

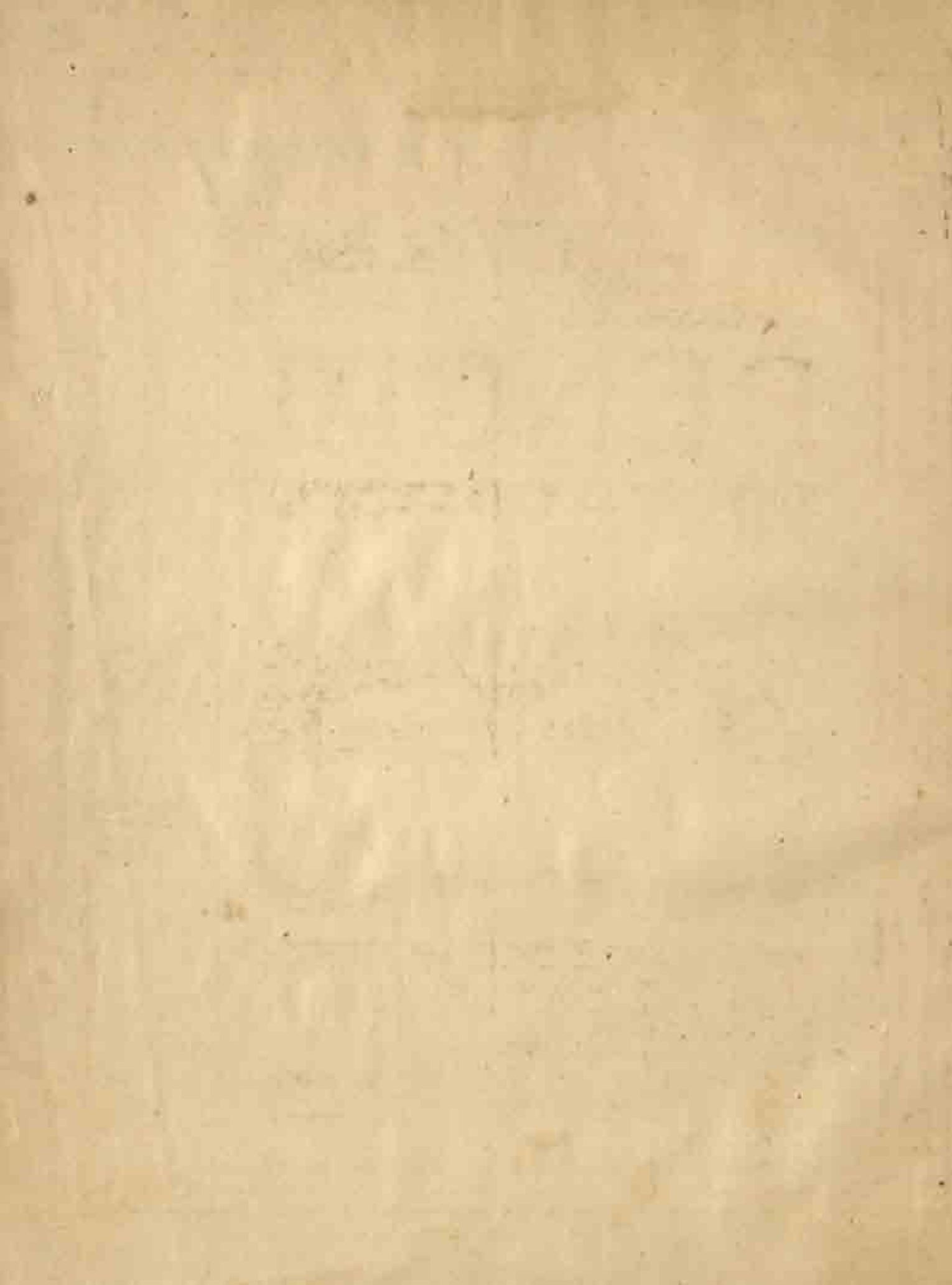
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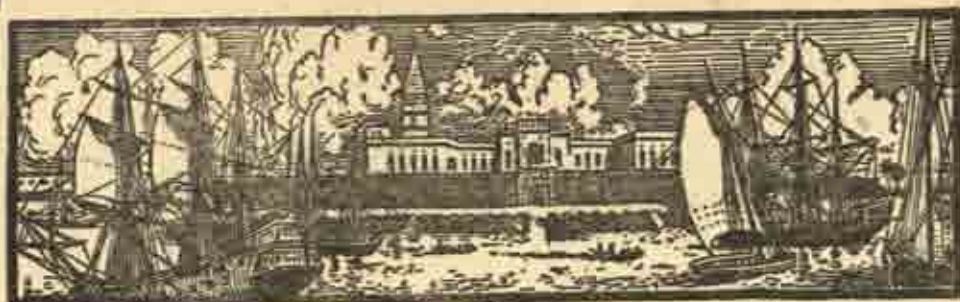
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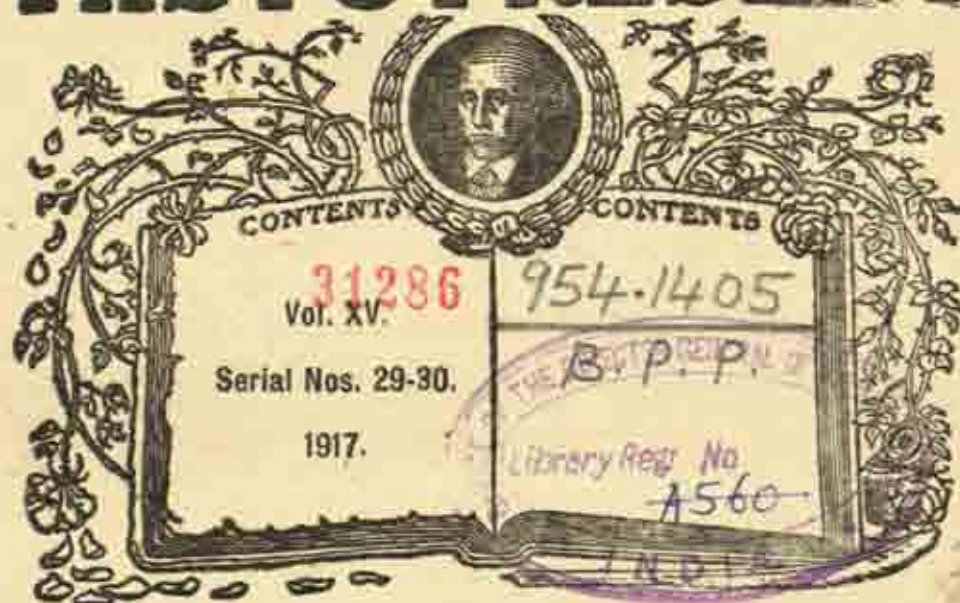
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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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CORRECTIONS.

On page 62, line 18 from top, *delete* " of the time."

" 63, " 13 " " for " only report " *read* " only a single report."

" 76, " 16 " " for " that three are " *read* " that there are."

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Some Old Graves at Dacca.

ON the 12th July, 1824, Bishop Heber records in his *Narrative*:

"In the evening [Sunday, July 9th] I consecrated the burial-ground: a wild dismal place, surrounded by a high wall, with an old Moorish gateway, at the distance of about a mile from the now inhabited part of the city, but surrounded with a wilderness of ruins and jungle. It is, however large and well adapted for its purposes, containing but few tombs and those mostly of old dates, erected during the days of Dacca's commercial prosperity, and while the number of European residents was more considerable than it is present. One was pointed out to me, over the remains of a Mr. Paget, Chaplain to the Company in July 1724. He then little thought or feared how strangely the centenary anniversary of his interment would be kept up! Some of the tombs are very handsome: One more particularly, resembling the buildings raised over the graves of Mussulman Saints, has a high octagon Gothic tower, with a cupola in the same style, and eight windows with elaborate tracery. Within are three slabs over as many bodies, and the old Durwan of the burial-ground said, it was the tomb of a certain 'Columbo Sahib Company ka Nuokur,' Mr. Columbo, Servant to the Company; who he can have been I know not: his name does not sound like an Englishman's, but as there is no inscription, the Beadle's word is the only accessible authority."

In September last I re-visited Dacca, and spent some two hours in the burial ground. The "Moorish" gateway still exists, although, by an extension of the cemetery it is now almost in the centre of the ground. "Columbo Sahib's" tomb is in an excellent state of preservation. I was called away from my labour while engaged in copying a tablet built in the wall to a Mr. Ezekiel Beck, erected by Susanah, his wife. The inscription records that "he was born of respectable parents in the island of Barbadoes," and "departed this life on the 30th March 1791." He "fell a sacrifice to power through the conduct of an Asiatic oppressor in the 37th year of his age." From the Sylhet Records I learn that the Collector of that place, Mr. J. Willes, broke up Beck's business and compelled him to quit the district. Beck's offence seems to have been that he had taken some well-known bad characters into his employ. I trust that the following transcriptions are correctly made.

1. Here / lies buried / the body of / Nichols. / Clerembault, Esqr., /
Chief of Ye. English / Factory at Dacca / d. the 16th of / November
1755. Aged / about 46 years.
2. Here lies the body / of Thomas Feake, Esq., / late Chief of Dacca. /
Ob. 7 Oct. 1750 / Æt. 32.
3. Nathaniel Hall / Factor in the Service of Ye. / Honble. E. E. I.
Compa. Obt. 13 Sept. 1725 / Æt. 24.
4. Charles Watkins, / Writer in the service of / the Hon'ble Engsh.
East India Compa. / Obt. 25th June 1726. Æt. 21.
5. Mrs. Eli.....ll / Obit Ye..... 1742.
6. Cy-Git / Mrs. Day Carlier / Born on the 16th October / 1756. / Died
on the 21st June 1836. / Aged 80 years.
7. Here lies / the body of / Mr. James Mills, / late assistant Surgeon /
at this Factory, / who died / the 16th of October 1773 / in the
40th year / of / his age.
8. Here lies the body of / William Kirkman, / Chief for the Hon'ble the
Dutch East India Compy. / Dacca / Born—September 17—/
Deceased April 1771.
9. Sacred / to the memory of / Mr. James Hunter, / late a Surgeon on /
this Establishment, / who died / equally regretted for his skill / and
his many / amiable qualities / on the 16th March 1785. / This
Monument is / erected as a tribute of paternal affection / by Capt.
Patk. Hunter.
10. Robert Lindsay, Esq. / Factor in the service of the Honorable East
India Company, / died on the 18th of December. / MDCCLXXVIII.
Aged XXIII years.
11. Sophia Cator / died the 11th October, / 1784. / Aged 11 months,
18 days.
12. Frances Anne Middleton, / died the 30th October / 1784 / Aged
13 months, 11 days.

1. Clerembault was of a Huguenot family settled in London. He did not enter the East India Company's service until 1744, when, on 25th January he was appointed to proceed to Bengal as a Factor at £15 per annum, his securities being Benjamin Longuet, Esq., and Henry Guinaud, merchants. Arriving on 25th November, 1744, he was posted to Dacca. On 1st September, 1749, he took over charge from Thomas Feake, and became chief of the Factory. Soon after his salary was raised from £15 to £30 per annum, and in 1752, or 1753, it was raised to £40. As a matter of fact, with batta and allowances he received nearly Rs. 4,000 per annum. His death is recorded on the Dacca Consultations for 15 November, 1753, "on the 15th instant, Nicholas Clerembault, Esq., Chief of this Factory, departed this life of a violent fever." [Information kindly supplied by Wm. Foster, Esq., C. I. E.]

13. To / the memory of / Jane, the daughter of / James* and Jane Rennell,† who died July 29, 1774. / Aged 1 year and 7 days.
14. Here / lies buried / the body of / Elizabeth / Charlton / who died / the 31st January / 1766. / Aged 23 years.
15. In memory / of / Elizabeth Crauford, / wife to Robt. Crauford / who departed this / life June 22 1776. / Aged 23 years.
16. To / the memory / of / Robert Crauford, / Factor in the service / of the Hon. East / India Company, / who departed / this life, August 27th / 1776. / Aged 34 years.
17. Sacred / to the memory / of / Robert Auchmuty, Esq., / who departed this life / on the 8th April / 1797. / Aged 22 years.
18. Here lies / the body of / Charles Taylor, Esq., / who departed this life / on the / 29th of January 1797 / in the 32d year of his age, / Dacca.
19. Sacred / to the memory of / Ensign George Middleton / in the service of / the Hon'ble East India Company, / who died 17th Oct. / 1789. / Aged 23.
20. Here lyeth / the body / of Thos. / Borthwick,‡ / Captain in the / of the Hon'ble / East India Company. / Aged about 29 years. / Obiit / the 7th August, 1769.
21. To the memory / of / Henry Holland / who died on the 16th April / 1800. / Aged 22 years.
22. To the memory of / Lieut. H. Mainwaring. / Late of the 3rd Regt., Nat. Inf., / who departed this life / July 22, 1807. / Aged 25.
23. Sacred / to the memory of / Christopher Roberts, Esqr., / 3rd Judge / of the Court of / Appeal and Circuit / at Dacca, / who departed this life / May 4, 1801. / In the 37th year / of his age.
24. To the memory of / John David Patterson, Enquire, / Judge and Magistrate / of the City of Dacca, / who died on the 26th May 1809. / Aged 65 years.
25. Sacred to the memory of / Col. Wm. Burton / of the Dacca Provincial Battalion, / who died on the 26th of November / 1817. / Aged 53 years.
26. To the memory of / Mrs. C. Burton, / wife of Major W. Burton, / who departed this life / on the 11th July / 1809.
27. To the memory / of / William Gordon, Esq., / A. M., who died the 11th September 1817. / Aged 36 years.

* The distinguished geographer.

† Sister of W. M. Thackeray of Sylhet.

‡ Set up on the Cemetery wall.

If Scotia's music have a charm
 Your soul to cheer, your heart to warm,
 Pause—and do homage to the shade
 Of one who in the fiddling trade
 Had few compeers, and what is better
 He was the essence of good nature.

28. Sacred / to the memory of / the late Lt.-Coll. W. H. Cooper, C. B., / who departed this life / on the 8th of May 1822, / after a residence of 44 years / in different parts of India / Aged 66 years and 8 days.
29. Sacred / to the memory of / Mrs. Antonia Falconer, / wife of A. Falconer, Esqr., of Belnaberry. / A Lady who possessed the highest endowments of mind / and the sweetest charm of manners, and every elegant accomplishment / of Art and Taste and Genius, but / who was above all inestimable for the benevolence of her heart, / and the exuberant tenderness and purity of her affections. / She was born on the 17th Octr., 1789, in Kinnel Palace, near Linlithgow in Scotland, / then the residence of her father and paternal grand father, / the celebrated Dr. Roebuck, / founder of the Carron Iron Works. / She came to India with her brother / Captain Thomas Roebuck / Professor at the College of Fort William, / and was married in Calcutta on the 3rd of June, 1820, / and died in childbed on the 18th March 1821 at Dacca. / Her infant child interred with her. / No human being ever died more beloved or more lamented.
30. Sacred / to the memory of / Capt. / Chas. Scott / 27th Regt., N. I., / Principal Assistt., to the Commissioner / of Assam, / died at this station / on the 3rd May 1847. / Aged 33 years. / This tablet has been erected / by his friends in Assam.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

29. For John Roebuck, the inventor, see article in *Dictionary of National Biography* which has also an article on Thomas Roebuck, the brother of Mrs. Falconer. Capt. Thos. Roebuck died in December 1819, and is buried in the South Park St. Cemetery at Calcutta. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 142. In the same cemetery at Calcutta is buried Alexander Freer Falconer, / son of the late Alexander Falconer, Esq. of Belnaberry, who died at Calcutta on the 29th / October 1827, / aged 14 months. *Bengal Obituary*, p. 128.

A History of the Second Presidency Battalion, Calcutta Rifles.

BY LT.-COL. F. M. LESLIE, V.D.

THE Corps now known as the Second (Presidency) Battalion, Calcutta Rifles, and as such a unit of the Indian Defence Force began life as a Reserve Battalion and was formed under the order of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India dated the 6th April 1888. The first Commandant of the Corps was Major Reginald Cranford Sterndale of the Retired List, Calcutta Volunteer Rifles, and at that time Cantonment Magistrate of Dum Dum. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel on the 14th September 1888.

The proposal to raise a Battalion of Reserve Volunteers originated with Colonel Sterndale who felt that the material was available for such a Corps in the large number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians who did not belong to any of the then existing active Corps whether they had at one time belonged to any of those Corps or not. In the year 1885 a cloud much larger than a man's hand was rising upon Afghan Frontier and the "Russian Scare" was at its height. Colonel Sterndale took the opportunity to call a meeting of some of the leading men in Calcutta to consider the question of raising a new Volunteer Corps. A provisional Committee was formed and Colonel Sterndale addressed a letter to the Government of India submitting his proposals and tendering his services and those of 240 men willing to be enrolled in the proposed Corps for the defence of the country. In the course of a month the number of men willing to be enrolled in the proposed Corps had increased to 600. In the course of three years, that is to say in March 1888, the answer came and the Government of India gave final consent to the formation of the Corps under the title of the Presidency Volunteer Reserve Battalion.

The Corps was accordingly constituted a Battalion and declared 'subject to the administrative control of the Officer Commanding the Administrative Battalion Presidency Volunteers.' The corps when formed was open to "all able bodied Europeans and Anglo-Indians (then styled Eurasians) of good character and respectability domiciled in India and residing within the Municipal limits of Calcutta and its suburbs, Howrah, Dum Dum and the

riverside districts extending on both sides of River Hooghly from the Jubilee Bridge to Budge Budge and Fort Gloster unconditionally if of the age of 35 years and upwards and if below that age then with the permission of the Officer Commanding the active Corps."

The Battalion as originally formed was divided into 6 companies :

- A: The City Company ;
- B: The European Police Reserve Company ;
- C: The Mint Company ;
- D: The Preventive Service Company ;
- E: The Hastings Company ;
- F: The Howrah Company.

It is interesting to note that the system of Departmental Companies which for so many years gave strength and efficiency to the Battalion was inaugurated with the formation of the Battalion.

As evidence of the keenness of the first Commanding Officer we find that he gave up a great part of his private residence Dum Dum House (where Clive at one time lived) to supply his Corps with Head Quarters and an Armoury.

The first Annual Report of the Corps brings to light the fact that its first Adjutant was Captain Joseph Binning who later on as Colonel Joseph Binning, C.I.E., V.D., A.D.C., commanded the Corps for many years and whose name and memory are still held in affectionate regard by the officers and men of the Battalion a great many of whom served under him.

The actual strength of the Corps at the end of the first year of its existence was 465 of which number 447 were classed as efficient of the season.

Every one who knows anything about the Volunteer movement (for the present at least a matter of history) is aware that one of the greatest troubles of the many that beset a Commanding Officer was the want of the Rifle Range accommodation for his men. It is not therefore surprising to find Colonel Sterndale in his second Annual Report of the Corps bemoaning the fact that he could not inaugurate a shooting club because he could not obtain a range.

In this third Annual Report Colonel Sterndale gives prominence to the fact that the Corps had held its first camp of exercise and one is therefore not surprised to find him also record the fact that his energetic reservists had had paraded for inspection with the active units in Calcutta for inspection by the Commander-in-Chief and that following thereon the Corps had thrown off its reserve and come into line as an active Battalion retaining in its Reserve Companies room for all such as could not devote sufficient time to Volunteering to make themselves ordinarily efficient. The designation of the Corps

was changed at the same time and it became the Presidency Volunteer Rifle Battalion, and the Corps was separated from the Administrative Battalion and given an independent existence. Thus began the rivalry that any one time existed between itself and other Rifle Corps in the Presidency Command to the disadvantage of all concerned.

The same Report mentions the fact that under the changed conditions it was not found convenient to continue to have the Head Quarters of the Corps in Dum Dum and they were accordingly removed to a house rented for the purpose in town. The Report is written some time after the close of the Official year and in fact the change in the nature and constitution of the Corps recorded in it took place after the close of the year so that the Corps remained a Reserve Battalion for three Official years. The order converting the Corps from "Reserves" to "Rifles" is dated 4th July 1891.

In the fourth year of its existence (its first as an active unit) the Corps was for the first time (but not for the last) unable to hold a camp of exercise because the Military authorities granted no subsidy for this purpose. Obviously the men did not lack energy for they formed, amongst other things, a drum and fife band of their own and purchased the necessary instruments from the Naval Volunteers (now known as the Calcutta Port Defence Corps) who had given up their intention of maintaining a Band.

