should that apparent justice be denied them, Your Memorialist for himself prays that he may not be further separated from those Letters, Packets and Papers which are the peculiar Object of his Care, but immediately sent with them, his servant and a proper Guard to the Court of his Illustrious Highness the Nabob.

CALICUT, Novr. 18th 1779.

J. HARE.

Resolved that Mr. George Gray be appointed to proceed to Hyder Ally to demand the Release of the English subjects confined by his Officer at Tellicherry and that instructions be prepared for him in the terms of the President's Minute.

JOHN WHITEHILL.
CHARLES SMITH.
HECTOR MUNRO.

FROM MR. GEORGE GRAY.

TO THE HON'BLE SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD, BART.

Governor and the other Members of the Select Committee of Fort St. George.

(Extract from Military Miscellany
Vol. LXIX, pp. 488
39.)

Gentlemen,

Pursuant to your orders of the 14th January, I went to Seringapatam, where I arrived on the 17th. February.

The Nabob Hyder Ally Chan had of his own accord liberated the Gentlemen whose enlargement I was directed to solicit: so that it only remained for me to return him thanks for the friendly manner in which he had dismissed them and provided for their journey thro' his Country. When I had done this, I took occasion at the same time to express to the Nabob the sentiments of regard and friendship which the Government of Fort St. George and the English Nation in general, entertain towards His Highness, but I am sorry to say my professions on that subject did not meet with the reception which I hoped, for they were answered with reproaches of repeated breaches of faith, and the English Nation was taxed with a positive breach of treaty. Notwithstanding this unpleasant manifestation of the Nabob's sentiments I continued at Seringapatam in hopes of finding some favorable opportunity of an explanation, but I was completely disappointed; for he never permitted me to visit him again till the 19th March, when he sent for me purposely to give me an audience of Leave and delivered me the accompanying Letter for the Governor.

I have to observe that my reception at the Court of Seringapatam was neither friendly nor Respectful, a few instances of politeness were overbalanced by many more of incivility and slight, and I will venture to say that the latter had the appearance of being evidently marked.

FORT ST. GEORGE,
31st March 1780.

I have the honor to be with Respect,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble Servant
GEORGE GRAY.

(Translation).

No. 1.

POONAH, 3d August 1779.

Duplicate.

Sir,

(Extract from Military Miscellany
Book Volume No
II, pp. 498-502.)

As soon as I arrived at Poonah I acquainted Mr. Warrat with your views, and his and Nanaferndi's answer is, that no measures can be taken with this Court for these six weeks or two Months. Government has sent a *waquil* to Surat to discover the intentions of the English with respect to the fate of Ragonha. We are assured here that in case the English consent to restore him the [This blank is in the original] Marathas will make peace then we shall be able to do nothing, but if they have taken no measures and Government takes the field, I believe that they will be very eager to have you. The Appearance of things at that time will determine the part you are to act. This Court is like all the Courts of India, the English terrify the Prince

to such a degree that they are afraid to have an interview with any French man. Without a disembarking we shall have great difficulty to avoid the misadventures that threaten us, from which nothing can extricate us, but more chance.

You informed me before my departure that a Camel driver would meet me on the road or be here some days before me, but I have not yet seen him. I wish very much, that Nizam Ali would augment your entertainment, because, as affairs are situated, it would be one of the most happy circumstances that could happen to you. [This blank is in the original].

St. Dia is feared by Government: he is the most powerful Chief and is suspected of holding secret intelligence with English. He was lately bought all Mr. Warner's cannon. This Maratta Chief lives three days journey from hence. If he remains faithful to the Court of Pannah, nothing is to be despaired of, but if he revolts from Government, I cannot foresee the consequence of it, time will show us all.

As to the letter for 1000 Rupees that you was so kind as to procure for me, I shall make an use of it. Mr. Warner has told me that he will procure for the money I shall want. I know your disagreeable situation: it has served me as a rule to act by in the like case even in the instance of your wanting the repayment of 5000 Rupees that you had advanced me. Acquaint me with it, Sir, and I will take measures to send them to you before my departure.

I again repeat what I have had the honor of telling you several times. If you think I can be of any service to you with Government I will do it with all my heart. I have the honor to be with a very sincere attachment.

Sir

Your very humble and very Obedient Servant

(Signed) MONTIGNOT.

P.S.—Permit me, Sir, to send my warmest Compliments to the General Officers, and the other Officers with you.

I was 23 days on my journey to Pannah. I thought you would not be offended at my keeping some Sepoys until this time as I was persuaded it was the surest method of informing you if affairs were in a good situation. I have in consequence kept them four days, but as I have nothing interesting to acquaint you with, I shall send them back tomorrow morning the 4th August. I have been contented enough with them and believe I have treated them to their satisfaction. The 12th of August I have nothing to add to the Duplicate I have the honor of sending you. We have not yet heard from the Waquil sent to Surat, but this is what I would advise you to do. If the situation of affairs here promise a war between the Marattas and the English, send your Diwan's brother here immediately. I will present him to the Chief together with Mr. Warner, and I hope then that they will listen to you, but remember that you want a good Interpreter. I can want one. You may depend upon the zeal of Mr. Warner, and believe that I enter heartily into the war as I do in every thing that interests you, but I repeat to you he had not a good Interpreter: and I regret the loss of mine very much: he would be very useful to me at present.

I have seen the Waquil of St. Dia twice who advised me to send my letter by the writer who carried the letter to the prince of the Heights of whom I have had the honour of speaking to you. I wrote to him the [sic] Sound the inclinations of his heart: my man set out yesterday in company with his Waquil: I will inform you of the result. These are in two words my thoughts upon all this. If Sindia remains faithful to Government and will fight well for the interest of the young Prince, the English cannot flatter themselves to place Rajpoots on the throne, but, if he remains neutral, I am with grief the fate of the reigning Prince.

If the Squadron arrives our success will be complete, and our situation will be the more brilliant; as we shall be received with open arms in that part of India which is most suitable to our interests.

But conceive, Sir, that Nansahars should suffer all Mr. Warner's cannon to be taken away, that he could have got for himself, Sindia whom he suspects is the very man who has carried

off 7000 fire locks that he has permitted to be sold to him. Where then is the Generosity [sic] of foresight, I do not understand these Politicks; pusillanimity [sic] avarice and ignorance constitute the fabric of these animals.

I wish affairs may prove favorable to us, if not, may the Devil take 'em.

I forget to tell you that Mr. Warren has consented with pleasure to the measures I proposed to him and of which I had the honour of informing you when I was in your Camp. I have wrote about the fuses.

FROM HYDER ALLY CAWN TO THE GOVERNOR.

No. 29.

(Extract from Military Country Correspondence Vol. XXIX, pp. 91-92.)

I have received your letter by Mr. Gray, and understand the contents, as well as the particulars you had entrusted that Gentleman with. How did you keep to the engagements you made at the Time that Chunda Cawn and the French laid siege [sic] to Trichonopoly? The Governor and Council afterwards entered into a treaty of peace with me which amounted to this. They were to regard my friends as their friends, and my enemies as theirs, and were to give me their assistance when I required it.

I took it for granted that no deviation would happen in the Company's Treaty. The Original is with you to which I refer. When a war subsisted between me and the Maharattas, altho' I had no occasion for your assistance, yet in order to try whether you would keep to your engagement or not, I wrote you repeatedly to assist me with a small force, agreeable to the Treaty, but no attention was paid to my request; you wrote me some time ago that you were to assist. Razalet Jung and you accordingly sent your Troops to him who met and had an Engagement with mine.

Besides this your Territories lay contiguous [sic] to mine, from Dindgull to Cudappa and continual disturbances are raised by you in my country—for instance the Chief of Tellichery gives protection to the Nairs dependent upon me, keeps their families on his Factory, assists them with lead, powder and fire arms, and commits disorders in my Country. He has and is now at this time laying waste districts, which yield me an annual Revenue of Twenty Lacks of Rupees. When you are thus acting in this unruly manner, what Treaty subsists between you and me? or which of us violated it? You and the Gentlemen of your Council may look to it. What more?

TO MAUNDORROW PUNDIT PIEDMAUN.

Dated 20th July 1780.

No. 58.

(Extract from Military Country Correspondence Vol. XXIX, pp. 131-32.)

The occasion of my writing to you at this time, is to represent the unhappy and distressed situation of two English Gentlemen, who were made prisoners by some of your People at sea, and carried into Cheery, from whence they have been removed to a Fort of your's called Russilgar, and from thence to Poomah, where I understand they now are in close confinement.

These two Gentlemen were coming from Europe to Madras, when they were taken. They knew nothing of the troubles that broke out between you and the English, and they have never carried any arms, or acted in any shape against your People. It is not usual between States at war to seize and confine persons under these circumstances and I trust therefore you will have the generosity to release them and give them a Passport to enable them to come to this Place, or go to Bombay. But if this cannot be done, I hope you will however be pleased to give Orders that they may be relieved from their present close confinement, and all proper regard be paid to their unhappy Situation. May health and happiness always attend you. What shall I say more?

Thursday 29th.

Received the following Letter from John Dias the Hon'ble Company's Linguist at Calicut.

Sir,

Yesterday the 23d instant I was called before Sarder Caan, when he told me that having ever been desirous of preserving the harmony between the Hon'ble Company and the Nabob (Hyder Ally) it was very improper to give protection in Tellicherry to the fugitives from the Nabob's Dominions or to assist the Nairs, who are enemies to the Nabob, with powder and ball, and lustly to send a party of men who killed eight sentries, which were posted in the borders of the Nabob's Country, without any cause whatever. On these accounts the said Sarder Caan directed me to write you this letter, desiring that you will give full satisfaction for the sake of future harmony otherwise threatening to hang every person belonging to this Factory beginning with me, and he immediately placed a Guard upon the Factory, upon my house. These are his express words and he desired me to write to you, upon whose answer depends at present the good or harm that may happen on this affair.

I believe you are not ignorant of what happened to me in the time of Mr. Thomas Day, during the war with the Nabob, when I was put in prison, flogged and stripped of all my property. And at present I run the risk of receiving the same infamous treatment in consequence of the above threats of Sarder Caan. I therefore entreat you will look with eyes of compassion upon me, my family, and other dependents of this Factory, and be pleased to write a satisfactory letter to Sarder Caan which may mitigate his anger and stop his proceedings against us in any shape. In full hopes from your goodness and prudence thereto you will pursue some method for the safety and quiet of this Factory. I have nothing more to say, but I hope speedily to receive your determination.

CALICUT.

24th August, 1779.

I am, Sir,

Your most Obedt. hble. Servant,

JOHN DIAS.

If you should send, with your Letter to Sarder Caan, an intelligent person who speaks the Moore Language in order to explain the reasons to him it will be much better, as there is not here a Moor capable of it.

TO THE HON'BLE WILLIAM HOBBSY, Esq.,

President and Governor and the Select Committee at Bombay.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

Our last address was transmitted you under the 21st Ultimo express both duplicate of which is enclosed, since when we have been favour'd with your Commands of the 12th.

We then advised you of Major Cotgrave's being arrived to take charge of the Detachment from Colonel Braithwaite; on the 23d in the evening the Colonel embarked on the Eagle Snow for Cochin on his way to Madras; before his departure he wrote us a letter, wherein he acquaints us of his proposing to deliver over charge of the Forces here to Major Cotgrave agreeable to the Orders he had received from the Hon'ble the Select Committee of Madras. Copy of which with our answer are now enclosed.

The Enemy still continues in the same situation as last advised you.

Sarder Caan is not yet returned from Seringapatam to Calicut, and the communication between this last place and us, begins to open. By a Letter the Resident received from the Danish Resident at Calicut of the 21 Ultimo, it appears that five of the English Gentlemen and a

(Extract from
Tellicherry Factory
Vol. XXX, pp. 154-
155.)

(Extract from Tell-
cherry Factory Vol.
LIX, pp. 1-2.)

Lady who were detained there by Sailer Caan are gone to Seringapatam, and that only one Gentleman and Lady remain at Calicut.

We are

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs

Your most Obedient humble Servants

RICHARD CHURCH,

Secy. Factors.

TELLICHERRY,

1st January 1780.

Sir,

(Extract from Tellicherry Factory Vol. XXXI, pp. 61-72.)

In obedience to the commands of our Superiours of the 13th March to give you a full account of the Origin and give cause of the troubles at this Settlement, as they have been pleased to order you on a deputation to the Nabob Hyder Ally, we now address you this Letter.

In order to give you a knowledge of the present Situation of Affairs here, we find it necessary to trace them for some Years back.

The Nabob Hyder Ally Caan having in the beginning of the Year 1766, dispossessed [sic] the Prince of Cherrika of his dominions he retired to Tellicherry with his Family; and in March of that Year, he went to Travancore, from whence he returned in June 1767 to Tellicherry, and was permitted to take up his abode at the Brass Pagoda, and maintained at the Company's expence, till the Month of March 1774, at which time Hyder Ally once more entered the Malabar Country and arrived at Coliote. The Prince of Cherrika, (as it is said) tired of an inactive life, and thinking that the Company would never exert themselves in putting him in possession of his Country again, withdrew himself from their protection and went to the Nabob, with whom he had made his peace at the instance and through [sic] the influence of Domingo Rodriguez then [sic] linguist here who had secret views in this affair which have since appeared. The Prince accordingly obtained from the Nabob the Coliote Country upon engaging to pay him a yearly tribute, and a sum of money immediately for which Domingo Rodriguez became security. The Prince encouraged by this success, and being desirous of recovering his dominions of Colastria, went to Seringapatam in the Year 1776, and found means to obtain from the Nabob a grant of that Country upon terms of a yearly tribute and a sum of ready money, for which Domingo Rodriguez also became [sic] security. This Country was under the Government of Ally Rajah from the year 1766 till the above period, when it was taken from him and given to the Prince, because he failed in the payment of his tribute.

The Prince of [sic], now in possession of the Colastria and Coliote Countries, began to manifest upon every occasion his ill will to the Company, because they did not exert themselves in the defence of his Country when first attacked by the Hyder, and the reduction of the Civil & Military establishment here in the Year 1776 in consequence of the Company's orders, led him to believe that by obstructing [sic] their investments and the business of the Settlement, the Company might be induced to abandon it entirely, by which means he would become master of the place and the riches of the inhabitants which would enable him to fulfill his engagements with the Nabob; and in this idea he was encouraged by Domingo Rodriguez who had fled to him from the service of the Company in the Month of January 1774 because he not to agree with the rest of the inhabitants to a general tax on their estates towards supporting a larger Military establishment than was ordered by the Company whereby his expectations from his connection with the Prince were in some Measure frustrated.

We shall now proceed to give you some instances of the bad intentions of the present troubles.

The Prince having obtained (as we observed) the Colastria Country, he in March 1777 sent for the Achumars of the Province of Rhandeterran which is mortgaged to the Company, and prevailed upon them, contrary to the orders of the Resident, to give him an assignment on the Province of Sixty

thousand Rupees (60,000) in order to assist him to make up the money which he was to pay the Nabob. In May following he sent one of his Ministers to Tellicherry to desire he might be permitted to collect the above sum or that the Company would advance it for him and collect it themselves, which the Board thought proper to refuse, for reason which our Superiours at Bombay approved. The Prince, notwithstanding our remonstrances through his Minister shortly after should [sic] a determination of raising the Money by force for in the Month of June he sent a body of his Forces into the Province, and began seizing and plundering some of [sic] inhabitants which we immediately opposed, with the little force we could spare, and at the same time ago to shew our desire not to carry matters to extremity we deputed Mr. Stedman to represent to him the injustice of his conduct, but it was with difficulty he was brought to desist from his violent proceedings under assurance that we would represent his case to our Superiours.

The next cause of complaints given us by the Prince, was sending in the Month of October 1777 a party of armed men to Mount Dolly, who entered the Company's Districts there, and demanded to be put in possession of all the District except what was first granted the French; and threatened [sic] to use force in case of a refusal, we were immediately obliged to reinforce the Garrison, and at the same time represented to the Prince his extraordinary conduct, who reluctantly was brought to forbear prosecuting his intentions.

We could give many other instances of the violence of the Prince of Cherikha in seizing the inhabitants of Rhandeterrah, and obstructing the trade of this place, but that we think we have already said sufficient on that Subject and shall now enter upon his conduct since the French War, in which we may ascribe the origin and cause of the presents [sic] troubles.

On the 2nd of July 1778 there arrived a French Frigate at Mahé from Mauritius, with a detachment of one hundred and seventy Europeans when a report was immediately spread through [sic] the Country that a war between England and France would shortly happen, and accordingly about the beginning of August, we received advice that hostilities had commenced in Europe that the Siege of Pondicherry was immediately to be undertaken.

The Prince of Cherikha, who at that time was at Calicut, returned by order of the Nabob Hyder Ally from thence with all his Troops to assist the French at Mahé in case the English should attack it. The Prince of Cherikha arrived at Mahé, the 8th of September, and had a long interview with the Governor Monsr. Picot; we had reason to believe that the French and the Prince would have immediately attacked this Settlement, that nothing prevented it, but that Monsr. Picot did not think [sic] himself authorized to undertake it without an order from his Court or from Monsr. Beaulieu, Governor of Pondicherry; as the Affairs of the French became more involved on the Command of Monsr. Picot and the Prince had a more frequent intercourse, nor did the [sic] fall of Pondicherry interrupt the connection.

In the Month of October 1778 the Prince sent a body of men to Mahé, when we thought it necessary to send our Lieutenant to him to know the reason of his conduct when he endeavoured to palliate it by alleging his disappointment in not being suffered to collect the money on Rhandeterrah and saying that, as the French were largely in his debt, the only way he had to secure it was to assist in the defence of Mahé when attacked, but that he had no hostile intentions against the Settlement.

And here we must observe to you that, on the news being received of the War with French, the Old King of Cartamadra, in whose Country Mahé is, Coringot Nair and four Nambians tributary Princes in our Neighbourhood to Hyder Ally sent privately to assure the Resident that, though they had also received orders to assist the French with a body of men, they would rather join the Company if at any time required, having experienced their friendship and protection on many occasions. The Resident thanked them for their intentions, and gave them general assurances of the Company's friendship.

The King of Coriote, who fled from his Country at the time the Nabob Hyder Ally took possession of it and who lived concealed in the Woods on the back of Calicut sent on [sic] of his Ministers the latter end of December 1778 with a letter to the Resident, wherein he earnestly

entreated the Company's protection and assistance, offering to submit to any terms that might be proposed to him and to secure to the Company the exclusive purchase of all the Pepper produced in Cottiote Country. The Resident acquainted the King's Minister, that he would advise his Superiors of his offers, which was accordingly done.

Certain advices having been received by the French and the Prince of Cherrika, of our Troops being on their way from the Coast of Comandul to attack Mahle, a body of the Nabob's Troops from Corga joined the Prince at Chimbra on the 17th of February 1779, who showed every sign of assisting the French to the utmost of his power.

Several conferences passed between the Resident and Minister of the Prince of Cherrika at that time as advised the Hon'ble the Select Committee of Bombay which on the Prince's side approved only to amuse and delay; from the 27th of February he stopped all provisions and every other necessary coming to us from his Country which greatly distressed us, and at the same time he sent a party of men to Mount Dolly who fired upon our People cutting fascines for the siege of Mahle notwithstanding all which our conduct to him was perfectly moderate.

The King of Cottiote who was lately come to [Blank in the original] the Old King of Carnanadu and the four Nambians, who had been secretly preparing to take advantage of the Prince of Cherrika's being involved with the Company, joined their forces together and full [sic] upon the Cottiote Country the beginning of March, the greatest part of which they immediately got possession of; on the 11th of that Month, the Resident received a letter from the King of Cottiote acquainting him of his success assuring the Company that he wished to be upon the best terms with them, and the requesting a small supply of military stores; we accordingly took his request into consideration, and as it appeared to us of the highest importance to this Settlement at that junction (for the siege of Mahle was in a manner begun) that the Cottiote Country should be in the hands of a Power well affected to the Company, as we always depended to that Country for almost every necessary of life, and the Hon'ble the Select Committee had also directed us to take all proper steps to engage in our interest the several Country Powers whose conduct might in any wise affect the operations against Mahle, we agreed to give him a small supply of military stores which was accordingly sent him and mentioned to our Superiors. We [sic]

We immediately felt the good effects of the Conduct of the King of Cottiote and his Allies, in getting from the Cottiote Country Coolies, Wood, Charcoal, &c. which were stopped coming to us by the Prince of Cherrika and for which we were in great distress, Mahle surrendered to the British Arms the 19th of March 1779, and we think we may here venture to assert without disparagement to Colonel Brathwaite and the Army, that the surrender of Mahle was accelerated by the confusion in which affairs of the Prince of Cherrika were involved by the attack of the King of Cottiote and his allies, which prevented the Prince giving that effectual assistance to the French which he was able and determined to afford them.

The Prince of Cherrika, the day after the surrender of Mahle, decamped from Chimbra with his own and the Nabob's forces, and passing Codolly River in his retreat to Nettam, where he was presently surrounded by the King of Cottiote. The Prince found means to send [sic] his Ministers to the Resident, desiring he would afford him the Company's Assistance in his distress, and in particular acquainted him, that as he had accommodated matters with the King of Cottiote, and should wish to pass to Balhapatnam through Durmapatnam and Rhandeterrah, desire we would give our permission for it. We acquainted him through his Minister that his extraordinary conduct for some [sic] time past towards the Company, but in particular that of his assisting the French by no means wanted his claiming [sic] either the protection or assistance of the Company, and that as we were determined not to interfere in the disputes between him and the King of Cottiote, and that we hoped the Prince would not attempt to enter the Company's Districts without our consent, as we should be under the disagreeable necessity of opposing it.—But we had reason to believe the Prince only meant to amuse, as a report prevailed on the Country that a body of Troops was coming from Seringapatnam to his assistance, which actually arrived in Cottiote commanded by Rulwantraw, and the Prince was so fortunate as to make his escape from Nettare the beginning of April, and join

Balwantrow; they with their joint forces fell [sic] upon the King of Cotoia and his Allies and were dispersed them, the King himself with part of his forces retreating [sic] into the interior parts of his Country, and those of the old King of Cartanaddu and the four Nambians to their respective Countries; the Prince of Cherika and Balwantrow then marched to Cartanaddu and displaced the old King on account of his conduct, and placed his Nephew in the Government.

When the troubles broke out in the Cotoia and the Cartanaddu Countries a great number of the inhabitants fled into this District, and after the dispersion of the confederacy several of the Cotoia and Cartanaddu Chiefs likewise came hither. Nairs of the neighbouring Countries had always found protection in this place, from the calamities of war particularly in the Year 1774 when the Nabob entered their Country with fire [sic] and sword, [sic] without his taking particular umbrage at it.

The Prince of Cherika was employed during the Rains in excursions against the King of Cotoia with various success, and it was strongly reported in the Country that at the opening of the Season he intended attacking Tellicherry in consequence of the protection given the fugitive Nairs. Accordingly having made every preparation for it, he on the 18th October [1779] commenced hostilities [sic] in the Province of Rhandoterrah, whither we detached a force from this Garrison to approve [sic] his progress, and at the same time sent our Linguist to him to know the reason of his Conduct, and to require him to quit the Company's territories. We enclose you copy of the Linguist's conference with the Prince with our remarks thereon from which you will perceive the motives for his conduct.