The following year appears to have been one of greater prosperity for the Corps or perhaps the Powers were more kind for we find that not only did the Battalion once more have its camp of exercise but it was given a regular adjutant in the person of Captain A. St. John Seton of the King's Liverpool Regiment. This is recorded in the Report of the Battalion for the year 1892-93 the last to be signed by Colonel Sterndale one of the best men that ever wore a Volunteer's Uniform the first commandant and the founder of the Corps. His name will remain with the Battalion long after the last man who knew him in it has passed out of it.

The next report is for the seasons 1893-94, 1894-95 and 1895-96 and it opens with the words "Owing to the illness and subsequent death of the late Colonel R. C. Sterndale there was no Annual Report of the Battalion published for the Season 1893-94 as all the private information, etc., required for the Report which was in Colonel Sterndale's possession at the time of his death has not been recovered". And such is the tribute paid to his memory! For there is no further mention of him in this Report. It at least bears witness to the personality and character of the man who raised the Corps and in whose absence even the stereotyped Annual Report could not be written.

The amende is made in the next Report where we read "The greatest loss the Battalion sustained during the season 1894-95 and one which it can

never replace was by the untimely death of its Commanding Officer, Colonel Reginald Cranfuird Sterndale, V. D., which sad event took place after a long illness in Calcutta on the 12th February 1895 brought on by a chill he caught during some field manoeuvres he had organised for the instruction of the Battalion. A full account of the services of this able Volunteer Officer and also an account of his funeral will be found further on in this Report." *Sci transit gloria mundi*.

During the illness of Colonel Sterndale Major J. Binning (as he then was) Commanded the Corps. The Report for this year contains but little of interest except perhaps in an extract from Battalion orders by Colonel Sterndale dated 24th November 1894 from which it appears that this strict disciplinarian disregarding a recommendation to mercy confirmed the sentence of a Court Martial fining a private Rs. 20 for (1) neglect to the prejudice of good order and discipline and (2) refusing to obey an order given by his superior officer.

The strength of the Battalion on the 31st March 1895 was 445 Active members and 81 Reservists making a total of 526.

Throughout the following year 1895-96 Major Binning appears to have officiated as Commandant. Nothing of interest is recorded. No camp of exercise was held and we find the numbers on the rolls had fallen to 409 active members and 50 Reservists making a total of 459.

The Report for the season 1896-97 mentions the formation of a new Company (G) under the command of 2nd Lieutenant Coats-Niven and this probably accounts for a rise in the number of members which at the end of the season stood at 526 of whom 467 were active members and 59 Reservists. A camp of exercise was held that year not as former camps had been at Belghurriah but at the Zeerut Bridge leading from Calcutta to Alipore.

From the extracts from Battalion orders we learn with pathetic interest that the Corps lost during the year by death a gallant young officer in Lt. Montague Henry Cranfuird Sterndale, the only son of Colonel Sterndale, of whom previous mention has been made in this account as the founder and first commandant of the Corps. Lt. Sterndale had acted as Adjutant of the Corps during the previous year when Capt. St. John Seton was on leave.

From these extracts we learn that by an order published in the *Gazette of India* under date the 26th October 1896 "Lawrence Hugh Jenkins was appointed Commandant of the Battalion with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel vice Sterndale deceased". Lt.-Col. Jenkins was at that time a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court. He retained command till the 6th July 1899. Subsequently as Sir Lawrence Jenkins, K. C. I. E., he went to Bombay as Chief Justice and later on after having served for a period on the Council of the Secretary of State for India he returned to Calcutta as Chief Justice of Bengal.

Major Binning appears to have attained the rank of (Hony.) Lieutenant-Colonel during the year under report and also to have obtained his V. D., as he is mentioned for the first time as Lt.-Col. J. Binning, V. D., in Battalion orders dated the 28th November 1896 when his return from leave is notified.

Capt. St. John Seton, the Adjutant of the Battalion, vacated his appointment at the end of this season and was the Battalion's guest at a farewell dinner given by the officers.

The Report for the year 1897-98 begins with the gratifying announcement that the members of the Battalion had risen to 744 Active members and 52 Reservists making a total of 796 members. It also mentioned that 2 new companies were formed during the season F or Telegraph Company under the command of Capt. F. E. Dempster and G2 under the command of Capt. D. Coats Niven "with the co-operation of Mr. Johnstone who is to take command of G1 during the coming season".

It is of interest to know that during this season the Battalion obtained its first cyclist section which sprang from D Company under the command of Lt. G. B. Macintosh.

Lt.-Col. Jenkins vacated the command of the Battalion during this season on his being appointed Commandant of the Calcutta Volunteer Rifles and he was entertained at a farewell dinner by the officers. During the year under orders of the Government the three Battalions each with a separate commanding officer were placed under one Commandant and Lt.-Col. Jenkins was appointed to that office. The Command of the Battalion then devolved upon Lt.-Col. Binning. The Battalion in the new organisation lost its independent existence at the close of the season and as part of the Calcutta Volunteer Rifles was known as the Third (Presidency) Battalion, Calcutta Volunteer Rifles.

The popularity of the Battalion was shewn by the increase in numbers recorded in the Report of 1898-99 when we find there were 908 men on the rolls including 90 Reservists.

A new Company (H) was formed during the season and it consisted of men in the employ of the Port Commissioners at their Docks and offices in Kidderpore. At the same time E Company was reconstituted and called the Port Commissioner's Company retaining its initial letter but comprising men employed by the Port Commissioners in their jetties and offices in Calcutta; the old members of E company not employed at the jetties were transferred to G3 company.

On the amalgamation of the three Infantry Battalions into one Regiment to which reference has already been made the Corps vacated its temporary Head Quarters at No. 32/1, Dalhousie Square, and joined the other Battalions in occupying the Building still known as Volunteer Head Quarters on Strand Road, North of the Eden Gardens.

Lt. R. P. Jordan of the 1st Glosters succeeded Capt. S. John Seton as Adjutant but he did not hold the appointment long as his health failed and he had to go home. Lt. Ruck officiated for him during his temporary absence and on the 1st of March 1899 Capt. Fyffe was appointed Adjutant. Both these Officers belonged to the First Glosters and later on both these officers were among the besieged in Ladysmith during the South African Campaign.

Col. Jenkins retired during this year on his transfer to Bombay as Chief Justice and he was succeeded in the Command of the Regiment by Col. Oldham, the Senior member of the Board of Revenue, known for many years as the tallest man in the I. C. S. as he stood 6' 4" in his socks.

During the year the Battalions were renumbered, the first battalion retained its numeral but the 2nd (Cadet) Battalion and the 3rd (Presidency) Battalion exchanged their respective numerals and places. The following paragraph from Col. Oldham's Report on the Regiment cannot but raise a smile which probably the writer never intended : "The most important change proposed by the Committee was to renumber the 2nd (Cadet) and the 3rd (Presidency) Battalions making the latter the 2nd Battalion of the C. V. R. and the former always the last, the object being to provide automatically for the precedence of the adults many of whom have sons among the Cadets. The anomaly has often been discussed but owing to the Seniority of the establishment of the 2nd C. V. R. the question was not raised and has only been brought forward by Your Excellency's own notice of the anomalous position of the cadets at the last Proclamation Parade. It has a further practical bearing because owing to their numbering the 3rd (Presidency) Battalion's representatives have suffered severely and more than once at field days and at field firing in the matter of refreshment. A prominent object of the combination was to put an end to the jealousies which used to exist between them and the other Battalions and the anomaly under notice is an obstacle to the attainment of that object. Since Your Excellency's personal notice of this matter all adult units have been given precedence of the cadets on parade but the officers of the cadet Battalion represent that this course is tantamount to public degradation with the present numbering and the proposal to transpose the numbers comes from them".

This Report is addressed to "H. E. the Right Honourable Lord Curzon of Kedleston, G. M. S. I., G. M. I. E., Viceroy and Governor General of India, Hony. Colonel, Calcutta Volunteer Rifles".

The Report on the Battalion itself contains little of interest. There was a slight fall in its numbers but there does not seem to have been anything special to record.

Lt.-Col. Binning was appointed Commandant with effect from the 27th September 1899.

(To be continued.)

The True History of Holwell's Monument.

Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, magis amica Veritas.

To the Editor of "Bengal: Past and Present."

Sir,

HAD I not read it with my own eyes, I should have deemed it impossible that any serious historical student, as I presume that Mr. J. H. Little desires to be considered, should have occupied sixteen pages of print in your valuable journal,* in attempting to demonstrate to the world (1) that Holwell's Monument to the Black Hole victims, erected by him outside the Eastern Gate of Old Fort William, never existed save in the imagination of those who designed, saw, or described it: (2) that there was another monument, unseen by human eye and undescribed by human pen, which was erected inside the fort on the site of the Black Hole—notwithstanding that the low room so described remained intact for 50 years after the erection of this hypothetical monument on its site—and that it has been reserved for Mr. Little alone, after the lapse of 157 years, to discover the former existence of this object in the year 1917.

I confess that I have little patience with these attempts to rewrite history, in contempt for every rule of evidence, and that I do not admire the labour that is devoted to proving that black is white or that a circle is a square. But inasmuch as, while I was in India, I was called upon, when erecting a replica (with certain necessary alterations) of Holwell's pillar on the same site, to make a careful investigation of all the authorities and evidence relating to the original monument, and as Mr. Little has more than once appealed to myself, perhaps you will permit me to marshal the evidence—not with the hope of convincing Mr. Little, for even though Mr. Holwell were to rise from the dead and take him to the ditch of the Ravelin, and point out where the obelisk was placed he would probably decline to believe, but in order to assist in the final demolition of one of the most

* My criticism of Mr. Little is based exclusively upon his article, entitled "The Holwell Monument," in Vol. XIV, Part II, No. 28, pp. 275-290. I have been unable to refer to the earlier paper on the same subject in Vol. XIV, Part I, No. 27, pp. 92-98, because the entire consignment of this number seems to have been lost—I presume by submarine action—on its way to England, and I knew of it only from the reference in the "Table of Contents" enclosed with Part II.

egregious absurdities which it has ever been sought to foist upon the public.

Not the least astonishing feature of the case is that the greater part—though not the whole—of this evidence has already been collected with much assiduity by Mr. Little himself, and that it is out of the mouth of his own witnesses that he stands confuted. Very little of what I have to say is new, and much of it has been anticipated in your own excellent rejoinder. But it may be well that the case should be summarised once for all.

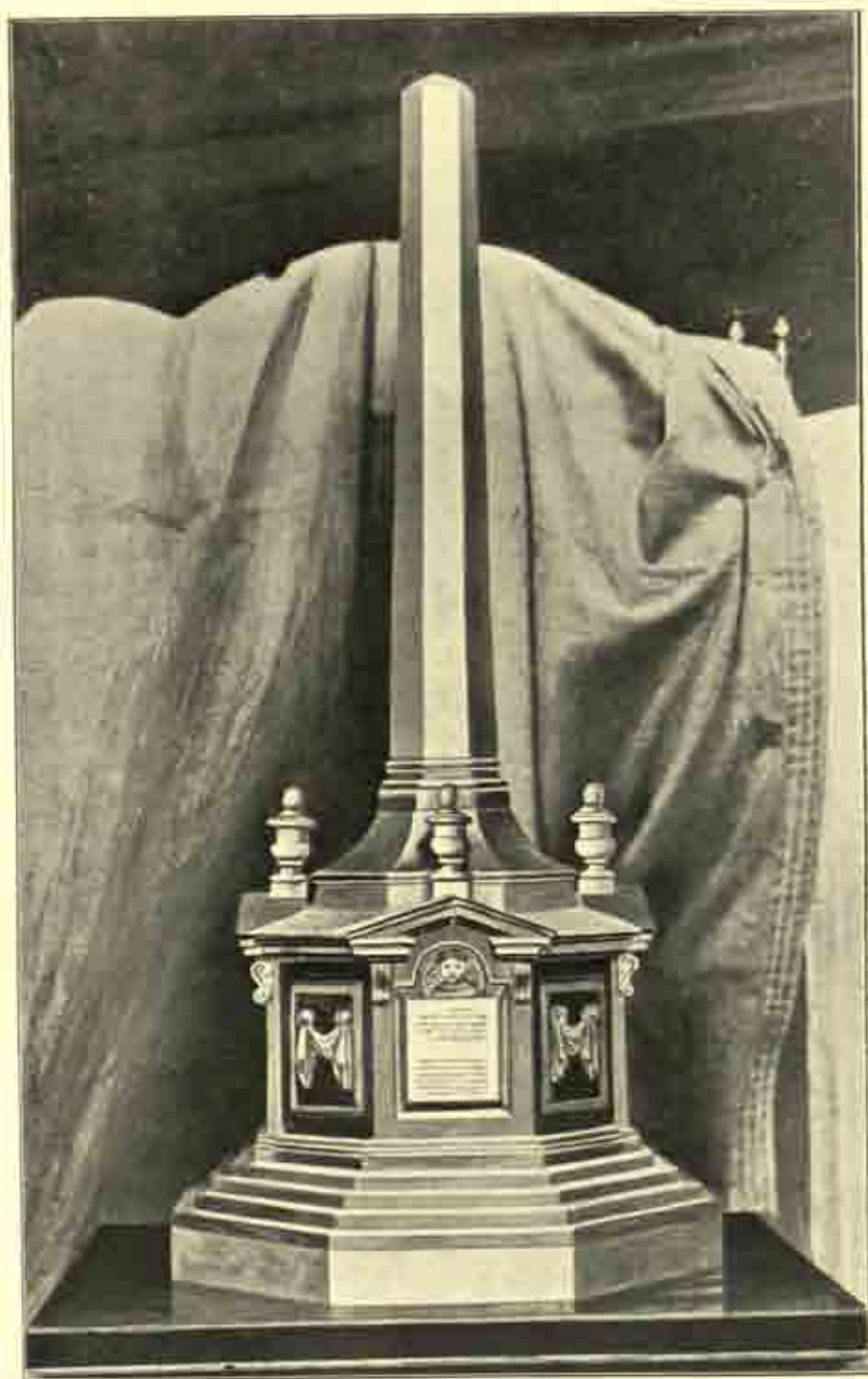
I.—After Holwell had returned to England in 1760, he prefixed to the second edition of "India Tracts" in 1764 (which contained his narrative of the Black Hole) an engraving of the monument that he had already erected over the remains of his fellow-countrymen at Calcutta. Whether the pillar had been set up during his brief Governorship at Fort William in 1760, or even earlier, or whether he had the tablets executed in London and sent out to India, we do not know. His own words in the Dedication are as follows:—

"Prefixing, as a frontispiece to the Volume, a Print of the Monument which I erected, at my own expence, to the memory of those unhappy sufferers."

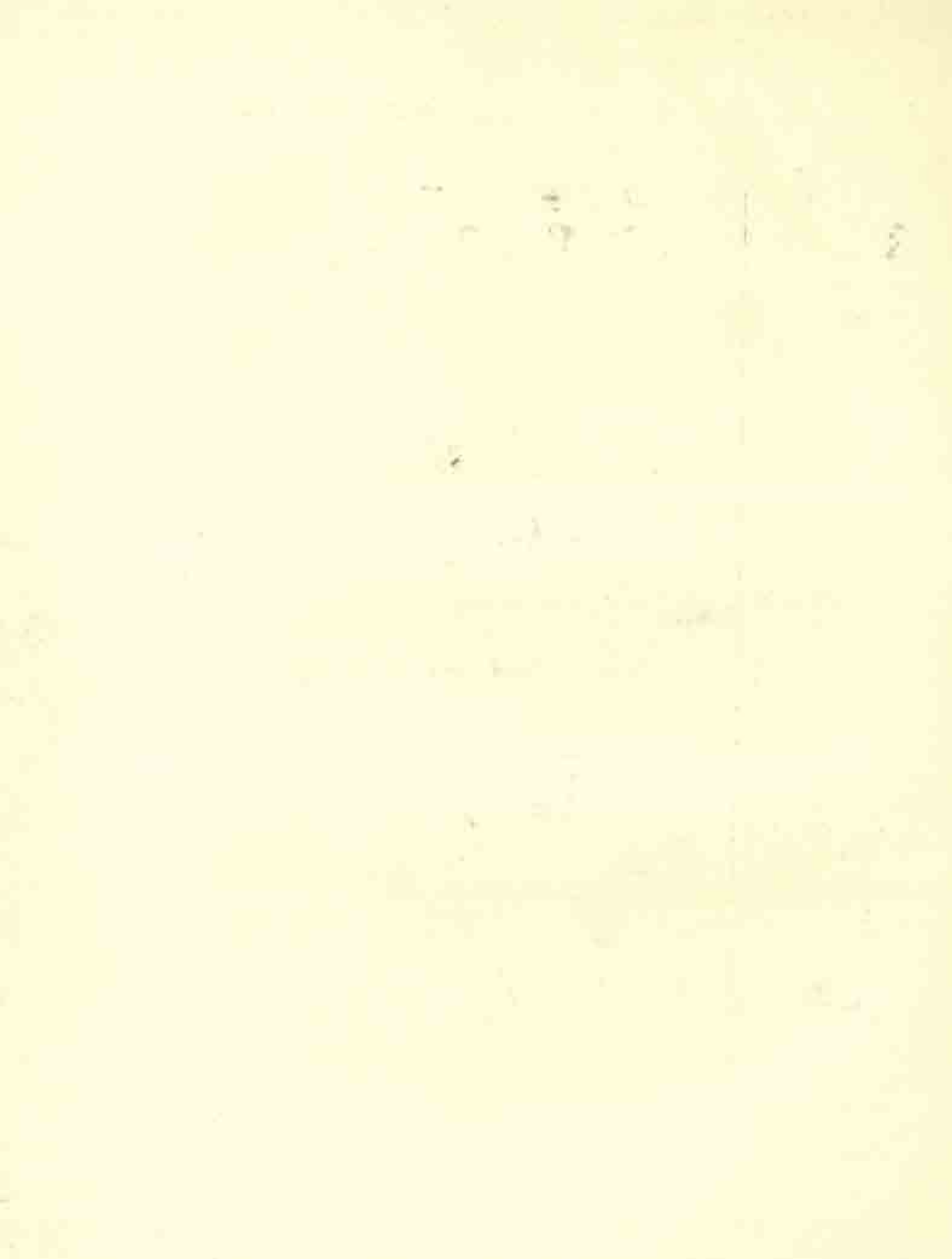
The tense here employed would seem to point to erection while the writer was still in India. The pillar of brick and plaster was clearly of Calcutta manufacture.

The engraving further contained the inscriptions which Holwell had written for the front and reverse sides of the monument, and, in the former of these it was stated that the bodies of the victims had been thrown "into the Ditch of the Ravelin of this place"—obviously the place where the memorial pillar stood. Now a ravelin, as every student of military architecture knows, is an outwork, generally with two faces meeting in a salient angle, placed for defensive purposes in front of the main entrance to a castle or fort—in this case the main or Eastern Gateway of Old Fort William. This engraving is our first indication of the intention of the donor, of the appearance of the monument, and of the site on which it was raised within a few years of the incident which it commemorated. Mr. Little says (p. 283) that Holwell was silent as to the site. On the contrary, he indicated it with exactitude.

What has Mr. Little to say to the evidence of the Dedication? It was addressed to three gentlemen of repute in England, who were connected with the East India Company, and its author was at that time living in England (Walton-on-Thames), and could easily be brought to account for any false or mendacious claim. Does Mr. Little suggest that Holwell lied to his patrons, and told them that he had erected a monument when he



MODEL OF HOLWELL'S MONUMENT
Executed by his son and now in England.



had not? If so, how did he escape the exposure due to so idiotic a fabrication? Mr. Little, with commendable prudence, ignores the Dedication altogether.

II.—So proud was Holwell of this memorial that he had himself painted in oils, holding the sketch of it in his hand, and superintending the work of a native workman engaged in its erection. In the background are visible the base and scaffolding of the monument. Mr. Little airily dismisses this item of evidence with remark: "There is extant also a portrait of Holwell holding a drawing of the monument in his hand." He omits to say that this clearly contemporary portrait, very likely by Zoffany, was, until the year 1892 (when it was purchased by Lord Lansdowne for the Government of India) in the possession of Holwell's direct descendants in Canada, to whom it had come down from Holwell himself. The picture is now in India, where thousand of persons have seen it. On the sheet which Holwell is holding in his hand is depicted the obelisk of the "India Tracts" and of later illustrations.

Now what does Mr. Little mean with regard to this evidence? Does he mean to suggest that Holwell had himself painted with a design that was never executed, that the workman, the base, and the scaffolding were all a hoax, and that Holwell's descendants contentedly accepted this fraud at the time and for a century and quarter later? Or does he mean that this monument was designed and erected, but erected somewhere else? If so, what scintilla of evidence is there in favour of the latter hypothesis?