The Prince still persisted [sic] in getting possession of Rhandoterrah and on the 31st the Young [sic] King of Cartanaddu came with his forces and took post in our District where he was soon after joined by the Prince of Cherika, and they have been fighting with us ever since, without having gained any material advantage over us, except the Province of Rhandoterrah, and Mallum Port on the Island of Durmapatam we were prevented sending to demand of the Young King of Cartanaddu his reasons for attacking us, by the cruelty he exercised in August last in cutting off a foot of a Person sent with Letters to him by Colonel Brishwath, and also of a Horsekeeper belonging to the Paymaster there but it is said that the Young [sic] King was ordered by the Nabob to Assist the Prince of Cherika.

Finding ourselves had [sic] pressed by the Enemy the beginning of November and disappointed in assistance from Colonel Brishwath, we were under the necessity of sending to the King of Cotoia for a body of troops, not but that we could have defended the Fort of Tellicherry with our own forces, but humanity called upon us to shield our Inhabitants from the barbarity of a savage enemy, and this was only to be done by forming a chain of posts to cover our District from Coddoly Port round to Moylan Port and for which our Troops alone were insufficient, accordingly on the 9th of November a Body of about 2000 Cotoia Nairs made their way through [sic] the Enemy's Country, and joined us, which immediately revived the spirits of our Inhabitants and discouraged the Enemy. We have not bound the Company in any engagement for the assistance the King of Cotoia has given us, nor see there any necessity for it, for he was convinced [sic] that, if Tellicherry fell into the hands of the Prince of Cherika, it would ruin his hopes of regaining his Country.

Having thus given you a full detail of the transactions of this Settlement for some years past, it will plainly appear to you that the Prince of Cherika has long been inclined to disturb the tranquillity of this place and that in consequence of the attack the King of Cotoia made upon the Prince of Cherika during the time the latter was assisting the French, gave him an opportunity of unjustly possessing the Nabob with an idea that we really [sic] lowered the scales in the Country, which has no doubt been the cause [sic] of the Nabob's permitting the Prince of Cherika and the Young King of Cartanaddu to attack this Settlement, sensible as he must be at the same time that if the Prince could possess [sic] us of Tellicherry the Nabob would be Master of the Coast from [sic] Cape Ramas down to Chetua.

The Prince of Cherika must now be convinced of the little prospect he has of reducing Telli-

cherry; yet if the report is True that Sadet Caun has rented from the Nabob the Country from the River of Neilisseram to Chetwa, and that he has also powers to settle the troubles in the Country we are led to believe that the Prince of Cherrika deceived Sadet Caun by giving him hopes that he shall still possess himself of this Place, or reduce us to terms, by which he may expect to be enabled to discharge his Debt to the Nabob, in consequence of which Sadet Caun who has been at Callicut for some [sic] time, probably has not taken any Steps towards settling the Country.

We have already advised you of our having a body of the King of Cotiote's Troops in our Service and that several principal Nairs and others had taken refuge in our District. The Nabob wrote the Resident in February that if the principals were delivered to the Prince of Cherrika, the troubles here would cease, but this step supposing it justifiable cannot now be taken, for many of them are dead, and others with their Families are retired into the interior parts of the Country to the King of Cotiote, so that there are none here now of any consequence but those that command the King's Troops, who will be dismissed as soon as our affairs will admit of it.

We have nothing more to add than to wish you success in your negotiation, [sic] and that we are desirous of hearing from you by every opportunity.

We are,

Sir,

Your most Obedient Servants,

RICHARD CHURCH

Sr. Factor.

TELLICHERRY

2nd April 1780.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs

Our last address was transmitted you under the 21st Ultimo express Both duplicate of which is enclosed.

The King of Koriote having lately requested that a part of the Troops he sent to the assistance of this Settlement might be returned, we on the 2 instant wrote Major Colgrave acquainting him that we proposed complying with the King's request reserving only one thousand men, as the season was so far advanced that we could not expect many more supplies of rice, and we thought it would be a proper measure at this juncture as it would lessen the expence of this Settlement and the expenditure of time in the place.

The day following the Major wrote us for answer, that he had long been of opinion that we maintained a greater force than was necessary for the defence of this Settlement against the present Enemy, and therefore approved of the reduction we proposed making: but recommended if we were apprehensive [sic] of a scarcity of rice when we had not an opportunity of being supplied with that article, to discharge five hundred more Auxiliary Nairs than run the smallest risque of such a calamity.

We shall therefore take the most favourable opportunity of putting this measure in execution.

The Nabob Hyder Ally's forces still keep possession of Mahle, though they have not yet hoisted his Colours there, and have built a small Redoubt where Fort Mahle stood. Carrichee Fort and Country is also in their possession, and Cuttingot Nair is divested of all his authority, but Pullinza and Pannia Mall Redoubts are garrisoned partly with his Nairs.

We are sorry to inform your Honor, etc., that the Bebe of Cannanore who is entirely governed by her Husband so far from observing the conduct of Ally Rajah her predecessor towards the Hon'ble Company, does all that lays in her power to distress this Settlement by preventing our being supplied with provisions and carrying into Cannanore Munthrees of rice bound hither. The reason it seems she gives for this conduct is that she has received orders from the Nabob Hyder Ally to act in the above manner, though we are inclined to believe it proceeds from her Husband's connections with the Prince of Cherrika and Sadet Caun.

About ten days ago, Capt. Bracey, who commands the Ship *Betsy*, on his way hither stopped at Bellispatam on some business, and is there detained a prisoner by the Prince of Cherrika. The Ship after waiting here two or three days expecting his release sail'd for Maltram.

(Extract from Tellicherry Factory Vol. LIX, pp. 25-28.)

We have the pleasure to inform your Honor, etc., that we have at present rice in our Bazar sufficient for our Inhabitants for some Months; the mode our Merchants obtained it was by their Agents clearing our Munchas from the different Ports belonging to Hyder Ally from Calicut and other parts, for no rice has been permitted to be brought publicly to this place from his Ports all this season.

We request your Honor, etc., will be pleased to send us a Vessel early in the opening of the season with a supply of cash.

The Packet received by the Resident from your Secretary on the 22 Ultimo was forwarded to Anjengo the 23d. by the *Triumph Snow* Capt. William Richardson.

We are,
Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,
Your most Obedient humble Servants,
RICHARD CHURCH, &c. Factors.

TELLICHEKKY,
6th May 1780.

In our Committee of the 5th January you will find a Minute from the President, accompanied by a Copy of a Memorial from Mr. Hare and other English Subjects who came in a Danish [sic] Vessel from Suva, for India and having put into the Port of Calicut belonging to Hyder Ally on the Malabar Coast were made prisoners by his Muzaffer there (Sader Cawn) and thrown into confinement, where they were strip of their [sic] property and extremely ill used. The Memorial was Addressed to Sardar Cawn setting forth the circumstances under which these persons labored, [sic] laboured and soliciting [sic] their Liberty and the restitution [sic] of the things Which had been taken from them, but without effect. The President Considering these ill usages as authorized—or at least connived at by Hyder himself, proposed that a Gentleman should be dispatched to him to demand the release of the English Subjects and Mr. George Gray was appointed for this Service.

He set out accordingly the 14th January, but before he reached Seringapatam Hyder had released them and sent them to Madras. Mr. Gray however proceeded and delivered our Letter to Hyder on this subject at the same time giving him assurances of our disposition to cultivate a friendship and good understanding with him. Hyder made but an indifferent return to these overtures; he seemed neither desirous of accepting our friendship, nor did he treat Mr. Gray with that civility which might have been expected—Mr. Gray very properly as we had desired him—seeing that his Camp stay would answer no good purpose and might prove further slight and perhaps insult, desired leave to depart and accordingly returned to Madras with a letter from Hyder, which is entered in Country Correspondence this Year N. 29 on reference to that letter and to a letter Mr. Gray entered in our Minute of the 21st Instant, your Honour will be able to judge clearly of Hyder's real disposition towards us. This unfriendly [sic] not to say insolent conduct could only have been encouraged by our present troubles with the Marattas in which he finds so much advantage as he has already explained.

To Mr. George Gray.
Sir,

We have thought it proper to appoint you to proceed to Hyder Ally, to demand the release of some English Subjects who are detain'd at Calicut by the order of Sardar Cawn, Hyder's Officer at that place.

We enclose you a Copy of the Memorial which Mr. Hare one of those persons deliver'd to Sardar Cawn in behalf of himself and the rest of his Majesty's Subjects so detain'd which will explain all the particulars sufficiently to guide you in your representations to Hyder.

You will complain to him of this outrage committed on the persons and property of so many English Subjects. At the same time assure him that as it has been always our desire to preserve

Extract from Military Despatch to Court Vol. No. XV, pp. 66-68.)

(Extract from Military Consultation Vol. LXIX, pp. 103-105.)

a good understanding and friendship with him. If he has any cause of complaint against any of the Company's people or any British Subject whatever, we shall endeavor as far as lies in our power to remove it; that we have heard by letters from our Commanding Officer on the Malabar Coast that he has some complaint against the Gentlemen at Tellicherry for improper interference with the Chiefs of the Nairs who are under his authority; that we have not the particulars, but as it is totally contrary to our wishes and to the orders we gave to our Commanding Officer there, that there should have been any interference whatsoever; so we have represented both to the Governor and Council of Bombay, and to the Gentlemen of Tellicherry, the propriety of removing every just cause of uneasiness. That we doubt not to meet with the same conduct on his part, as nothing can contribute so much to our mutual interest as a sincere and mutual endeavour to preserve the friendship that has so long subsisted between us.

You must confine your representations simply to the fact and the sentiments here laid down, but should Hyder propose or mention any thing foreign to the subject of this Commission, you will transmit the same to us for our information.

If Hyder Ally refuse or delay to give you satisfaction in regard to the detention of the English Subjects at Calicut, you will desire his leave to depart and return with all convenient expedition to Madras.

You will proceed to Vanambady and wait there for a passport from Hyder to join him; or, if the Kailidar of Vanambady will furnish you with an escort, you may proceed without waiting for the passport.

We are

Sir

Your most Obed. Humble Servants.

THOS. RUMBOLD, &c.,

Select Committee

Fort St. George
14th Jan'y 1780.

In regard to the long vexed question of the authorship of the *Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus* I have received the following letter from a distinguished scholar;—

THE PROVER, LINDFIELD, SUSSEX,
February 20, 1916.

DEAR SIR,

I have recently been re-reading with much interest your reprint of the *Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus*, and I believe that I am in a position to identify the author, Philip Dormer Stanhope.

There is a boy of this name whom I came across while editing a list of Etonians of the 18th century, and the following are some of the facts that I have discovered about him.

He was the son of Charles Stanhope by Catharine Margaret, his wife; born 12 February and baptized 1 March, 1752-3 at St. John's, Westminster; entered Eton 26 July, 1765, and was placed on the foundation as a scholar that same year; he was admitted scholar of King's College, Cambridge, 27 May 1771. He was expelled 12 March 1773; he had obtained leave of absence from Cambridge to visit his mother, never went near her, but took the opportunity to 'drive through the town of Elm in an open carriage, having with him a person of suspicious fame and character, and there taking up into his carriage one of the scholars of Eton and carrying him away from school without leave obtained of the Master, and otherwise behaving in a very unbecoming manner to the ill example of the scholars there' (Austen-Leigh, *King's College* p. 206).

Whether he was expelled for this offence or for a later one, I am not certain. [No—he was admonished for this on 3 Nov. 1772—and probably expelled for some later offence].

So far there is nothing against the identification, but the problem remained of shewing that this Stanhope was some relation of Dr. Hancock's wife, (née Philadelphia Austen), as *Asiaticus* states on p. 31 of your reprint.

New Philadelphia's ancestor was Rebecca, née Hampson, daughter of Sir George Hampson, 4th baronet. According to Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, she had several sisters, and as one of them was named Catherine Margaret who married John Cope Freeman. I always suspected that she was the mother of Catherine Margaret Stanhope, but it is only quite recently that through some information given me by Mr. V. J. Oliver that I have been able to prove it.

Mr. Oliver directed my attention to p. 91 of the *Genealogist*, New Series, Vol. 17, where the following passage occurs:

Alfred Isidore Walsh.....m. 25 June 1819 Stella Eliosa, dau. of Philip Dormer Stanhope who m. Elizabeth Hughes on the 10th January 1780 at St. George's, Hanover Square. Count and Countess Alfred Isidore Walsh assumed the names of Freeman 14 February 1823 in accordance with the will of Frances, widow of Admiral Allen, and daughter of Thomas Cope Freeman, of Abbots Langley, Harba, whose sister Catherine Margarotta w. at St. George's Chapel, Mayfair, 12 January 1745-6 Charles the father of the above Philip Dormer Stanhope.

I think therefore that the claim of evidence is complete.

The father, Charles Stanhope, is described as 'of St. James's Westminster,' in the marriage register; who he was is another question which I cannot answer, but he does not seem to fit in with any known legitimate descendant of Philip, 2nd Earl of Chesterfield who married Lady Elizabeth Dormer.

With regard to the subsequent career of P. D. Stanhope, I find from the Army Lists that he was appointed cornet of the 1st regiment of Dragoon Guards 6 April 1780; ensign 12th Foot 17 June 1781, but his name ceases to appear after 1784, when he may be presumed to have left the army.

I have failed to find any further trace of him.

There are one or two references to him in the letters of Dr. Hancock, which are in the British Museum: e. g. when writing to his daughter on 25 Mar. 1775, he says:

'The Governor, your god father, desired me to send a very fine white Persian cap of mine to you as a present from him, which I would have done with pleasure, but your cousin Stanhope having quarrelled with a gentleman who lived at a house next to mine, and the cat having strayed into his house, the gentleman or some of his people shot her—I suppose to be revenged on Mr. Stanhope.'

Hoping that this may be of interest to you,

I remain
Yours faithfully

R. A. Austen-Leigh.

P.S.—I may possibly send the gist of this letter to *Notes and Queries* or some literary paper, if I find the time.

SIR GEORGE HAMPSON 4th BART.

J. C. Freeman—Catherine Margaret

Rebecca—Wm. Austen

Catherine Margaret—Chas. Stanhope
m. 14 Jan. 1745-46 at St. James's
at St. Geo. Chapel, Westminster
Mayfair

Philadelphia—Saul Iysee
m. 22 Feb. 1753 Hancock
at Cuddalore

Philip Dormer Stanhope—Elizabeth Hughes
b. 12 Feb. 1751 m. 10 Jan. 1780
at St. John's, Westminster at St. Geo. Han. Sq.

Henry Austin—(2) Elizabeth—(1) Jean Caputte
m. (1) in 1784 m. (2) 31 Dec. 1797

Hastings de Feuillide
d. Oct. 9. 1801.

Stella Eliosa—Count Alfred Isidore Walsh
m. 25 June 1819 assumed name of Freeman
14 Feb. 1823

SHILLONG.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

Padre Maestro Fray Seb. Manrique in Bengal (1628-Sept. 11, 1629).

Translated by the REV. L. CARDON, S.J.,

Annotated and Edited by the REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

INTRODUCTION.

Fray Sebastian Manrique, of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, is no longer a stranger to Bengal. In *J. A. S. B.*, 1910, pp. 281-288, we gave a short sketch of his life with an extract on the Tâj from his *Itinerario Oriental*.

The following note on his career, for which I am indebted to Fr. Tirso Lopez, O. S. A., Colegio dos Agostinos Filipinos, Valladolid, Spain, is worth preserving.

"Sebastian Manrique or Manriquez, a Portuguese, and a member of the Order of St. Augustin, was many years a Missionary in the East, and a Visitor of the Missions. While in Rome, where he fulfilled the office of Procurator of the Portuguese Province near the Roman Curia, he published in Spanish (Portugal being then subject to the King of Spain)¹ his *Itinerario Oriental*, which contains a short relation of the Empire of the Great Mogol and of other Kingdoms in which the Augustinian Order had Missions. There is also some account of the Philippines which he visited.

"He died in 1669, while on his way to London, whither he had been sent by the Prior General, and he is mentioned by Nicholas Antonio of Seville, by Christian Jocher, and others, especially by Joseph Lanteri "in postremis saeculis Augustiniani," Vol. III. p. 189, from whom I have copied this almost word for word."²

Of late, not a little has been done to make known to English readers Manrique's account, one of the most interesting of Shâh Jahân's reign, of which it covers the first 13 years. Sir Edward Maclagan published a translation of the portions concerning the Panjab, i.e., Chapters 61-72 (cf. *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Calcutta, Vol. I, 1911-12, pp. 83-106; 151-166); I have in MS. a translation of Chapters 78-82 dealing with the fall of Hugli, and Father L. Cardon, S. J., was kind enough to devote the forced leisure of a long convalescence to the translation of Chapters 1-9.

1. Portugal became independent of Spain in December 1640.

2. The note sent was in Latin.

which narrate the Friar's first experiences in Bengal. To this I have added a few lines from Chapter X, thus bringing the narrative down to Manrique's departure for Chittagong (Sept. 11, 1629). Some other portions, likewise translated by Father Cardon, viz., Chapters 74, 75, 77, or the Chapters treating of the Government, the army and the revenues of Sháh Jahán, are still in MS.¹

It may be seen from this that good advance has been made towards realising the project of translation once entertained and then abandoned by the Hakluyt Society. Altogether 19 chapters or pp. 130 have now been done into English.

The complete title of the work is as follows:—

ITINERARIO / DELAS MISSIONES / DEL INDIA ORIENTAL / *Que hizo el P. Maestro Fra Sebastian Manrique Religioso / Eremita de S. Agustin / Missionario Apostolico treze años en varias Misiones / della dicha India / Y al presente Prefecto Apostolico de la Mission Calaminense / especialmente delegado por la Santidad de INNOCENTIO X. nuestro Señor. / Procurador, y Diffinidor General della Prouincia Augustiniana de Portugal en esta Curia de Roma. / Con vna Summaria Relacion del Grande y Opulento Imperio del Emperador / Ka-ziahan² Corrombo Gran Mogol, y de otros Reis Infieles en cuyos Reynos asisten los Religiosos de S. Agustin. / Al Eminentiss. Señor / Cardenal Pallotto / Protector de la Religion Augustiniana. / Con Privilegio / [The Cardinal's (?) arms]. / In Roma A la instancia de Guillelmo Halle Sub signo / Salamandræ Regie. M. DC. LIII. / Con licencia de los Superiores. /*

Translation.—Journeys in the Missions of East India made by Father Master Fra Sebastian Manrique of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine, during 13 years an Apostolic Missionary in various Missions of the said India, and now Prefect Apostolic of the Mission of Calamina, specially delegated by His Holiness our Lord Innocent X., Procurator and Definitor General of the Augustinian Province of Portugal in this Court of Rome. With a short Account of the Great and Wealthy Empire of the Emperor Ka-ziahan Corrombo, the Great Mogol, and other Infidel Kings in whose Dominions the Religious of St. Augustine are labouring. [Dedicated] to His Eminence the Lord Cardinal Pallotto, Protector of the Augustinian Order. With privilege. Rome. At the request of William Halle, at the Sign of the Royal Salamander, M. DC. LIII. With the Superiors' leave.

The first 12 pages, which are unnumbered contain: Manrique's preface (pp. 1-2); the approbations of the censors (pp. 3-4); an index of the chief

1. Vincent A. Smith has compared Manrique with de Laet about *The Treasure of Akbar*. *CL. J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 231-243.

2. Elsewhere: Ka-Ziahan, (Sháh Jahán).

topics (pp. 5-8); errata (p. 9); a protestation of submission to the decree of Pope Urban VIII. of March 15, 1625 (p. 10); a letter of Innocent X. forbidding for ten years after the date of the first edition any Latin, Spanish or Italian reprint or translation without leave from Fray Manrique or his representatives.

Follow: text, pp. 1-470; table of chapters: pp. 471-476. In two columns, (25 cm. x 18 cm.).

There are 89 chapters; but, by some oversight, chapter 68 is wanting, though the narrative and the pagination are continuous.

The running title is *Itinerario Oriental / del P. Maestro Manrique*.

There exist two Spanish editions, both printed in Rome: the former in 1649, 4^o; the latter in 1653. I conclude from a note by the late William Irvine to myself that the pagination is identical in both editions. A copy of both can be seen in the British Museum. The edition in the Goethals' Indian Library, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, is that of 1653. No translation of the work is known to exist.

Brunet notes in his *Manuel du Libraire* that the edition of 1649 wants a frontispiece, and that the work is pretty rare.

It was sold by Langlès for 14 francs, by Heber for £1. It is certainly worth much more, considering that it scarcely ever comes into the book-market. I do not find it quoted once in *Orientalische Bibliographie*, 1887-1906, and it is hardly ever alluded to by any English writer. What shows sufficiently the extreme rarity of the work in England and India is the fact that A. C. Burnell, whose *Tentative List of Books and some MSS. relating to the History of the Portuguese in India Proper*, Mangalore, 1880, was the outcome of a 20 years' study, knew the work only from catalogues, and that Sir Henry Yule was unacquainted with it.

Cordier, *Bibliotheca Indosinica* Vol. 1, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1912, p. 286, describes the first edition thus:

Itinerario de las Misiones que hizo el Padre F. Sebastian Manrique Religioso Eremita de S. Agustin Missionario Apostolico treze años en varias Misiones del India Oriental, Y al presente Procurador, y Definidor General de su Prouincia de Portugal en esta Corte de Roma. Con una Summaria Relacion del Imperador Xa-zia-han Corrombo Gran Mogol, y de otros Reys Infieles, en cuyos Reynos asisten los Religiosos de S. Agustin. Al Eminentiss. Señor, el Señor Cardenal Palotto Protector de la Religion Agustiniana. Con privilegio. En Roma, Por Francisco Caballo, MDCXLIX. Con licencia de los Superiores. In 4^o, pp. 476 (two columns), + foll. 6 preliminary.

Cordier also indicates (*ibid.*) by the same author: *Breve relatione de i regni di Pegu, Arracan, e Brama, e degl' Imperij del Calamin, Siamom, e gran*

Mogor fatta alla S. Congreg. de Propaganda Fide. Roma. Monsta, 1648, in 4^o, foll. 4.

It is a pity that we are not told where a copy of this last can be found.

Manrique's *Itinerario Oriental* will be found mentioned in the following bibliographical works: J. F. Ossinger's *Bibliotheca Augustiniana*, Ingolstadt, 1708, p. 329; Ant. de Leon Pinelo's *Bibliotheca Oriental*, 2nd edn., Madrid, 1737-38, Vol. I, pp. 43; 91; 364; H. Ternaux-Compans' *Bibliothèque Asiatique*, Paris, 1841, p. 187, No. 1720; p. 193, No. 1796. I quote from Burnell, having only Pinelo, Brunet and Cordier at my disposal in Calcutta.

Ch. I treats of Manrique's voyage from Cochín to the mouth of the Hugli; Ch. II of his shipwreck near the Braces of Hijili, and his being taken to the Court of the Maanali-i-Ali of Hijili; Ch. III of his experiences at Hijili and departure for Hugli; Ch. IV of the origin and foundation of the town of Hugli; Ch. V of the first Augustinian Missions in Bengal; Ch. VI of the fertility and commerce of Bengal; Ch. VII of Bengali manners and customs; Ch. VIII of Hindú rites and ceremonies in Bengal; Ch. IX of Saugor Island and its pilgrimage; Ch. X of the author's departure for Arakan (Sept. 11, 1629).