III.—There is at the present moment in a country house in England a model between three and four feet high of Holwell's Monument executed by or to the order of, Holwell's son, Lieutenant-Colonel James Holwell, who presented it to his father. I enclose for reproduction a photograph of this model, which is now in the hands of a gentleman connected by marriage with one of Holwell's descendants. On one of the sides may be seen this inscription: "To John Zephaniah Holwell this model is most affectionately inscribed by his dutiful son James Holwell;" and on another side are the words: "An exact model of the monument erected at Calcutta, Bengal."

Of course, the existence of this model does not prove that the original was erected outside the East Gate of the Old Fort in Calcutta. But, unless we are to believe that Holwell's son was as shameless a liar as, according to Mr. Little, was Holwell himself, it may be held to prove that the pillar was made, and was erected at Calcutta. Or are we to be told that father and son were partners in the same deliberate fraud, and that while the elder faked a drawing, the younger faked a model, of a monument that had no existence save in the imagination of both?

We now come to the evidence of contemporary travellers, writers, and

documents concerning both the existence and the site of the monument after its erection at Calcutta. Mr. Little's method with regard to this class of authority is twofold. First, he takes the evidence of those who both saw and described the monument, and, because of a contradiction here or an error there, he either declares that the witness is wholly unreliable, or else that, instead of trusting to his own eyes for his description, the witness really took it on hearsay from someone else. Secondly, having thus discredited all ocular evidence, Mr. Little argues that because such and such a visitor to or resident at Calcutta did not mention the monument during the 60 years of its alleged existence, therefore it did not exist at all.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the *argumentum ex silentio* is a very precarious weapon. If an object is to be held not to have existed because every contemporary witness has not joined in referring to it, there is scarcely a memorial in the world which could not be successfully proved to have been a myth. Supposing the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square to be destroyed by an earthquake or shattered by a bomb, it would be equally possible to argue in a century's time that it had never existed, because it was not mentioned in the speeches or writings of Wellington, Queen Victoria, Charles Lamb, Disraeli, Carlyle, Dickens, Macaulay, Froude, or this or that foreign visitor to our shores. From this it would be easy to pass on to the Duke of York's Column, and to argue that this was the only column in existence in that part of London, and that Nelson was in fact the Duke of York.

In the present case the absurdity of this style of reasoning is emphasised by the overwhelming testimony of those who spoke or wrote about Holwell's Monument from the evidence of their own eyes, and whose unanimity no amount of special pleading can impugn. If we place their testimony in chronological sequence, we shall see how close and unbroken is the chain.

IV.—1770. Early in 1770 the Dutch Captain Stavorinus, visiting Calcutta with an official mission, saw the Holwell Monument *in situ*, and thus described it:—

"Near the Great Tank is a stone monument erected in memory of thirty English prisoners, both men and women, who, when Calcutta was taken by the Nabob Surajah Dowlah, were shut up in a narrow prison, without any refreshment, and suffocated for want of fresh air."

Now the monument was not of stone, but of plastered brick, and the number of persons commemorated was not thirty. But as to the existence and site of the obelisk the Dutchman's evidence is incontrovertible, and to set it down, as Mr. Little does, as "mere hearsay" is ridiculous.

V.—1776. In a grant of land on the north side of the Great Tank, dated the 18th November, 1776, "Mr. Holwell's monument," which as we

know, stood there is expressly mentioned. (Sterndale, "Historical Account of the Calcutta Collectorate," p. 32.)

VI.—1784-5. In this year appeared Colonel Mark Wood's plan of Calcutta, in which the monument is clearly marked at the crossing opposite the Old Fort.

VII.—1786. In this year the two Daniells, uncle and nephew, were painting in Calcutta, and the rather rare series of "Twelve Coloured Views of Calcutta," published there in 1788, contains two drawings by Thomas Daniell in which Holwell's Monument appears.—

- (a.) The first of these, entitled: "Old Fort Street, looking North," shows the south-east angle, with turret, of the ruined fort and its eastern gateway with the monument opposite it, in the street-crossing at the corner between Writers' Buildings and Tank Square.
- (b.) The second, entitled: "Mayor's Court and Writers' Buildings," shows the old Court House, and Writers' Buildings in long perspective, with the same monument in the same position in the far distance.
- (c.) A few years later, on the return of the Daniells to England, they brought out in London, over a period of years, the magnificent series of coloured prints, entitled "Oriental Scenery," in one volume of which (dated 1797) there is a third view of Holwell's Monument in the immediate foreground of the picture at the corner of Writers' Buildings. The monument is surrounded by a railing placed between chunam pillars of the conventional Calcutta type.

All of these drawings are by the same hand (Thomas Daniell); all represent the same monument, with exactly the same features, on exactly the same, *i.e.*, the actual, site.

How does Mr. Little dispose of this accumulation of evidence? He dismisses the two first drawings without comment, and he endeavours to discredit the third by saying that "it had developed urns and an iron railing in England;" that the position of the pillar does not correspond mathematically with the position marked in the contemporary plans of Calcutta; and therefore that "the whole picture was probably drawn from a literary source," that source being the engraving in Holwell's "India Tracts"!

It is scarcely possible to treat seriously a writer who manipulates his evidence in this fashion. Ordinary people will prefer to believe that Thomas Daniell drew three times what he had seen with his own eyes, instead of what Mr. Little, in the pursuit of a distorted fantasy, chooses to think that

he had not seen at all. Even as regards the urns and railing, Mr. Little is not correct, for they appear equally in the earlier with the later drawing; and, as is well known, were for many years a feature of the monument. Even if Mr. Little likes to think that the third drawing was "made up" in London, how does he account for the two first which had already been published in Calcutta? Does he really contend that the Calcutta people saw and purchased drawings of an object in their own midst which had no existence?

VIII.—1787. Richard Barwell in a deed dated June 15-16, 1787 (cited in "Bengal: Past and Present, 1917," p. 167) nominating new trustees for some property belonging to him "on the north side of the Great Tank," describes these lands as "lying and being intersected by the great road leading from Holwell's monument by the south front of the Court House to the Salt Water Lake."

This is the road depicted in all three of Daniell's drawings, at the western extremity of which is the crossing where Holwell's pillar stood. Mr. Little's attempt to discredit the deed has been sufficiently exposed in your columns (p. 294).

IX.—1789.—M. de Grandpré, a French officer, who was in Calcutta in 1789, published a book about his travels on his return to Europe, in which he describes what he had seen:—

"In remembrance of so flagrant an act of barbarity, the English, who were conquerors in their turn, erected a monument between the Old Fort and the right wing of the building occupied by the civil officers of the company, on the very spot where the deed was committed. It is a pyramid, truncated at the top, and standing upon a square pedestal, having a design in sculpture on each of its sides, and an inscription in the English and Moorish languages, describing the occasion on which it was erected. It is surrounded with an iron railing to prevent access to it, has shrubs planted about it, and exhibits a mournful appearance, not unsuitable to the event which it is intended to commemorate.

How does Mr. Little dispose of M. de Grandpré? It is done in the manner with which we are already familiar:—

"Grandpré's book contains a picture of the monument and its surroundings, and *not one line of it is true*. He could not possibly have made more mistakes about the monument. The Holwell monument was not truncated, it did not stand upon a square pedestal, it had no designs in sculpture on each of its sides, it had no inscription in the Persian language, the railing of Grandpré is not the railing of the Daniells, no shrubs were planted about it."

But if we turn from this slashing diatribe to the picture we shall see that it is not M. de Grandpré but Mr. Little who is discredited. For while the

Frenchman's drawing of Writers' Buildings is almost entirely fanciful, being no doubt put in after his return to France, and while his delineation of the pillar and its base is far from accurate, it affords incontrovertible evidence to the existence on this spot (which Mr. Little denies) of a monument which is clearly the Holwell obelisk and no other. Indeed, both here and elsewhere Mr. Little fails altogether to explain how it was, if the monument did not exist, and if all the people who drew or painted it copied only from the published plate of Holwell, there were such stupid and incomprehensible discrepancies in their reproductions? Why were they not true to their common model?

However, to revert to M. de Grandpré. The truncated pyramid of his letterpress is seen in his engraving to be Holwell's pillar after all, with its obtuse apex: the "square pedestal," a mistake which the four pedimented sides might easily suggest to a not too careful observer, is seen in the engraving to have its true octagonal shape; the urns and the iron railing are both there; the tablets, *pace* Mr. Little, did have sculptured designs upon them, either a cherub's head or the draped shroud known as the Saviour's shroud, which is so well-known a feature in eighteenth century sepulchral architecture; and the only novelty are the shrubs. As regards the inscriptions, the mention of a "Moorish" name, Suraj-ud-Dowla, is perhaps responsible for this error. The further mistake that the monument was erected "on the very spot where the deed was committed" is the sort of error that a foreigner relying upon local interpreters might easily commit, and is not after all so very serious, seeing that the obelisk was erected over the ditch into which the dead victims of the deed had been thrown. In fact M. de Grandpré's drawing—probably elaborated and embellished not by himself but by a French engraver—and his descriptions, which are manifestly regarded by Mr. Little as a corner-stone in his indictment, are, with all their blunders, in reality a very valuable piece of unconscious testimony to the exact opposite.

X.—1789. The "Calcutta Gazette" of the 30th July, 1789, alluding to the celebration in Calcutta of the recovery of King George III from his illness, relates that—

"The Old Court House, the Government House, the Monument, the Great Tank, and the two principal streets leading north and south to the esplanade, were adorned by Mr. Gairard."

Now to an ordinary person the juxtaposition of "the Monument" to the Great Tank, to which it was adjacent, would naturally suggest that it was Holwell's Monument that is here referred to, the more so as there was at that time no other public monument in the streets of Calcutta. But, of course, this will not suit Mr. Little; and so we are told that the monument

could not have been decorated in 1789, because there is no mention of its having been illuminated in 1792, 1804, 1814, and 1815! And further, as Mr. Little will not have a Holwell monument outside the Fort at any price, we are told that it must have been some other monument that was meant.

It is strange that Mr. Little's studies should have stopped short of acquainting him with the fact that Holwell's pillar was universally known and described in Calcutta as "The Monument," for the simple reason that outside the churchyards and cemeteries there was no other monument in the city.* In Wm. Baillie's Plan of 1792 it is so described in large letters. A Calcutta deed has been published (p. 187), dated July 19-20, 1797, in which there is a reference to "the Monument." Again, on the 14th August, 1800, there was an advertisement in the "Calcutta Gazette" of a sale by auction of a house at Sealdah, "about twenty minutes ride from the Monument." Finally, in Rozario's "Complete Monumental Register," published in Calcutta in 1813, the pillar is once more so described.

XI.—1792. In this year an English traveller named Thomas Twining, of whom Mr. Little has evidently not heard, and whose "Travels" were not brought out in book form till 1893, reached Calcutta. This is what he wrote:—†

"At the angle by which I entered the Tank Square, as the great area was called, stood an obelisk in a neglected ruinous state. As it was only a few yards out of my way, I went up to it. From my very early years few things had filled my mind with more horror than the very name of the Black Hole of Calcutta, although the exact history of its tragic celebrity was unknown to me. With peculiar force was this impression revived when, on deciphering an almost obliterated inscription, I found that the column which I beheld was the monument which had been erected to the memory of the victims of that horrible massacre. A native, who accompanied me, pointed to the part of the fort south of the principal gate in which the fatal dungeon itself was situated."

I am afraid that Mr. Twining is a very inconvenient witness for Mr. Little, for what now becomes of the latter's conclusion (p. 383) that between 1789 and 1803 "no witness has stated that he actually saw the monument with his own eyes." Here we have a witness, who not only saw the monument and described its site outside the fort, but sharply distinguished the latter from the Black Hole, and in his description was not guilty of a single traveller's error, to expose him to Mr. Little's ferocious scalpel. Shall we be told that Mr. Twining also was a liar, and only "wrote upon hearsay"? But even so, it was hearsay of the actual facts.

* This is admitted by Mr. Little himself when, on p. 275, he speaks sarcastically of "Calcutta's solitary monument."

† "Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago," by Thomas Twining, London, 1893.

XII.—1792. In the same year William Baillie published his "Plan of Calcutta," reduced from Colonel Mark Wood's map of 1784-5. The fatal monument is marked again on its fatal site in this fatal map, as to which all that Mr. Little, with a pang of bewildered anguish, can say is "How it got there is a mystery." It would indeed have been a mystery if it had not.

XIII.—1794. In this year William Baillie added to his offence by publishing, in a series of "Twelve Views of Calcutta," a "View of Tank Square from the East." There once more, at the same corner, is the obelisk with its octagonal base. As to this, Mr. Little can only observe: "It is somewhat small, but seems to approach nearer to the truncated square pyramid of Grandpré's description than to the monument of the Daniells." Quite true, it does resemble Grandpré's description, because it is a picture of the same object.

XIV.—1794. But another map is not less disconcerting. During the years 1792 and 1793, Aaron Upjohn made the surveys of Calcutta and its environs, which resulted in his well-known map, published in April 1794. Again on the fatal spot, between the corner of Writers' Buildings and the Great Tank appears an octagon, with the description attached to it, "Monument." Once more, says Mr. Little, "it is a mystery how it got there." What is history to other people is always a mystery to Mr. Little.

XV.—1797. Here I quote the terms of the mortgage before referred to and dated the 19th-20th of July, 1797, in which a house and ground are described as being "bounded on the west by the public street leading from the Monument to the Esplanade, on the north by a street leading parallel with the Great Tank." Here again the topographical features are unmistakable.

XVI.—1800. I have already cited the reference to "the Monument" in an advertisement in the "Calcutta Gazette" of the 14th August, 1800.

XVII.—1803. In this year Lord Valentia was in Calcutta, where, as the guest of Lord Wellesley, he attended the great ball, given by the Governor-General to celebrate both the peace of Amiens and the opening of the new Government House. In his "Travels" (published in 1809), after referring to the Black Hole, which he could not see, because it was "filled with goods, being used as a godown or warehouse," he added—

"A monument is erected facing the gate, to the memory of the unfortunate persons who there perished."

Upon which Mr. Little indulges in the following astonishing comment: "Did he see the monument? There is no proof that he did. ... All we can say is that he honestly believed that there was a monument facing the east gate of the fort. *His evidence is hearsay.*" A more admirable

illustration of Mr. Little's method cannot be conceived. All he has to do is to say Q.E.D., and poor Lord Valentia is disposed of.

XVIII.—1810. In 1824 there appeared a book of Indian recollections by one R. G. Wallace, who had been in Bengal from 1810 to 1812, and who wrote thus of his Calcutta memories—

"When I was in Calcutta, the Black Hole was to be seen, and the Monument which commemorated its tragical story, though so much shattered by lightning that I understand it now ceases to meet the eye."

The natural inference from these words is surely (1) that the writer saw the monument, (2) that it had already been struck by lightning (which we know from other sources to have been the fact), (3) that before the publication of his book the author had heard of its demolition in 1821.

XIX.—1812. Another visitor to Calcutta in 1812 has left in a letter, signed "Asiaticus," that appeared in the "Asiatic Journal," and was quoted in the "Pioneer" of the 20th January, 1901, a description of a visit paid in that year by himself and some friends to the Black Hole, then under sentence of demolition. After a very accurate description of the famous chamber, as it then existed, he added—

"To the right of the Writers' Buildings a monument is erected, with an inscription commemorating the barbarity of the Nawab. It serves as the first attraction to a stranger arriving in Calcutta."

Mr. Little makes no reference to this testimony, which even his tests would, I think, leave unshaken.

XX.—1813. I have already cited the reference to Rozario's "Monumental Register," published in Calcutta in this year, which reproduced the inscriptions on "the Monument."

XXI.—1815. In this year appeared the "East India Gazetteer" by Walter Hamilton, the material of which was obviously either supplied, or corrected, by authorities on the spot. The reference to Holwell's pillar is as follows:—

"The Black Hole is now part of a warehouse, and filled with merchandise. A monument is erected facing the gate to commemorate the unfortunate persons who there perished: but it has been struck by lightning, and is itself fast going to decay."

The last words, underlined by me, appear to convey the latest local information.

XXII.—1817. In this year, a surgeon's mate on a British ship, named Robert Hull, visited Calcutta and left the following entry in his MS. journal, since published in "Bengal: Past and Present, 1916," vol. xiii, p. 19. After describing a visit to the Black Hole, which still existed, he says:—

"Opposite it and near the extremity of the Writers' Buildings is erected a monument to commemorate the cruelty and the vengeance it subsequently received. It is a plain pyramid, supported by a quadrangular base—on the western face of which is an inscription, that 'The cruelty of the Rajah was amply revenged in the sequel. It is a mean monument. [Then follows a reference to a passage in Milburn's 'Oriental Commerce' (1813), which had clearly been taken verbatim from M. de Grandpré's narrative already quoted. Upon this Mr. Hull goes on to remark:] I saw no sculptured designs on either face of the pedestal, no iron railing, nor shrubs; and so far from its exhibition, in my opinion, of a 'not unsuitable appearance,' it appeared totally unworthy of the universal interest excited by that most hideous event; nor does it seem to have arrested the attention of the natives—none of whom I inquired could point out the Black Hole close to it."

Mr. Little in pursuit of his obsession, that there never was a Holwell Monument outside the Fort, but that there was a mean monument inside it, deduced from the above that the surgeon's mate never saw the Holwell Monument at all, but copied what he had read about it in books. What an extraordinary set of people the visitors to Calcutta at that time must, according to Mr. Little, have been. I confess that I should have drawn from the above passage precisely the opposite inference; and that I should not have expected too much accuracy from the diary of a surgeon's mate.

XXIII.—Cir. 1818. Somewhere between the years 1815-1821, and probably in 1818, James Baillie Fraser, the well-known Persian traveller, and an excellent amateur artist, was in Calcutta, after travelling with his brother William, a distinguished civilian, subsequently murdered at Delhi. On his return to Europe he published a number of views of Calcutta (1824), in two of which Holwell's Monument appears. The first of these is a near view of the pillar, which is described as "the Monument." It stands upon the familiar site, Writers' Buildings are on the left side of the drawing, the iron railing has disappeared from the monument, and natives are standing or squatting at its base, among whom a barber is plying his trade under a small awning. The other is a more distant view of the pillar, in a plate entitled "A view of Tank Square." Mr. Little does not notice these drawings. One wonders whether he would have discovered that Fraser was subject to the same malady as all his brother artists, and having painted what was not there may, in Mr. Little's summary phrase, be "noted and dismissed."

XXIV.—1819. There is in Calcutta (it is published in Vol. II of C. R. Wilson's "Old Fort William") a "Plan of the Custom House, 1819," which was in course of erection on the site of the demolished fort. This plan is as unaccommodating as its predecessors. On the familiar site at the familiar crossing is inscribed the word "Obelisk."

XXV.—1820. A Frenchman, named Deville, visited Bengal, and wrote

a series of letters to a friend in France, which were published in Paris in 1826. This is what he had to say about the monument:—

"Un des plus importants [des monumens de Calcutta], non par la beauté de son architecture, mais par la catastrophe horrible dont il rappelle les malheurs et perpétue le souvenir, se fait remarquer à l'un des angles de squarepond, ou étang carré.* Sa forme est pyramidale, terminée par une boule. On voit à sa base des inscriptions et des bas-reliefs qui représentent les diverses circonstances d'un des évènements les plus mémorables de la ville de Calcutta. Il fut causé par la révolte imprévue des natifs contre les Européens, leurs oppresseurs."

Rejoicing in the obvious embellishment of the "boule," and in the other traveller's inaccuracies, Mr. Little gleefully puts the extinguisher on the unhappy Frenchman thus: "Captain Deville's evidence may be noted and dismissed." Personally, I also should note it, but without dismissal.

XXVI.—1821. Early in this year the "Calcutta Journal," in two numbers, referred to the final removal of the delapidated, battered, and lightning-stricken pillar of the now almost forgotten Holwell.

On the 6th April, 1821, we read:—

"The monument over the well-remembered Black Hole of Calcutta is at length taken down, and we think should long ago have been demolished;"

and the slip about "over the Black Hole" (which had itself already disappeared) instead of "over the ditch" affords the solitary foothold to which Mr. Little clings in his desperate attempt to evolve a monument inside the fort!

On the 11th April "Brittanus" indignantly protests against the sacrilege involved in taking down the monument, which he said possessed "a mysterious interest," and

"dark and weather-beaten appearance seemed to make it contemporaneous with the event which it recorded, and thereby imparted to it a higher interest than any work of later date can possess."