Chapters 10-33 relate the Friar's six years' experience in Arakan (1629-35). This is one of the most important sections of the work, seeing that so little is known of the ancient history of that part of the country. An excellent abridgment of this portion may be read in Hugh Murray's *Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia...*, Edinburgh, A. Constable, 1820, Vol. II, pp. 96-119. Some of the events recorded are not less strange than those narrated by Mendes Pinto about Burma. But, as in the case of Mendes Pinto's Travels, our comparative ignorance of Arakan and its conditions three centuries ago and the dearth of contemporary evidence are likely to make the work of the would-be translator and commentator one of extreme difficulty. One of my friends has set himself the task of translating that portion.

On his return to Bengal, Manrique suffered shipwreck on the Orissa Coast and was thrown into prison. When at last allowed to proceed to Banja, he gained Pipili, leaving it for good on Febr. 25, 1636 (Chapters 35-39).

His journeys from Cochín to Goa, Malacca, Macao, the Island of Pulo Champelo, Faíso in Cochinchina, Macassar, and his return to Masulipatam occupy chapters 40-48, and lasted from April 27, 1637, when he started from Goa, to Aug. 12, 1640, when he reached Balasore. At Masulipatam, he determined to return by land to Europe. Hence, we see him proceed through Orissa to "Baleagate" (Baules Ghát), Dacca, Gaur, Rájmahál, Patna, Agra (Chapters 49-60). Chapters 61-72 refer to the Panjab.

In chapters 73, 83-89, he relates his troubles at Kandahár, and his further travels through Khorásán to Ispahan, Baghdad, Damascus, Saida or the

ancient Sidon, Cyprus and Spain. He arrived in Rome in July 1643 (?). Chapters 74-77 contain an account of the Great Moghul, his government wealth, and the extent of his dominions. Finally, chapters 78-82 deal with the fall of Hugli.

Pinelo's verdict, that the work is "in bad Castilian", is judged exaggerated by Father Cardon, whose knowledge of Spanish enables him to speak with sufficient authority. The sentences, however long, are artfully constructed and limpid. Manrique is at times verbose and rhetorical, but he is never dull. If he has much to say about the countries he has traversed and the people he came in contact with, he says it most interestingly. Again, it is scarcely just to say with Pinelo that the printing of Manrique's *Itinerario* is even worse than his Spanish. To speak the truth, the edition of 1653 compares not unfavourably with the printing of Pinelo's own *Bibliotheca Oriental*, as republished and enlarged by Marquis de Torre-Nueva (1738). There are certainly very few misprints, much fewer than in Pinelo.

The translation has been made as literal as possible. All the native terms, have been carefully preserved; the italics of the original, the capital letters, the spelling of the proper names have been kept, and the original pagination has been indicated. The only departure from the original consists in a more lavish use of paragraphs. I have also noted in the margin the few dates found in the text, as I have learnt by experience how difficult it is otherwise to discover them.

It is scarcely proper that I should apologise for the number of my annotations at the end of each chapter. A very large number of Indian terms, which, if intelligible to my readers in Bengal, are less so in other parts of India, or not at all in Europe, had to be explained. Place-names had to be identified. Manrique's accuracy or inaccuracy in the matter of customs and chronology was to be investigated. Similarities of expression with earlier writers, like Pyrard de Laval and van Linschoten, had to be pointed out. Finally, it was advisable to insist on the new materials supplied by our author for future editions of Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, that indispensable vade-mecum for historical research. I regret only that in many cases I could not make these notes more complete. I have taken as my guide the excellent editions of the Hakluyt Society, and have spared no pains to substantiate, wherever possible, Manrique's statements by the independent testimony of earlier and later writers.

Yule-Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, van Linschoten, Pyrard de Laval (Hakluyt editions), and Sir Richard Temple's editions of Bowrey's *Countries round the Bay of Bengal* and *Diaries of Streynsham Master* have greatly assisted me throughout. I have also to thank Rai Monmohan Chakravarti Bahadur, Provincial Civil Service, Bengal, for his valuable suggestions, and Lieut.-Col.

D. C. Phillott for placing at my disposal the services of the Pandit and the Arabic Instructor of the Board of Examiners, Mr. Gobindal Bonnerjee, and the late R. F. Azoo. The help received from them has been acknowledged in every instance.

CALCUTTA, ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE,

3rd December 1913.

H. HOSTEN, S.J.

CHAPTER I.

P. 1.

IN WHICH THE AUTHOR COMMENCES WITH THE BEGINNING OF AND ENTERING UPON HIS MISSIONS, AND RELATES HOW THE KINGDOMS OF BENGALA WERE ENTRUSTED TO HIM FOR THE EXERCISE OF SO GREAT A MINISTRY.

Before I begin this first chapter, gentle and curious Reader, I want to spare you the tediousness of long introductions full of incidental events. I shall tell you briefly and summarily that, in spite of the exhortations of some friends, who wanted me to publish an account of my missions and travels, I was more than once, I confess, on the point of shirking so great a task, not only on account of the many distracting cares of the affairs of my Province, but also for want of the talent and accomplishments necessary to a good Historian. But, when some contemporary narratives fell into my hands, I took courage: for I saw that, if I could not equal the floridness and elegance of their style, I could at least write and perpetuate the memory of my adventures with less passion and more veracity, and I trust that under the rind of Aristophanes will be found the truth of Plato. /

Col. 1.

Therefore, with the strong staff of truth to lean upon, I say that I was a member of the community of our Convent of Cochim,¹ the Metropolis and capital of the Kingdom which derives its name from it. In point of size, this City ranks second among those held by the Portuguese in East India; yet, if we consider its refreshing breezes and the gentle and temperate nature of its healthy climate, it might occupy the first place.² It is situated on the seaboard and coast of Malavar. A small arm of the large and cool Mangatta River separates it from the City and Court of the Gentile Kings of Cochim, and, mixing with the bitter saline waters of the Ocean, it cuts the City at that part, and forms at the Bar a wide and celebrated entrance dividing it from the lands of Vaipim and Anjequimal.³

P. 1, Col. 2.

While I was thus in that City, I was chosen at the election of Missionaries for the Mission of the Kingdoms of Bengala, which was made that year at Goa by the Reverend Father Master Frai Luis Coutinho, // the Vice-Provincial of our Congregation of East India.⁴ My companions were Frai Manuel de la Assumpcion, Frai Diego Catela and Frai Gregorio de los

P. 2, Col. 1.

Angeles,⁸ four in all with myself. The order came to the Father Prior who was at the time at the head of the Cochim Convent, and he was requested to supply us with all we wanted. The Prior obeyed punctually and showed himself full of charity. He put us on board two merchant vessels, which were then about to sail for the Kingdoms of Bengala, but were bound for different ports. I chanced to get as my companion Father Fray Gregorio de los Angeles, and the good ship St. Augustin, which was bound for the City of Vgolim,⁹ fell to our lot.

The two other Religious embarked on a smaller ship going to the City of Piple⁷ in the Kingdom of Ourixa,⁸ and, as she had already her cargo, she left fourteen days in advance; but, encountering rough weather at the stormy Cape of Comorim and in the gulf of Ceilan, they were assailed by a tempestuous and dangerous sea, which brought them into extreme peril and obliged them to give way. Turning the stern upon the port of their destination, they made for Tutucorim,⁹ a port which was closer and the better for that. They reached it so disabled by the storm that they could not go to Bengala that year.

P. 2, Col. 2.

The ship St. Augustin, after having been overloaded, went out of the River to get into the deep, where big vessels take in the rest of their cargo; but, as she was already overloaded, she could not get over the Banks or shallows of the Bar,¹⁰ and there she remained for two full days embedded in the big sands, until the greedy merchants realised that they would not be able to proceed without first unloading part of her cargo. This obstacle removed, she could go ahead, and, when everything was ready, the Captain of the ship, Estevan Pires Camacho, had us called from the Convent. On receiving his message, we performed the ceremonies of the *Viam pacis*,¹¹ and went on board, thus setting sail and beginning our voyage on the sixth of March of the current year 1628.

[March 6,
1628.]

From the very beginning, we got becalmed for fourteen days between the Kingdoms of Porcã¹² and Coulan,¹³ without being able to make any headway. Thereupon, the Captain summoned to council the Pilot, the Master,¹⁴ and other practical and experienced men on board, and they resolved to put back into the harbour of Cochim. At this juncture, we implored earnestly the Divine Mercy through the intercession of the most holy Mother, and the Divine Majesty // was pleased, when they were about to turn the prow towards Cochim, to send us a favourable wind, which made us spoon so steadily that it brought us in thirteen days into the Braces (*Brças*) of Bengala.¹⁵

P. 3, Col. 1.

This spot is the most dangerous of all along that coast, on account of the great number of sand-banks and shallows, which are found chiefly on the side of the Kingdom of Chandekan. The name of Braces has been given to

these waters, because the ships which navigate this way are casting the lead continually; they pick their way in a channel of a constant depth of six or seven fathoms and go on sounding till they find a bottom of eight or more fathoms deep. Then they know that they are out of the right way and that they will presently be in four or three fathoms only.

In this manner and using great caution and vigilance, we entered the Braces on the day of the Most Holy Trinity,¹⁶ and the sea and the weather were so quiet and calm that we took occasion of it to erect an altar on the stern of the Ship, on which the Father, my companion, and myself could celebrate. We were thus going along agreeably under a serene sky, and counting the fathoms, when ill-luck, or rather our sins, would have it that, while the Sun's course was reaching the meridian, and the secret influences of the sea had reduced the power of its waves and brought the tide at low ebb, we should strike on what they call the shoals or sand-banks of Chandekan.¹⁷ These sand-banks / advance into the sea until one loses sight of the land, and cause great trouble to those who run upon them under such conditions as our own. The Ship struck by five fathoms, disabled and disjointed as she was through the mishap she had encountered, as I said, on the shoals of the Bar of Cochim. As her balast and the greater part of her cargo consisted of Chanquo,¹⁸ or large conchs found in the sea on the coast of Tutucurim and on the Fishery Coast, and an article of commerce in the ports of Bengala and Indostan, these Chanquos filling readily with the water that entered freely through the dislocated joints of the disabled ship made her so heavy that, as I have said, she foundered in five fathoms.

P. 3, Col. 2.

These Shells (*Busias*) are in great demand among the Gentiles for the fabrication of feminine ornaments. They work them very cleverly and elegantly, and make of them bracelets and rings which the women wear not only on their hands, but on their feet as well. When worked, these shells become very white, and on this white ground patterns are painted in gold and in a variety of colours, so that they become very showy and pretty. The reason why they need such large quantities of these shells as are brought every year, is that the Gentile women of those parts are in the habit, when their husbands or nearest relatives die, to burn the corpses together // with these ornaments of theirs.¹⁹ Among these Chanquos are found now and then specimens which they call Chanquos Reises or Royal, because they have their openings the other way. Such objects, which are fit for Princes and great Lords, are worth each of them from two to three hundred Rupees,²⁰ or one hundred and fifty pesos Spanish.²¹

P. 4, Col. 1.

Those shells were the cause of our ruin. Filled as they were with water, it was impossible to empty them with the pumps. Thereupon, the Pilot, at his wits' ends, though he was a clever man and had gained experience in his

profession, since he had safely managed thirteen times already to pass this difficult channel, spoke of cutting down the masts. Coming to us, he said God was punishing him for his sins, and asked us to pray the Lord for the two hundred and more souls he had on board. When we heard this terrible news, we resolved at once to hear the confession of all the Christians present. My companion placed at the stern and myself at the prow, we confessed them all as far as it was possible with the limited time at our disposal, the lamentations of the women and children, and the noise and confusion created by the cutting of the masts.

P. 4, Col. 2. When I had heard those who had come to me, removing the Crucifix which I was wearing round my neck and taking it in hand, I went down with this sacred trophy of our redemption to the room of the Moorish women, the wives of the sailors,²² whom in those parts they call *Lascàres*,²³ and who are generally engaged on board the Portuguese merchant-ships. They are for the greater part Maometans. I exposed to these women the danger they were in of losing their temporal life and the eternal one, too, should their souls be lost, and I added whatever God inspired me with in that extremity. But, owing to the unworthiness of the speaker, my words were without effect and produced no result. There was present, besides, an accursed old creature who started dissuading them and reminded them of the promises of their false prophet.

P. 5, Col. 1. In the meantime, the vessel was filling with water, though everyone was busy to lighten it, throwing the cargo overboard. We ourselves, when we had finished our spiritual task, put our hands to this work in order to help our companions. But all this would have been of little avail, had not the mercy of God helped us by keeping the weather quiet and calm. The air was so tranquil that there was not a breath of breeze, and the slightest breeze would have been enough to wreck us on those hard stones.²⁴ After the masts had been cut and the helm taken off, thanks to the calm and quiet weather, everyone busied himself preparing rafts, planks and other supports wherewith to save our lives. Even in this sad plight, people quarrelled and took up arms, so that we had to hasten and face the rioters, // imploring them for God's sake and expostulating with them not to forget the circumstances they were in. In the end, the mob quieted down, for in those parts people have great respect for the Religious.

Meanwhile, night came on and there sprang up a breeze from the land. Gentle as it was, the ship began to beat with dull thumbs on the big hard stones, so that at every moment we expected the ship to break to pieces and go to the bottom. My companion then remembered that we had with us a relic of the great patron of Salamanca, our glorious Bl. Juan de Sagan.²⁵ He tied it to a tape, and, securing it to the side of the

ship, cast it into the sea, / while he, the servant of God, as well as most of the onlookers, was shedding a flood of tears during this pious and devout action. In His infinite Mercy, and through the intercession of the Glorious Saint, God was pleased, without our knowing how or whence, that the tide should run us aground on a sandy beach, close to the land, where the ship now rested motionless. Thereupon, we thanked our Lord and His Glorious Saint, who had rescued us from death so imminent, and—other work of the merciful hand of God—we passed quietly the rest of that night.

P. 5, Col. 2

CHAPTER II.

OF WHAT HAPPENED TO US THE NEXT DAY, WHEN THE PILOT FOUND
OUT THAT WE WERE IN THE LANDS OF THE MUSUNDULIM KING
OF THE KINGDOM OF ANGELIM.

As the uncertain darkness of the night disappeared towards the lands of the Ponent, and rubicund Phœbus, rising from the East, sent us, as a herald of his approach, / a clear and joyful dawn, the Captain, now able to recognise the country, ordered to get the arms ready at once and put into position a few falconets¹ which the ship was carrying. For the same purpose, they looked for the powder, but this they found in such a state that it could not be used: hence, // they were obliged to employ the powder which some private individuals had in their flasks. As this had remained above water, it had kept dry; but it would do for only two or three discharges.

P. 5, Col. 1,
*infra.*P. 5, Col. 2,
infra.

P. 6, Col. 1.

We were busy with these bellicose preparations, when the oary fleet of the Musundulim² came into view. At the sight of our ship, they stopped rowing and sent a small boat with a white flag in token of their peaceful intentions. When it came alongside of our ship, they asked leave to speak, which was given them. They told us on the part of their Lascôr,³ or Captain General, to have no misgivings, for their King had no wish to break and violate the treaties binding him to the Portuguese of the City of Vgulum; his only intention was to secure the execution of the stipulations agreed upon between them and his predecessors. One of these agreements was that, should any Portuguese ship get stranded on the coast in his territory, her cargo would belong to the Lord of the land.⁴ Moreover, he would take only what was equitable, conformably with the decision of the Captain, the merchants and the Fathers. To this just proposal we answered that, since the vessel was bound for Vgulum, we would abide by this agreement, for we would never go against stipulations sworn in the name of the most high and all-powerful God: rather than go against honour, the Portuguese would sacrifice their lives a thousand times.

P. 6, Col. 2.

Meanwhile, the tide fell, and / we left the ship, wading through the water knee-deep. When we had all landed, a letter informing him of all that had happened, was sent to Father *frat Emanuel de la Esperança*,⁵ an Augustinian, the then Superior of that Mission and Vicar forans, or, as he is commonly called in those parts, the Vicar de la Vara of the Bishop of Meliapur.⁶ This letter was intercepted by the Saibo Subbà General of cavalry,⁷ who was coming that way with three hundred horse. On reaching the place where we were, he summoned at once the Captain and the Fathers. When we arrived all three of us in his presence, after the usual salutations, he asked from the Captain the keys of the chests and hatchways. The Captain replied that, the chests being private property, the keys were with their owners; as for the hatchways, the ship was all broken up and already full of soldiers, and, if he had not taken away things of greater value, why should he take away the keys, which were of no use any longer?⁸

P. 7, Col. 1.

This answer so enraged the Moor that he commanded to seize the Captain and one of the Fathers and cut off their heads. Thereupon, they caught the Captain and myself, who stood nearest to him. This threw me in great fear and perplexity; but, when I saw that the Captain was only laughing and retorting quite freely, // I regained courage.⁹ Then, with great hubbub, arrived a troop of Catchpolls (*Corchetes*),¹⁰ and, their curved scimitars drawn, they took us away with our hands tight behind our back. When I saw myself in this plight, I turned to the Captain and tried to comfort him with a few words about conformity to the will of God, whereupon he told me to be of good cheer, for the whole business was meant only to frighten us. Nevertheless, as we were taken along, the Piadas¹¹ or Catchpolls stripped us of the greater part of our garments, leaving to me only my underwear. In this manner we reached the appointed spot, and they started making with their scimitars fierce and threatening demonstrations, as if they were going to cut off our heads, unless we sent for money.

In this peaceful pastime we spent the greater part of the night, until at the quarter before dawn we heard the streperous sound of a trumpet, and, when this had ceased, another sound came shouting: *Melao, Melao*, which means "Agreement and friendship concluded."¹² No sooner did the Catchpolls hear this than they set us free with great show of politeness, and, when the trumpeter came up, he presented us from the Saibo Subbà, in token of good friendship, with a Siripao,¹³ that is a bira¹⁴ of betel. Then they took us to him. We found him waiting for us; the table was spread, and he invited us very courteously to take our places. The repast lasted till more than an / hour after sunrise.

P. 7, Col. 2.

Meanwhile, arrived from the City of Angelim Father *frat Manuel* with

formones¹⁵ or papers from the King to set us at liberty. He sent also, for the Religious and the Captain, Dolls¹⁶ with very fine coverings (*tiendar*). These Dolls, which have room for only one person to sit down or recline in with legs drawn up, are carried on the shoulders of four men. We were obliged to leave those Dolls to some women who were with us, and had thus to make on foot the three leagues which separated us from the City. To me these three leagues seemed as good as three thousand. As the whole country is flat and part of it swampy, the roads were so full of water and mud that we were continually falling into the mire, and in certain places we had water up to the waist. In spite of all these difficulties, we reached the City late in the night.¹⁷ The ministers of the Musundulim were able, though, to find accommodation for all in houses which they had already prepared for the purpose.

As for us, we went to our Church and residence,¹⁸ where, after a visit to the Church, our first care was to go to a tank in the garden and get rid of the load of mud which we were carrying. The next day, in the morning, the petty King sent us a present, which they call *Adià*.¹⁹ This consisted of two sheep and two rupees or one peso in Spanish money, for /in those countries it is not polite to send such gifts without the money necessary / to buy the ingredients of the dressing which one wishes to make.

P. 8, Col. 1.

P. 8, Col. 2.

CHAPTER III.

OF WHAT STILL HAPPENED TO US IN ANGELIM, UNTIL WE OBTAINED LEAVE TO DEPART FOR THE CITY OF VGULIM.

Two days after our arrival at Angelim, the Musundulim called Father frai Emanuel de la Esperança and ordered him to bring the next day the Captain of the ship, the Fathers and the merchants. The Father obeyed, and the following day, which was the third after our arrival, we all assembled in the *Drovà*¹ or the room appointed, where the audiences generally take place. This apartment was spread with good carpets. At the spot designed for the petty King stood a silk canopy with two cushions of *Mileques*,² a kind of cloth of gold and silver embroidered with silk flowers of various shades. In the middle of these showy cushions lay a shining white pillow of very light and transparent cotton, which, disguising through its texture a purple lining, produced a very soft and pleasing mixture of white and purple. On this, / then, his semi-Highness was reclining.

P. 8, Col. 1,
infra.P. 8, Col. 2,
infra.

We had to wait for more than two hours in this *Drovà*. With us were some *Mirzàs*,³ or lords of that country. On such occasions, these fellows, not to remain idle, are in the habit of playing at chess. The pieces are

carried by a servant, and, instead of our heavy and cumbrous boards, he brings with him a cloth of silk or cotton on which all the required squares are marked, and which can easily be spread anywhere.* On this occasion we took pleasure in witnessing and observing some good checkmates, for these barbarians play the game very well, indeed.

P. 9, Col. 1. Suddenly we heard the noise of a sounding baticha,⁶ or metal disc, on hearing which everyone got up to go and accompany the petty King who was about to appear. We too went to wait for him at a certain spot where some door-keepers were standing with silver staffs in their hands. As soon as // he appeared, the Father went to him, and after a deep bow he presented us to him. He received us with a pleasant countenance and signs of friendship, and, as he went to the Drouâ, we followed him until he took his seat and bade us be seated among his nobles. The ordinary way of sitting among all these nations is to squat on the ground on a carpet, rug or mat.

When we were seated after this fashion, the King asked us all kinds of news about India⁶ and the Viceroy.⁷ Satisfied on this point, he called two Mapatras⁸ or, as we would say, two Inspectors of the Royal Exchequer (*veedores de la hacienda Real*),⁹ and, when they came, he called also the Captain, the Fathers, and some of the chief merchants and recommended to all to treat the affair of the ship's cargo in such a way as to satisfy everybody. After this, he took leave of us. The first thing the Mapatras did was to ask the book of the cargo. We had it fetched at once, and they took it with them to read it more at leisure. After going through it again and again, they settled the matter in their fashion, and it would have been worse if these Barbarians had not had to count with the Portuguese of Vgulum, for all these Asiatic nations look mostly to their particular advantages only.

P. 9, Col. 2. In the meantime, all who were free and had nothing to do any longer were already on their way / to Vgulum. The rest resolved to follow them when the accounts would be settled. A Geluidâr,¹⁰ or postman of the Nababo, or Viceroy of Daack,¹¹ then arrived to tell the Musundulim to beware. As the ship carried merchandise to the value of eight lakhs (*leekas*) of rupees,¹² or four hundred thousand pesos of our Spanish money, he should not forget that half of it belonged to the Nababo. The Kingdom of Angelim being under the dominion of the Nababo, the message caused the petty King great uneasiness. He knew the tyrannical and violent ways of the Mogol (*del Mogol*),¹² and how its [his ?] officers do not listen to reason and justice, when there is question of furthering their own advantage. And so he agreed to give full satisfaction to the Nababo. To this effect, he sent him the cargo-book with the sworn agreement passed between his Mapatras, and the Captain, the Fathers and most of the merchants. To give still

greater satisfaction he was determined to send one of the Fathers who had come in the very ship.

Father fray Manuel got this news secretly from a Eunuch, his friend, who resided in the Palace, and, acting on this information, the Father Vicar de la Vara ordered a porca¹⁴ to be got ready at once. This is a kind of vessel propelled by oars. It is very common in those parts; if we leave out the dingies¹⁵ and balones,¹⁶ which on account of their small size were of no use for the purpose. When the porca had got // its set of good rowers, at dead of night he put us furtively on board in company with four Portuguese and two slaves, all armed with well appointed arquebuses and escopets.¹⁷ We departed in great haste and greater silence down a River till we reached the sea,¹⁸ and, crossing a passage (*y passando una travessa*) full of strong currents for a distance of three leagues, we entered the mouth of the large and far-famed old Ganges [*Ganges*], at a distance of *Ganges* sixty leagues from the City of Vgulin. P. 10, Col. 1.