If we were still capable of being astonished, we might be surprised that Mr. Little actually puts "Brittanus" in the witness-box to testify to "a monument inside the fort, and not outside." But our power of surprise has long ago been exhausted.

There remain two points to be noticed before I conclude.

Mr. Little, having destroyed in his own fashion the Holwell Monument outside the fort, and having created, also in his own fashion, another monument inside it, of which he can say nothing more precise than that "some block of masonry was found on the site of the Black Hole, which, if generous

* This is obviously the Frenchman's misunderstanding of "Tank Square," which he took to be the same as "Square Tank."

explanations were made and a little imagination exercised, might pass for a monument, though a very unsatisfactory one assuredly"—asks pathetically: "Are there any pictures of the monument that was found inside the fort?"

The answer is No, because no monument or block of masonry was ever so found, and it was not found, because it never existed. Mr. Little then conjectures that the print mentioned by me in a speech at Calcutta may have been the picture of such a monument. No, it was not. It was a print existing in Calcutta when I was there, of Holwell's pillar, which had a dark stain or crack running down one side from top to bottom, as though it had been struck by lightning. From this crack there emerged what looked like the creepers of a *peepul*. Whether the deep black streak represented a fissure caused by lightning, I cannot confidently say. But it was so regarded by several of those who saw it.

The second point in this. Mr. Little enquires, if there was a monument outside the eastern gate of the Fort, how was it that when diggings were made at a much later date, its foundations were not discovered? The answer is very simple. The corner of Tank Square during the last three-quarters of a century has been so frequently opened for drainage schemes, water schemes, tramway schemes, that every vestige of foundation, if such existed, must have been destroyed many times over. When Mr. Roskell Bayne was making his excavations in 1883, he found nothing of the old monument, though from the sections of the cutting he saw that the mould showed signs of animal matter. To the above facts may be added that the further disturbance of the soil caused by the erection on the same site, firstly of a heavy lamp post, and afterwards of the statue of Sir Ashley Eden, cannot have conduced to the preservation of any old foundations that might have survived.

I have now shown by a continuous series of records, covering the entire period from 1760, when the monument was erected, till 1821, when it was taken down, that Holwell's pillar stood, where he himself had it placed, *i.e.*, outside the eastern gate of the Fort, and that for 60 years it was a prominent landmark of Calcutta, described or depicted by over a score of pens or pencils. That anyone should think it worth while to argue that all these witnesses were either impudent fabricators and frauds, painting what was not there and describing what they had not seen, or else the innocent victims of the most astonishing series of optical illusions ever recorded in history, would be deemed incredible had not Mr. Little charged himself with the task. With a similar treatment of evidence it would be easy to show a century hence that no such person as Mr. Little had ever existed. Indeed, posterity will be inclined to believe that this was the case, on the double ground that no serious person could so treat history or travesty research,

and that contemporary records were silent as to the presence in the first quarter of the twentieth century in Bengal of a super-wag of that name.

But is not this after all the true and transparent explanation? And has not Mr. Little in his spirited rewriting of history, first about the Black Hole, and now about the Holwell Monument, to use a colloquial phrase, been "pulling the leg" of the Calcutta people during the last two years? Clearly this must be so; no other interpretation fits. On that obvious and unavoidable assumption I conclude with an apology both to him and to the readers of "Bengal: Past and Present" for having taken so seriously one of the brightest *jeux d'esprit* of our time.

I am, dear Mr. Editor,

Yours faithfully,

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

December, 1917.

Early History of Bengal—IV.

MAHIPĀLA was succeeded by his son, Nāyapāla. Accepting Taranath's statement that Mahipāla reigned for fifty-two years, we may place the date of Nāyapāla's accession at 1032 A. D. The most interesting event of Nāyapāla's reign is, I think, the mission of the great Buddhist reformer, Atisa, also known as Dipankara Srijñāna, to Thibet. In my last paper I gave a brief sketch of the first part of Atisa's career, as presented to us in his "Life" published by the late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, which is based on certain Thibetan chronicles. He was appointed by Nāyapāla to be High Priest of the Monastery of Vikramasila. The exact site of this great institution has not as yet been fixed, but in a Thibetan chronicle it is described as situated on a small hill or bluff on the south bank of the Ganges. This description would correspond with Sultānganj in the Bhagulpur district, where remains of a large Buddhist vihāra, and a stupa containing a relic casket have been found. Among these ruins were discovered a colossal copper statue of the Buddha 7 ft 3 inches in height, and two small stone figures and other Buddhist remains. There is, however, nothing, so far as I know, to prove the identity of the Sultānganj vihara with Vikramasila. The inscriptions on the statues found there are in characters of the Gupta period. As we shall see later on, it appears from the Thibetan records that Vikramasila was not very far from Nalanda and Vajrasana, or Bodh Gaya.

The Thibetan chronicles tell us that King Lha Llama of Thibet, who was a pious Buddhist, being dissatisfied with the Buddhist teachers of that country, whose cult had become greatly debased by the admixture of Tantrik and Bon mysticism, sent twenty-one young monks, trained at the monastery of Thoding, which had been founded by him in 1025 A. D., to Kashmir, Magadha, and other places in India, where pure Buddhism prevailed, for purposes of study, and commanded them to invite to Thibet the renowned Kashmirian Pundit, Ratna Vajra, and the Buddhist hierarch of Magadha, and any other Pundits who might be useful to the cause of Buddhist reform in Thibet. By this means, King Lha Llama secured the services of thirteen Indian Pundits but, out of twenty-one monks sent by him from Thibet to India, as many as nineteen died in India from heat, fever, snake bite, and other causes. The remaining two lochavas, as Thibetans learned in Sanskrit were called, visited Vikramasila, and there heard of Atisa, who, they were informed, occupied the highest position among the Buddhist scholars of Magadha, and was the second *sarvajña* of the school of 500 Arhats called the Mahāsaṅghika. The lochavas did not then

venture to invite him to Thibet, and, returning there, gave the King an account of their mission in India, and of the condition of the Buddhist Church in Magadha. King Lha Llama, who was very anxious to see Atisa, next commissioned one Gyatson Senge to proceed to Vikramasila, taking with him a hundred attendants, and a large quantity of gold. Arrived at Vikramasila, Gyatson presented to Atisa the King's letter with a large piece of gold as a present, and begged him to honour his country with a visit. Atisa, however, declined to accept the present, or go to Thibet, at which Gyatson wept bitterly, wiping his tears with a corner of his sacerdotal robe. Atisa, it appears, did his best to console the disappointed lochava, but maintained his refusal of the King's invitation.

Gyatson went back to Thibet, and reported the result of his mission to the King, who, later on, proceeded to the frontier of Nepal for the purpose of collecting more gold from a gold mine, which had been discovered to the south of Purang, apparently under the impression that Atisa's objections to going to Thibet might be overcome by a larger offer. On arriving at the gold mine, the King of Thibet had an encounter with the troops of the Raja of Garlog who professed a religion inimical to Buddhism. It is not clear where this place, Garlog, was, or whether there was any dispute about the possession of the goldmine, but the result of the encounter was that the troops of the Raja of Garlog, who outnumbered those of the King of Thibet, took the latter captive, and led him in triumph to their capital. On seeing Lha Llama, the King of Garlog, is reported to have said:—"This king is endeavouring to spread Buddhism by inviting to Thibet a Buddhist Pundit from Magadha. We shall not let him free until he becomes our vassal, and embraces our religion." From this speech it would seem that the hostility of the Raja of Garlog was due rather to odium theologicum than to any dispute about the goldmine. However that may be King Lha Llama was thrown into prison by the Raja of Garlog. Subsequently, on Lha Llama's nephew, Chan Chub, negotiating for his release, the Raja of Garlog agreed to release him, on condition either that Lha Llama should become his vassal, and embrace his creed, or that a solid mass of gold of the size and shape of Lha Llama's person should be given as his ransom. The latter condition being more acceptable to Lha Llama than the first, his sons sent officers to collect gold from his subjects in the different provinces of Thibet, but all the gold that could be thus raised did not come up to the quantity required. It is said that, when melted and cast to form a statue of the captive king, the gold was found deficient by the amount needed to make the head. By permission of the Raja of Garlog, an affecting interview then took place between Lha Llama and his nephew, Chan Chub. The situation was explained by Chan Chub, who observed that it was

due to his uncle's *karma*, and mentioned that the Raja of Garlog had offered to release him, provided that he would become a vassal of the Garlog State. Lha Llama replied: "Death is more welcome to me than the vassalage of a wicked and infidel Raja."

Chan Chub then offered to go and get more gold, but Lha Llama said: "My son, you should preserve the traditions and the religion of our ancestors: that is of the utmost importance to us all. In my opinion, in our country, the laws based on Buddhism should be maintained. My *karma* will not permit me to see the wished-for reformation. I am now grown old, and verge on death's door. Even if you succeed in releasing me, my life may not extend to more than ten years. In none of my former births, I believe, did I die for the sake of Buddhism. This time let me, therefore, be a martyr to the cause of my religion. Do not give a grain of gold to this cruel Raja. Take back the whole of it, that you may conduct religious services in the great monasteries, and spend it in bringing an Indian Pundit to Thibet. If ever you send any messenger to the great Indian Pundit, Dipankara Srijnāna, let this message of mine be conveyed to him: Lha Llama, the King of Thibet, has fallen into the hands of the Raja of Garlog, while endeavouring to collect gold for diffusing the Religion of Buddha, and for the Pundit himself. The Pundit should, therefore, vouchsafe his blessings and mercy unto him in all his transformed existences. The chief aim of the King's life has been to take him to Thibet to reform Buddhism, but, alas! that did not come to pass. With a longing look to the time when he could behold the Pundit's saintly face, he resigned himself absolutely to the Holy of Holies."

The interview then came to an end, as the Raja of Garlog would not allow it to continue longer, and the story describes Chan Chub as looking back again and again to catch a glimpse of Lha Llama through the grated door. Still hoping for his uncle's release, Chan Chub returned to Thibet to collect more gold, but meanwhile Lha Llama died, and Chan Chub came to the throne of Thibet in his place. I presume that the explanation of Lha Llama, who had sons, being succeeded by his nephew, Chan Chub, instead of by one of his sons, is that succession to the throne of Thibet went in the female line, so that a King was succeeded, not by his son, but by his sister's son. As soon as he came to the throne, Chan Chub wished to give effect to his late uncle's desire of bringing a great Indian Pundit to Thibet, to reform the Buddhist religion; and, for this purpose, he selected a young Thibetan scholar named Tshul Khrim, who had been to India, and studied Sanskrit, and become an accomplished *lochava*, or interpreter. He was also well versed in the system of moral discipline connected with Buddhist monachism known as *Vinaya*, and, for that reason, had the epithet or title, *Vinayadhara*. This young man belonged to the family which bore the name of Nag-Tcho, and,

in the chronicle, he is referred to, sometimes by his personal name, Tahul-Khrim, sometime as Vinayadhara, sometimes as Nāg-Tcho. He will be referred to henceforward in this paper by the last of these appellations. King Chan Chub, then, instructed Nāg-Tcho to proceed to India, and, if possible, induce Atisa to go to Thibet: if not, to bring a Pundit second to him in learning and holiness.

Nāg-Tcho took with him a party of five men, and he was furnished with a piece of gold weighing sixteen ounces, for presentation to the Indian Pundit; seven ounces of gold for Nāg-Tcho himself, seven ounces for his expenses, and five ounces for payment to an interpreter of the colloquial language of Magadha.

When the party arrived at the Indian frontier, they made a halt at a house built of bamboos, but, getting wind of a plot concerted by some of the local people to kill them, for the sake of the gold which they carried, they left the place in the evening, and, travelling through the night, in the morning fell in with the party of a Nepalese prince, who was also going to Vikramasila. Proceeding in his company, they reached the bank of the Ganges at sunset. It, thus, took them a little less than twenty-four hours to travel from the frontier of Nayapāla's dominions,—presumably, the frontier between them and Nepal—to the Ganges. Probably, they went at a footpace, and made some short halts on the way. At the point where they struck the Ganges, there was a public ferry, and a boat with a party of passengers was just leaving for the opposite bank. There was no room in the boat for them, but the boatman said he would come back to fetch them. After dusk, the boat came back, and took the prince and his party across, leaving Nāg-Tcho and his five companions on the river bank. As night came on, they became alarmed. There were no habitations quite near, and the people of the locality, who lived at a little distance, had, it seems, a bad reputation.

The Tirthikas, or orthodox Hindus, and followers of other heretical religions were unfriendly to Buddhists. Accordingly, the travellers buried their treasure of gold in the sand, and, thinking that the boat would not come back for them, prepared to lie down and sleep in the open. However, at a late hour, the sound of the fall of oars on the water was heard, and the boat arrived. Nāg-Tcho said to the boatman: "I thought you would not come back at this time," and the boatman answered: "In our country there is law. Having assured you that I would come, I could not neglect to do so without being liable to punishment." Then they dug up their gold from the sand in which it was buried, embarked on the boat, and were ferried across. The boatman warned them not to sleep on the river bank, as there was danger from venomous snakes, and said: "Go right up to the monastery, and stay for the night under the turret of the gateway. During the night

there is no fear there. I hope no thieves will disturb you." There is, I think, something significant in that answer, which seems to have struck the Thibetans. "In our country" the ferryman said, evidently with some pride, "there is law," implying that India was a country with an ancient civilisation, and a population accustomed to a settled government, and a regular system of laws, and, perhaps, in that respect, contrasting, at that time, with Thibet. So, from time immemorial, it may be said, India has been a country of law, inhabited by a lawabiding people, and, though periods of anarchy and disorder have occurred from time to time in different parts of India, the people, as a whole, have generally shewn themselves ready to accept and welcome a stable and strong government, which is capable of administering and enforcing the law.

The various references to thieves in the narrative might be taken to indicate that the policing of Nāyapāla's kingdom was not extraordinarily efficient. On the other hand, we have the fact that a small party of men, with a considerable quantity of gold in their charge, were able to travel from Thibet across Nepal and down to the Ganges without actual misadventure.

The chronicle goes on to say that the monastery of Vikramasila was situated on a little bluff or hill on the bank of the river Ganges. This description would correspond with Sultanganj.

On landing from the ferry, the travellers went straight up to the monastery, and, late though it was, were received by an official, who, after ascertaining who they were, and where they came from, pointed out a *dharmasāla* near the gate, where they stayed for the night. The next morning, the monastery gate was opened, and they went in, and found their way to the building assigned for the use of Thibetans, where Gyatson Senge, the same lochāva, who had previously been commissioned by Lha Llama, without success, to bring Atisa to Thibet, was staying. He had, it seems, returned to India, and was engaged in study at Vikramasila. Gyatson advised Nāg-Tcho to become a resident pupil of Sthavira Ratnakara, the superior of the monastery. Atisa, it seems, was high priest of the monastery, but not its head, and was in fact, subordinate to Ratnakara.

The chronicle goes on to describe how Nāg-Tcho was introduced to Ratnakara, by whom he was kindly received, and permitted to study the sacred books. The next day he was present at a great religious assembly, which was attended by many learned Buddhists, including Atisa, and also by the Raja of Vikramasila, who was, evidently, a feudal chief subordinate to Nāyapāla.

Nāg-Tcho afterwards got into communication with Atisa, and, with the help of Gyatson, at length, and after various oracles had been consulted, succeeded in inducing Atisa to promise to go to Thibet after the lapse of a

period of eighteen months, which would be required to complete some work, which he had in hand. His design of going to Thibet, however, had to be kept secret on account of the opposition which would be raised by the Sthavira Ratnakara and others.

The interval was employed by Nāg-Tcho in study. It is stated that, one day, Nāg-Tcho and Gyatson went together to Atisa who said to them: "You lochavas are a very earnest people. Gyatson has related to me personally everything about his country. From his graphic and pathetic account my heart shivers to think of the sufferings of the King of Thibet, and I deplore his lamentable death. I also pity the sinful Rāja of Garlog. There is no other place for him to go except hell." The time for Atisa's departure having at length arrived, his luggage was first sent off, secretly, and at night, from Vikramasila, loaded on thirty horses, to a monastery named Mitra Vihara, which appears to have been situated to the north of the Ganges, on the way to Nepal. Atisa then announced his intention of proceeding with the Thibetans on a pilgrimage to the eight sacred places of the Buddhists, that is, the scenes of the eight chief events of the Buddha's life. The Sthavira, who seems to have suspected Atisa's design, insisted on accompanying him in the pilgrimage, which they, accordingly, made together, along with about sixty other persons. After their return, Atisa announced his intention of going on another pilgrimage *via* the Mitra Vihara to the *chaitya* of Svayambhu in Nepal, adding that, as the distance was great, he did not wish to take many people with him. Ratnakara then perceived clearly that Atisa meant to make his way to Thibet, but, although he had it in his power to prevent him from going there, he reflected that, by doing so, he might prevent Atisa from doing good to others, that Atisa's wish to go to Thibet came from his goodness and purity of heart, and that the Thibetans had made great sacrifices to get him. He, therefore, magnanimously agreed to allow Atisa to go to Thibet for three years only, and asked Nāg-Tcho to promise that he should return within that time. Nāg-Tcho seems to have evaded giving this promise, and finally got the Sthavira to agree that Atisa should act as he pleased in regard to returning from Thibet. So, in the year 1040 A. D. Atisa, with a large retinue, including, besides the Thibetans, Nāg-Tcho, Gyatson Senge, and his brother Virya Chandra, Pundit Bhumi-Garbha, and Maha Rāja Bhumi Sangha, who seems to have been a Royal Monk, left Vikramasila for Mitra Vihara. In bidding him farewell, the Sthavira was evidently much dejected, and remarked that the signs promised evil for India, as numerous Turushkas, that is, Muhammadans, were invading the country, and he was much concerned at heart. At the Mitra Vihara the party were received with enthusiasm by the monks, and they were equally well received at a small Vihara near the frontier of Nepal on the Indian side,

and also by the Acharyas, that is, religious teachers of the Tirthikas, at a sacred place of theirs, just beyond the frontier. Some of the Saivas, however, who were very jealous of the Buddhists, sent eighteen robbers to assassinate Atisa, but, as soon as they saw his venerable face, the robbers were struck dumb, and stood motionless as so many statues. Having advanced a short distance, Atisa said "I pity the robbers," and, uttering some charms, drew figures on the sand, which had the effect of restoring the stupefied robbers to their senses.

Some quaint tales are told of incidents of the journey illustrative of Atisa's compassion and kindness of heart. Finding three puppies left uncared for at a deserted camping ground of a herdsman, he took them in the folds of his robe saying: "Ah poor little ones, I pity you," and carried them for some distance. It is said that the breed of those puppies is still to be seen at a place called Radeng. The Raja of a place in Nepal, where the party halted for a night, being annoyed with Atisa for refusing to give him a small sandalwood table, which Atisa was taking to Thibet as a present, set robbers on to waylay him; but Atisa, again uttering charms, and drawing mystic figures on the ground, threw the robbers into a trance, from which he again released them by the use of mantras, and sprinkling sand towards them, presumably, after he had got to a safe distance. Next, the party reached the sacred place of Svayambhu in Nepal, where they were entertained in great style by the local Raja. There Gyatson Senge fell sick with fever, and died. One account says that, before his death, he was carried to the riverside, in order to evade a custom of the country, by which, if a person died while staying as a guest in another man's house, his host inherited all his property. According to another account, Gyatson's dead body was taken to the riverside and disposed of secretly, and, in the morning, his clothes and bedding were carried in a *dhuli*, as if he were still alive, so as to avoid the delay and trouble, which would have been caused by the government investigation into the cause of his death. From Svayambhu Atisa wrote an epistle to King Nayapala, which Nag-Tcho translated into Thibetan.

The party next proceeded to a place called Holkha, in the district of Palpa, where Atisa was entertained for a month by a Buddhist sage, who suffered from deafness; and was known as the deaf sthavira. The chronicle, as translated by the Rai Bahadur, says, rather quaintly, that the deaf sthavira heard from Atisa a discourse on the parāmitas, which lasted six days.

They then reached the plain of Palpa called Palpoi than, where the King of Nepal, Ananta Kirti, was holding court at the time. The king received Atisa with much cordiality and reverence, and Atisa presented him with an elephant, asking, in return, that the King should build a monastery there, to

be called *Thán Vihāra*, which was accordingly done. At the same time, the King's son, Prince Padmaprabhā, was ordained as a monk by Atisa.