As we were navigating "*al uzane*,"¹⁹ which in the Bengala and Industana languages means going against the current, we found it a very tough and tedious piece of work, in spite of the many villages and towns, some of them the private property of the Portuguese of Vgulin, which were covering both banks of the river all the way up to Vgulin.

When we arrived there, we found an abundance of refreshments as well as of fowls, and castrated goats, whose meat the people of those parts prefer to mutton. We got also plenty of veal, chickens, pigeons and other birds, rice of many different kinds, butter and all sorts of lacteous food, and sweetmeats prepared in ways of their own; for they have a great abundance of sugar.²⁰ To this superabundance of dainties I must add a variety of fruits, especially of mangoes (*mangas*).

This fruit is so excellent and delicious that, had the old rhymers or Poets / known it, no doubt they would have put it above all the nectars and ambrosies of the gods created by their imagination.²¹ Putting aside all exaggeration, I must say that the good mangoes can rival the most delicious fruits of our Europe. The form is generally oval, but some are quite round; the biggest are as large as the head of a two or three years' old child,²² the smallest are of the size of a goose egg. The colour is a deep rather than pale green; some have a pleasant mixture of pale-yellow and pink,²³ which makes them most beautiful to the sight, and these emit a most fragrant and delicate flavour. The flesh of these fruits is of a straw colour. It is protected by a skin thicker than that of our apples, and one must throw it away to eat the flesh up to the kernel, which last is also thrown away. P. 10, Col. 2.

God was pleased to bring us amidst these sweet troubles to Vgulin, where our Religious, and the laity as well, welcomed us with great charity.

- P. 11, Col. 1. The charity of the Portuguese living in those countries overflows not only on those of their own nationality, but chiefly on strangers. As for us, we retired to our Convent of St. Nicholas of Tolentino,²⁴ and there we were the recipients of that customary charity so well practised // by all the Religious Orders of those far-off lands. The Italian Religious and those of other European nations, / who have experienced it, can well testify to it.²⁵
- P. 11, Col. 2. Indeed, they understand quite well that *sine charitate, opus externum nihil prodest* (without charity, external works profit nothing).²⁶

CHAPTER IV.

IN WHICH IS GIVEN A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE CITY OF VGULIM, AND OF ITS ORIGIN AND FOUNDATION.

- P. 11, Col. 1. *infra.* The City of Vgulum was situated on the Bank of the River Ganges, at a distance of sixty leagues inland from the sea, as I have already related. It owed its origin to some Portuguese merchants at the time that Emperor Acabar was at the head of the Mogol Monarchy. Those merchants came from various parts of India with their ships laden, not only to sell the goods they brought, but also to buy and ship those to be found in the land. For this they landed their merchandise and built large golás¹ or store-houses, and their partitions, with frames made of a kind of strong cane, which is found in many parts of India, and which the natives call bambus.² These they covered with straw, and there they kept their goods and wintered³
- P. 11, Col. 2. *infra.* five or six months, until / the return of the season favourable for the homeward journey. This season is called the *moncion tendiente*,⁴ and, while they waited for it, they were selling and buying and driving their business until the time of which I spoke had arrived, when they left.

- After a few years, some of them, seeing the great profits they derived from the goods they were bringing or exporting, and taken up with the great wealth and fertility of the land, stayed one or two years.⁵ The natives, who for the greater part are gentiles did not object to it, still less the Moorish Siguidar⁶ who was governing that district. He befriended several of the Portuguese, invited them to banquets or *memanes*,⁷ as they say in their language, and persuaded them to come and settle there and bring with them Fathers, for they would allow them to build Churches and do whatever was in accordance with the law of the Christians. // Though the Portuguese received these advances with pleasure, yet they did not show it, for they hoped the request would come from the Padchá (which means Emperor in our language),⁸ or at least from the Nababo of Daack, under whose jurisdiction the Province was. In the meantime, they continued quite freely to sell their wares at high prices.
- P. 12, Col. 1.

These came for the greater part from the South,⁹ with the exception of Caufim¹⁰ or sea-shells (*Busios*) from the Isles of Maldiva, Cianquo from Tutucurim and the Pescaria,¹¹ pepper (*pimienta*) from Malauar and cinnamon (*canela*) from Ceilan. The export of the two last named drugs is forbidden by the Most Serene Kings of Portugal;¹² however, they ship them on the sly, chiefly the merchants of Cochin.

The chief articles imported by the Portuguese from the South are a great amount of worked China silks, such as Brocades, Brocatelles, Cloth, Velvets, Damasks, Satins, Taffetas, Taffissirias, Escomillas or Muslins,¹³ all these in every variety of colour, black excepted, for these people look upon it as unlucky, and only some fakirs (*fakuires*) use it to show their contempt of the world.¹⁴ The Portuguese bring also from China great quantities of porcelain (*porcelana*),¹⁵ and all kinds of gilt furniture, such as beds, / tables, P. 12, Col. 2. coffers, chests, writing-desks, boxes,¹⁶ and many other curios, of which there are plenty in China. They bring also pearls and jewels of great value, made in the European style, but with greater skill and cheaper, for labour is very cheap in that great Empire of China, on account of the large number of workmen.

From the Kingdoms of Solor and Timor the Portuguese import also a great amount of scented sandal-wood (*sandalos*), the white and the red kinds.¹⁷ The Missions of those Kingdoms of Solor are entrusted to the Order of the great Patriarch St. Dominic, and the Religious of this Holy Order have worked with great success in spreading the faith. Several of them, too, have given their lives while labouring for its propagation. They were murdered in hatred of the faith, as the history of those countries testifies.¹⁸

The Portuguese bring also to this Kingdom of Bengala the cloves, nutmegs and mace of the Maluca Isles¹⁹ and Banda; from the Isles of Borneo they bring the most valued camphor (*camfora*).²⁰

All these drugs and goods, especially the more valuable, are taken by sodagores,²¹ or merchants of the country, to the Court of Agra, where the Padchâ generally resides. When some of these things were brought to his presence, learning that the Portuguese brought them to Vgulin, and aware also through other reports of their coming to that port, he gave orders to send a formon // or mandate to the Nabâbo of Daack,²² enjoining on him to call from the country of Satagan²³ two of the leading Portuguese and send them with all the comfort and ease possible. As soon as the said Nabâbo received this order, he despatched at once a Mirzâ (this is a title given to the nobles among the Mogols) to fetch two Portuguese; but, as he had to travel a long way, and though he was going by the Ganges in one of those very light boats called Geliâs,²⁴ the crew of which consists

of eighteen rowers a side (*por banda*), he spent more than twenty-eight days going, with the result that on his arrival he found the Portuguese had gone, some to Malacca, others to China, and others to India.

The messenger felt sorely disappointed; still more disappointed was the Nabâbo, who, seeing that it could not be remedied, sent strict orders for the Mirzâ to go to the Court and explain what had happened. He was also to reassure the Padchâ by saying that the Portuguese had left behind in the hands of certain *sodagores* more than two hundred thousand *rupees* to be spent in purchasing all kinds of merchandise, such as cotton-pieces, gingham made of grass, and silks of various shades, as also sugar, butter, rice, indigo (*anil*), long pepper, saltpetre, wax, lac, and many other articles ²⁵ to be found in abundance in the Gangetic provinces. Among the most important articles of Portuguese export-trade are / to be reckoned very rich back-stitched quilts, bed-hangings, pavilions, and other curious articles of needle-work representative of the chase, which are made in these Kingdoms. ²⁶ To take over all these purchases, the Portuguese were obliged to come back the next year, as the Mirzâ assured the Padchâ. These explanations satisfied the Padchâ to some extent, but not enough to prevent his ordering to tell the Nabâbo that he found him negligent in his office, with other words of rebuke, which the Nabâbo took so much to heart that he died shortly after. ²⁷

The following year, the first Ship which arrived at the port of Vgulin was one coming from the City of Goa in India. The Captain and master (*Señorio*) of it was a certain Tavares from the neighbourhood of Goa, a respectable man well versed in politics and state affairs. On landing he was received with great demonstrations of joy and friendship. The news was sent forthwith to the Nabâbo of Daack, who at once despatched a *Gelhuidâr* ²⁸ or courier, with orders for the *seguidares* ²⁹ of Vgulin and Satagan to stop the Portuguese, should they by chance want to go away. They had, however, to manage it in such a way that they [the Portuguese] should not be given to understand the reason of it, until he had had time to send some one to take them to the Court of the Padchâ. Meanwhile, they had to show them great kindness and entertain them well. // The *Seguidares* found no need of detaining the Portuguese, since they had to remain there at least five months, ³⁰ and all that time they tried their best to please and satisfy them.

During the interval arrived the Mirzâ who had already come the previous year. He came with six *cossâs* ³¹ or very light ships, and two big *Patals*, ³² or flat-bottomed boats of burden having on deck cabins (*camaras*), the walls (*tapias*) ³³ of which are covered with straw for the sake of lightness, the inner framework of the roof being well made of bamboo,

a kind of strong canes, as I have said, common in those parts. These bamboos are painted and lacquered in various colours, and over these, so as to cover the straw, they place very neat mats of interwoven palm-leaves, also of different colours. On these again they put curious ornaments, according to the expense they wish to make. Hence, these roofs are very showy and neat. As soon as the Mirzà was on shore, the Siguidâr came to receive him with all the courtesy and ceremony which they are accustomed to make on such occasions. These gone through, they repaired to the house of Captain Tavâres.

The Captain, who had been informed of the visit, was awaiting the Mirzà a little in front of his door, in company with all the Portuguese of the place. When the Mirzà crossed the threshold, they saluted him with some muskets and falconets which they had brought from the ship for the purpose. After this reception, and when all were seated, the Mirzà ordered the reading of the formon or Imperial decree by which the Padchâ commanded two of the chief Portuguese to appear in his presence, pledging at the same time his word that they would be treated as friends. Thereupon, Captain Tavâres answered that they were all ready and glad to obey the Emperor's order, and, as to the Mirzà's choosing among the Portuguese, he remarked that they were all of equal rank. On this the Moor⁷³ answered that the first should be he, the Captain, and he would leave it to his discretion to select from among the rest all those whom he should like to take with him. Consequently, the Captain chose three other Portuguese, and a great number of servants, all of whom, besides their fine looks, were magnificently and showily attired, so as to give a high idea of their masters. The Mogol, before he came into contact with the Portuguese, thought he surpassed everybody on this point, and not without reason, for among all other Maumetan nations, the Mogols are the most ostentatious and sumptuous in the cleanliness and care of their persons, the ornamentation of their houses and the costliness of their food.

When all were ready, they embarked on the Ganges. They took two months going up-stream (*al uasac*) to reach the City of Patanâ,⁷⁴ // where they landed and continued their journey till they arrived at the City and Court of Agrâ.⁷⁵ The Padchâ welcomed them with great honour and favour, and, after several talks with Captain Tavâres, he took a great liking to him. The Captain, much gratified, gave him his word that he would come and settle at Vgulim and bring with him other Portuguese. His Majesty, fully satisfied, accepted his promise and gave him many valuable presents, which they call *seripaos*.⁷⁶ He also ordered to furnish him with *formones* or letters allowing him to build the City wherever he liked, and gave him a grant of the adjoining lands.⁷⁷ The Nabâho and the above-men-

P. 14, Col. 2.

P. 15, Col. 1.

tioned Seguidares were also ordered to supply the Portuguese with all the materials necessary for the construction of their houses. The same formones granted also leave to the Religious to build Churches and Convents, and to baptise without hindrance all the Gentiles who should like to follow the Anzil,³⁸ which means the Gospel and Christian law. Provided with these favourable documents, Captain Tavares departed.⁴⁰

P. 15. Col. 2.

On his reaching Vgullin, after so many honours and recommendations given him by the Emperor, the natives fairly worshipped him. Tavares took possession of the lands which seemed most suitable, and at the monsoon (*monçom*) he sent at once his Ship to Goa with letters for the Viceroy and the Bishop of Cochim, then the Very Illustrious Lord/Don fray Andrew (*Andres*), of the Order of the Minorites,⁴¹ to whose jurisdiction the Kingdoms of Bengala belonged at the time. The Viceroy requested him to choose Religious as Missionaries for those lands, and, when he came to examine to what Order this Mission ought to be entrusted, he agreed after mature reflexion to give it to the Order of my glorious Father Saint Augustin. This decision was at once communicated to the Viceroy and to the Reverend Father Provincial, that he might send out worthy Religious to labour in that vineyard of the Lord. Thereupon, the Father Provincial appointed Father fray Bernardo de Jesus,⁴² a thoroughly Apostolic man, as Superior of the Mission, and in his absence Father fray Juan de la Cruz,⁴³ a Religious eminent by his learning and saintly life. Three other Religious were also sent with them,⁴⁴ and on their arrival at Cochim, they went together at once to call on the Bishop, who received them very affectionately, and, when the time was there to start for Bengala, he appointed Father fray Bernardo as Vicar de la Vara, and delegated to him, within the limits of his power, his full ordinary jurisdiction.⁴⁵

[To be continued.]

NOTES TO CH. I.

1. *Old Cochin*.—"The river is a fair broad stream, and affords good harbourage. At the entrance from the North,—that is, on the left side—is a little island containing the handsome and splendid mansion of the bishop, which they call Vaipin...The Portuguese town.....is reserved to that nation. The town where the King resides is called by the Portuguese Cochin de Riba [of the river], or Dacyna, that is, the upper, because it is higher up on the river than that of the Portuguese." (Cf. Pym de Laval, Hakl. edn., I. 435-436, where Mr. Gray notes that Vypean is still an island, contrary to Dr. Burnell's note in van Linschoten, I. 69. (Hakl. edn.)

The Augustinians at Cochin.—The Augustinians came to Goa in 1532. According to Fmy Austin Labins, O. S. Aug., their Convent of Cochin existed in 1578. "The Church and Convent of the Austin Friars stood upon the bank of the river." Cf. Baldaus, Churchill's collection, London, 1745, III. 571, Col. I.—For old plans and views of Cochin, Cf. Paris y Sousa, *Asia Portug.*, I. 58 (circa 1620) and Baldaus, *Op. cit.*, 112, 114 (c. 1665).

2. *No place healthier than Cochin*.—In 1670 and later there was serious question of abandoning Old Goa for Mormugão. Cf. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *O Chron. de Timor*, Goa, 1866, p. 122, seq.—"Cochin is not accounted so wholesome as most of the other places seated on the coast of Malabar, by reason of its situation in low and marshy grounds, but abounds both in fish and flesh; and its situation is extremely delightful, by reason of the many brooks and adjacent islands in the river, wherein many of the Portuguese have built themselves very pleasant summer-seats." Baldaus, Churchill collection, III. 571.—The town of Cochin now enjoys an unenviable reputation in regard to healthiness, owing to the prevalence of elephantiasis, otherwise called "Cochin leg."

3. *Old Cochin, Mangatte, Vaipin, Anjicainmal*.—"The town of Cochin is inhabited by Portugals, [and naturall born] Indians, as Malabars and other Indians that are christened; it is almost as great as Goa, very populous, and well built with faire houses, Churches, and cloysters, and a fayre and [most] pleasant River, with a good channell, and a haven; a little beyonde the towne towards the land runneth a small river or water, where sometimes men may passe over dry-footed; on the further side whereof lyeth a place called Cochin Dacyna, and it is above Cochin, which is in the jurisdiction of the Malabars, who as yet continue in their own religion; there the King keepeth his Court....The land of Cochin is an Island, and it is in many places compassed about, and through the Isle with small Rivers.

"Right over against Cochin Northwarde lyeth another Island called Vaypin, which is likewise compassed about with water..." Cf. van Linschoten, Hakl. edn., I. 69.

On the Mangatty River, Cf. *The Dutch in Malabar (Selections from Records of the Madras Government, Dutch Records, No. 13)*, Madras, 1911, pp. 20, 39, 62, 76, 107, 126, 183, 185; and on Anjicainmal, *ibid.*, pp. 20, 57-60, 76, 87, 92, 129, 185.

Anjicainmal is Eraculam, opposite Cochin, on the other side of the back-water. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 92.

P. 1, col. 2.

"Mangatta in the old books means Alangatte. There was anciently a Hindul King at Alangatte, and Alangatte was a small Kingdom. It is probable that Alway (*Fiera de Alba*) was then comprised within the Kingdom and territory of Alangatte, and that the river of Alway was called the river of Alangatte. That river comes to Cochin. Hence, it is possible that the river flowing into the sea between Cochin and Vaypatt was called the Alangatte river." (Letter of Dom Fr. Bernardo de Jesus, Archbishop of Verapoli, Enaculam, April 8, 1917, to the Editor).

In the map at the end of Giuseppe da Santa Maria's *Prima Spedizione all'Indie Orientale...1666*, I find a river passing through a place called Mangati and situated near Alangate. Mangati was a Christian settlement. Cf. M. Geddes, *History of the Church of Malabar*, London, 1894, p. 67.

"To the north-east, is situated the ancient town of Alangatta, which the Portuguese have called corruptly Mangate. This town had formerly its own Kings, and within its circuit is the biggest Christian church of Malabar." Cf. P. Paulin de S. Barthélémy, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, Paris, 1808, I. 226.

P. 2, col. 1.

4. *The Augustinians in India*.—The Augustinians in the East Indies did not form a special Province, but a Vicariate dependent on the Province of Portugal. Hence, the title of their Superior in the East was Vice-Provincial.

5. Fr. Gregorio de los Angeles was killed during the siege of Hugli in 1632. Cf. Maurique, p. 442, Col. 2.

Joseph ab Assumptione writes in *Martyrologium Augustinianum*, t. 2, p. 243, under May 24: "Apud Bengaliam in India Orientali certamen forte Ven. Gregorii ab Angelis Olyssiponensis, qui in Indiam profectus, ibi inter naves assumptus est, et sacerdos initatus in Missionem Bengalensem perrexit, ubi pro animarum lucro impense laborans, a Mauris hac die oppido Ugolini sacra prophatantibus, et multos necantibus, in odium fidelis sagittis confossus animam suam ad Caelum lucrificavit." In the same work among the Commentaries (May 24) we read: "D. Ven. Gregorius ab Angelis Olyssipone natus, in Indiam perrexit, ubi habitum induit in Congregationem, anno 1619, Sacerdotio initatus, missus est in missionem Bengale, ubi multum laboravit pro Gentilium conversione, et instructione: donec invadentibus Mauris oppidum de Ugolin anno 1632 in die S. Joannis Baptiste, qui fuit quinta feria, ab ipsis in odium fidelis sagittis confossus occubuit. Ita refertur in Brevilegio Ms. Rerum Indiarum, p. 2, Notitia 18, fol. 163. Agit de illa Frater meus M. Fr. Franciscus a S. Maria in Annalibus." (Note by the Rev. Fr. Tirso Lopez, O. S. Aug.)—The date of the martyrdom is incorrect. The siege of Hugli began only on the feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, and lasted three months. Fr. Gregorio was killed on the river, during the flight; therefore at the end of September.

6. Read: Ugolin, i.e. Hugli.

7. Pipili or Shishbandar, now deserted, on the Soharajurakha River, Orissa. "We came to Pipley Road, two leagues from the river and from the coast, where we were as much exposed as if we had been in the open sea; and as there was very little depth there, we anchored in order to protect ourselves from the violence of the tempests..... The town of Pipley lies four or five leagues beyond the mouth of the river. It is of medium size and fairly populated, but is not walled. The chief houses, Pagodas, and

other large buildings are surrounded by open spaces, gardens, squares of turf, orchards." Cf. Schouten, *Voilage aux Indes Or.* (1658-65), II, pp. 59 and 158. The passage was translated by Sir R. Temple in his edition of Bowrey, p. 162.

8. Orissa.

9. Tuticorin.

10. *The Bar at Cochin*.—"The sandbanks [of Cochin] are formed in the fair season (Sept.—May). The bar is cleared by the tidal scour during the monsoon, and the river is then closed for navigation, owing not so much to the states of the banks as to the heavy surf on the bar. Our engineers use every effort to promote the tidal scour, which, with the river current, clears the bar." Gray's note in Pyrard de Laval, Hakl. edn., I, 437, n. 1, and n. 2. P. 2, col. 2.

"The river [of Cochin] has about seventeen or eighteen fathoms water at high tide; but its entrance is very difficult in the winter-time, being commonly choked up by the sands which are carried thither by the stream in the winter-season, which, however, are again removed by the violence of the current in the summer-time." Cf. Baldaeus, Churchill's collection, III, 570, Col. 2.

11. *The Itinerarium* or prayers recited when setting out on a journey. They begin with the words: *In viam facit*.

12. Ponakad, properly Purakkadu, is a town on the coast of Travancore between Cochin and Quilon, formerly a separate State. The Portuguese had a fort here, and the Dutch, in the 17th century, a factory. Fra Paolino (1796) speaks of it as a very populous city full of merchants, Muhammadan, Christian, and Hindú. It is now insignificant.

13. Quilon.

14. The ordinary merchant vessels in van Linschoten's time had generally but one or two Portuguese, the Captain, Master and Pilot; the chief boatswain was an Arabian, and the crew consisted of Abyssinians and Arabians.

15. *The Braces of Bengal*.—In the *Diary of W. Hodges*, Hakluyt edn., we hear repeatedly of the Braces below the Hijil River. Cf. I, 175-176; II, 23, 23, 232, 234, 237, 239; III, 205, 206, the last reference being the most important. Hemph's Chart and Directions show a Western or Eastern Brace, long sands running seaward in the prolongation of the tidal channel, towards the western side of the embouchure. See *ibid.*, III, App.; Thornton's map showing "the going over the Braces." P. 5, col. 1.

For a number of other references, Cf. Sir R. Temple's edn. of Bowrey's *A Geogr. Account*, p. 167 n. 1, and the map accompanying the work.

I quote from the piloting directions found in Jean-Hugues de Linschot (van Linschoten's) *Le Grand Routier de Mer* (Amsterdam: Chez Evert Cloppenburg, 1638). They are based on the memoirs and observations of Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and English pilots, and appeared already as Part II of van Linschoten's *Itinerario, ofte Schipvaart*, Amsterdam, 1596.¹ Ch. XI is headed, "*Navigacion & Cours des Indes à Porte Figueira de S. Iago à l'entree du fleuve Gange au Royaume de Bengale*." My excuse for quoting them *in extenso* is that they are not mentioned in Yule's study on

¹ Two French edns. by different publishers in 1610; another French edn. in 1619.

Early Charts and Topography of the Hugh River in the Diary of W. Hodges, Vol. III. App. VII., and that they have not been reproduced in the new Hakluyt edn. of van Linschoten by Dr. Barrow and Prof. Tiele. They are therefore not otherwise accessible in Calcutta.

*Quelle route
il faut tenir
étant près de
la pointe des
Palmiers*

[P. 23.] "Quand vous venez à voir la pointe des Palmiers, vous dresserez votre cours à l'Est, jusques sur la profondeur de douze brasses & de là au Nord-Est jusques à huit brasses & demie : & s'il fait jour vous aurez incontinent la veue de terre, qui sera au dessous de toutes les Basses, & si le pays estoit couvert de nuées & brouillars, vous ne le pourrez voir jusques à ce que vous veniez à quatre brasses. Vous tiendrez ceste route avec un quadrans qui ne decline point, & s'il declinoit aucunement vous ferez votre route à l'advenant. Le pays pres duquel vous viendrez sera une terre basse sans arbres, ni boscages : & singlant le long de la coste, vous appercevrez du costé de l'Est une longue colline noire couverte de boscages qui montre comme un Gambian ou Catavelle Indienne sans mast, & un peu plus outre un nombre d'arbres les uns pres des autres, entre lesquels il y en a trois ou quatre qui paroissent quelque peu plus grands que la susdite colline. Quelque peu par delà ces arbres commence la Basse du pays d'Orixa. Si tost que vous en avez la veue, vous verrez l'eau se rompre devers la Mer, asçavoir sur les Seches de Bengala, lesquelles vous demeurent devers la Mer, ce qui fait qu'on ne peut les voir, Passant par là approchez toujours de la Basse d'Orixa sans rien craindre que ce qui se void à l'oeil ; la profondeur y est de sept brasses avec menu sable noir au fonds.