At their next stage Atisa and his party entered Thibetan territory, where they found an escort of one hundred horsemen under four generals, who had been deputed to receive them. Each of the generals had with him sixteen lancers bearing white flags, while the rest of the escort carried smaller flags, and twenty of them white satin umbrellas. The band consisted of flutes, bag-pipes, guitars, and other musical instruments.

With a sonorous and grave noise, the chronicle says, uttering the sacred mantra, "Om mani padme hum," they approached the holy sage of Magadha to offer him a respectful welcome in the name of the King of Thibet. The account goes on:

"The King's representative named Nari-Tcho Sumpa, with his five companions, presented Atisa with about five ounces of gold, one tray full of treacle, and tea prepared in Thibetan manner, in a cup decorated with figures of the Chinese dragon. In offering the tea, he said: 'Venerable sage, permit me to make an offering of this celestial drink, which contains the essence of the wishing tree'."

"Atisa, who was seated on a thick stuffed cushion, at the top of the row, in an exalted position, said: 'The concatenation of circumstances is auspicious. This curious cup of precious substance contains an elixir of the wishing tree. What is the name of the drink, which you prize so much? The lochava said: 'Venerable Sir, it is called *cha*; the monks of Thibet also drink it. We do not know that the *cha* plant is eaten, but the leaves are churned, being mixed with soda, salt, and butter, in warm water, and the soup is drunk. It has many properties.' Atisa observed: 'So excellent a beverage as tea must have originated from the moral merits of the monks of Thibet.'"

Atisa travelled in a leisurely manner through Thibet, halting for a month at Nag-Tcho's home, at a place called Zo-gua Chen-po, where he stayed as Nag-Tcho's guest. Another halt of seven days was made at a place called Dok Mamolin near the shore of the great lake Manosarovara called in Thibetan Ma-pham. The chronicle relates that, during the march, the generals in command of the escort sang a song of welcome, like those wise ministers of King Thi-srong-dentsan, who, three centuries before, as mentioned in my last paper, had escorted Acharya Santa Rakshita, also a native of Gauḍa, or Bengal, from the confines of India to Thibet. A speech addressed by the senior general to Atisa has been handed down, in which the merits of the country of Thibet and its king, and the benefits which the country would derive from Atisa's visit were recounted. In the course of this address the general said: "Though, in this country, there is wanting

the religious prosperity, which India possesses, yet there are many advantages, which would be vainly sought for in India. Here, in the country of Purgyal, there is no scorching heat, and everywhere there are sparkling fountains and pellucid streams. In winter the climate of Thibet is not rigorous. In the sheltered sides of the mountains of Thibet, there is generally warmth, which makes this country delightful in winter. In the Spring season people hardly suffer from any scarcity of food, and the five kinds of grain are cultivated for a harvest of plenty. In autumn, the country becomes a mass of emerald by the abundance of vegetation in the fields as well as on the hills and in the dales." At the conclusion of this address, the general sang the song: "Lo-a lo ma lo la lo la, etc."

The horse, on which the great sage rode, ambled gently like the walking of the golden swan, and, at times, Atisa lifted himself in the air a cubit above the saddle, not touching it at all, with a view to be distinguished from others. A smile was ever present on his face, and Sanskrit mantras were always on his lips. His expressions were happy, and, at the end of a sentence, he often said: "Ati bhalo, ati mangal, ati bhalo hai"—"It is very well, it is very suspicious."

The good humour and cheerful spirits of the Thibetans seem to have struck Atisa, as they do modern travellers. Looking at his escort, he said: "These officers of Tha-Tsun-pa—that is, the King of Thibet—have in their mirth, surpassed the mirth and joy of Pramada, the King of the Gandharvas....It is, indeed, true that Himavat is the province of Avalokitesvara's religious discipline. For who but he could have subdued so wild and fearful a people as the Thibetans. But, even in their wildness, they look cheerful and agreeable."

At last, Atisa reached Tholin, where he was cordially received by the king, who commanded his people to receive Atisa's teachings with profound reverence. During a subsequent residence of thirteen years, distributed over the several provinces of Thibet, Atisa devoted himself to the teaching of the Mahayana doctrine, and the propagation of pure Buddhism. He is said to have shewn the right way to the ignorant and misguided Lamas of Thibet, who had all become Tantriks, and to have cleared Thibet Buddhism of its foreign and heretic elements. He also wrote during this time several works, the names of the following of which have been handed down:—

1. Bodipatha Pradipa; 2. Charya Sangraha Pradipa; 3. Satyadvayavatara; 4. Madhyamopadesa; 5. Sangraha Garbha; 6. Hridaya Nischita; 7. Bodhisattva Manyavali; 8. Bodhisattva Karmadimargavatara; 9. Saranagatadesa; 10. Mahayanapatha Sadhana varna Sangraha; 11. Sutrārtha Samucchayopadesa; 12. Dasakusala Karmopadesa; 13. Karma Vibhanga; 14. Samādhi Sambhara Parivarta; 15. Lokottara Saptaka Vidhi; 16. Guru Kriya

Krama; 17. Chittoipada Samvara Vidhikrama; 18. Siksha Samuchhaya abhisamaya; 19. Vimala Ratna Lekhana.

Atisa died at Nethan near Lhasa, at the age of 73, in the year 1053 A.D. He was the spiritual guide and teacher of Bromtan, the founder of the first grand hierarchy of Thibet, who wrote his great master's biography in the year 1073.

The most important political event of Nayapala's reign was the war between him and Karna Kalacuri of Cedi, which took place at the beginning of the reign. This war is referred to in certain Cedi inscriptions, and also in a Thibetan Buddhist chronicle translated by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, which says that, about the time when Atisa accepted the post of High Priest of Vikramasila, at the request of Nayapala, Magadha was invaded, and Nayapala's armies were at first defeated, by Karna, who advanced close up to the capital of Gauda, but, eventually Nayapala was victorious, and a treaty of peace was made between the two powers, in the conclusion of which Atisa took an active part, about the year 1035 A. D., or some three years after Nayapala's accession.

In the Persian history entitled *Tarikh-i Baihaki* by Abul Fazul, it is recorded that, in the year 1033 A.D., Niyaltagin, who was governor of Lahore, under Sultan Masud of Gazni, son of Māmud, made a raid on Benares. Babu Ramaprasad Chandra says that, at the time of this raid, Benares was included in the dominions of Nayapala. On the other hand, as I explained in my last paper, Babu Rakhal Das Bannerji would hold that, in the time of Nayapala's predecessor, Mahipala, Benares had passed into the possession of the Kalacuris of Cedi. However that may be—the point seems to me a doubtful one—the passage in the *Tarikh-i Baihaki* says that Niyaltagin and the force with him, which seems to have been a small one, crossed the Ganges, and, proceeding along the left bank of the river, arrived at Benares early in the morning, and, having looted the three bazars in which cloth, perfumes, and jewellery, respectively, were sold, retired in the afternoon.

This was the first attack on Benares in the series of raids which marked the early stages of the gradual Mussulman conquest of Northern India.

Two temple inscriptions at Gaya are dated in the 15th year of Nayapala's reign, shewing that Gaya was included in Nayapala's kingdom, and that he reigned for at least 15 years. There are certain other points of interest in these inscriptions. One, which is engraved on a stone tablet in the wall of a temple known by the name of Krishnadvarika, built about 100 years ago by one Damodar Lal Dhokri, records the erection of a temple to Vishnu by a Brahmin named Visvaditya, the son of Sudraka and grandson of Paritosa. The other, found inside a small temple dedicated to Narasimha, an incarnation of Vishnu, records the erection of a temple to Gadadhara, an epithet of

the same deity, by Visvarupa, another son of the same Sudraka. It seems evident that the modern temples of Krishna Dvarika and Narasimha referred to have been constructed out of the materials of the two older temples of Vishnu, erected by Visvaditya and Visvarupa respectively. The family, to which these two men belonged was a leading one at Gaya in the time of Nāyapāla and his successor, Vīrapapāla III, as other inscriptions there show. One relates to the erection of two temples of Siva, under the names of Vatesa and Prapitamahesvara, by Visvaditya; an inscription on an image of Gadādhara mentions Paritosa, Virisvaditya's grandfather; and an inscription on the Sitala temple records the erection of a temple to various deities and the digging of a tank named Uttaramanasa by Visvaditya's son Yakshapāla, who is referred to as "Narendra," or a ruler of Men. He may have been a feudal chief of some kind.

I might mention that the Krishnadvārika inscription above referred to sets forth that it was composed by one Sahadeva, who was a *Vaji-Vaidya*, that is, a horse-doctor, or veterinary physician.

There is extant a medical work by one Chakrapani Dutt, who is stated therein to have been the nephew of Nāyapāla's head cook.

F. J. MONAHAN.

[To be continued.]

Obituary Notice.

IT is with the deepest regret that we have to announce the death of Mr. James H. Little, who died in the Presidency General Hospital on 9th October 1917. Whatever view may be held as to the value of Mr. Little's conclusions in regard to the Black Hole episode, no one can doubt that he had made a very minute and careful study of the evidence as it has been collected for us in the monumental works of Mr. S. C. Hill and the late Dr. C. R. Wilson. Quite apart from his conclusions, Mr. Little's criticism will prove of permanent value, and will facilitate the work of the future historian in dealing with discrepancies in the evidence. Unfortunately for Mr. Little his interest lay in a period of Indian history which requires to be studied in England rather than in Bengal, for the MS. records of that period are very scanty in this country. Mr. Little's literary ability was considerable and his power of marshalling his argument is conspicuous in all his articles. He has, we believe, left behind him a completed work detailing the history of the Seths—the family of bankers of Murshidabad. It is to be hoped that this work will be given to the public. Mr. Little was a comparatively young man at the time of his death, and his loss to us will be felt perhaps keenly by those of us who felt that his undoubted powers would in course of time find a truer scope, than could be afforded by an attempt to base history on discrepancies in evidence, assumed motives, and a dangerous recourse to the argument from silence. Mr. Little was moving on firm ground when he showed that Holwell is a writer whose statements require testing before they can be accepted as historical facts. It was, for instance, shown in *Bengal: Past & Present*, how completely Holwell was mistaken when as Governor, he charged Mir Jafar with the murder of certain members of the family of Ali Verdi Khan—some of the persons alleged to be murdered turning up to greet Lord Clive on his return to Bengal in 1765! It is well that we have been made to go over again the history of the period, and in this respect we are grateful to Mr. Little; but those who favour Mr. Little's contentions about the Black Hole will not be grateful to him for his further attempt to prove that there was no monument erected by Holwell on the famous site outside the Eastern Gate of the Fort. That extraordinary endeavour, which compelled its author to invent the wildly impossible theory of a nineteenth century forger copying spurious deeds into bound volumes at places miraculously provided for them is an example of

that nemesis which must overtake those who allow their imagination to construct the evidence. Bengal has been almost scandalously indifferent to the interest and importance of its history, and we are therefore grateful to Mr. Little for all that he has done to excite an interest in the great and essential study of the past. Had he enjoyed wider opportunities for research, and of consultation with fellow students, it may be believed that he, with his very considerable gifts, would have abandoned the kind of *tour de force* which has proved so seductive to literary men when they select history as the form for their labours.

W. K. FIRMINGER.

Members' Note Book.

Mr. J. J. Cotton, I. C. S., kindly sends us the following :—

LANDOR'S ELEGY.

Ah, what avails the sceptred race,
Ah, what the form divine?
What every virtue, every grace
Rose Aylmer, all were thine?
Rose Aylmer, whom these wakeful eyes
May weep but never see,
A night of memories and of right,
I consecrate to thee.

Idem Latine.

A quid sceptrigero clarum genus ordine regum,
quid prodest Paphiae proxima forma deae?
Quo tot virtutes, quo tot praestare lepores,
Almula cuncta aderant, ne morerere, tibi.
Almula quot nobis nox pervigilata reducit
non iterum O lacrimis saepe negata meis.
At tibi donetur quam per suspiria duco
Nox desideriiis plena memorque tui,
H. C. F. Mason.

(In the *Florilegium Latinum*, Vol. I, No. CLXXIV.)

No. 200 Docket.

Dated 7th March 1795.

Mr. James Augustus Hicky to the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. General Release. Jackson: Attorney to the Hon'ble Company.

To all to whom these Presents shall come James Augustus Hicky of Calcutta at Fort William in the Province of Bengal in the East Indies Printer sendeth greeting Whereas the said James Augustus Hicky did on or about the day of July which was in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three tender and deliver into the Governor General in Council of Fort William aforesaid acting for and on the

behalf of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies at their Presidency of Fort Willam aforesaid a statement and account of certain claims and demands for divers sums of money stated to be due to him the said James Augustus Hicky from the said United Company for Printing and publishing certain Orders and regulations for the Government of the Army of the said United Company on their Bengal establishment and whereas the said Governor General in Council acting as aforesaid did on the Twenty-Sixth day of the said month of July tender and offer to the said James Augustus Hicky the sum of sicca Rupees Six Thousand Seven hundred and Eleven of lawful money of Bengal aforesaid as and for a full satisfaction and discharge of and for all and every sums of money claims and demands whatsoever due and owing to the said James Augustus Hicky from the said United Company which said sum of Sicca Rupees Six thousand Seven hundred and Eleven the said James Augustus Hicky hath accordingly agreed to accept and hath accepted in full satisfaction and discharge as aforesaid. Now these Presents witness that for and in consideration of the said sum of Sicca Rupees Six thousand Seven hundred and Eleven of lawful money of Bengal aforesaid to him the said James Augustus Hicky in hand well and truly paid by the said United Company at or before the sealing and delivery of these Presents in full satisfaction and discharge of and for all and every sum and sums of money claims and demands whatsoever due and owing to the said James Augustus Hicky from the said United Company (the receipt whereof he the said James Augustus Hicky doth hereby acknowledge and thereof and therefrom and of and from every Part and parcel thereof doth hereby acquit Release and for ever discharge the said United Company their Successors and Assigns). He the said James Augustus Hicky Hath remised, released, acquitted and discharged and by these Presents Doth for himself his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns fully and absolutely Remise Release Acquit and Discharge the said United Company their Successors and Assigns of and from All and all manner of action and actions Cause and causes of Action Suits Bills Bonds Writings Obligatory Notes Accounts reckonings Sum and Sums of Money Debts dues specialties Covenants Contracts Controversies variances Agreements Promises Damages Judgments extents Executions Claims and Demands whatsoever both in Law and Equity which he the said James Augustus Hicky ever had now hath or which he his heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns shall or may or can have or claim against them the said United Company their Successors or Assigns for or by reason or means of any matter or thing whatsoever touching or concerning or in any wise relating to the Printing and Publishing the said Orders and Regulations and on every other Account whatsoever from the beginning of the World to the day of the date of these Presents. In Witness whereof the

said James Augustus Hicky hath hereunto set his Hand and Seal this Seventh day of March in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain in France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth and in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand Seven hundred and Ninety-five.

Sealed and Delivered at Calcutta
aforesaid where no stamps are used
or can be had. In the Presence of

W. M. JACKSON.
JOHN BULLEY.

JAMES A. HICKY.

With reference to the Editor's remarks (Vol. XIV, p. 299) in regard to "an outhouse" in the Collector's compound at Alipur which is said to "have a somewhat ecclesiastical appearance," Col. Mulvany writes:—

Avoca, Alipore, 28th February 1918.

My dear Archdeacon,

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd instant. I could not find the note you speak of, though I remember having read it. I rather hoped that you would give me the reference. What you say, however, recalls it to my mind. I haven't sufficient data for an article. But the following two facts may help to clear away any mystery that may cling to the building. Up till 1864 all European and Eurasian prisoners convicted outside of Calcutta were sent to the (old) Alipore Jail. Transfers to and from the Great Goal were practically impossible. A chaplain was appointed to minister to these people. A churchy looking building dates from those times, though it is indeed without the walls. The inference to my mind is clear. The building is the church erected by Government for the Christian prisoners, presumably for C. of E. prisoners only, for I can find no reference to any R. C. priest having been appointed. With regard to the Old Presidency Jail I have several references.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN MULVANY.

Members of the Calcutta Historical Society will be glad to hear that a third Volume of the *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* by the late Dr. C. R. Wilson has been recently published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Esplanade East, Calcutta. At the time of Dr. Wilson's death in July, 1904, the whole body of work had been printed off with the exception of the

Introduction and Indices. For over thirteen years the printed sheets have been lying in storage at the office of the Imperial Record Department. During this long period a few of the sheets have become slightly discoloured, but students who are familiar with the great value of Dr. Wilson's work will gladly overlook this slight disadvantage. The indices supplied for the present volume are far fuller and more convenient than those of the early volumes, and some interesting illustrations have been added. Archdeacon Firminger has contributed an Introduction. The period covered by the present volume is from 1718-22, when Samuel Feake was Governor of Bengal. It has only been possible to place about 350 copies on sale, so intending purchasers should send their orders as soon as possible to Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co. The price of the volume is Rs. 10.

Materials for a History of the Great Trunk Road—I.

No. 1.

*Remark on the new Road leading from Calcutta to Chunargur by Rogonautpoor, Sheergotty, &c., &c.**

FROM Calcutta to Bissenpoor is the most generally cultivated and populous countries I have seen in Indostan produce rice and some sugar, and at the season troops march by this route, which will not be before the first of December but in cases of great emergency, no injury will be done to the riots as all grain will be gathered in and if the Officer Commanding is attentive to prevent irregularities of the camp-followers, no well-founded plea can be brought for a deduction of revenue on account of troops marching through the province.

From Bissenpoor to Rogonautpoor the harvest is gather'd in before troops can march through that part of the route, country far less populous and cultivated as to Bissenpoor. On the march from Calcutta to Rogonautpoor, in the Month of February, no want of water, wood, or straw. The villagers have none or few wells. They depend on their tanks for water.

The road from Calcutta to the Demooda River is in many places broken up by the rains, particularly between Doorhatta and the Demooda—the person who agrees to keep it in repair should be oblig'd to begin this duty as soon as the rains are over, and I think it may, with little trouble and expence be put in orders as troops and artillery may march without interruption.

From the Demooda to Rogonautpoor the road is in good order. The only rivers between Calcutta and Rogonautpoor are the Demooda and Dalkisar both of which are fordable in the month of February, bottoms a firm sand—Rogonautpoor a large village where supplies or provisions may be had.

From Rogonautpoor to Shurgotty the country is mountainous covered much with wood, little cultivation, and few villages adjacent to the route; and on this division of the march, forage for cattle will not be found in great store; grain and other necessary articles of provision the Officer

in Command must not neglect to provide at Nazzarree and Angwally; this he may accomplish by writing to the Collector of Ramgur for the supplies he may require at Nazzarree, and to the Officer in Command at Jilda for the supplies he may want at Gomeea, or at the next stage Angwally. If care is taken and encouragement held out to the people of the bazars now establishing on this division of the route, little inconvenience will be felt, the country is in appearance shrill and thinly peopled but it produces grain beyond its internal consumption; and through this division of the route the Detachment experienced no want of wood or water at the several places on which it encam'd.

The road from Rogonautpoor to Shurgotty firm and in good order, the soil is of a strong quality mixed with a finty stone which renders it so durable that the rains make little impression on it; but in such places as are intersected with nellas and rivulets, which in this part of the route are numerous; and there annual repairs will be necessary.

I see few impediments to Artillery marching by this route such as they are the drag-rope will in my opinion overcome.

When divisions of the Army are marching towards Calcutta, it is necessary to observe that from the Dumna Nella to Cony Chitty, will be a fatiguing march on account of the ascent of the Shurgotty Pass, and it should be recommended to all officers marching by this route to suffer as few hackeries as possible to proceed with him.

From Rogonautpoor to Sheergotty is twelve marching days at Nazzarree by Mr. Cumming's attention to a letter I wrote to him on the head of supplies, much more than necessary was collected there. Major Crawford also on a similar application had sent grain to the new Gunges more than equal to the wants of the Detachment. If public advantage be derived from troops marching by this route I cannot discover a reason why the plan should not be adopted, the strength of detachment should not exceed three Regiments, if a Brigade is moving down it may through this part of the route separate into two or three divisions.

From Shurgotty to Chunar the route is through a fertile country when troops will be supplied with everything they may require, it will therefore be unnecessary to add to what has been specified in the Journal.

I am persuaded many objections will be urged against troops frequenting this route; founded on the plea of inconvenience; that troops will be harass'd by marching through a country for 12 days when forage is with difficulty procured; the officers too will be depriv'd of having recourse to their boats. These are objections; opposed to which, difference of distance claims attention, this, and injury done to the country by marching large detachments through the most fertile provinces; an object that may deserve the attention of Government.

It is not my province to decide, but presuming the motives that led to the execution of this plan, originated in views which had for their object the facilitating the movements of the troops from the remote stations to the Presidency in times of danger; as well as to expedite the customary reliefs of the Army, I have, with the utmost care attempted to describe the state of the road and the situation of the country as accurately as circumstances would admit.

No. II.

A Journal of the march of a Detachment from Calcutta to Chunargur by the route of the new road with remarks thereon.

Date.	Distance. M. F.	Names of Places.	Rivers, Guts, &c.	REMARKS.
	9 3	To Chendetoly		First march from Sulky Gout, opposite to Calcutta, road in many places carried away by the rains but with little trouble it may be repaired so as to remove all impediments..... at Chendetoly water in Tanks... and ground for encampment.
	13 1	To Doorkatta	Dead Nella cross'd twice, fords, knee deep.	Road has in some places been destroyed by the rains, may be repaired with little trouble—Doorkatta is a large village, good encamping ground and water.
1785 Feby. 9th	14 4	To Myapoor	Across the Demooda high banks, ford, knee deep. In rains Demooda is 4 or 500 yards across between the Demooda and Myapoor, two small wells, fords.	From Doorkatta to the Demooda the road has been much destroyed by the rains and is a bad state for wheel carriages; and it appears that this part of it will be carried away, by the overflowing of the Demooda, yearly. Therefore an early attention must be paid to this part of the road every season, as soon as the rains are over.
1785 Feby. 10th	16 0	To Katool	Across a small nella, ford—across the Dalkisar high banks ford, knee deep in rains 200 yards across.	Road good on this day March, across the Dalkisar at Jhanabad at Katool extensive plain for the encampment and water in tanks.
Feby. 11th Feby. 12th	12 6	To Badgchaul		Halted for supplies from Burdwan. Road good; the country tho' full of villages and in high cultivation is inclinable to be woody and at Badgchaul a Brigade would not find ground to encamp regularly on—water in tanks.
Feby. 13th				A heavy fall of rain oblig'd the Detachment to halt this day.
Feby. 14th		To one coss west from Bissenpoor		This Day we first deviated from Capt. Rankin's route with respect to distance, and encamp'd one coss west from Bissenpoor, where there is a plain spacious enough to hold a Brigade and excellent water in

Date	Distance M. F.	Names of places	Rivers Gaults, &c.	REMARKS.
				a large jheel; from the last encampment to this, the Country is an entire forest. Bissenpoor is an extensive village, and it may be proper for troops to carry supplies from hence to Rogonsautpoor, as an Officer cannot certainly depend on securing grain, &c., between these two places. Road good.
Feb'y. 13th				Halted for supplies.
1785				
Feb'y. 16th		To two coss east of Ragehaut, name of the village near the encampment is called Kenklossa.	Dry wells in this day's march.	Two coss west of Bissenpoor forest ends at Aunda, vide Renner's Map; and at Aunda, is encamping ground for a Brigade, water in tanks—country full of villages and highly cultivated—good encamping ground. Water in tanks at two Coss east of Ragehaut Road in perfect order.
		To Chatna ...	Across the Dalkisar, no water, western bank steep. Water may be procured by digging wells of a foot deep in its bed.	To a coss west of the Dalkisar, there is clear ground extensive enough for a Brigade to encamp on and in Feb'y no want of water in tanks, from thence to Chatna the country is inclinable to be hilly covered with low coppice trees. Chatna is a cluster of villages and the residence of the Zemindar of the District. To the southward of the village a large jheel which has water in it all the year. At Chatna good encamping ground and cover for Europeans is a Mango tope. Road in good order.
		To Rampoor ...	2 coss from Chatna cross'd the bed of a nella, dry.	The country through which we march'd this day is hilly and covered with wood; few villages and thinly cultivated at Rampoor good encamping ground, water in jheels throughout the year. Road in perfect order.
Feb'y. 19th	...	To Rogonsautpoor.	...	This place is the capital of the province of Pachhat and is a large village from which may be procured grain and other articles of provision for a Detachment, good encamping ground and water; and cover in mango topes for a Regiment of Europeans. Firm good Road.
20th, 21st } & 22nd }	Halted to procure supplies.
23rd	...	To Doobra	On the route from Rogonsautpoor to Doobra, at the village of Mungaum there is encamping ground and water in a large

Date.	Distances.	Names of places.	Nellas, Gauts, &c.	REMARKS.
	M. F.			
24th	...	To Chundera...	Across the Dumgon nella.	<p>[heel] Mahooda is also a convenient place for encamping at Doobra is a small village, water in tanks and country jungly, road firm and in perfect repair.</p> <p>On this day's march passed Chunderakura where there is good encamping ground and water; from Doobra to Chandra the country is covered with wood but is not a close jungle, the Mowa Tree grows in such abundance that it may be called a forest. From the berries of this tree is produced a strong and intoxicating spirit. At Chundera is extensive ground for an encampment and water in [heels].</p> <p>As there was no appearance of water in the Dumna nella Bildars were sent on and dug some pits in the sand by which means excellent water was procured; 40 Bildars sent on a day before the troops would procure water for a Brigade.— This day we descended to the plains of Behar through the gaut of Shurgotty, it commences about five miles from Conychitty, it is steep and compact of it rugged from the uneven surface of the rocks, by computation the length of the pass is between 4 and 5 Miles, and with regard to any Obstacles Artillery may meet with either in the descent or ascent will be removed by the assistance of the Dragrope. Hackeries loaded with soldier's baggage and the contractor's with Arrack came into camp in good time, tho' their bullocks were such as would be rejected as unfit for the public Service, these Hackeries have accompanied the Detachment from Calcutta.</p> <p>Route through a woody country to within 2 or 3 miles of Shurgotty there the lands are extremely well cultivated. The Detachment encamp'd on the northern bank in an open cultivated country, water expeditiously procured by digging pits in the bed of the river, Shurgotty is a large cluster of villages where supplies may be had.</p>
		To Dumna nella		
		To Shurgotty Town	<p>Across the Nilagin nella bed dry.</p> <p>Across the two branches of the nella which run by Shurgotty Town both dry.</p>	<p>Road in good order and through a well cultivated country fit ground for an encampment, water in wells and in tanks, also good shade in a mango tope for a Regiment of Europeans.</p>
1785 March 9th	15 0	To Madinpoor small Bazar		

Date.	Distances. M, F.	Name of places.	Nallas, Gants, &c.	REMARKS.
10th	14 3	To Nurrunga	Nella	On this day's march road in perfect order. Country high open and thinly cultivated. Nurrunga is a large town where supplies of provisions may be had.—Three or four miles from Madinpoor is dudfee a village adjacent to which there is Shade in mango topes for a Regiment of Europeans. Water in a sella. At Nurrangy spacious places to encamp on.
11th				Halted.
12th		To Serris	Crossed the Ponpon nella.	Serris is a cluster of villages: shade in mango topes and water in the Ponpon nella, road in good order, country highly cultivated.
		To Northern banks of the Soan River.	Across the river ford & ferry.	The bed of the Soan is near two miles across with deep sand, the water at this season to the waistband and two hundred yards across through the stream a road must be traced out on account of the great number of quicksands to prevent accidents to the carriage cattle, the baggage and huzar to be cross'd in boats. Encampment near the River.
		To Sasseram.	...	Route in good order, encamping ground to the northward of Sasseram, water in tanks.—This is a large and populous Town—Country well-cultivated.
15th	Halted.
16th	16 3	To Jehaunabad	Cross 2 Nallas	A Bazar, encamping ground good, water in wells, that of the nella brackish.
17th	14 2	To Mohunsa	...	A mango tope that will shelter a Regiment of Europeans, water in wells. Country populous and highly cultivated.
		To Carumnassa nella.	Across a nella. Across the Carumnassa.	Route good and country well cultivated: encampment northern Banks of the Carumnassa.
		To Mogulseray	...	Road good, country populous and highly cultivated, water in wells and cover in a mango tope for a Brigade.
		To Chuta Mirzapoor.	...	Cover at this place for a Regiment in mango topes, water in wells, encampment near the banks of the Ganges.
		To Chunnargur.	...	Route in good order encamping ground on the Mirzapoor side of the Chunar Nella near a large Mosk.
N. B.—The distances are not inserted in those marches that deviated from the Route given by Captain Rankin as they could				

Date	Distances. M. F.	Names of places	Rivers, Gaults, &c.	REMARKS
				only be estimated; but as an actual survey has been taken of the road, by a reference made to it the real distances of those marches may be ascertained, as the names of the encampments are mentioned.
25th		To Herrula		The road in perfect order, country, similar to that of yesterday—here is good encamping ground and a large jheel of water near.
26th	15 3	To Joogeko	Nellas whose banks are steep, dry.	Joogeko is about a mile west of Angwally, the latter is a Gunge established by the Government for the accommodation of travellers.—On the commencement of this day's march the country has a very perceptible and regular ascent, covered with coppice wood.—No villages between Herrula and Angwally, the Route is intersected with nellas, dry at this season, the banks of some of them so steep that was artillery to march by this route it would be necessary to employ the Dragrope, to check them in their descent, and to assist in dragging them up the opposite bank. Encampment confined, but water in a nella & tanks.
	10 6	To Gomeah	Across the Demooda ford. Dry nellas and Ravins.	Gomeah is a bazar established by Government the route to this place is intersected with places in some of which there is water, the banks are considerably steep, also across the Demooda its bed 300 yards wide, banks not very steep. At this season not more than half-leg water, and the stream narrow, on the northern bank of this river grows large quantities of the saul tree but of small growth.—After across the river ascend an easy gaut, and the country may be describ'd as hilly, some villages to be seen on the right and left of the route but far from being numerous. At Gomeah plenty of water and ground spacious enough for a Regiment to encamp regularly on.
28th	16 7	To Chitroo	Nellas & ravins, dry.	The road the first part of the march is through thick woods chiefly of the saul tree, the site of the country is hilly many ascents and descents where Artillery would require the Dragrope, but do not deserve the name of obstacles to prevent Artillery marching by this route

Date.	Distance. M. P.	Name of places.	Nellas, Gaults, &c.	REMARKS.
				A well near Chittoo which has a small stream in it. Chittoo is a Gunge establish'd by Government by it is a type of Mangoes that will shelter a Regiment of Europeans. Water in tanks and some villages in the neighbourhood—near Chittoo rocks of junglass-Stones appeared on the surface of the road.
March 1st	13 6	To Deigwar	Nellas and ravine, dry.	Half way of this day's route has a very perceptible ascent and the country is covered with coppice wood, latter part is more free from wood than any other part of the route since we left the province of Burdwan. Deigwar is on a high and commanding situation. On the route few villages and a sterile country. This a small Bazar established by Government consisting of a few Duncans. water in tanks.
March 2nd	12 5	To Hazzarree.	...	The country through which the route leads to-day is high and free from jungle generally cultivated and contains a number of populous villages. Hazzarree is a small village, has a jheel of water and a mango tree spacious enough to encamp in two regiments of Europeans it is distant 6 miles from Strhank the residence of the Raja of Ramgur from whence all necessary supplies may be had. Halted.
	12 6	To Kutcum-sandy.	Pass nella	First six miles of the route country perfectly level, then commences a pass whose descent is considerably steep. Artillery require the Dragrope, length of pass between 2 and 300 yards. On this day's march few villages and little cultivation, except the descent and that is not difficult the Route is in good order. At Kutcum-sandy is a good Bazar, water in a nella but the country people report it to be bad.
March 3th	18 1	To Conychitty.	Nellas, dry	On the route 3 or 4 miles from Cutcum-sandy is a well with a small stream in it water better than at the last ground, this day's march is much interested by nellas, in none of which is there water but in that already remarked country covered with wood, some of the banks of the Nella steep. There does not appear to be any water near the

Date.	Distance. M. F.	Names of places.	Nellas, Gauts, &c.	REMARKS.
				Route, from Cuttack to Conychetty, but in the nellas above mentioned. Conychetty is a cluster of villages from whence supplies may be procured, good encamping ground and a Tope that will shelter a Regiment of Europeans, Water in a nella very good.
6th	Halted.
7th	...	To Dumna nella.	Descended the Shergotty Pass.	Encamped on the banks of the Dumna nella. The Country is woody and will not admit of the camp being regular but as encamping here divides the two marches from Conychetty to Shergotty nearly in equal distance it should be preferred, especially if troops were marching towards Calcutta and encamped on the Nilagiri, they would have a march of near twenty miles to Conychetty and five of it, up a steep Gaut.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

Materials for a History of Calcutta Streets and Houses—III.

HONOURABLE SIR, & SIRS,

THE late Sr. Eyre Coote being requested to give up the house he lived in, on his first arrival in India, that it might be appropriated to the use of the Supreme Court of Judicature; publicly, and without any solicitation from me, declared his intentions, as Commander-in-Chief, of taking mine, as soon as it could be finished; and on its completion, in consequence of the General's desire; the late Mr. Wheeler, at that time, Acting Governor, on the promise of a lease, as had been granted on a former occasion; engaged it for the Commander-in-Chief, and his family took possession of it accordingly; the bills for rent, received by me, were regularly signed by Mr. Wheeler, as Comptroller of Accounts; and I do pledge myself to your Hon'ble Board, and if it should be thought necessary, will declare on oath, that so far from the house, being engaged at any instance of mine, I took some steps, to obtain a relinquishment of it, from Sr. Eyre Coote, but was advised to desist.

These measures I have every reason to believe, deprived me of a more advantageous engagement, than that I agreed to for the accommodation of the Commander-in-Chief; but it being evidently the wish and intention of Government for the foregoing reason, that a house should be provided for the General, best suited to his family, rank and convenience, and as mine was, *as evidently*, built, solely with a view, to the use of Government; so relying on, and in confidence of that idea, I have hitherto delayed applying for the execution of a lease.

But as a successor to Sr. Eyre Coote is soon expected, and agreeable to the usage on like public occasions, so I now beg leave to request of your Hon'ble Board, a lease for the term, of five, or three years, at the accustomed rent of two thousand sicca rupees per month, including taxes, repairs, &c., which as the ground, house, and premisses cost me, 1,50,000 sicca rupees after deducting, tax, at 6 and $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. 1,500 rupees and the annual repairs, at 1,500 more, the net rent amounts only to 1,750 rupees per month which is but 16 per cent. per annum, for the sum expended; and I submit it with deference to your Hon'ble Board, as a circumstance universally known, and admitted, that 20 per cent., is the interest, usually paid, and expected on buildings in this country, as an indemnity against, certain, constant, and casual deductions, to which property of this nature, is so peculiarly liable.

Wishing to have every information respecting the mode of ascertaining the profit on houses and buildings in this country, I wrote to a gentleman, more conversant on such property, than any others, in the place; and take the liberty of laying their answers before your Hon'ble Board.

CALCUTTA, }
Dated 8th January 1785. }

I remain,
Honourable Sir & Sirs,
With great Respect,
Your most obedt. servt.,
WILLIAM JOHNSON.*

Calcutta, 14th November 1785.

HON'BLE SIR, & GENTLEMEN,

Having a desire of returning to England as soon as my affairs in this country will admit of it, I beg leave to make a proposal to your Hon'ble Board—the terms of which I flatter myself will meet your attention.

The Hon'ble Court of Directors having thought proper to allow the sum of eight thousand sicca rupees, as rent for the Commander-in-Chief's house; I take the liberty of offering the sale of mine, at present occupied by Government for that purpose; at the price of 90,000 sicca rupees. It is unnecessary to make any remarks respecting the suitableness of the house, or the superior goodness of the materials with which it is built; they are circumstances generally known, and fully acknowledged, and as I understand, that the only objection Government ever made to the purchase, or keeping possession of buildings on account of the Hon'ble Company, has been the expence attending the keeping them in repair. I beg leave further to propose to your Hon'ble Board to keep the whole of the premisses in proper and complete repair, for the term of 5 or 7 years to commence from the first day of January next for the monthly sum of S. Rs. 66-10-8 whereby the above objection will be obviated, and at the same time, the Commander-in-Chief will be accommodated in that house, which your Hon'ble Board have thought adequate to his high station, for the sum allowed by the Hon'ble Company,—the interest of 90,000 S. Rs. the proposed purchased money at 8 per cent per annum being Sicca Rs. 7,200, and S. Rs. 66, 10, 8 per month, (the repairs amounting to 800 S. Rs. per annum) making together 8,000 S. Rs. per annum *the limits of the Company's Orders*. Your Hon'ble Board must perceive that I can have no other inducement for offering it on such terms—but that already mentioned,—a desire of settling my affairs, and of returning to England as soon as possible. The House at present occupied by the Governor General, is rented I understand at 1,500 Rs. per month, or 18,000

* Home Department Public Consultation, 26th January 1785, No. 7.

the year; while that recommended to your Hon'ble Board at the rate of 8,000 S. Rs. per annum, is at least equally calculated either for the use of the Governor General, or Commander-in-Chief.

Should the plan of purchasing for the Commander-in-Chief be incompatible with the intention of your Hon'ble Board, I beg leave to offer it for the more effectual carrying into execution, one which I understand your Hon'ble Board mean to adopt; that of uniting and assembling as many of the public offices upon one spot, as conveniently may be; nothing intervening between it, and the Government House, and its great vicinity (not twenty yards) leave this plan, liable to no inconveniency, under the arrangement alluded to; while it affords apartments equally commodious, if not as numerous, as those contained in the Government House itself; with a verandah on the ground floor, 80 feet long, and most of the other rooms on that floor extremely well calculated for the writers of public offices for which also the outer offices belonging to the premises might be easily appropriated; all which I am ready to let should your Hon'ble Board decline such a purchase, at a fair and equitable rent, which shall be fixed by your Hon'ble Board, or by any person you shall think proper to appoint although I beg leave to observe to your Hon'ble Board, that my object of leaving this country, will not be obtained by letting the house, I hope you will permit me to say, and I am sure your candor will allow, that the rent should bear some proportion to the real value of the house, and that which others, so situated, are rented at.

I have the Honour to remain,

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

Your very obedient servt.,

(Signed) WILLIAM JOHNSON.*

HON'BLE SIR & GENTLEMEN,

Your Secretary having informed me of the Resolution of your Hon'ble Board respecting the terms of purchasing my house; I beg leave to signify my acceptance thereof; and from my anxious desire of returning to England this season, if possible, I request you will please to issue orders to your Attorney for concluding with me the necessary deeds, and to direct your Secretary to issue the Treasury Orders in my name.

I have the Honour to remain,

Most respectfully

Your very obedient Sir,

CALCUTTA, } (Signed) WILLIAM JOHNSON.†
Dated 8th December 1785. }

* Home Department Public Consultation, 15th November 1785, No. 10.

† Home Department Public Consultation, 19th December 1785, No. 23.

Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.

OWING to the circumstances created by the War, the finances of the Society are not in a prosperous condition. A large number of absent members have failed to send in their subscriptions, and the places of those who have either died or resigned have not been filled by new members. It has, therefore, been necessary to reduce the size of *Bengal : Past & Present*. It is to be hoped that those who are interested in the history, to which *Bengal : Past & Present*, contributed materials, will come to the support of the undertaking. It can hardly be creditable to the Second City in the Empire that such an endeavour should be allowed to fail or languish, or that so great a province as Bengal should prove its lack of interest in its past. The comparatively small sum of Rs. 2,000 would suffice to enable the Executive Committee to restore *Bengal : Past & Present* to something like its former magnificence in amount of materials and illustrations.

Attention has recently been called to a number of Christian graves that exist in a private estate at Katwa. There is a tradition that one of these graves contain the remains of soldiers who were killed or died during Clive's march to Plassey. I am informed by a Bengali gentleman that there are three European graves with inscriptions, *vis.*—

1. Andrew Walker, Asst. Surgeon of the Bengal Army, 13th November, 1844.
2. Rev.—Carey D. D. Born 22nd July, 1787 A. D. died on 3rd February 1853 A. D. Served as a Missionary for 41 years.
3. John King Roger, died 5th October, 1845.

The Rev. William Carey was the second son of the famous Dr. William Carey of Serampur. It is reported that on the south side of Andrew Walker's tomb there was a tomb on which an inscription, now lost, recording that some fifty soldiers were buried beneath.

The Fort at Katwa is described in 1757 as "about half a mile in circumference, made of earth with eight round towers, situated on the bank of the Cossimbazar river, which covers the east face, with a large creek that covers

the south face, which we were obliged to cross and found it very deep and rapid: this face with the other two are surrounded by a deep dry ditch having a narrow passage to walk over without a drawbridge."

The future historian of Hughli ought not to lose sight of the following passages in Philip Francis' Journal.