Basse d'Orixa

"Du costé de Bengala en la profondeur de 4 ou 5 brasses vous aurez fonds vaseux : & aurez à vous garder de ce costé : car de ce fonds vaseux vous viendriez sur le bout d'un Banc ou Seche de Benhala :¹ Si vous trouvez ce fonds, vous dresserez votre cours au Nord Est & au Nord si besoin est, jusques à ce que vous veniez de rochaf à 3 brasses, car c'est le droit chemin. Ayant passé ceste Basse d'Orixa, vous trouverez plus de profondeur ; Et si vous [P. 24.] desirez singler le long du pays d'Orixa dressés votre cours droit sur la premiere pointe que vous voyez devant vous. La moindre profondeur que vous trouverez est de trois brasses, & cestuy est le droit chemin jusques à ce que vous soyiez bien pres de terre, là ou vous trouverez cinq & six brasses de profondeur : & si vous avez affaire de bois à bruler, vous n'avez sinon à aller de l'autre costé du pays de Bengala, là ou il s'en trouve de meilleur que du costé d'Orixa : mais il faut puis après retourner du costé d'Orixa, jusques à ce que vous ayez passé deux rivières qui sont du mesme costé d'Orixa, dont la premiere ressemble mieux à un gouffe qu'à la bouche d'une Rivière : l'autre git environ à une lieue plus avant & a une grande bouche ou entreux. Trois ou quatre lieues plus outre se voyent quelques ruisseaux courans & des arbres autour : Et une lieue par delà ces ruisseaux se trouve un boscage espais semblable à une forest de Palmiers. Depuis le commencement de ce boscage on aura à singler de travers prenant son cours vers l'autre costé du pays nomme Guynette,² asçavoir droit vers un arbre qui est du mesme costé, lequel paroît par dessus les autres, & est du

Guynette.

¹ Bengala.

² Not identified.

costé gauche de la rivière de Ghandecan [sic] : De là plus outre il ny a que bancs, à raison de quoy vous vous garderez de singler plus outre si ce n'est à haute eau.

"Si vous desirez tenir votre cours par le Canal le long de terre ferme, vous singlerez en la manière que dit a esté. Depuis les Palmiers au Nord-Est vous poserez en cinq brasses : & s'il fait jour, vous vous tiendrez sur trois brasses, singlant ainsi le long de terre sur ceste profondeur : qui si par fois vous venez à moindre profondeur vous n'avez pourtant qu'à emûdre. Tenant ce cours vous appercevrez la Basse d'Oriza : lors vous en approcherez en sorte que vous teniez votre cours les deux tiers devers terre & l'autre tiers devers la Basse : Ici a un le droit chemin, comme dit a esté."

Ch. XII contains a similar description. "*Autre description plus particuliere du voyage des Indes à Porto Piqueno, signez par un Pilote.*"

[P. 26.] "Venant à reconnoître la dite colline dite Champana vous singlerez le long de cest endroit jusques à ce que vous descoveriez trois arbres pres l'un de l'autre séparés des autres, lesquels on nomme As arvores de coheçencia, [P. 27.] c. a. d. arbres de cognoissance. Vis à vis de ces arbres git la Basse d'Oriza, & regardant vers la Mer on void l'eau s'y rompre du costé de Bengala : lesquels signes on ne peut appercevoir sinon en temps serain : pource est il de besoin en temps nubileux & obscur d'estre sur ses gardes, & d'avoir la sonde en la main : car la profondeur n'y est que de trois brasses & demi & quatre tout au plus. Est aussi à noter que du costé de Bengala le fûds est dur, mais du costé d'Oriza il est mol & de petit sable noir, comme ie le say par experience y ayant passé diverses fois en des grands navires.

"Ayant passé les deux Basses d'Oriza & Bengala, vous viendrez à descoverir A yiba das* Galloa, c. a. d. l'Isle des Coqs, vers laquelle vous pouvez hardiment faire voile sans crainte : car il y a assez de profondeur de tous costez : & quant à l'autre costé d'Oriza il est plein de bancs : pourtant est il bon d'approcher l'Isle des Coqs : & allant le long d'icelle, on vient à une riviere nommée Rio de Chandequan : laquelle estant passée en tournant quelque peu du costé d'Oriza vous venez au Cap de la riviere d'Angelim, lequel vous laissez au Nord. Venant là vous aurez toujours la sonde en la main, la profondeur n'estant que de trois brasses, trois & demie, & quatre : mais l'eau estant haute, vous en trouverez davantage : & cela dure jusques à ce que vous ayez passé la dite riviere : car lors on trouve assez de profondeur. Ayant passé outre, vous suivez le rivage, jusques à une autre riviere nommée Gilingao. Vous trouvant à l'endroit d'icelle, advisez de ne vous éloigner pas beaucoup de terre ferme pour tendre à la droite, car là se rencontre une Secte de sabbé, ou se perdit Bartolomeo Rodrigues de Morais, avec une navire chargée. Portant vous adverti-je de tenir le costé gauche, là ou vous trouverez par tout assez de profondeur.

"Ceste riviere passée, on trouve quantité de bois à bruler, & delà vous venez à certains ruisseaux, desquels vous pouvez tourner à l'autre costé de Guymette, là ou

L'Isle des Coqs.

Riviere de Chandequan, Cap d'Angelim.

Guymette.

* Chandequan.

* Sic, instead of *des*.

* On the Isle of Cochs see, besides Vule's *Hedges' Diary*, III. 207, Sir R. C. Temple's notes in Bowley's *A Geograph. Account*, 209-210.

vous appercevrez cinq ou six arbres apparçus par dessus les autres, du costé oriental de l'embouchure de la rivière de Chandecan. La profondeur qui se trouve au banc susmentionné est de deux brasses & demie, & trois tout ou plus. Quand vous estes passé outre vous n'avez plus besoin d'avertissement : car les pêcheurs vous peuvent guider ou vous voudrez, & pourrez passer outre avec une demi-mare.

Oriza

"Je vous averti derechef que si d'aventure vous arrivez avant le point du jour à l'endroit de la dite rivière de Cayegare,¹ vous ayez à prendre votre cours le long de la coste jusques à Punta das Palmeiras, & de là vers l'Est jusques à dixsept brasses de profondeur, prenant de là votre route au Nord Ouest, & Nord Nord Ouest jusques à ce que vous veniez à trouver douze brasses, & poursuivrez la même route tant que vous veniez à quatre brasses, & trois & demie, & lors en temps certain vous découvrirez le pays d'Oriza : mais le temps étant sombre & nubileux, ne vous avantez pas davantage vers terre ferme, vous tenant toujours à quatre brasses & trois & demie, tirant vers l'Est, vous servant toujours de la sonde, & vous tenez toujours à une petite profondeur. Et si la nuit vous survient étant à seize brasses, continuez votre cours jusques aux deux Isles, car il n'est pas bon de mouiller ancre.

"Passant devant la dite Punta das Palmeiras, & tenant votre cours en dedans en temps de nuit vous ne passerez point les sept & huit brasses jusques à la venue du jour, & lors vous poursuivrez votre cours² en dedans, & si vous vous trouvez là avec un petit navire, tenez vous à deux brasses, & deux & demie, jusques à ce que vous découvrirez la Basse d'Oriza, à l'endroit de laquelle étant parvenu approchez en hardiment à un trait d'arquebaze, car il y a de la profondeur assez, mais du costé d'Oriza se trouvent plusieurs bancs. Par ainsi vous lairez la susdite Basse à droite. De là on [P. 28] peut aller le droit cours à l'Isle des Coqs, & à la pointe de la Rivière d'Angelim d'où il est aisé d'approcher avec un petit navire, à raison que la profondeur y est de deux brasses & demie, & de trois."

16. *The Feast of the Holy Trinity*.—Fr. L. Bernard, S. J., Kurnecung, points out that, as Easter in 1628 fell on April 23, the Feast of the Holy Trinity was on June 18. I do not understand how Mantique's voyage could have taken so long. They left Cochin on March 6, 1628, got becalmed from the very beginning for 14 days, after which a favourable wind brought them in 13 days to the Braces.

17. *The Kingdom of Chandecan*.—Before 1596, the year when the earliest edition of van Linschoten's work was published, the country to the E. of the Hugli River was known as the Kingdom of Chandecan. One of the channels of the Hugli near Sangor Island, if not the Hugli itself, was then called the River of Chandecan. I find Chandecan referred to as "He de Chandecan" in a map of Sir Th. Roe (1632) reprinted by the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 1902. A copy of it can be seen along the staircase of the Imperial Library, Calcutta. It can also be seen in Terry's *Voyage to East India*, London, 1777, pp. 85-86. Again it can be traced in the earlier editions of van Linschoten, Angelim being placed in the

¹ Cf. Sir R. C. Temple's note on Conjaquarea in Bowrey's *A Geograph. Account*, 129 n. 1.
² Cours.

Island of Chandecan. Father Monserrate's map (1580-1600) mentions also Chandecan. Cf. my notes on Chandecan in *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, pp. 442-443.

18. *Changuo*.—Hind. *Sankh*, Skt. *Sanḥa*, a large kind of shell (P. 3, col. 2: *Turbinella rapa*) prized by the Hindus, and used by them for offering libations, as a horn to blow at the temples, and for cutting into armlets and other ornaments. It is found especially in the Gulf of Manar, and the Chank fishery was formerly, like that of the pearl-oysters, a Government monopoly. Cf. Tenant's *Ceylon*, II, 556. Great quantities of them were shipped off at Tuticorin in Bocarro's time (A.D. 1644). Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Chank. Tuticorin is still the chief place for the Chank fishery.

J. Hornell treats of *The Chank Bangle Industry* in the *Memoirs* of the As. Soc., Beng., Vol. III.

19. *Great number of Chanks used*.—A similar reason is given for the great demand in India for ivory by van Linschoten and A. Duran (*Cercos de Menambiqué*, 1633, p. 6.) Cf. van Linschoten (*Hakluyt* edn.), I, 263 and 263 n. 2. P. 4, col. 1.

20. *Price of abnormal Chanks*.—The abnormal chank, with its spiral opening to the right, is of exceptional value, and has been sometimes priced, it is said, at a lakh of rupees. Cf. Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, p. 141. Yule quotes Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, 1873, I, 357: "A Chank opening to the right hand is highly valued.....always sells for its weight in gold." There is only one specimen at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and it is kept under lock and key.

21. *Value of the peso*.—Manrique values the rupee uniformly at $\frac{1}{2}$ peso Spanish. The peso, like the rupee, has had many fluctuations. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Rupee, Pardo.

22. *Sailors with their wives and children on board*.—"The crew] commonly have their wives and children with them in the ships wherein they are hired, which continually stay with them, what voyage soever they make, and dresse their owne meat which is Rice sedden in water with salt fish among it. The cause why the women saile in the ship, is, for that in Summer [and not else, their] Shippes go to sea, when they always ha^{ve} calme water and faire weather, with good winde." Cf. van Linschoten, *Hakluyt* edn., I, 267.

23. *The meanings of Laskar in Manrique*.—The Persian word *laskar* (P. 4, col. 2: means originally "an army," "a camp," whence *laskari*, "one belonging to an army, a soldier". The word *laskar*, *laskar*, appears to have been corrupted through the Portuguese use of *laskari* in the forms *laskarin*, *laskari*, &c., either by the Portuguese, or by the Dutch and the English, who took the word from them, and from these *laskar* has passed back again into native use in this corrupt shape. The early Portuguese writers have the form we have just named in the sense of "soldier," but the modern sense of "sailor" was already general in Pyrard de Laval's time, at the beginning of the 17th century. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Lascar: In Manrique, *laskar* (plural: *laskares*) means "sailor"; *laskar*, a Captain-General. See p. 6, col. 1.

24. *Stones at the Brucos*.—There are no stones or rocks in that direction, but one of the pilots remarks in van Linschoten's sailing directions (*supra*): "Est aussi a

noter que du côté de Bengala le fôde est dur, mais du côté d'Oriza il est mol & de petit sable noir."

25. Bl. John of Sahagun, a Sancto Facundo († 1479), is one of the Saints of the Augustinian Order.

NOTES TO CH. II.

P. 3, ch. II,
title.

Position of Anglim—Hidgelee or, more properly, Hijili. The tract so called was under native rule a *chakla*, or district, of Orissa; under English rule, it was formerly a zilla of Bengal, but now is part of the Midnapur zilla, of which it constitutes the S. E. portion, viz., the low coast lands on the West side of the Hugli estuary, and below the junction of the Rupnarayan. The name has gone through many strange phases in European records. *Hobson-Jobson* quotes the forms: Angeli (A. D. 1553, 1586), Ingelee (1636), Hingeli (1726), Ingellia (1727), Ingelie (1758), Ingellee (1784). We have met the form Anglimo (1620). H. G. Reaks speaks of it as still an inconspicuous little village hidden in a grove at the junction of the Rasulpur River with the Hugli; 4 miles above it, is Cowcolly. Cf. *Bengal: Past and Present*, 1908, Pt. I, p. 245.

"Originally," writes Rai Monmohan Chakravarti in a note to myself, "Hijili was one of several islands, now united with the mainland through the shrinking of the dividing channel. The name cannot be traced in Hindu works. It formed, no doubt, a part of Orissa, when the Ganga-Kings of Orissa absorbed Tamlapita. It might have been included in the Dandapat of Malhyatha, a large subdivision, mentioned in a Bengali biography of the preacher Chaitanya (*J. A. S. B.*, 1900, p. 186). This name survived in the form Malchhata in the list of Parganas in Sarkar Jalesar (Cf. Jarrett, *Ann.* II, 143). At the same time, Hijili island, if identifiable with Pargana Hesoli (*ibid.*, p. 141), as is not unlikely, might have been, after the Musalman conquest of Orissa in A. D. 1568, transferred to Sarkar Madaran for better control. I have found no list yet of the Hindu chiefs or early Musalman rulers of the island. They cannot have been very powerful. In fact, the importance of Hijili was due chiefly to the European navigators coming up the river, though its salt manufacture may have been very old."

P. 3, col. 2
infra

1. *Falconets*.—An ancient small cannon, whose diameter at the bore was $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and which carried shot of $1\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 lbs.

P. 6, col. 1.

2. *The Muhammadan of Hijili*.—According to the legends current in the district, the Muhammadans first attempted a settlement during the reign of Hussain Shah of Bengal, about A. D. 1505, when the Taj Khan Masnad-b-Ali and his brother Sikandar Pahlawan established themselves at the mouth of the Rasulpur River, opposite Sagar Island. They conquered the whole of Hijili, which is said to have remained in the family for nearly eighty years, when it passed into the hands of a Hindu. Valentyn writes (Vol. V. 158): "Hingeli, which had for many years a Chief of its own, was conquered about 1630 by the Great Mogul....."

Though Manrique's account does not show whether in 1628 the reigning Prince was a Hindu or a Muhammadan, it is clear that he was a vassal of the Nawab of

Dacca. "In 1660, the lawful heir of Hingeli, who from a child had been kept a prisoner, found means to escape, and with the help of his own to shake off the Moorish yoke. But he did not long enjoy it: he was in 1661 brought under Aurungzeb's power with the help of the E. I. Company (the Dutch Company), and was again imprisoned and better looked after than at first." Valentyn, quoted by Prof. Blochmann, *Contrib. to Geogr. and Hist. of Bengal*, 1873, p. 17, or W. Hunter, *Statist. Account of Bengal*, III, 199. If the legend about Taj Khān is correct, we must seek no further for an explanation of the title "Masundalim." It would represent Masnad-i-Ālī (Throne of Ālī), an Afghan title common to the Chiefs of Hijil and understood by the Portuguese at their first arrival in Bengal as a proper noun. The terms *Idalcan*, *Nizamulico* and *Sabalo* were by a similar freak of the Portuguese interpreted as distinctive names. It is worth remarking that no other example is known of the use of this title in the case of the Rājās or zamindārs of Hijil. The Jesuits speak of the Masundalin or Masandolin of Katabro, the most powerful of the twelve bhāyās. Chamd Khān of Jessore bore also the title of Masandari. We still speak of the Musmid of Kasimbazar. Due south of Contal, *i.e.*, near Hijil, the maps give a village of the name of Masnad Alpur. It is perhaps identical with Mysadul, Hugli District, south of Mandalghat, which is itself in the Hugli district between the Damodar and the Rāpnāryan. Cf. Prof. Blochmann, *Proc. J. A. S. B.*, 1870, 116 n. 13, 13. This place is probably not the same as Maslandpur, a centre of the manufacture and sale of fine mats, and the head-quarters of a police outpost in the Tamluk subdivision, Midnapur.

Remnants of a Portuguese settlement still remain about Hijil. At Meerpore, also called Firingiparah, about 2½ m. S. of Geonkhali, which is itself a large rice mart 40 miles down the Hugli from Calcutta, a body of native [?] Christians was discovered in 1838 by the S. P. G. Mission. They were Catholics, but had not been visited for 40(?) years by one of their priests. They were descendants, so they said, of some Portuguese from Goa, who were brought round by one of the Rājās of "Mysadol" to serve his guns, and the village of Meerpore had been given them rent-free in return for their services. Cf. *Indo-European Correspondence*, Calcutta, 1869, pp. 80-81, quoting *Indian Church Gazette*. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 87.

I find in the Mughildal Cathedral Registers that Geonkhali was visited by an Augustinian, Padre Frei Manoel de S. Theresa, on March 14-15, 1820, nineteen persons receiving baptism.

3. *Lascar*=Captain General. Cf. n. 23 of p. 4, col. 2.

4. *The law of wreck*.—The law of wreck of the sea prevailed all over India, in the Maldives, in Arakan. Calicut seems to have been an exception. Cf. Pyrard de Laval, Hakl. edn., I. 404 n. 1.

5. *Fray Emanuel de la Esperanza*.—"At Bengalla, Fray Emmanuel de la Esperanza, Vicar of Angelim [*read*: Angelim=Hijil] and Fray Francis de la Piedad, and in 1625, Fray Didacus de la Concepcion and others had trial of *woheries* and stripes for Christ, but rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus." Cf. Fray Thomas de Herrera, *Alphab. August.*, Madrid, 1644, I. 323, Col. 1. Fray Manuel was at Angelim (Hijil) at the time of Manrique's arrival (1628).

6. *Vicar forane, Vicar de la Vara, and the diocese of Meliapur*.—The *Vicarius foraneus* is to-day the *Deanus*, the dean. His attributions have varied. In the 17th century, in the Missions, he was in distant districts a kind of *locum tenens* of the Bishop. In Bengal, the dignity was generally vested in the Prior of the Augustinian Convent of Bandel, Hugli. The title of Prior is still applied popularly to the priest in charge of the Bandel Church, although there is now no 'Convent' properly so called.

The *Vicar de la Vara*, as the name implies, bore a staff (*vara*) in token of the power connected with his office.

At the request of the King of Portugal, S. Thomé of Meliapur was erected into a suffragan Bishopric of the Metropolitan See of Goa, on Jan. 9, 1606, in virtue of the Bull *Hæc Sanctissimus* of Paul V. The new diocese comprehended the territory of the Naique, Tanjore, Negapatam, Masulipatam, Bengal, Tenasserim, and all interjacent localities. Cf. *Collect. bullar.* 216, or *Bullar. Patron. Portug.* II. 4.

7. *Saib Subba, General of Cavalry*.—*Sāhib Sūba* 'Lord of the Sūba'. A *Sūba* was a large division or province of the Moghul Empire (e.g., the *Sūba* of the Deccan, the *Sūba* of Bengal). The word is also frequently used as short for *Sābudār*, 'the Viceroy' (over a *Sūba*). Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Souba*. *Sābudār* means also nowadays a military officer among Indian troops, whose rank corresponds to that of Captain, and this is the meaning which Manrique here gives to the term.

8. *Manrique not understood by Murray*.—This passage was misunderstood by H. Murray in his *Hist. Account of Discov. and Travels*, 1820, Vol. 2, p. 97. He writes: "After the first compliments, Musundulim called upon the Captain to deliver up all the keys, a requisition too serious to be rashly acquiesced in. The Captain therefore replied that the keys were numerous, and the ship, being crowded with soldiers, could not be conveniently inspected by His Majesty." The Captain of the ship said sarcastically that, since everything of value had already been looted by the *Sābudār's* soldiers, the keys were no longer needed.

P. 7, col. 1.

9. *Murray's gloss*.—"The Friar, with all his boasted fortitude, acknowledges that he was much 'perplexed and confused'." Cf. H. Murray, *Op. cit.*, II. 97. Where does the Friar boast of his fortitude?

10. *Corchete*, a Spanish word; a catchpoll, one whose business it is to apprehend offenders, and conduct them to prison. The corresponding Portuguese word is 'colchete' or 'corchete', the first meaning in both languages being 'a hook, a clasp', *crochet* in French.

11. *Pladat*.—From Pers. *piyāda*—a footman, a foot-soldier. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *peon*.

12. *Melao*.—In Hindī: *mīlāw*—adjustment, union.

13. *Siripao*.—*Sar-e-pā*—'cap-a-pie'—a complete suit, presented as a *khilat* or dress of honour, by the sovereign or his representative. Forbes in his *Orient. Mem.* III. 50, speaks, however, of a 'serpeych' of false stones. The word *khilat*, though properly a dress of honour, is similarly found as applied to a ceremonial present, whatever it may consist of. Elsewhere Manrique uses *siripao* in its proper sense. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Seerpaw* and *Killut*.

14. *A tira of betel*.—*Bira* (Hind.) is a betel-leaf made up with a preparation of the areca-nut, spices and *chôad* or lime.

15. *Formones*.—*Farmân* (Pers.), "an order, patent, or passport." Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *firmân*. Manrique generally forms the plural of Indian words ending in a consonant by the addition of *es*: thus, here, *formones*. P. 7. col. 1.

16. *Dollu*.—A covered litter, or rudimentary palankin; Hind. *doll*. It consists of a cot or frame, suspended by the four corners from a bamboo pole, and is carried by two or four men. It is lighter and cheaper than the palankin, and is used by the poorer classes. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *dhooly*.

17. *An old description of Hijill* (1586).—"Not far from Porto Piqueno" [the Little Haven], wrote Ralph Fitch in 1586, "south-westward, standeth an haven which is called Angeli, in the country of Oriza. It was a Kingdom of it selfe, & the King was a great friend to strangers. Afterwards it was taken by the King of Patan [of the Pathians] which was their neighbour, but he did not enjoy it long, but was taken by Zelahdim Echabar which is King of Agra, Delhi, & Cambaia. Oriza standeth 6 daies journey from Satagan south-westward. In this place is very much Rice, & cloth made of cotton, & great store of cloth which is made of grasse, which they call Yervua [a Port word=grass], it is like a silke. They make good cloth of it which they send for India & divers other places. To this haven of Angeli come every yere many ships out of India, Negapatan, Sumatra Malacca, & divers other places; & tode from thence much store of Rice, & much cloth of cotton wool, much sugar, & long pepper, great store of butter & other victuals for India." Cf. J. Horton Ryley, *Ralph Fitch*, London, Unwin, 1899, pp. 113-114.