[1779] November 6th. At Hughley. A great fire last night at the Old Fort, by which an immense quantity of raw silk and piece goods has been destroyed.

Hastings makes a report of the last fire and its effects. By a computation, with which Davies has furnished him, it appears that the Company's property lodged in the Godowns amounted to—

Company's Rupees	...	22,44,608	11	0
Saved	...	2,45,706	13	0

19,98,901 14 0

November 8th. H. swears with great apparent passion, and in terms which plainly imply suspicion of foul play, that there never was an instance of a fire in a Godown since the time of Job Channock (*sic*). Piece goods, cotton, and raw silk packed close in bales are not easily set on fire, nor could it possibly have spread, if there had not been an immense quantity of red wood piled up in the Old Fort, as it were on purpose to burn the Godowns. At night to Hughley."

The following extract from a General Letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors contains some interesting matter:—

* * * * *

Para. 34. At the last quarter sessions no less than nine persons receiv'd sentence of death for different felonies, six have been executed, the other three we request of your honors to recommend to His Majesty for pardon. One a slave girl named Catty about thirteen years old, who privately stole some jewells out of her master's house in company with another aged above twenty, who has been executed, and two men named Chumero and Sabdee, who were convicted of an assault and robbery in the street in company with a third who being esteem'd most guilty has been executed. The last mention'd were particularly recommended to the mercy of the court by the Petit Jury, and if it be possible it is much to be wished that a discretionary power could be lodged in the Judges of the Sessions to grant pardons in such cases, or at

least to mitigate the rigor of their confinement, for at present the Sheriff is oblig'd by his office to keep the poor wretches in condemned hole until an answer comes from England.

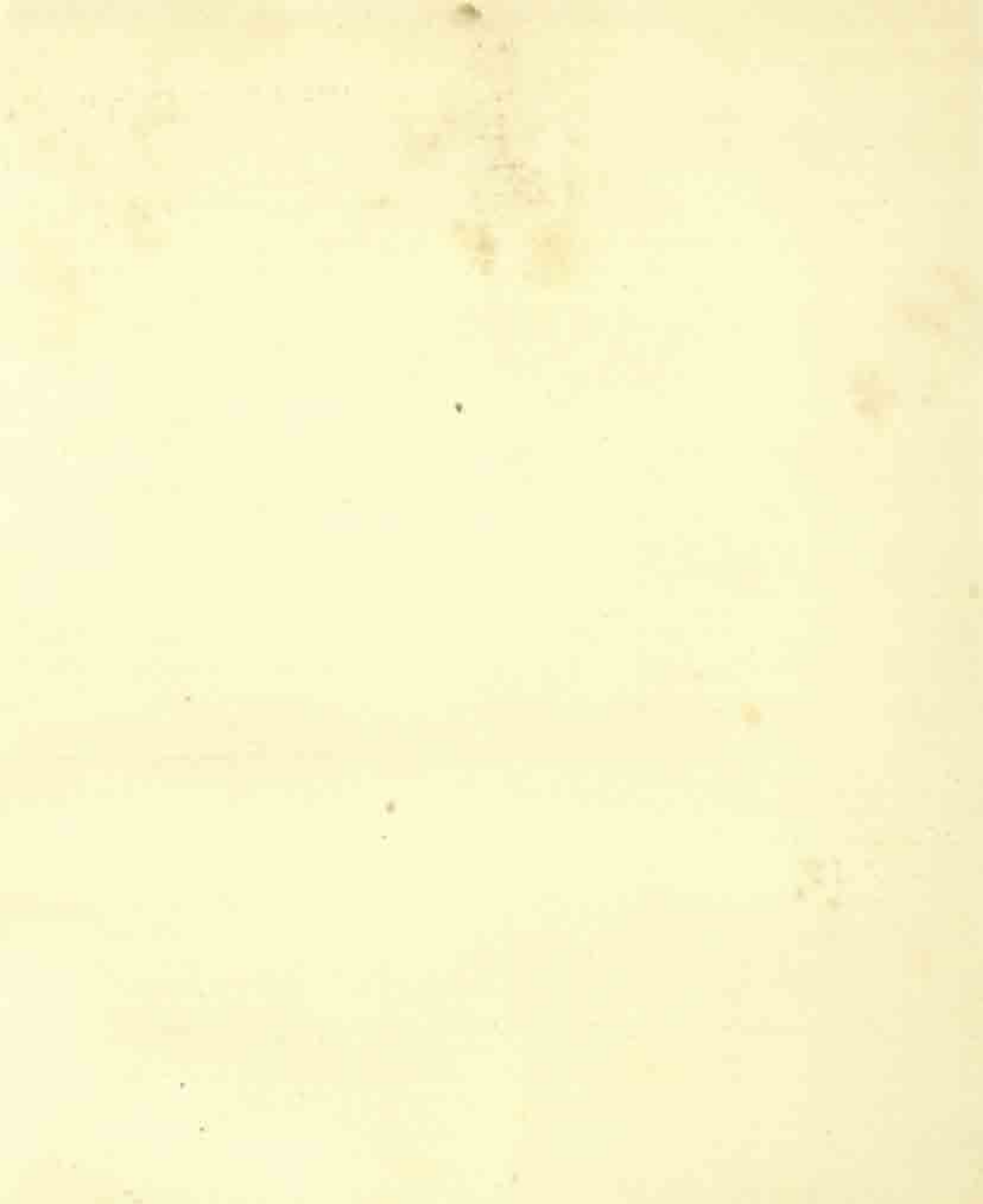
35. The late Omichund having left considerable part of his fortune to be laid out in charities in all parts of the world, his Executor Huzzooramul has requested us to remit by this conveyance the sum of fifteen hundred current rupees or pounds sterling one hundred and seventy-five to the Governors of the Magdalen House and the like sum to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital for the uses of those charities respectively and further that we would receive into your cash the sum of thirty-seven thousand five hundred current rupees there to remain for ever and the interest to be remitted annually to the beforementioned charities.

* * * * *

Fort William, }
8th April, 1762.

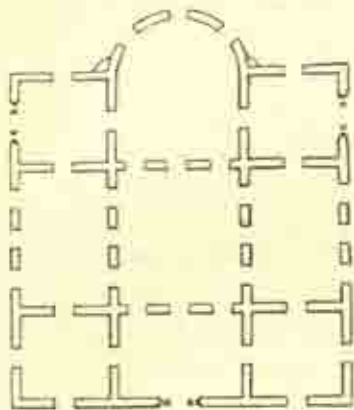
We are, etc.,
P. AMYATT.
W. HAY.

W. K. FIRMINER.

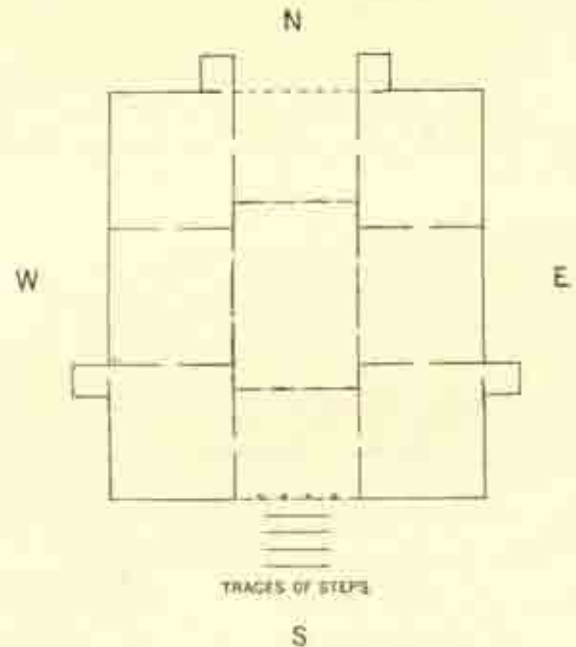




*Plan of the House occupied by Sir William Jones near Sepoyah four miles
South of Chutganah*
Pogson's Sketch 1831.



Ground Plan of Sir William Jones House at Sepoyah
Pogson's Plan of the Ruin 1831.



Plan of the Ruin 1918.

Sir William Jones and Chittagong.

THERE are within a tieca ride of Chittagong the ruins of a house with which the name of Sir Wm. Jones is always associated. Tradition speaks of it as his house, and I have heard it repeatedly spoken of as a house that Sir Wm. Jones built. This however is hardly correct as can be easily seen from reference to the several works which throw light on the subject. There is little doubt that Sir William and Lady Jones were merely visitors at the house and most probably on one occasion only, as I propose to show. Whose house it was, or for whom it was built, is a matter I contemplate dealing with in a subsequent note.

The Governor General, Sir John Shore's (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) *Life of Sir W. Jones* has only a passing reference to Chittagong; but it prepares us for the description of the ruin found in Capt. Pogson's *Narrative of a tour in Chateegaon*, 1831 as "a house occupied by Sir Wm. Jones." The Editor of *Bengal: Past & Present* goes further and tells us that Sir Wm. and Lady Jones' host was Charles Croftes, one of the Chittagong Chiefs, who died in 1786, the year of their visit, and is buried in Chittagong cemetery.

Sir William Jones, Puisne Judge at the Supreme Court at Calcutta, Founder and first President of the Asiatic Society, scholar and linguist, of whom it was said he knew most languages save his own Welsh, arrived in Calcutta in the latter part of 1783, and resided there until his death in 1794. He lived at Garden Reach at a house nearly opposite the old Bishop's College, and it can be judged from his letters, quoted by Sir John Shore, that practically every vacation was spent at Krishnagar, Nadia, where he loved to retire and pursue the studies so dear to his heart. In the *Calcutta Review* of 1846 a writer says—"Sir W. Jones had a house at Krishnagar; it is now (1846) "in ruins but within 100 yards of it are erected a Christian Church, Mission House and Schools and residence for Native Christians, and in the district "are the greatest number of converts in North India." No trace of this building, which was then near or on the river bank, now remains and the Magistrate's house occupies the site.

Sir W. Jones' first vacation was spent at Benares and in Feby. 1786 he visited Chittagong for the first and, I think, the only time. He sailed in the sloop "Phoenix", and was probably recommended to the expedition by Sir Elijah Impey who himself visited Chittagong. "Sir W. Jones," writes his biographer, "had long proposed making an excursion to Chatigan, the "eastern limits of the British dominion in Bengal, exclusively of his anxiety

"to acquire from local observation a knowledge of the state of the country
 "and of the manners and characters of the natives; a prudent attention to
 "the re-establishment of his health which had suffered from an unremitted
 "application to his public duties as Judge and Magistrate, as well as a regard
 "for that of Lady Jones, now rendered the journey expedient."

In letters written by Sir William during his stay of two months at Chittagong it is clearly proved that the house could not have been built by him or for him. To Thos. Caldicot he writes under date "Chatigan Feb. 21st 1786—"I have been so loaded with business that I deferred writing
 "to you till it was too late to write much and when the term ended was
 "obliged for the sake of my wife's health and my own to spend a few weeks
 "in this Indian Montpelier where the hillocks are covered with pepper vines
 "and sparkle with blossoms of the coffee tree," and again on 27th Feby. he writes to Sir J. Macpherson Bart., "Jafferabad. I now sit opposite to the
 "seas which wafted us gently hither and our voyage was well timed for had
 "we staid two days longer we should have been in a North-Wester. A
 "beautiful vale lies between the hillock on which the house is built and
 "the beach; on all other sides are hills finely diversified with groves, the
 "walks are scented with blossoms of the champac and nagassar. My wife
 "amuses herself with drawing and I with botany." In April he was recalled somewhat hurriedly to the Court and left Chittagong *via* Sitakund and the north. Writing to Mr. Justice Hyde from Jafferabad April 30th he says,
 "We shall not stay here a week longer but proceed as soon as we can make
 "preparations for our journey to the burning well (22 miles from Chittagong)
 "and thence through Tippera and Dacca.....Nothing I think can hinder
 "my being in Court on 15th of June." As a matter of fact they were very much delayed thro' tides and had not got further than Comilla by that date. In a letter written from Chrisna Nugur in September of the same year to Dr. Patrick Russell Sir Wm. Jones says—"I travelled to Islamabad for
 "the benefit of the sea air. The province of Chatigan (vulgarly Chittagong)
 "is a noble field for a naturalist. It is so called I believe from the chaty,
 "which is the most beautiful bird I ever saw."

Just off the Dacca road and a short distance from Pahartali, the "Lilloah" of the Assam Bengal Railway and the Jafferabad of by-gone days, the ruin of this house is to be found. It is almost concealed from view by a small forest of Gurjan trees whose lofty ashen grey trunks rear themselves on all sides and breaking into foliage at their summits cast a deep shade around. The ruin faces towards the sea now some 3 or 4 miles distant. No other eminence lies between it and the sea. Considering that the building is atleast over 130 years old, it is well preserved for, save for the protection afforded by the giant trees, it is exposed to every storm and

cyclone from the Bay. It is a brick and plaster house of 13 rooms although Pogson's plan, admittedly drawn from memory, shows only nine.

The whole place is overgrown, and roots and branches are to be found forcing themselves through the bricks in every direction. Trees are growing from the summit of the walls and the whole place is bound hard and fast in the power of nature. The house is roofless except in three or four of the small rooms, *i.e.*, those not shown in Pogson's plan and in these four wooden beams still remain in position. The roof is here several feet thick forming the towers shown in the sketch. The rooms are all comparatively small and not particularly lofty. The style of building is not at all similar to the type of house built by Englishmen in India 50 years later. It could not have given the best results in the way of coolness and breeze. On comparing the ground plans it will be seen the later one includes four rooms not shown in the early plan. It is quite unlikely these rooms could have been added subsequently for the place was in ruins at the time of Pogson's visit. It would be quite easy for him to omit them in drawing up his plan from memory, but they are important in that they constitute the towers which he portrays, which however are square, not round. Some of the plaster still hangs on the walls both inside and out, if such a description may be used, and the pattern of the frieze and of the exterior window arches is clearly visible in places. Traces of entrance steps on the south are also discernable, but land immediately round the house appears to have subsided. On the occasion of my visit this year the whole hill was covered with thick jungle, and I had to have a path cut for the ascent. The hillock swarmed with big red ants which penetrated the clothes and bit mercilessly. It was a task to get rid of them. These ants are referred to by Hooker and others who have travelled in those regions.

Sir Wm. Jones hated the sun. He once wrote he could only preserve his health "by a resolution of never seeing the sun or suffering him to see me." He died of a tumour in Calcutta in 1794 and is buried in South Park Street Cemetery. The loftiest obelisk there marks the spot. A friend reminds me that there is a life-size statue to his memory in St. Paul's, London, bearing the word "Manu" in Sanskrit character, probably one of the few, if not the only, instance of Sanskrit appearing in an inscription on a monument in Christian Churches in Europe.

R. P. ANDERSON.

Leaves from the Editor's Note-Book.

IT has often been suggested that J. A. Hicky, the "Founder of the Calcutta Press," was at one time either a solicitor or a solicitor's clerk. This theory, I think, is due to a confusion between J. A. Hicky and William Hickey. Dr. Busteed refers to the latter, but in the *Echoes* the name is given as "W. Hicky." It may be said that William Hickey was the solicitor sent home by the Touchet Committee to represent them at the Parliamentary Commission held in part consequence of their petition against the Supreme Court. I do not doubt but that this William Hickey (the name was originally O'Hickey) is the person the first Volume of whose *Memoirs* (1749—75) were edited by Mr. Alfred Spencer, and published in London in 1913. The second volume of the *Memoirs* is about to appear, and in it we may confidently anticipate much interesting information about the citizens of Old Calcutta. It must be owned that the first volume affords a confession of dissipation and vice that even Casanova might have envied, but we are glad to notice that the author is able to say that the parent, whose long suffering and generosity he so terribly abused, lived long enough to witness his son's reform.

In the year 1768-69, Hickey obtained a cadetship on the Madras Establishment, and came out to the East on board the *Plaissey*, East India man. Among his companions were two Bengal Civilians, James Grant (not the Revenue Expert) and Jacob Rider. Of the latter I have written in my Pages in Vol. XII (p. 106). Hickey tells us —

"Mr. Jacob Rider, with whom I formed a friendship that continued uninterrupted through life, had been sent out a writer to Bengal in 1763. His family were connected by marriage with a branch of Lord Clive's, which nobleman, upon going to Bengal as Governor in 1764, made Rider's interests one of his first objects, giving him the post of Paymaster General to the Army, a situation that in those days would have yielded him an overgrown fortune in a few years, but unfortunately for Rider in about six months after that he filled that advantageous post a dispute arose between Lord Clive and the officers of the army, occasioned by a measure of His

Lordship's which they deemed unjust and tyrannical, in which however Lord Clive persisting, the officers drew up a remonstrance couched in terms not only disrespectful, but little short of the language of mutiny. Aware of the consequences likely to ensue, thereon, they adopted a practice then used in the navy, signing their names in a circle, or what sailors call a 'Round Robin' to avoid any individuals being singled out for punishment. In this instance the scheme did not succeed, for Lord Clive could give a tolerable guess who were the ringleaders, and accordingly dismissed a number of officers from the service, amongst whom were Mr. Rumbold, afterwards Governor of Madras, and Mr. Stables, a Supreme Councillor in Bengal, at that time both Captains in the Army. In looking over the names subscribed to the remonstrance, Lord Clive noticed that of "Jacob Rider," and immediately said to his Secretary, 'Who is this Rider? I don't recollect an officer of that name.' The Secretary, who had ascertained the fact, reported, 'My Lord, it is the Paymaster General.' 'The Paymaster General,' (exclaimed His Lordship,) 'what can have induced the blockhead to lend his name to such an inflammatory, unjustifiable, paper, with the subject matter of which he could not in any manner be affected? However, let him abide the consequences of such absurd conduct, and he gave orders forthwith to recall Rider, appointing another person in his stead, and upon his arrival at the Presidency, sent him on board a ship bound for England, declaring that he never should be restored to the Service..... When Lord Clive returned to England he was applied to on behalf of the *ci-devant* Paymaster, but refused to see him or have anything to say to him. He, however, after sometime, so far rebutted as to say that though he never would be friend of Mr. Rider again, he would not oppose his restoration to the Service. Rider had personal interest enough to get that point carried, and was returning with his rank (a Factor) when I met him in the *Plassey*, on board which ship he had a third of the great cabin, in which apartment, or in Douglas' I passed most of the mornings."

The account of the voyage on the *Plassey* contains some amusing incidents. At Madras Rider and Grant, fortunately for themselves, failed to obtain passages to Calcutta on the *Lord Holland*, East India man, commanded by Captain Nairne. The ship, crowded with passengers for Bengal, was lost in the sands of the Hugli. For Hickey, who gave his appointment the slip, and went with the *Plassey* to Canton, the whole voyage was merely a "joy ride." In 1769 he was back in London, professedly studying the law,

but devoting his time and his father's money to his dissipation of the wildest kind. In London at this time he became acquainted with two persons of Calcutta interest—Farrer and John Hare.

Mr. Beveridge in his *Trial of Nanda Kumar* (p. 221) writes: "whether Farrer was a barrister or not I do not know, but the probabilities are that he was not so in 1775. Impey described him in his letter to the Earl of Rochford as having come out to India under the name of Secretary to Colonel Manson, and as having been admitted an advocate at the desire of Monson." Mr. Beveridge is here replying to the assertion that Nanda Kumar was not defended by a barrister of ability, and he gives his reasons for believing that Farrer was not a barrister prior to his admission at the Supreme Court on the 22nd October, 1774. Hickey, however, tells us that Farrer arrived ahead of the Judges, and secured five thousand pounds in retaining fees before the Court was opened. He describes Farrer as a barrister in 1771, and afterwards speaks of him as "the only regular-bred English Lawyer belonging to the Supreme Court." Captain Price's malicious reference to Farrer's having accepted eighty rupees to look after two-hounds is characteristic of that pamphleteer's methods of the time.

A good deal has been said from time to time in these pages as to John Hare, sometime Sheriff of Calcutta, builder of part of the Old Presidency Jail on the Maidan, and *bête noire* in chief to Mrs. Eliza Fay. Hickey describes some rough treatment meted out to Hare by some rowdies in London just before his departure for Bengal. I have already recorded Hare's murder on his return journey to England by overland route. Hickey adds to our knowledge: "Whilst on his journey he imprudently let his attendants see some diamonds and other valuable articles in his writing desk. This induced them to murder him as he lay asleep upon the banks of the Euphrates, into which river they threw his body, went off with the property, and were never afterwards heard of."