18. *Catholic Churches at Hijill*.—"In the Kingdom of Angelim, they [the Augustinians] dedicated another Church to Our Lady of the Rosary. To that Church another is attached, bearing the same title. Both contain three hundred souls *de confession* (of an age to make their confession)." Cf. Fray José Sicardo, O. S. A., *Christianidad del Japon*, Ch. III. The statistics refer to the year 1682.—"At Pranja, and Angelimo, where the King resides [*reua*: Banja (?) and Angelim], a [Jesuit] Father has built a Church with the alms wherewith he has received from a rich Christian of that country. He has ornaments for the altars; plenty of people go always thither to confess and communicate, and there is always some one getting baptised." (Annual Letter of 1621). Cf. *Hist. de ce qui s'est passé en Ethiopie, Malabar, Brasil, et es Indes Orientales*, (1620-1624), Paris, S. Cramoisy, 1628, p. 107. Banja appears in Van den Broecker's map (c. 1660). Cf. Valentyn in the volume on Bengal.

19. *Adâ*.—*Hadiyo* (Hind.): a present (particularly to superiors). "In those days, a gift of a *khassi* was accompanied with other raw materials of food, such as flour, ghi, spices, &c., to make the meal complete. It is quite possible that in certain cases, when all the ingredients could not, for some reason, be sent, money to buy them with was sent instead. For instance, a Hindu of the orthodox class will never touch onions, nor can he on principle include them among the *siddâ* meant for a European or Muhammadan." (Note by Pandit Gobind Lal Bonnarjee, Board of Examiners, Calcutta, and a similar note by Rai Monmohan Chakravarti).

"As soon as I had arrived in my little house at Vellore, ... the Nabob sent me the

'battiam' which is food for the day consisting of one measure of rice, half a measure of peas, some butter, and four pieces of copper money of the value of a *son*, to buy pepper, salt and wood. He continued this during the 15 days of my stay." (Letter of Fr. Saigues, Attipakam, 3 June 1726, in *Lettres, Edif et Cur.*, XIV (1781), p. 34)

NOTES TO CH. III

P. 8, col. 1,
infra.

1. *Drouā*.—It is tempting to identify this word with *Darbar*: but '*Derbar*' is not unknown to Manrique. Cf. p. 348, Col. 2. Describing the four gates leading into the Imperial Palace at Agra, he calls the third gate *Drouāg? Achabar* [*Darwāza Akbar*] 'Akbar's Gate.' Cf. pp. 347, Col. 2: 348, Col. 1. Hence, we are inclined to believe that *drouā* is a double metathesis for *darwā* (i. e., *darwā*, *drawā*), a door, a gateway. W. Finch perpetrates a metathesis, too, when he speaks of the *Acabar Drouā* and the '*Dely Droware*.' Cf. his description of Agra and Lahore in Purchas (Hakl. edn.) Vol. IV. At p. 320, Col. 1, Manrique speaks of the *Drouā* or audience-hall of the "Siguidar" of Nariyangarh, near Midnapur, Orissa.

"The Sublime Porte" designates the Ottoman Court from the fact that the chief office of the Ottoman Empire is styled *Babī Ali*, lit. the High Gate, from the gate (*bab*) of the palace at which justice was administered.

2. *Mileques*.—In Blochmann's transl. of the *Alh*, I. 92, a gold cloth is mentioned under the name of *mlak*. (Note by Rai Monmohan Chahrawarti).

P. 8, col. 2,
infra.

3. *Mirzas*.—From *Mirzā* or *Mirzā* (Pers.): a prince, grandee, noble.

4. *Indian chess*.—"Pachisi is played on cloth-boards. It is also called *chauris* from the 'four heads' of the cloth-board." (Note by Pandit Gobindul Bonnerjee).—For a description of Indian *pachisi* cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1906, II (New Series), 117-127.

5. *Baticha*.—This word gave not a little trouble. W. Irvine connected with the Portuguese *batega* the word *battica* in *Travels of Richard Bell*, edited by Sir R. C. Temple (see reprint from the *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 19 n. 76) and gave it the meaning of a bowl, a gong, something to be beaten. The meaning of gong suits Manrique's passage; but the Portuguese dictionaries at my disposal give to *batega* the meaning of basin, big hollow plate, while the word is absent from the Spanish dictionaries I can consult.

P. 9, col. 1.

6. *India in Portuguese Writers*.—To the Portuguese India was the West Coast only. In their writers of the 16th and 17th centuries, a distinction is frequently made between *India*, the territory of the Portuguese and their immediate neighbours on the West Coast, and *Mogor*, the dominions of the Great Moghul. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, 2. v. *India*.

7. *The Viceroy of Goa in 1628*.—Dom Francisco de Gama, Conde de Vidigueira, had been Viceroy between 1622-1627. Orders reached him in 1627 to hand over his office to Dom Francesco de Mascarenhas; but, as that officer had in the meanwhile returned to Spain, he surrendered the Government to D. F. Luiz de Brito, Bishop of Cochim. He then returned to Portugal with the homeward-bound fleet in 1628; and although his administration in India had been conspicuously

successful, he found himself on his arrival at Lisbon arraigned for malpractices. A commission of three, Nuno Alvarez Botelho, Dom Lourenço da Cunha, and Gorgalo Pinto da Fouseca, governed the estado (1628-29), until the accession of Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares. Cf. Danvers, *The Portug. in India*, II. 227, 488.

8. *Mapatras*.—*Mahāpātra* (Sanskrit) is properly a Brahmana who officiates at funerals, and is first fed after the mourning for a dead person. But, as *pātra* means the leaf of a book, a sheet or plate of metal, a letter, a deed, we have the Sanskrit *mahāpātra* = a Prime Minister. Manrique uses it in an inferior sense.

9. *Veideres de la hacienda*.—*Vedores da fazenda*, as varr. Linschoten says, "that is, the upper surveyor of the King's goods." (Hakl. edn. II. 226). The office of chief *vedor da fazenda* was the most important next to the Viceroy's at Goa, and that of the *capitão da cidade* elsewhere. Cf. Pymard de Laval, Hakl. edn. II. Pt. I, p. 21 n. 1.

10. *Geluldar*.—*Jalibdar* (Pers.) lit. 'a bridle-holder'; also the superintendent of the mules, &c., in a *cafila* or caravan. The word was common in W. Hedges' time, but is now quite obsolete. Hanway in his *Travels*, I. 171, uses it in the sense of one charged with the direction of couriers and their horses. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Jalibdar*. P. 9, col. 2.

11. *Nababo or Viceroy of Dacca*.—For Nababo, Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Nabob. Elsewhere, Manrique writes 'Daca,' "as the Portuguese pronounce it." The *Ain* writes Dhākā Bāzū. Thevenot (edn. 1687, Pt. III. 681) has "Daca or Daac." Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Dacca.—The Viceroy or Governor of Dacca in 1628 was Qasim Khān Johun, the previous Governor, Fidaī Khān, having died on Febr. 1, 1628.

12. *Eight Lechas of Rupees*.—Rs. 800,000. *Lecka*=*lākā*. For 'rupee' Manrique writes *rupiā*=*rupiyā* (Hind.)

13. *Mogol, the Mogol*.—In Portuguese writers *Mogol* or *Mogor* is often used for Hindostān, the territory of the Great Moghul, or for the Great Moghul himself. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Mogul.

"The inhabitants are called Mongales, which is their correct name, and not Mogoles, as we say; still less Mogores, as the common Portuguese pronounce it." Cf. F. de Sousa, *Oriente Conquizado*, Lisboa, 1710, II, p. 148 f. 43.

14. *Porca*.—The nearest approach to it in *Hobson-Jobson* is *Porgo*, which Yule found in only one passage. He suggested that it represents the Port. "perague" (French: *pirague*? dug-out). Manrique's *porca*, which contained seven persons besides the rowers, must have been more than a dug-out, especially as he opposes the term to *dingy* and balloons. In the new edition of *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 727a, we find such spellings as *purga*, *purgos*. Sir Richard Temple derives the word from the Portuguese *barea*, a barge and also a sailing boat, and refers to *Ind. Antiq.*, XXX, 160-162, for the history of the word. Cf. Bowrey's *Geogr. Acc. of Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, pp. 48 n. 1, and 228, where see Bowrey's illustration and his description: "A purgoo. These Use for the most part between Hugly and Pyplo and Ballasore. With these boats they carry goods into the Roads On board English and Dutch &c. Ships. They will live a long time in the sea, being brought to anchor by the Sterns, as their usual way is."

15. *Dingy*.—*Dingt* (Beng.) : a small boat or a skiff ; sometimes 'a canoe', i. e., dug out of a single trunk. "Pour aller à terre," says Laillier, who came up the Hugli in 1703 (?), "on est obligé de se servir d'un petit Bateau dont les bords sont très hauts, qu'on appelle dingy....." Cf. *Voyage du Sieur Laillier*..... Paris, 1705, p. 39.

16. *Baloons*.—Baloon or Balloon : a rowing vessel formerly used in various parts of the Indies, the basis of which was a large canoe, or 'dug-out.' There is a Mahrattī word *balyann*, a kind of barge, which is probably the original. Yule (Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Baloon) gives the spellings *balōes*, *ballongs*, *balouns*. The baloons of Siam are stately barges. See illustration in Father G. Tachard's *Voyage de Siam*, Paris, 1686. Fryer uses the word in the sense of a barge of state with 10 oars. On the other hand, in Chittagong, where Mamrique long resided, the word had a different meaning. Solvyns (*Les Hindous*, Paris, 1808, Vol. III, p. 2) writes : "This is the simplest of all boats and consists merely of the trunk of a tree hollowed out, to the extremities of which pieces of wood are applied, to represent a stern and prow ; the two sides are boards joined by rattins or small bambous without nails ; no iron whatsoever enters into their construction. The Balauns are used in the district of Chittagong."

P. 10, col. 1.

17. *Escopetas*.—The *sclopetur* (Latin), *escopeta* (Port. and Span.), *escopette* (French), *escopet* (Engl.), *schiopetto*, *schiopetto*, diminutive of *schioppo* (Ital.), was a kind of carbine or petronel. The petronel, so called from being discharged with the stock placed against the breast, was a large horseman's pistol.

18. *The sea near Hijil*.—The Hugli, at its junction with the Hijil River, is broad enough to be called the sea. It is only near Buffalo Point that the river becomes considerably narrower.

19. *Aluzane*.—Ujān (Hind.) : the direction of a river which is opposite to the course of the stream : up the river.

20. *Hugli sweetmeats*.—"They [the Portuguese of Hugli] make many sorts of sweetmeats, viz. Mangoes, Orange, Lemon, Ginger, Mirabolins, Ringo Roots, &c. Severall Sorts of Achar [pickles], as Mangoes, Bamboes, Lemon, &c., very good and cheap." Cf. Bowrey, *A Geogr. Account*..... (1667-1670), pp. 192-193.

P. 10, col. 2.

21. *No sweetmeats like mangoes*.—"Hi sunt fructus ita dulces et amabiles," wrote Friar Jordanus in 1328, "quod ore tenuis exprimi hoc minime possit." "Such mangoes as are good are excellent," was Emperor Batur's eulogy of them (1526). "The gourmands of Turán and Irán place it above musk-melons and grapes," we read in the *Ain* (1590). On the Goa mangoes, the excellence of which is ascribed to the care and skill of the Jesuits, cf. *Annales Maritimes*, II. 270. Fryer justly wrote (1673) : "When ripe, the apples of the Hesperides are but Fables to them ; for Taste, the Nectarine, Peach and Apricot fall short....." Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*,

"I do not know any sweetmeat more agreeable," wrote Bernier, Constatable's edn., p. 249. Cf. also van Linchoten's description with Paludanus' notes (Hakl. edn., II. 23-26).

22. *Mangoes as big as a child's head*.—Dr. Garcia da Orta (1563) speaking of the excellent and big Balaghat mangoes says that he had seen two that weighed 4 arratel and a half (4½ lbs.).

22. *Mangues of many colours*.—"There are green, yellow, red, variegated, sweet and subacid mangoes," wrote Abul Fazl. Cf. Blochmann's *Ata* (transl.), I. 68.

23. *The Augustinian Convent of St. Nicholas of Tolentino*.—St. Nicholas of Tolentino († 1305) is one of the Saints of the Augustinian Order. The Augustinian mother-house of Bandel was dedicated to the Saint. At the end of the 17th century, the Mission of Bhawal or Nagori near Dacca was similarly designated.

24. *Portuguese charity towards foreigners*.—To speak the truth, the Portuguese Government did whatever they could to keep all foreigners and non-Portuguese missionary bodies, too, out of their colonies. Many foreign missionaries took Portuguese names in consequence. P. II, col. 1.

25. *Sine charitate, opus externum nihil prodest*.—1 Cor. XIII. 3. P. II, col. 2.

NOTES TO CH. IV.

1. *Gold and Hugli*.—On the derivation of Hugli see my notes in *Bengal: Past and Present*, 1915, January–March, pp. 89–91. A writer in *The Statesman*, Calcutta, June 1, 1915, argues that, as the name was first applied to the town, the Portuguese storehouse (*gold*), rather than the word *gull* (a narrow passage) furnishes the most probable explanation of the origin of the word Hugli. There are some difficulties both ways. Against the derivation from *gold*, we have (1) that Manrique speaks of the *gold*s of the Portuguese of Hugli without drawing attention to any connexion between *gold* and *Ugulim*; (2) the Portuguese turned *gull* into *gold* and furnished it off with a nasal; (3) they pronounced the *s* of *golin* short, whereas it is long in *gold*. On the other hand, they did not treat *golin*, *golin* as a feminine, but gave it the definite masculine article: *a golin*. The only objection, if Hugli is derived from *gull*, is that they treated it as a masculine. It is not impossible that they should have designated the town from a natural feature of the river at the place where they at first cast anchor. P. II, col. 1, *infra*.

2. *Bambo*.—Probably from a Canarese word *banu*. The Portuguese of the 16th century wrote at first *mambu*. Fitch in 1586 wrote *bambos*. Vule did not find the term in any of the earlier 16th century books. The word used then was *canna*, "cane." Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. bamboo.

3. *Winter in Bengal*.—The old writers constantly call the rainy season 'winter.' In many parts of the Mediterranean, winter is a season of rain, whilst rain is rare in summer. *Shit* in Arabic is indifferently winter or rain, the winter season being the rainy season. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. winter.

1568.—"When one arrives in a city, the first thing one does is to rent a house, either for months or for a year, according as one purposes to stay there, and in Pegu it is the custom to take it for the Mosem [monsoon], that is for six months." Cea, Federici, in: *Ramusio*, III, edn. 1606, p. 394. The rainy season in Bengal lasts from June till the end of September; it begins in April at Goa, from which time, it was unsafe for vessels in Bengal to go 'homewards.'

4. *Monção tendente*.—A translation of the Portug. '*monção tendente*,' the proper season for sailing, *tendente* meaning: that tends or has a course towards a certain P. II, col. 2, *infra*.

point or place. *Vento tendente*: a fair, or favourable wind. We have a similar formation in 'trade-wind,' a wind blowing in a regular trade or course.

5. *Portuguese staying more than a year in Bengal*.—Caesar Federici (c. 1568) speaks differently of Buttor, *fr.* Bhutor, Betor, near the Botanical Gardens at Sibpur. "Buttor has an infinite number of *huts* and bazars; while the ships stay in the season, they erect a village of straw houses, which they burn when the ships leave, and build again the next season."

The huts were burnt down, I fancy, by order of the Moghul Government. According to Valentyn, the Europeans at Pipili were not allowed, nearly a century later, to erect any brick building, so jealous were the Moghul authorities of guarding their dominions against the foreign element. They admitted them for trade, but would not allow them anything like a fort. Even in 1632, though the Portuguese of Hughli had been permitted to build substantial houses, they had neither city walls, nor fort of any kind.

6. *Siguidar*.—This represents the Arabic-Persian *shiqdar*: an officer appointed to collect the revenues from a certain division of land. The office in Bengal was often entrusted to Hindus, so much so that *shiqdar*, generally spelt *shikdar* and *Mujim'ahdar*, now spelt 'Messomdar' have become Bengali family names. Cf. Blochmann's *Contrib. to the Geogr. and Hist. of Bengal*, reprinted from *J. A. S. B.*, (1873, Pt. I), Calcutta, 1873, p. 6.

7. *Memans*.—From *mihmatul* (Pers.), an entertainment.

8. *Padcha*.—*Pādshāh*, *Bādshāh* (Pers.).

9. *The South*.—Not Southern India, but the Southern Seas, *fr.* Malacca, Sumatra, Borneo, &c.

10. *Caurim*.—*Kauri* (*kaurī*), Hindi; *kauri*, Mahe; the small white shell *Cypræa moneta*, current as money extensively in parts of S. Asia and of Africa. It was used about the 14th century B. C. in China, and was found as the only (?) currency in Bengal by the Muhammadans in the 13th century. As late as 1501, the whole revenue of Silhet (Rs. 2,50,000) was collected in these shells. In 1778, in Silhet, as well as in Calcutta in 1858 or thereabouts, there were about 5120 cowries to the rupee. "In Bengal are current those little shells that are found in the Island of Maldiva called here *caurim* and in Portugal *Blasia*." Sassetti (1586) in de Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani*, 1875, p. 205. Cf. Hobson-Johnson, s. v. cowry.

11. *The Peccaria*.—The Coast of Tinnevely, called the 'Fishery Coast' by the Portuguese from the great pearl-fishery there. In French: *la Pêcherie*.

12. *Export of pepper and cinnamon forbidden by the King of Portugal*.—They were the King's own monopoly. Cf. van Linschoten (Hakl. Society edn.), II, 220, 223.

13. "*Brocador, Brocateli, Telas, Veludos, Damascos, Razes, Tafetanes, Taffetirias, Escomillas, Volantes*."

Brocade is silk stuff variegated with gold and silver, or having raised flowers, foliage and other ornaments; also applied to other stuffs wrought and enriched in like manner. (Span. *brocado*, from an old *brocar*, equivalent to Fr. *brocher*: to prick, to emboss).

Brocatil: brocatello, brocatello, from root of *brocade*, is a kind of light thin woollen cloth of silky surface used for lining, &c.: linsey-woolsey.

Tela means any cloth; also, gold and silver lace.

Damask: the name given to all textile fabrics, of various materials, ornamented with raised figures of flowers, landscapes, &c., & other forms not of geometrical regularity, being the richest species of ornamental weaving, tapestry excepted.

Race is the Spanish word for satin, the Portuguese term being *setim*, probably, as Yule suggests, from Zaitin, the great medieval port of western trade in Fokien. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. satin.

Taffeta, *taffety* (Pers. tāfīsh: woven): originally, all plain silk goods; now a generic name for plain silk, gros de Naples, shot silk, glacé, etc. The term has also been applied to mixed fabrics of silk and wool. "A name applied to plain woven silks, in more recent times signifying a light thin silk stuff with a considerable lustre or gloss." *Drapers' Dict.* s. v.

Taffiarist. Compare the O. E. tapestry, tapeçerie, from Fr. tapisserie. In Port. tapeçaria, tapeçaria. Valentyn speaks of "flowered Tapisarissas." In a list of piece-goods given by Van Twist in 1645, we meet with the spelling *taffichien*. (*Tafilla*, a golden stuff from Mecca). Valentyn (1726) mentions *taffatchien* from Casser (probably Kasliel in Midnapur Dt.). Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Gingham, and Adati. Dowton (1613) in Purchas, I. 394, writes 'topseiles.' Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Alleja.

Escumillas. I cannot find anything like the term in Milburn's list (1813) of 72 kinds of piece-goods formerly exported from Bengal to Great Britain (Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. piece-goods), nor in similar lists in Valentyn and the *Ain*. Perhaps, there in question of Comillah or Dacca muslins. *Escumillas* or *escumilhas* are mentioned in a list of cloths, spices, woods and other articles of Portuguese commerce in India (1639). Cf. *O Chronista de Timor*, 1866, p. 157.

Volantes, light gauze. Hence, we translate by 'muslins,' a word which, strangely enough, takes us from Bengal to Mosul. "Very fine cotton cloth, which they call *lorijus*, and *valla* or *muslins* (which are called *volantes*)." Cf. van Linschoten, (Hakl. edn.), I. 56 n. 3.

14. *Black, an unlucky colour*.—In India black is generally believed to be unlucky. It is supposed to be dreaded by evil spirits. Cf. W. Crooke, *Popular Relig. and Folklore of Northern India*, s. v. black colour.—The Augustinians in Persia were obliged to wear white (c. 1510), because "black gives offence to the Muhammadans, chiefly to their kings and grandees. One may not address them, when vested in black; hence, our Religious wear a white habit in their Embassies." Cf. Sicardo, *Christianidad del Japon*, Ch. III. The Jesuits in Mogor were nicknamed 'Shiahpoish,' on account of their black gown (1580-83), and objections were raised, too, in Nepal against the brown habit of the Capuchins (18th century).

15. *Porcelana*.—Evidently, China ware, not 'cowries,' which were called in medieval Italy 'porcellana' and 'porcelletta.' Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Porcelain.

16. *Dorados, como lechos, tavoletas, cofres, caxas, estercorios, basetas*, from P. 12, col. 2, China.—"Matchlipatani," wrote Bowrey, "affordeth many very good and fine

Commodities, vizt., all sorts of fine Calicoes plaine and coloured, more Especially fine Palampores for Quilts, divers sorts of Chint curiously flowered, which doth much represent flowered Sattin, of Curious lively Colours, as alsoe Chaires and tables of that admirable wood Ebony, chests of drawers, Screttores [Escrittoires or writing-cases], finely wrought inlaid with ~~shell~~ ^{mother} shell or Ivory, for which a Very great trafficke is driven into most parts of India, Persia, Arabia, China, and the South Seas, as well as into England and Holland." Cf. Bawrey's *A Geogr. Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, (1669-1679), by Sir R. C. Temple, 1905, p. 71.

17. *White and red sandal-wood*.—Three woods bearing the name of *Santalum*, white, yellow and red, were in official use in the middle ages. The name properly applies to the fragrant wood of the *Santalum album*.

Red sandal-wood is the wood of *Pterocarpus Santalina*, a tree of S. India, the wood of which is inodorous, but valued for pillars, turning, &c., and exported as a dye-wood. Garcia de Orta speaks of the sandal of Timor, and considers *Sandalo Vermilio* as a product of Tenasserim and the Coronandel Coast.

"Le sandal donc croist es Indes Orientales et Occidentales: en grandes Forests et fort espesses. Il s'en treuve trois especes: mais le plus pale est le meilleur: le blanc apres: le rouge est mis au dernier rang, pource qu'il n'a aucune odeur: mais les deux premiers sentent fort bon." Martioli (A. D. 1554). Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Sandal; and see van Linschoten, (Hakluyt edn.), II. 102-103.

18. *The Dominicans in Solor and Timor*.—Cf. Fr. Luis Caezgas, *Hist. de S. Domingos*, (re-edited and enlarged by Fr. Luis de Souza), Lisbon, A. R. Gallardo, 1767, Vol. III.

19. *Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace of the Maluan [Molucca] Isles*.—"El clavo, y la nuez moscada, y massa," are the words in Manrique. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. clove, mace. Sir John Maundeville (c. 1370) speaks of "clowegylafres, Notemuges, and Maces. And Wytethe wel, that the Notemuge bereth the Maces. For righte as the Note of the Haselle hath an Husk withouten, that the Note is closed in, til it be ripe, and after fallith out; right so it is of the Notemuges and of the Maces." Edn. 1886, p. 187-188. See also van Linschoten's account, (Hakluyt edn.), II. 81-86.

20. *Borneo camphor the most precious*.—The ~~two~~ chief camphors of commerce are the Bornean and Sumatran camphor from *Dryobalanops aromaticus*, and the camphor of China and Japan from *Cinnamomum Camphora*; but the first immensely exceeds the second in value. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Camphor, and compare van Linschoten (Hakluyt edn.), II. 117-118.

21. *Sodagores, o mercadores de la tierra*.—*Saudagar* (Persian), a merchant, now very often applied to those who sell European goods in civil stations and cantonments.

22. *The Nabobs of Dacca*.—This must have been in 1576.

The Governor of Dacca in 1576 was Khán Jahán, title of Husain Quli Beg, a mansabdar of 5000 under Akbar. He was appointed Governor of Bengal after the death of Mumtáz Khán, about A. D. 1570. He defeated and slew Dáúd Khán, the ex-King of Bengal, and died at Tanda in 1578, to be succeeded by Muzaffar Khán (1579). Cf. Beale-Keene's *Oriental Dict.*, s. v. Khán Jahán.

23. *Satagan*.—Sátgáow: formerly and from remote times a port of much trade

on the right bank of the Hugli R., 30 miles from Calcutta, but for two and a half centuries utterly decayed, and now only the site of a few huts, with a ruined mosque as the only relic of former importance. It is situated at the bifurcation of the Saraswati Channel from the Hugli, and ~~the~~ ^{its} ~~date~~ ^{date} dates from the silting up of the former. Yule is of opinion that 'Porto Pequeno' applied to it. "In the fort of Satgaon, every year they lade thirty or thirty-five ships, great and small, with rice, cloth of bombast of divers sort, lac, great abundance of sugar, pepper, oil of zeezeline, and other sorts of merchandise." Cf. Caesar de' Federici (c. 1568) in *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Satigam.

Manrique's account furnishes a proof that the Portuguese came to Sâtganw in 1576-80. In 1578 Akbar called one of their Priests, Father Julian Pereira, from Sâtganw to Fathpur Sikri.

24. *Gallas*.—According to Bocarro, the jalla was used in Bengal both for fighting and trading (1615). The word *julia*, says Yule, looks like an arabized adoption from a Mediterranean tongue. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Gallivat. Other near spellings are 'jeloa, geloa, gela,' from which we have our 'jolly-boat.'

25. "*Ante de ropas de algodão, y guingones de yerua, y cida de varios colores, como tambien en azuqueres, mantucas, arroxas, anil, pimienta larga, salitre, cera, lavre, y otras varias mercancias.*"

Ginghams of grass.—Godinho writes 'guingenis.' Fra Bartolomeo (1796) says: "Guingani are cotton stuffs of Bengal and the Comandel Coast, in which the cotton is interwoven with thread made of certain barks of trees."—Grass cloths are spoken of by the 10th century travellers, and even later, as an export from Orissa and Bengal. These were probably made of Rhea, or some kindred species. Cloth and nets are made in the South from the Nellberry nettle. Fitch speaks of "great store of the cloth which is made from grasse, which they call Yerua." Hamilton mentions ginghams made of Herba Taffeties and Valentyn of 'Bote ginggonis drie draad.' Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. gingham and grass-cloth.

'Herba taffeties' and 'Herba Lungos' are mentioned in the *Diary of W. Hodges*, II. 240, and Sir Richard Temple's *The Diaries of Streyntsham Master*. Cf. Index, s. v. herba.

Butter: understand *ghi*, or boiled, clarified butter, the universal medium of cookery throughout India, and supplying the place of oil in S. Europe. Cf. Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *ghu*. On the export of *ghi* from Bengal, cf. Tavernier (edn. 1684), II. p. 141, and Bowrey, *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

Anil=Indigo. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v., and van Linschoten (Hakluyt edn.), II, 91.

Long-pepper is derived from two shrubby plants, *Piper officinarum* and *Piper longum*, and is to be distinguished from black and white pepper, both of which are obtained from *Piper nigrum*. Calcutta is still one of the chief ports for the export of long-pepper. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. pepper.

Saltpetre. For a large number of references on the subject of the exportation of this article from Bengal, Cf. Bowrey, *A Geogr. Account*, Index, s. v.

Lac.—Wilson's *Early Annals*, I. 379, quoting from "Kenn's advices about

Bengal in 1661," mentions 'gumlack' or 'sticklack' among the commodities procurable at Patna.—"Tis Bengale, whence the good Lacca.....do come," wrote Tavernier (edn. 1684), Vol. II. p. 141. Compare van Linschoten (Hakluyt edn.), II. 88-90.

P. 13, col. 2.

26. "*Y entre estos mercaderes no es de menos consideracion la que lleuan los Portugueses en las pespuntadas, y riquissimas colchas, camas, y paxellones, y otras curiosidades de obra de montaria, que se labran en estos Reynos.*"

The making and selling of quilts occupies still many hands in our bazars.

Pespantar (Port.) is to back-stitch; French: *arrière-point* or *contrepoint* for *coultrepoint*, from L. E. *culcita puncta*, stitched quilt or counterpoint. The pavilions suggest *shāmiyānas*, some of which were to be had in cloth of gold, silver, silk or velvet. (Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *shameecana*.)

Colchas de montaria (Port.) are counter-points with needle-work representing stags, dogs, &c.

Elsewhere, Manrique speaks of *gudris*, from the Hind. *gādrī*, a quilt. van Linschoten (I. 62) has the two in conjunction: "They make also faire coverlits which they call *Godoriins Colchas*, which are very fair and pleasant, stitched with silke and also of cotton of all colours and stitchings."

"The inhabitants [of Bengal], both men and women, are wondrously adroit in all manufactures, such as of cotton cloth and silks, and in needlwork, such as embroideries, which are worked so skilfully, down to the smallest stitches, that nothing prettier is to be seen anywhere." Cf. Pymard de Laval, Hakl. edn., I. 329.

"The Portuguese men of quality never travel except on horseback... The harness of these horses comes from Bengal, from China, and Persia; it is all of silk embroidery, and enriched with gold and silver and fine pearls. The stirrups are of silver gilt, the bridle is adorned with precious stones and silver, with silver bells."—The master-grooms "carry fine horsecloths of red velvet for the most part, fringed with gold and embroidery. The most costly and valued of these are those of red scarlet. These are for covering the horses when their masters are dismounted, for when they are mounted they use neither horsecloth, nor riding-boots, nor spurs, for riding in the town. The stirrup-straps are of silk, the buckles and other mountings of silver, as also are the stirrups." Cf. Pymard de Laval, Pt. II, pp. 75, 79-80.

27. He died at Tanda in 1578. Cf. note 22 of Ch. IV.

28. Cf. note 10 of Ch. III.

29. Cf. note 6 of Ch. IV.

P. 14, col. 1.

30. *Ships detained five months in Bengal*.—"The summer [at Goa] beginneth in September, and continueth till the last of April.....Then all ships are rigged and made ready to saile for all places." Cf. van Linschoten (Hakluyt edn.), I. 233-234.

31. *Cossas*.—Dr. Wile quotes a sanad dated 1700 in the possession of the descendants of 'Isā Khān of Khizrpur, established at Jangalbāri, Mymensingh, and ordering them to keep in readiness 37 *kosak* boats with 32 boatmen in each. Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, p. 214.

The word is frequently met with in the Portuguese writers, and it is surprising that it should have no place in *Hobson-Jobson*.

The anonymous author of *Relation du Naufrage d'un vaisseau Hollandais nommé Ter Schelling* (no year; after 1673) states in connection with Mir Jumla's campaign against Assam (1663): "Chaque gourabe [Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. grab] étoit appuyée de quatre kossas: ce sont des batimens légers qui ne servent qu'à remorquer. Ils sont montés de quatre-vingts hommes."

Manrique uses the word *cossa* frequently, sometimes too in conjunction with *gelio*. *Cossas* were very light warships, used on the Ganges, and scarcely fit to venture out to sea. Cf. his *Itinerario*, p. 332, Col. 1.—Johnson's *Bengali Dictionary* writes *koss*=a canoe.

We find also the word 'pericosse.'

"They have [in Bengala] many great boats which they call pericosse, wherewithall they go from place to place and buy Rice and many other things: these boates have 24 or 26 oars to rowe them, they be great of burthen, but have no couerture." (c. 1586). Cf. J. Horton Ryley's *Ralph Fitch*, London, Unwin, 1899, pp. 114-115.

32. *Patallas*.—Says Bowrey (*Op. cit.*, p. 225): "All the Saltpester is sent hence [from Patna] to Hugly in great flatt bottomed Vessels, of an Exceedinge Strength, which are called Patellas; each of them will bring downe 4, 5, 600. Bengala maunds." And see illustration, p. 477.

"The Putelee (or Kutura), or Baggage-boat of Hindostan, is a very large, flat-bottomed, clinker-built, unwieldy-looking piece of rusticity of probably.....about 35 tons burthen; but occasionally they may be met with double this size." Cf. Colesworthy Grant, *Rural life in Bengal*, p. 6, quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'pattello.'

33. *Tapias* (Span.): literally, mud-walls.

34. *Indian Moors*.—Pringle in his *Select. from the Consultations of the Agent* P. 14, col. 2.of *Fort St. George* (1681), Madras, 1893, p. 69, n. 73, regrets "that we have almost lost this useful word for Mussulmans of whatever race." In Ceylon, "Moor-man" is strongly in vogue.

35. *Patná*.

36. Akbar's court in 1577, when Tavares must have arrived, was more probably P. 15, col. 1. at Fathpur Sikri than at Agra. In 1580, the Jesuits met at Fathpur some of Tavares' men who had remained behind.

37. *Seripass*.—Cf. note 13 of Ch. II.

38. *Landis granted to Tavares at Hugli*.—Is this perhaps the origin of the 777 bighas of land formerly held by the Convent of Bandel, much of which has been lost through the encroachments of unscrupulous natives and endless litigations? Cf. J. B. da Cunha Rivara, *O Chronista de Tisuary*, 1866, pp. 60-62. The *farmán* there attributed to Sháh Jahán may have been merely confirmatory of the earlier grant made under Akbar. Cf. also my article on Bandel (Hugli) in *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1915, Jan.—March, pp. 47-48.

39. *The Anzil*.—*Injil* (Arab.), a corruption of the Greek for Gospel or New Testament.

40. *Tavares mentioned in the Akbarnámá*.—H. Beveridge (*J. A. S. B.*, 1888, p. 341; 1904, pp. 53-54) suggests that Tavares may be the same as the Partab Bar of

the *Akbar-nāma*. Elliott, *Hist. of India*, VI. 59). The allusion in the *Akbar-nāma* runs thus: "The tribute of Bengal consisted of the choicest productions of Bengal, and of fifty-four elephants. With these came a European, called Partāb Bār, one of the chief merchants of the ports of Bengal, who was accompanied by Basūrbā, his wife; he was received at Court, and his sound sense and upright conduct won the favour of the Emperor." Partāb Bār is a fairly good approximation to Pero Tavares. *Par*, the form in the *Darbār-i-Akbari*, is still closer. *Par* would stand for Pero. Blochmann (*Asiatic Researches*, I. 440) identifies Partāb Bār Firingi or Partāb Firingi with the Portuguese Governor of Hugli who gave protection to Mir Najāt.

The passage in the *Akbar-nāma* might mean that Tavares was established at Sātganw, where he would have been Captain of the Portuguese, and from where he went periodically to the West Coast as a ship-owner. The fact that there was a Vicar at Sātganw (1578), Julian Pereira, "Gangaridis Archimystes," as Monserrate calls him, suggest a "Vicar de la Yara," i. e., other clergy in Bengal, and a church—however modest that may have been in those days—at least at Sātganw.

It is curious that Tavares should have brought his wife with him to Fathpur. Her name is written Nashurna, Nasunta, Basurba, in various MSS. Beveridge proposes 'Assunta' (*J. A. S. B.* 1904, 53A. 2.)

The event of Tavares' arrival is recorded in the *Akbar-nāma* under the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, i. e., 1579. This date cannot be made to tally with our discussion in the last note to this chapter.

P. 15, col. 2.

41. *Anachronism*.—Tavares must have been back at his new settlement in 1580, and, if he wrote to the Bishop of Cochín by the first monsoon, his letter could not have been addressed to Don Frei Andrew de Santa Maria, since he governed the See of Cochín only from 1588 to 1610. He administered the Archbishopric of Goa from 1593 to Oct. 1, 1595, died at Goa on Nov. 30, 1618, and was buried in the Chapel of St. Andrew, in the Franciscan Convent da Madre de Deus. Cf. C. Christovão de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas*, I. 79-85 and III. 27-28.

42. *Fray Bernardo of Jesus*.—An Augustinian of the same name was killed at Dacca (in 1632?). When the Mullah of Dacca heard of the destruction of Hugli, they penetrated into the Convent of Dacca and beat the Friar so severely that he died within two days. Cf. Manrique, p. 443, Col. I.

43. *Fray Juan de la Cruz*.—Cf. my article in *J. A. S. B.*, 1911, pp. 53-56. He was grievously wounded at the siege of Hugli in 1632, and died at Goa in June 1638. Cf. also *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1915, Jan.—March, my article. A week at the Convent of Bandel Hugli (*passim*).

44. *Three other Augustinians for Bengal*.—Cf. Sicardo, *Christiandad del Japon*, Ch. III, where a short account of the beginnings of the Augustinian Mission in Bengal is given.

45. *Bad chronology in this chapter*.—The Augustinians, Manrique tells us, were called to Bengal the very next season after Tavares had settled at Hugli on the site granted him by Akbar. He makes us conclude further that they came without delay; but, the Augustinian historians, Sicardo among others, are agreed that the first

party of their Missionaries reached Hughli in 1599, whilst from the Jesuit authorities we must infer that Tavares' visit to Fathpur Sikri took place in 1577.

Our authorities are: a Portuguese letter of Fr. Anthony Monserrate, S. J., dated Goa, November 26, 1582 (which we published in *J. A. S. B.*, 1912, 185-221), and his *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius* (published by us in *Memoirs As. Soc. Bengal* Vol. III, pp. 518-704); J. H. Peruschi's *Informazioni del Regno e stato del gran Rè di Mogor*, Brescia, Marchetti, 1597, and the Latin translation of the same (*Historica Relatio...*, Moguntiae, H. Broom, 1598); du Jarric, *Seconde partie de l'Histoire des choses plus mémorables...*, Bourdeaux, 1610, L. IV, Ch. IX; L. de Guzman, S. J., *Historia de las Misiones...*, Pt. I, Alcalá, 1601, Libro III; Fr. de Sousa, S. J., *Oriente Conquistado*, Lisboa, 1710, Vol. II, Cong. I, D. II, ¶ 43 sqq., and Bartoli's *Mission at Gran Mogor*, Roma, 1714.

Our first and best authority is Fr. A. Monserrate, who was at Akbar's Court between 1580 and 1582. He writes (November 26, 1582): "What made Akbar conceive a liking for our faith was the courteous and civil behaviour, as also the valour, of some Portuguese, who accompanied Antonio Cabral, whom, by order of the Viceroy Don Antonio, he went to see him at Gurrat [Surat]. These favourable dispositions were increased some years later, when he heard what was being done in Bengal by two Fathers of the Society, who had gone thither in the year [15] 76. After this he had Pero Tavares, the Captain of the Porto Pequeno, at his Court, and what he heard him say made him desire to be informed about our affairs. He ordered him to bring to his Court Father Julianes Pereira, now governing the Bishopric of Cochim. This Father with great zeal made him know much concerning the law of the Gospel, and his good example disposed him favourably towards it." Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1912, pp. 217-218, where see our comments.

Peruschi (*Informaz.* p. 291) calls this priest Giuliano Pereira, de Sousa (*Or. Cong.* II, p. 148) calls him Gileas Pereira; Bartoli (p. 51) gives the name as Egidio Anes Pereira; du Jarric, following I suppose Guzman, regrets that he did not discover his name. C. C. de Nazareth (*Mogor Lusitanus*) affords no help, the list of the Vicars General and Administrators of the *Seo* of Cochim being incomplete for that early period.

Peruschi makes the priest come from India, which might mean the West Coast; du Jarric from the Kingdom of Bengala; Bartoli from "Satgaon of Bengala," where he was "Vicar"; de Sousa does not specify.

It is unfortunate that fol. 50 and 56 of Monserrate's *Mongol. Legat. Comment.* should be missing; but, on turning to the index, we find that there was question at fol. 54 of "Egidius Joannides Gangaridis Archimystes" or the Archpriest of the Gangetic Peninsula, and we have no difficulty to recognize in the name the form "Egidio Anes" Pereira given by Bartoli.

This discussion on a mere name has its importance, for when the first Jesuit Mission arrived at Fathpur Sikri on February 18, 1580, they found at the Court some Portuguese gentlemen of Tavares' suite who had remained behind. (Cf. 200. 3.) "Egidius," the priest who had been called from the Gangetic Peninsula, was still there too. (Cf. 206 1, 210 3.) According to du Jarric he had arrived at Fathpur

about March 1578. (Cf. II. 438). Hence, our conclusion that Tavares had come to Fathpur in 1577 at the latest. His first visit to Bengal would then have taken place in 1576, the year when the Jesuit Missionaries came to Bengal. Father Pereira's long sojourn at the court enabled him to study Akbar's religious vagaries, and the report he gave put them on their guard against the Emperor's mania for innovation.

Tavares must have been still at Fathpur in 1579. Indeed, as Father de Sousa states, Father Antonio Vaz, one of the Jesuit Missionaries who had come to Bengal in 1576, "sought to exonerate the conscience of the Portuguese in the matter of these restitutions [of arrears of custom-duties to the Moghul exchequer]. Through Pero Tavares he obtained from the King a deed condoning to our merchants all the taxes of which they had defrauded the exchequer up to the present year 1579, and he [Father Vaz?] wrote to this effect to the Viceroy of India." Cf. *Oriente Conquistado*, Lisboa, 1710, Vol. II, C. I. D. II, § 43, p. 148.

Letters from Tavares and Father Julian Pereira were received by the Jesuits of Goa in 1579. We conclude that both had written from Fathpur, since Pereira was still at Fathpur in 1580. When the Jesuits reached Fathpur Sikri in 1580, some of Tavares' men were found to have taken service under Akbar. They do not mention Tavares. Hence, Tavares had gone back to Bengal by 1580.

The date of the foundation of Hugli may therefore be set down as the year 1580, if Tavares himself formally inaugurated the settlement on his return to Bengal. It might be shifted one or two years earlier, if the *farmān* was at once obtained and communicated to the Portuguese traders in Bengal.

The history of Hugli for the next twenty years is almost a blank. Ralph Fitch wrote in 1586: "From thence [Kuch Bihār] I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala which standeth in 23 degrees of Northerly latitude,¹ and standeth a league from Satagan: they call it Port Piqueno." Cf. J. Horton Ryley, *Ralph Fitch*, London, Unwin, 1899, p. 113. Satagan was still, however, the more important place, for Fitch deems it worth some description, whilst of Hugli he has nothing to say.

When, in 1598, Fathers Francis Fernandez and Dominic de Sousa arrived at Hugli, they found a Church dedicated to Our Lady. They established a small school and a hospital, and preached in the "big" Church, which makes us suppose that there was another. They had orders to proceed to Porto Grande or Chittagong. Hence, "the Vicar" of Hugli took over charge of the school and of the hospital. The Rājā of Chandecan promised in 1598 to build at his own expense a church which would surpass in beauty "all those" of Bengal. The Portuguese of Bacla had been visited by Missionaries in 1593, those of Chandecan in 1596 or 1597, those of Dianga near Chittagong in 1598. Cf. Letters of Fathers Fernandez and Melchior Fonseca in Pimenta. From all this it is clear that missionary enterprise in Bengal did not begin with the advent of the Augustinian Friars. We should not be surprised if Missionaries had visited Bengal nearly fifty years before that date. Father Peter Bonfer,

¹ Lat. 22° 54' 44" N.

a Franciscan, lived 3 years at Coim (Bassein) in Pegu, *ib.*, from 1555 to 1557. Cf. du Jarric, I. 615. It would reflect unfavorably on the spirit and zeal of the Religious Orders, if none of its representatives had found his way to Porto Grande about the same date. Then already, the Portuguese settled in that direction were many. During the lifetime of St. Francis Xavier, children were sent from Bengal to be educated at the Jesuit College of Santa Fe at Goa. At the Royal Library of Ajuda, Portugal, is found a catalogon of the pupils of that institution, dated 1559. The names of several "Bengali" children are there recorded. Cf. J. Cros, S. J., *Lettres de S. François Xavier*, I. 484. Manrique's anachronisms are less surprising, if we reflect that between Tavares' journey to Akbar's Court and Manrique's arrival in Bengal 56 years had elapsed. Fr. H. Jonson, S. J. (Cf. *Missions Belges*, Bruxelles, 1913: Sept., p. 331) gives the names of 5 of the pupils of the College of Santa Fe, Goa (1558), under the heading "Os Bengualas." They are: Filipe, Gaspar de Deos, Antonio do Ermo, Pedro, and another Pedro. Some of these "Bengali" children may, however, have come from Arakan or Burma: for if, in 1548, four of the pupils of Santa Fe, Goa, belonged to the religion of the *Saulim*, there is an evident mistake for *Raulim*, as the Buddhist priests of Arakan and Burma were uniformly called by the Portuguese, and by Manrique as well. Cf. A. Brou, S. J., *St. François Xavier*, Paris, 1912, II. 352. 1.

Manrique's account of the beginnings of Hugli, in spite of these inaccuracies, is valuable as supplementing our other sources. In view of the minute details it furnishes on Tavares' doings in Bengal, we are inclined to think that Manrique obtained his information from descendants of some of those who had been intimately connected with the events, perhaps from the descendants of Tavares himself.

[To be continued.]

Reminiscences of the Lucknow Residency.

THE following account was taken down verbatim by the writer on Wednesday, January 20th, 1916, from Mr. G. W. Medley now residing in Philkhana, Grand Trunk Road, Howrah.

"I was a boy of thirteen at the time of the Mutiny and a pupil in La Martiniere School, Lucknow. My Father who was the head clerk of the Sessions Judge's office in Lucknow, had died in 1851, and my Mother sent me to La Martiniere in 1852, I think, and I stayed there until the 17th December 1861.

When we heard about the Mutiny we barricaded the Martiniere as well as we could, and after we had done it, two boat loads of hostile men came to the School, but seeing how we were defended, they went away. In the Castle itself we had a guard of Captain Harris's Regiment of Bengal Infantry, and one day they revolted and came along from where they were stationed, to the Dhilkushia. On the road which ran through the Martiniere grounds, they happened to catch our Principal, Mr. George Stirling, and they were taking him away prisoner when the Martiniere Native doctor, Abdul Rahaman, went up to them and told them that the gentleman was not hostile to them but the Principal of La Martiniere School teaching children, and their children. The arguments prevailed and they let him go; he came along to the Martiniere and the School guard—10 men of the same regiment—took him prisoner, the doctor again interfered and again got him off.

One of the guard, a stout sepoy who was loyal to the British, went off to the Residency and told Sir Henry Lawrence that Captain Harris's Regiment had broken out and were preparing to attack La Martiniere School. Sir Henry at once sent two guns and some of the 32nd to the School, they dispersed the Sepoys without trouble, and Sir Henry Lawrence then ordered the whole School into the Residency, and we occupied a post in the Residency near Johannes House.

So far as I can remember the next outbreak happened about three weeks later, and the rebels got into the house we were occupying. In front of it was a straight road leading to the banqueting hall of the Residency, which became the hospital; at a window commanding this road sat a negroe, "Billy the Rigler,"—who had a carbine, small and black like himself, and he shot down anyone crossing the road, so we had to be careful!

The authorities had to put up a high barricade there to make the road safe. We, Martiniere boys, had to do our share of the work; some ground corn, some did the housework, some went to the mess, and others to the hospital for the sick, and attended to them. I had to do house work. I was sent to Captain Fullerton of the Artillery as cook boy, and helped his Madrassi cook who stayed through the siege. I also attended on Mrs. Fullerton, who treated me very well. Captain Fullerton was on the Redan battery, playing on the Gumtee to prevent the rebels crossing the river; in the course of the siege he had his head taken off by a round shot.

I was also for a time in the mess as servant, and was in the next room when Sir Henry Lawrence was killed by a piece of shell. I saw it afterwards, it weighed about 3 seers I think. When Sir Henry died, Brigadier Inglis succeeded him. I was next sent to the hospital to attend on the sick and wounded.

One day we heard that Nana Sahib had sent in a letter by one George Baillie who was an English spy. The Nana asked Brigadier Inglis to surrender and said that he would send us safely to Allahabad as he had done to our brothers in Cawnpur; Brigadier Inglis said that he had heard what had been done to our brothers in Cawnpur and that we would not surrender. The message was sent back, I believe, by the same man, George Baillie. The rebels undermined the La Martiniere post where our boys were, we had about 58 boys in the house, two masters, Mr. Dodd and Mr. Walters, the school sergeant named Hilton and his family: about 20 boys were old enough for the defence.

We did not know that the house had been undermined, and when we were at morning prayers one day, the mine was exploded and part of the wall of the room blown away. There were two doors leading into the next room where three boys, two sick and one wounded, were. The doors were blocked up and Brigadier Inglis came, and inspected the place, and sent in an European guard. Under the house on the road side was a shop, and a mob of Indians got into it and fired into the room where the guard was. One man was shot while lying down; the guard turned the rebels out and made the place safe.

We were next ordered to undermine Johannes House where the rebels had a sing-song and worship every morning. They carried a mine under the house and ordered that at 4 o'clock the next morning the boys were to go to the Residency and the troops to attack the house. At the time fixed the mine exploded and the troops rushed into the house. "Billy the Rigler" was shot through the head. I saw him lying dead as a lot of the boys ran into the house with the troops to try for loot.

Soon after this Generals Havelock and Outram came up for the relief.

When the men got in, they were tired that they just dropped inside the Baillie gate and the women got on their feet.

Two of our boys had been in the defence, Joe Smith who had a flesh wound in the left thigh and James Luckman who had a bullet in his shoulder whilst presenting arms. Two boys died of disease, one was called Aratoon, and I have forgotten the other.

I was in the banqueting hall of the Residency when we heard that Sir Colin Campbell was coming near; and we were completely relieved. The Garrison was at once taken off to the Dhilkushia, and as soon as the Cawnpur road was clear, we went off in carts to Cawnpur. On the road two attacks were made on the party, which were beaten off.

When we got to Cawnpur we stayed in an old hotel for a week and then we went off again to Fatehpur by cart, there we got the train and went in open trucks to Allahabad. Here we stayed in the Fort, and the school had two rooms in the barracks for a time. We next went on by boat to Benares where the school hired a house and started lessons. We stayed there until the Mutiny was ended—about nine months and got back to Lucknow at the beginning of 1859.

H. F. FULFORD WILLIAMS.

Members' Note-Book.

Mr. A. LEHURAU has sent the following for publication:—

A great impetus has been given within recent years to historical research in India, and the formation of historical societies in several provinces may be regarded as a hopeful sign of the awakening of the historical sense in India, and a recognition of the country's glorious past. His Honour Sir James Meston, in his inaugural address to the United Provinces Historical Society, aptly remarked: "as pride in a bygone India spreads, the demand for a better knowledge of its history will deepen."

The story of the French in India is a vivid chapter of Indian history, full of instruction and romance. Records of the struggle for supremacy and of the internal work attempted by the French nation in India are to be found in the national archives scattered through their little Settlements. A serious attempt is now being made by H. E. Mr. Alfred Martineau, Governor of French India, to rescue from destruction such documents of historical interest as have escaped the vicissitudes of war and the destructive effects of the Indian climate, and to render them accessible to research students. As a first step the *Société de l'histoire de l'Inde française* was founded at Pondicherry by His Excellency on the 1st June 1911, and began at once to publish a series of interesting diplomatic and political documents. It also commenced, and still continues, to issue extracts from the *procès-verbaux* of the superior council at Pondicherry, since its creation in 1701, and its correspondence with the subordinate councils in India.

On the return of Mr. Martineau to Paris in 1912, the plan so happily conceived was further enlarged by bringing the other French colonies within its scope, and by opening to its inquiry the rich stores of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the foreign and colonial offices in Paris, and the many private collections of historical documents in France. The result was the foundation in Paris on the 6th June 1912, of *La Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises*, Galerie d'Orléans, Palais Royal, to which the Governors of Indo-China and of West Africa gave their cordial support. The Paris Society soon attracted a distinguished membership. The French Academy signified its intention of forming part of the committee, which already comprised the names of such eminent academicians as H. E. Mr. Raymond Poincaré, President of the Republic (honorary member), and Mr. Paul Deschanel, President of the Chamber of Deputies. Amongst notable collaborators may be mentioned Prince Roland Bonaparte, Comte Henri de

Castries, H. E. Mr. Alfred Martineau, Henri Froidevaux, Paul Kaepelin, Paul Masson, and Charles de la

Corporate members include the India Office, the Government of Behar and Orissa, the Government of the Royal Geographical Society, London, the American Geographical Society of New York, the Universities of Chicago, Queensland and Hong Kong, the libraries of the Chamber of Deputies and the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Colonies, Paris, the Royal and National libraries of Copenhagen, Stockholm and Florence, the Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, and the Bataviasch Genootschap Van Kunsten de Wetenschappen (Batavia); the Chambers of Commerce of Paris, Lyon, Marseille, Havre and Dunkirk.

The publications of the Paris Society, in a regular series of numbers, consist of historical documents not hitherto made public, reprints of rare and costly works and a quarterly review. Lengthy documents are issued in separate volumes, others such as memoirs, correspondence, instructions to Colonial Governors, narratives of travels, appear in the review which, in addition, comprises chronicles, original articles of historical interest, and a bibliography. Young as it is, the *Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises* has already acquired a reputation, while the beauty of its publications has won a prize of fcs. 1500 from the "Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres," Paris. The Pondicherry Society, although conducted on a more modest scale, is no less industrious, and the interesting records which both have brought to light will doubtless furnish useful data to the future historian of French India.

In the vast field of historical research that India presents, the French section may seem small indeed, but it is one that no student can neglect, for it may be said with truth that it was at the siege Fort d'Orléans, Chandernagor, that the destinies of Bengal were decided. A committee of both societies has been established at Chandernagor, under the patronage of Mr. Charles Vincent, Administrator of the Settlement, with a view to extending their membership, and it ventures to hope it will have the pleasure of enrolling your name as a subscriber. The publications of both Societies are free to members at the following rates of subscription, without any entrance fee:

To the Société de l'histoire de l'Inde française:

Ordinary members Rs. 6/- per annum, in advance.

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Donors, those paying 1,000 fcs. and over are styled Founders.

Subscriptions may be forwarded either to Mr. Chas. Vincent, Administrateur, Chandernagor, or to the Secretary, Chandernagor Committee. Intending Subscribers in the Madras Presidency may make remittances to the Hony. Secretary "Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde française," Pondicherry.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

La Société l'Histoire de l'Inde française :

Les dernières luttes des Français et des Anglais dans l'Inde par le colonel Malleson. Traduit par M. Edmond Gaudart. 1911, 1 volume, 230 pages	Rs. 3
Lettres et conventions des Gouverneurs de Pondichéry avec les divers princes indiens, de 1666 à 1793. Publié par M. Martineau. 1912, 1 volume, 402 pages	6
Procès-verbaux des délibérations du Conseil supérieur de Pondichéry, du 1 ^{er} février 1701 au 31 décembre 1739, 3 volumes publiés par les soins de M. Gaudart 1912-1914, chaque volume	6
Inventaire des anciennes archives de l'Inde française, dressé par M. Martineau, 1914, 3 pages	2
Correspondance du Conseil supérieur de Pondichéry avec le Conseil de Chandernagor, du 30 septembre 1728 au 5 octobre 1737. T. I. 420 pages, publié par les soins de M. Gaudart, 1915	6

IN COURSE OF PUBLICATION.

Correspondance du Conseil supérieur de Pondichéry avec le Conseil de Chandernagor, du 13 février 1738 au 21 septembre 1743. T. II. Préparé par les soins de M. Martineau.

Résumé des actes de l'État-civil de Pondichéry, de 1776 à 1793 par M. Martineau.

La Société de l'Histoire des Colonies françaises :

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

- 1.—Premier voyage fait à la côte d'Afrique en 1685 par La Courbe, publié pour la première fois avec une carte de Delisle (1727), une introduction et des notes, par M. P. Cultru.—Paris, 1913. 1 vol. in 8° de lviii-321 pages 12 fcs.
- 2.—Mémoire sur quelques affaires de l'Empire Mogol (1756-1761), par Jean Law de Lauriston, publié avec une carte de Danville et une introduction, par M. A. Martineau,—Paris, 1913. 1 vol. in 8° de lvi-589 pages 18 fcs.

3.—La Mission de la *Cybèle* en Extrême-Orient (1817-1818).
Journal de voyage du capitaine Gergarion, publié et annoté par
Pierre de Joinville.—Paris, 1818, 1 vol. in 8° de xxii-241 pages,
avec une carte ... 7 fcs. 50.

THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

Première année 1913 un vol. in 8° de 512 pages;
Deuxième année 1914 un vol. in 8° de 416 pages;
Troisième année 1915 un vol. in 8° de 460 pages;

IN COURSE OF PUBLICATION.

Instructions aux gouverneurs sur la côte occidentale d'Afrique.
Publiées avec commentaires et notes par M. Christian Schefer,
professeur à l'École des sciences politiques. Un vol. in 8° d'environ
300 pages.

The following is the full text of the sermon at the Centenary Service conducted by the Rev. D. H. Gillan, B. D. on the 28th November 1915 at the St. Andrews Church, Calcutta.

This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.
—Genesis, xxviii. 17.

The foundation-stone of this Church was laid almost 100 years ago, on St. Andrews' Day, 30th November 1815. It was a great occasion. Nearly the whole "settlement," it is said, attended, and a Masonic procession added to the dignity of the proceedings. We are glad to welcome so many of the modern "settlement" of Calcutta at this Centenary Service; we are glad to have representatives from the other Scottish Church in Calcutta, the Wellesley Square United Free Church; and we are glad also that some of the Masonic Lodges represented 100 years ago are represented here to-night. It is a fitting commemoration of the work they played on St. Andrew's Day, 1815.

THE TRUE FUNCTION OF A CHURCH. Nothing apparently was lacking in the outward ceremonial of that day, and the building which rose on the foundation then well and truly laid was considerably admired, being regarded as "more stately than St. John's," the old Cathedral (*Bengal Past and Present*, April-June, 1915, p. 202). But neither an imposing initial ceremonial nor a stately architectural design is sufficient if a Church is really to fulfil its proper function. There was a Church in Glasgow once, over which Dr. Boyd of St. Andrew's, better known by his initials, A. K. H. B., allowed his usually genial pen to wax sarcastic. It is related, he tells us, that the Lord Derby of an earlier day "was transfixed by the sight of it, but after some delay exclaimed, 'Well, I once saw an uglier Church.' He did not

say where," says Dr. Boyd "it would be interesting to know." But that Church was the centre and source of such streams of blessing of such comfort for the sad, help for the despairing, stimulus to the indifferent, rescue for the lost, hope for the despairing, inspiration for all, that it became a household word not only through Glasgow but throughout Scotland for true Christian efficiency. And it illustrates the true function of a Church. It must be the house of God, His children here: it must be the gate of Heaven for seeking souls.

THE ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN OF ST. ANDREW'S. At the same time, ugliness in itself is not a means of grace: beauty often is, and I am frankly glad that this Church as a building has the approbation of those who are competent to express an opinion. It is an example, Professor Geddes tells us, and considering the difficulties of the architect, a wonderfully good example, of that style of Church building so frequently adopted by Sir Christopher Wren, a style of which the Church of St. Martin's, Charing Cross, is the most famous illustration. Now the outward sign of that type, the combination of Greek pediment and Christian spire, corresponds to the period in which it was conceived, the best period of the English Renaissance, in which admiration for Greek and Latin culture was linked with reverence for Christian ideals. And this combination corresponds—does it not?—with what we want for our children, which is the surest test of what we most deeply and most truly value. We want our children to grow up strong, solid, sensible, with grit and character and principle, but we do not want them to stop at that. We want them also to be responsive, sympathetic, capable of being touched to tenderness, of being moved to noble aims. And the character for which in this unconscious way we express our admiration is represented, for those who have eyes to see, by the design of this Church. The cardinal virtues are represented by the Greek pediment, the Christian graces by the soaring spire. I can well believe that during the last 100 years many without knowing it have been helped along the toilsome path of virtue and up the steep ascent of heaven by the view of this church so familiar to us all.

1815-1915. After all, however, our chief interest to-night is the actual history of the Church in its activities during the 100 years of its existence, and these appear to have been at all times considerable. Dr. James Bryce, the first minister of the Church, is most closely associated in the popular estimate of him with heated controversy of one kind and another, but his was evidently a strong personality, powerfully exercised for good in several directions. He was editor, first of the *Asiatic Mirror*, and later of *John Bull in the East*, which was described as "the supporter of Church and King, the counter of private scandals, the counterpoise of the pernicious influence of other journals"

(*Bengal Past and Present*, April-June, 1915, p. 196). So successful was his journalistic career that he was described as "more remarkable than his holy profession." (The Church of Scotland in religious as distinct from ecclesiastical directions was not a new thing for he was recommended for the post of chaplain here, and won a prize at the University of Aberdeen for an essay on "The best method of evangelizing India, and it was his advocacy of India as a field for mission" that gave rise to the India Mission of the Church of Scotland, and Dr. Alexander Duff was the first missionary." (*Loc. cit.*) Dr. Bryce's successors are still familiar to most of us. There was Dr. James Brown, commemorated on a mural tablet on the north wall as "a man of genuine truth and benevolence and of unwearied labours in the cause of religion." There was Dr. W. H. Meiklejohn, likewise commemorated by a mural tablet, the inscription on which speaks of him as the lamented pastor of the congregation. There was Dr. Charles, who shares with Dr. Bryce the honour of having his portrait in the Session Room of the Church. There was Dr. Herdman, whose career contained two records untouched so far as I know in the history of the Chaplaincy. One was that though he served for twenty years, five in the Mission Field and fifteen in the Chaplaincy, he never got nearer having furlough at Home than spending three days in Malta. The other is that twenty-five years after his retirement, he returned to Calcutta for the marriage of his daughter. His immediate successor, Mr. R. Henderson, was here for only three years, a short time in those days. More recent chaplains who have since gone to their rest, are still remembered in the Congregation: Mr. Macalister Thomson, my father, Mr. Lillie, Mr. Ian Fraser; while of the living we most of us know something of Dr. James Williamson, Mr. Ferrier, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Scott, Mr. Chree, and the present chaplain of the Church, Mr. Thomson.

Needless to say, there have been mistakes in the Chaplaincy, as in all human institutions. But the Church has taken no inconsiderable share in Christian activities. The first extracongregational work initiated was the Mission already alluded to. Under Dr. Duff the General Assembly's Institution was founded on 13th July 1830, and though in consequence of the Disruption of 1843, it had to be closed for a time, it was re-opened and had a successful career until amalgamated with the corresponding United Free Church agency under the title of the Scottish Churches' College. The interest in Mission Work evoked by Dr. Bryce led in due course to the opening in 1837 of the Church of Scotland Women's Mission in Calcutta, which is now in a flourishing condition. Developments from the Men's Mission were the evangelistic work afterwards centralized in St. Andrew's Bengali Church, and the agencies opened in the north end of the town and

at Mattiabrux, Budge-Budge and Ghosery. European work originating here is represented by the Sunday School, Services at the Mills arranged in conjunction with the United Free Church, occasional Services at Ichapore and Kanchrapara, and the Additional Church Society, while among charitable institutions, the Sunday morning breakfasts, the St. Andrew's Dorcas and Work Society, and the Scottish Ladies' Hospital Visiting Association (maintained by the United Free Church themselves) are the most outstanding. It would be unfair to pass over the activities of the Congregation without reference to the many philanthropic objects, impossible to classify, to whose support, directly or indirectly, they have contributed with a whole-hearted generosity worthy of the highest praise.

PRESENT POSSIBILITIES. One always finds, however, that whatever may have been done in the past, there is more to be done in the future. It is said that if you go aboard any sea-going European steamer in the port and get within shouting distance of the engineers, you cannot get out "Mac" without evoking a response. As the Calcutta Congregation of the National Church of Scotland we are to some extent responsible for all these "Mac's" and we do not at present fully meet our responsibility. Then the numbers of young Scotsmen who come out to business in Calcutta increase in normal times almost year by year; ministers at Home are partly responsible, but so are we, and we shall not have done our duty to these young men until we have not only devised a scheme by which we shall know of their arrival, but have also insured that they receive in this great city such a welcome as shall save them from loneliness and its attendant dangers and temptations. Then, occasionally, we are reminded in one way or another that this Church is regarded as their Church by men far away from us, men on tea gardens and railways and collieries. Something has been done, but more might be, and, occupying the position we do, we cannot rest content until it is. I believe that this Church has been a true source of blessing to many faithful souls since it was opened: it is ours to see to it that our work in Calcutta continues that beneficent influence and that our Church becomes ever more truly the House of God and the Gate of Heaven.

MR. WILMOY CORFIELD writes:—In Vol. IX (p. 9) of *Bengal: Past and Present* I wrote of the closing of Warren Hastings' London House in Park Lane prior to its demolition. Lawson's "Life of Warren Hastings" is silent concerning some of his residences when in England after his final departure from India. From recent statements in "Notes and Queries" it may be gathered that Hastings in 1785 lived first in a furnished house in St. James Place, afterwards removing to another in Wimpole St. He lived, so, for a year or two "Beaumont Lodge," Old Windsor (1786-7), after disposing

of which he resided at No. 1, (No. 40), Park Lane from about 1788 until 1797, when he retired to Daylesford. Purley Hall, Berks, is also associated with him as a residence soon after his arrival from India. The Park Lane house was pulled down in September 1815.

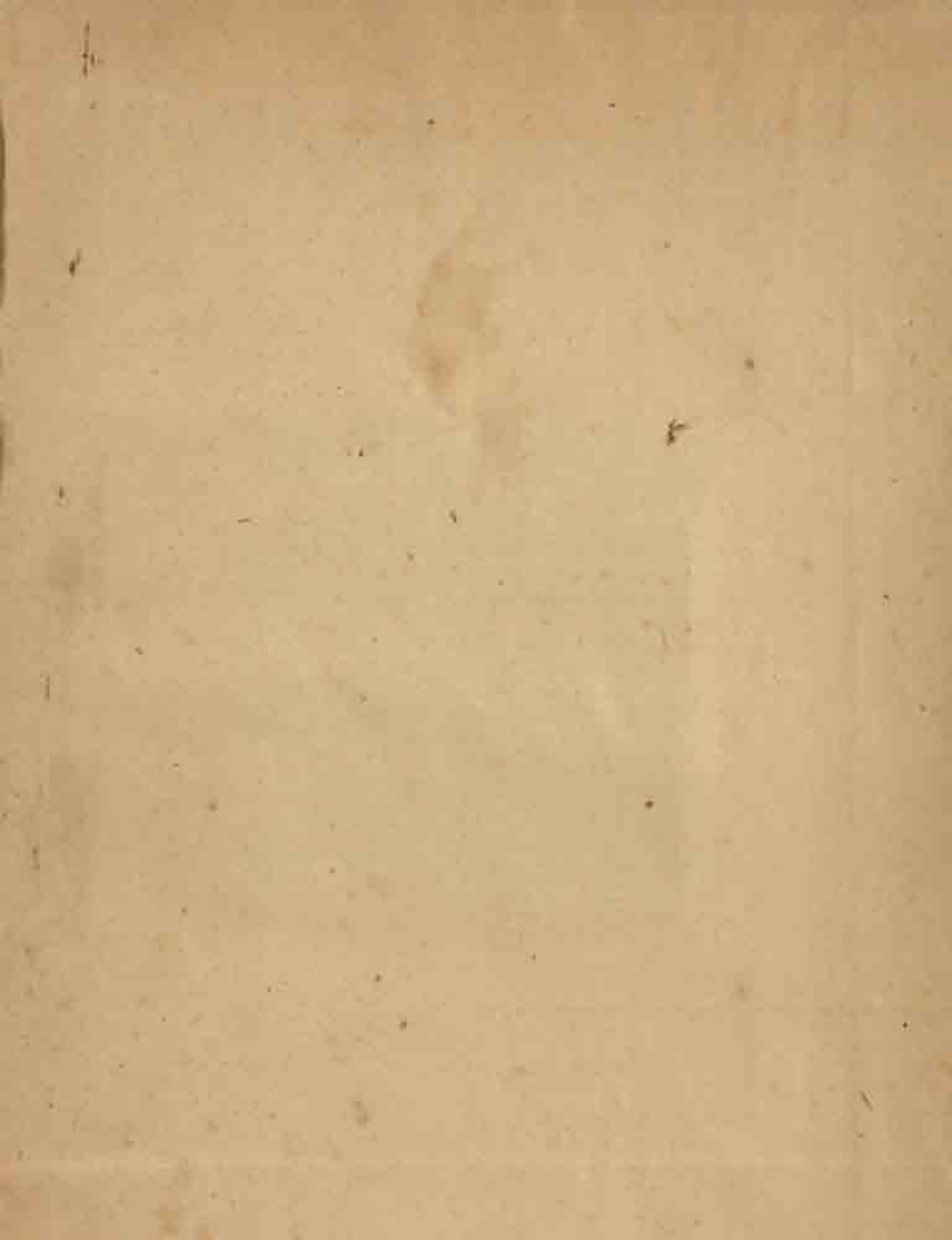
THE REV. MR. H. F. FULTON writes:—There is a disused cemetery at Sherpur, Mymensingh, containing two graves.

These are not given in any other list as far as I know. A letter for the District Engineer, Mymensingh (Mr. H. R. Coxe) says—"There is only one inscription in the cemetery at present: this inscription is in the name of Allan Sophia Durnell, born on the 30th December 1828, and died 4th September 1829.

There was another inscription to George Edward Haggard, maternal uncle of the baby. This of the last grave was stolen by some mischievous people. The others were in slate.

The Public Works Department now keeps up the cemetery. A wall about 4 ft. high surrounds the graves making an enclosure with a diameter of 23 ft."

Sherpore is 10 miles north-east of Janakpur (Station Sinjhani Eastern Bengal Railway). At the latter place there is a small cemetery. It was a small cantonment about 1820-1840. Four inscriptions from it are given in the *Bengal Obituary*. None in Wilson.



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