Hickey has something to tell us as to a brother of Charles Croftes, of whom mention is frequently made in the pages of *Bengal : Past & Present*. After a scandal with which we need not concern ourselves, Captain Croftes joined his eldest brother in Bengal, and the latter obtained for him a post "in the Vizier's Court at Lucknow." At a "convivial" dinner, the *ex*-Captain had an altercation with Dr. Murchison, with the inevitable result—a duel for the morning following. When, however, the parties arrived on the

appointed *terrain*, they had to confess that they all, principals and seconds, had been so drunk that the nature of the dispute had totally escaped their memories. Dr. Murchison and the two attending friends were of opinion that the matter might be amicably disposed of, but not so Croftes, who, while deploring the situation and disavowing any resentment, said that as his reputation might be at stake, "he could not upon that account accommodate a second business of the same nature." As Croftes was insistent, the seconds suggested that the principals should stand back to back, then take twelve steps, turn, and fire: but Croftes thought that that distance would be unorthodox. So nine steps were decided on. If it be suggested that Croftes' intelligence must still have been under the influence of the last night's debauch, the event will confirm the suggestion. The pistols were discharged so exactly that only report was heard. Croftes missed his aim, and fell dead.

Mr. C. W. E. Cotton writes to me:—

10, MIDDLETON STREET,
Calcutta, 6th June 1918.

DEAR SIR,

The perennial interest taken in the meeting between Warren Hastings and Philip Francis on the morning of August 17th 1780 is my excuse for drawing attention to a piece of evidence which may clear an old lady's memory of a charge of inaccuracy with regard to the sequel. It will be remembered that the wounded Francis was first conveyed to the house of Lieutenant Foley of the Commissariat and afterwards to *Belvedere* then occupied by Major Tolly, and it was not until August 24th or a week after the encounter that he was sufficiently recovered to return to Calcutta. The entry in his journal to this effect provoked Dr. Busteed in the third edition of his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* to the following note:—

"The entry on 24th disproves the old story so often told in Calcutta, *viz.*, that the late Mrs. Ellerton remembers seeing Francis in a "palanquin crossing over the bridge at Tolly's Nulla "all bloody "from the duel." It is certain that Francis did not cross Alipore "bridge for a week after the duel. She may, however, have seen him "at the *Belvedere* side. The 'all bloody,' if indeed alleged, was "probably only poetic license as the sheet bound round him would "have effectually concealed any bleeding from a bullet-wound."

These remarks are not reproduced in the fourth edition of his "Echoes" but are quoted with the approval of my namesake, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, in *Calcutta Old and New* (p. 886). Mrs. Hanna Ellerton, who is perpetuated on the walls of the Old or Mission Church, died in 1858 at the

age of 86 and was therefore not more than eight or nine years old when the duel took place, but she assured the Revd. James Long, of "Nil Durpan" notoriety, that she remembered the details perfectly well and in this there is nothing *prima facie* improbable. How is the mistake to be accounted for? In his *Historical and Topographical Sketch of Calcutta* which was published in 1876 at the *Englishman Press* (p. 87) after a brief reference to the duel Mr. H. James Rainey writes—

"We believe the late Mrs. Ellerton, wellknown in Calcutta for her benevolence and charity used to say, that she saw *Hastings* in a palanquin crossing over the bridge at Tolly's Nálá, all bloody from the duel, (the italics are mine)

Here I believe we have the correct version of the old lady's story. When Francis fell wounded, "I ran" writes Colonel Pearse (who was Hastings' second) "to call the servants and to order a sheet to be brought to bind up the wound. I was absent about two minutes. On my return I found Mr. Hastings standing by Mr. Francis, but Colonel Watson (Francis' second) was gone to fetch a cot or palanquin from *Belvedere* to carry him to town. When the sheet was brought Mr. Hastings and myself bound it round the body, and we had the satisfaction to find it (? the wound) was not in a vital part." What could be more natural than that both Hastings and Pearse should have got covered with blood in attending to Francis, particularly if they made any attempt to ascertain if the wound was mortal? And Hastings, as we know from his letter to his wife, returned to Calcutta immediately after the duel, and in all probability by the old suspension bridge which Sir Charles D'Oyley's engraving has rendered so familiar. It may be asked how the story became current with Francis substituted for Hastings as the hero. Probably all that Mrs. Ellerton, who was a very small girl at the time, vividly remembered seeing was a gentleman with blood on his linen crossing the bridge in his palanquin one August morning in 1780. And if those to whom she talked many years afterwards were obsessed with the knowledge that Francis was wounded and Hastings was not, it is not surprising (even if Mrs. Ellerton herself was pretty sure of the duellist's identity), that the story gained general currency in the form which Dr. Busteed records. Hastings' letters and Francis's journal were not, I think, accessible to Mr. Rainey, and to him and his readers there would have appeared nothing improbable in Francis returning after the duel to his town house in Clive Street, though such a suggestion is now clearly irreconcilable with the evidence of the two principals in the duel. It cannot be assumed therefore that Mr. Rainey substituted Hastings for Francis in order to bring the story into line with that evidence, and he is entitled to be regarded as representing what to the best of his knowledge Mrs. Ellerton actually said.

If Mr. Rainey is correct, as I believe him to be, there is no reason why this picturesque additional detail should not be incorporated hereafter in accounts of this historical duel.

Yours faithfully,
C. W. E. COTTON.

As to Mr. Cotton's letter, I would observe that the first intention was to remove Francis from the spot on which he had fallen to Colonel Pearse's carriage, which was to take the wounded man to town. This failed because it was found impracticable to carry the cot across a "deep, broad ditch" which separated the carriage from the place of the duel. This ditch seems to have been what Francis means when he says that he was first conveyed "to a wrong place." It appears to me that the reference to "Lieutenant Foley" is a mistake due to a blunder of a copyist. Hastings had sold *Belvedere* to Major Tolly in February, 1780.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

The Nesbitt Thompson Papers—II.

[Note to previous Instalment (No. I.) Vol. XIII, p. 147. By an oversight the note on Charles Croftes referred to in the foot-note, was omitted from the "Editor's Note-Book." It will be given in an early number.

P. 154.—For the case of "Ghwolam Ashruff" see Seton Karr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. I, pp. 150—153. An enquiry into the charges against Ghwolam Ashruff was completed by Mr. Willes, the Remembrancer of the Criminal Courts before the end of 1782, and he remained a prisoner at the New Fort "without any effort on his own part to procure a trial and forgotten probably by the Government "till December 1784, when he employed agents to procure a *habeas corpus*. A special Commission consisting of Chas. Wilkins, James Grant, Jonathan Duncan and John White was constituted, and ultimately reported to the Board that the charges of complicity Ghwolam Ashruff had brought against various persons had been disproved and that some of the witnesses had been suborned. The case came up at the June Sessions of 1785. The interesting thing is that when the *habeas corpus* was applied for in 1784, it was determined that Ghwolam Ashruff was amenable "to the Fawjdary or Criminal Courts of the country." The culprit had acted as "a Vakeel of the Faujdar of Hidjelee, and the charge against him was that he had obtained considerable sums of money from the Company's Treasury, by means of Fawjdary Kubbuzee forged in the name of the Nabob Mozuffer Jung." "Praun Kishun" was the Naib of the Diwan of the Committee of Revenue and Naib Kanungo, and a son of the famous Ganga Govind Singh. The case is a valuable contrast to that of Nanda Kumar.]

No. 6.

In His (i.e., God's) name—holy, exalted and blessed be He.

Greetings! Your humble servant Majd-al-Din wishes to convey his sincere desire and is engaged in prayer day and night that the Clement God in His goodness and kindness would again grant this kingdom the splendour of prosperity; by the gift and perfection of His mercy.

No. 7.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 26th April, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

My Persian Neighbour here on the right hand is Mujid u'Dien but in the sentiment which he has expressed he is the Representative of Thousands.

This will be sent in a Packet which will close to-day, and with which a ship is to proceed immediately to Bussora. I will if I have time send a duplicate of it in a separate packet to Manesty desiring him to send it by a different conveyance from that of the pub. Packet. I must not write Politicks; for Larkins in his great caution promised that we should not—besides, I have now no knowledge of them. On the 19th March we received the following letters by way of Bussora & Bombay.—(1) from Mr. Manship dated 20th Augt.—Do. from Mr. Sullivan—two from Major Scott dated from 15th Augt. to 15th Sept.—(2) from Mrs. Motte, and one from Mrs. Hastings. That from Mrs. Hastings we returned by the *Cornwallis*—On the 23d Inst. we received by the same channel the followg Lres.—three from Scott dated 15th and 30th Octr. & 2d Novr., one from Mrs. Hastings which I return *exactly as it was received*, and one from Walking Stewart dated Ispahan 24 Decr. 1784. I will enclose a copy of it. From Scott's letters we have the satisfaction to find that though all men acknowledged you to be the fittest person for the Government, none will have any reason to be offended with resignation of it. The Resolution was worthy of you; and we were Blockheads for opposing it—God grant that interest did not blind us. Do me the justice to remember that though I could not relinquish my opinion, I always distrusted it because it was opposed to yours. Remember too that *one of my own* arguments in favor of your going was that it would enable you to impose conditions on your successor which a Person taking the Government independent of your choice would perhaps reject. I may venture to say that much of the good which has been done and much of the evil which has been prevented since your departure is to be attributed to this cause. Mr. Macpherson has hitherto in general protected your friends and supported your System. If he continues to do so when your friendship shall be less useful to him than it is at present I shall from my soul applaud as wisdom and integrity what I now consider as prudence. Gunga Govind Sing is violently and ungenerously persecuted. Amongst the most active of his enemies are Nobkisshun, Sudder U'Ddein, Ram Rutton, Ramchunder Sein, and that old avaritious Hypocrite Cauntoo Baboo. Under these arrange themselves and dance as they are pulled that great Puppet Mr. S—and his mover Mr. Moor—Mr. Stewart, Macdougall, Graham and many others. To this host of foes are opposed Mr. Macpherson and Cowper, Croftes Evelyn, Conncillor Davies and myself. Mr. S—you know was always his enemy, and his enmities are perpetual. Stewart has been misled by his Relation Macdougall, who is offended with Gunga Govind Sing because he did not interfere to prevent his refunding 50,000 Rs. upon a charge of having embezzled a lack. Unable to bring any other charge against him they have received the stale story of Ghwolaum Ashruff, whom they have

made swear to his own guilt for the sake of involving in it the Dewan and his son. The enquiry is entrusted to a Committee formed of Wilkins, Jonathan Duncan, Jas. Grant not the Philosopher, and White. Their proceedings are to the last degree irregular, and I fear partial and unjust. Gunga Govind Sing is innocent, and our laws therefore will protect his property and person, but he suffers disgrace, and will probably lose his office. Davies and I are in search of evidence to indict his enemies for a conspiracy. Mr. Macpherson now gives him unequivocal support, and Cowper behaves on this as he has done on every other occasion since your departure with firmness, honor and generosity. Munney Beegum still looks up to you and Mrs. Hastings for Protection. She has heard that Soonder Sing has sent an agent to England for the avowed purpose of extending the Nabob's influence but for the real purpose of encreasing his own. She is convinced that you will not permit the encrease of either to the prejudice of that with which you have invested her. She is desirous of preserving things in the state you left them—but Soonder Sing and her Dewan Manick Churn are secretly trying to undermine each other. Mr. Macpherson is aware of their intrigues, and is prepared to defeat them. He has told Soonder Sing that he will support him in his office as long as he discharges the duties of it—and he has told Manick Churn that no person shall encroach upon the rights of the Beegum or her servants.

All the maps of Alipoor were inconsiderately sent to England; the necessity of procuring another has obliged us to defer sale of Alipoor till the 10th of May. Considering the scarcity of money your effects sold well—but of all this Larkins will inform you. Turner and I live together. He is constantly employed in preparing a history of his travels, and I can assure you it will be a very interesting one. We shall not forget to send you the seeds of the cinnamon tree. By the *Cornwallis* I sent you a small box containing several bottles of ottah, all bearing the impression either of your seal or Sands'. I suppose they were left by mistake. By the same ship went Mrs. Hastings' picture. It is a sublime performance. Zophany does not generally excel in the delineation of female beauty—but here his subject has given him new powers.—Both you and Mrs. Hastings should sit to Gainsborough. I should be guilty of injustice to Bissummer Pundit, were I not to tell you how he cherishes and venerates your memory. His principal business and pleasure since your departure have been to superintend the picture which Davies is painting for him.

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 7.

(Fair Copy).

FORT WILLIAM,

The 26th April, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

My Persian neighbour here on the right hand is Mujid-u-'Dien; but in the sentiment which he has expressed he is the Representative of Thousands. The Board dispatch a vessel to-day with a packet to Bussora. I have sent a letter by the public packet—and this I send under a separate cover to Manesty that he may forward it by a different conveyance. I must not write politicks; Larkins in his great caution made this promise when he requested permission to send a letter—besides I know none. On the 16th March we received by Way of Bussora letters from Mr. Manship and Mr. Sullivan—two from Major Scott dated from 15th Augt. to 15th Septr.—two from Mrs. Motte, and one from Mrs. Hastings. The latter we returned by the *Cornwallis*—By the same channel we receive on the 23rd Septr. three letters from Scott dated 15th and 30th Octr. and 2nd Novr. and one from Mrs. Hastings which have enclosed in my letter of this date send with Ye. Co.'s packet, and one from Walking Stewart. From Scott's letters we have the great satisfaction to find that though all men considered you as the properest person for this Government, none will have any reason to be offended with your resignation of it. The resolution became you; and we were Blockheads for opposing it—God grant that interest did not blind us. I have some consolation in reflecting that though I could not relinquish my opinion, I always distrusted it because it was opposed to yours, and that I cheerfully acquiesced in your determination from a conviction that because it was your's it must be right. I have the satisfaction too to remember that I suggested some arguments for your going which have not proved unsolid. It enabled you to exact conditions from your successor which had he taken the Government independent of your will he might have rejected. These I will venture to say have been the principal source of all the good which has been done and of all the evil which has been prevented since your departure. Mr. Macpherson has in general supported your system and protected your Friends. If he continues to do so when it shall be less his interest I will from my soul applaud as wisdom and virtue what I now consider as policy and Prudence. Gunga Govind Sing poor fellow is violently and ungenerously persecuted. Amongst the most active of his enemies are Nobkisshun, Sudder Udein, Ram Rutton, Ram Chunder Sein, and that old avaritious hypocrite Cauntoo Babboo. Under these arrange themselves and dance as they are pulled that great puppet Mr. S—and his mover Mr. Moor—Mr. Stewart, Macdougall, Graham and many others. To this host of foes are opposed Mr. Macpherson and Cowper; Croftes, Evelyn, Vansittart, Councillor Davies and

myself. Mr. S—you know was always his enemy, and his enmities are eternal. Stewart has been misled by his relation Macdougall, who is offended with Gunga Govind Sing because he did not interfere to prevent his refunding 50,000 Rs. upon a charge brought against him by the Rajah of Nuddea of having embezzled twice that sum. As the most offensive weapon they can employ against him they have revived the stale story of Ghwolaum Ashruff, whom they have made swear to his own guilt for the sake of involving in it the Dewan and his son. The enquiry is committed to Wilkins, Jonathan Duncan, Grant not the philosopher, and White. Their proceedings are to the last degree irregular, and I fear partial and unjust. Gunga Govind Sing is innocent, and our laws therefore will protect his property and person, but he suffers disgrace, and will probably lose his office. Davies and I are in search of evidence to indict his enemies for a conspiracy. Mr. Macpherson now gives him unequivocal support, and Cowper's conduct upon this as upon every other occasion since your departure is manly, just and generous. Munney Beegum still looks up to you and Mrs. Hastings for protection. She has heard that Soonder Sing, has sent an agent to England for the avowed purpose of extending the Nabob's influence but for the real purpose of encreasing the own. She is convinced that you will not permit the extension of either to the prejudice of that with which you have invested her. She is desirous of preserving things in the state you left them—but Soonder Sing and her Dewan Roy Maunick Churn are secretly trying to undermine each other. Mr. Macpherson is aware of their intrigues, and prepared to defeat them. He has told Soonder Sing that he will support him in his office as long as he discharge the duties of it—and he has told Maunick Churn that no person shall encroach upon the rights of the Beegum or her servants.

All the maps of Alipoor were inconsiderately sent to England; the necessity of procuring another has obliged us to defer the sale of Alipoor till the 10th of next month. Considering the scarcity of money your effects sold well—but of all this Larkins will inform you: Turner and I live together. This Bill of Pitt's has superannuated us both. He has lost half his troop "fifty followers to a class"—and I *shall* lose half my salary. He is deep in the history of his journey, and a very interesting one he will make it. We shall not forget to send you the seeds of the Cinnamon tree. By the *Cornwallis* I sent you a small box containing several bottles of ottah, all sealed either with your seal or Sands's and left as I suppose by mistake. The same ship took Mrs. Hastings' picture which I doubt not will be considered a very sublime performance. Zophany does not generally excel in the description of female beauty—but here his subject has given him new

powers—Both you and Mrs. Hastings should sit to Gainsborough. For God's sake do so, and if the picture is a good one have some Mezzotints's scraped from it. They will be a thousand times more valuable to your friends, and creditable to you than the many bad pictures which are now extant of you. What a wonderful work is the Mezzotint of *Ld. Thurlow*. I can't tell you how affectionately little *Bissumber Pundit* cherishes and venerates your memory. His principal business and pleasure is to superintend the picture which *Davies* is painting for him.

I have the honor to be with the most unfeigned attachment

Gratitude & esteem your faithful servant,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

Enclosed is the copy of a letter which we received 5 days ago from *Walking Stewart*.

No. 8.

CALCUTTA,

The 17th May, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I came to Calcutta this morning at the earnest request of *Gung Gov. Sing* and find to my great Astonishment that the packet for *Muscat* will close within this Hour. I wrote to you in duplicate on the 26th ulto. and sent my letters to *Bussora* to be forwarded from thence by different conveyances. The same unworthy unimportant contests which I then explained have ever since continued to occupy our rulers. *Stewart* is as violent and if possible more weak than *Stables*. It is a disgrace to humanity that so large a part of it should be submitted to the Government of such men. If universal monarchy shall ever exist, I think very likely that it will be given to an *Oran Outan*. *Gunga Govind Sing* is the great object of their enmity and persecution—the being who, God knows how, is to destroy our Dominion in the East. It is impossible to detail all the weak irregular ill-conducted attacks which they have made against him. I have in all my letters mentioned the false accusations of *Ghwolaum Ashruff*, and the enquiry which has been set on foot if possible to establish them. The Committee still sits with *Mr. Grant* at the head of it, but has hitherto set in vain. Their Investigation leads only to the proof of *Gunga's* innocence and his accuser's malice. *Ramjee Mull* a renter in the District of *Dacca* had been put into confinement by the Committee for a considerable arrear of revenue. He was well able to pay, but would not. He complained by a private petition to *Mr. Stewart*, and as a certain means of recommending himself to the attention of that gentleman declared that he had paid more

than the Amt. for which he was confined to Gung. Govind Sing. This petition was a treasure to Mr. Stewart—without communicating a word of it to the Committee, he laid it in triumph before the Board. Ramjee Mull was summoned—was most graciously received, and seated at the Council Table. Gung. Gov. Sing and his son stood as culprits—Cowper fortunately attended, gave spirit to Macpherson, and totally overthrew the enemy. I hope the proceedings will be transmitted to you—if they are truly recorded, you will feel something of concern, that the field in which you have so often fought should be degraded by such combatants. The Council House I am told was a perfect Bear Garden. Gung. Gov. Sing has since been furnished with a copy of Ramjee Mull's accusations and has prepared a full and complete refutation of them. His enemies however are proof against the anguish of detected folly, defeated malice, conviction, or whatever else might have wrought on other minds—they are literally sons of earth and rose the stronger for their fall—they determined to make short work of it, and not attempting either proof or argument to move at once for his removal. In this stage of the business Gung. Gov. Sing earnestly desired I would call on Cowper. I did so for the first time. He suggested the possibility of removing Mr. Stewart and desired me to think of it. I found him open hearty and candid, and I therefore easily became so myself. I told him that the clause certainly admitted of a doubt—and would furnish to a man of a decided character the safe and easy means of annihilating an opposition which to say no more of it was certainly prejudicial to the Company's Interests but that without such firmness and decision to give the act such a construction and to enforce it, nothing could be hoped from the attempt—that I did not believe Mr. M. to be this kind of character—that I besides very much doubted whether he really wished for the removal of Mr. Stewart, since his presence in Council though of immediate inconvenience might hereafter prove useful to him—He would keep the Council fall, and consequently strengthen the arguments by which Mr. M. might intend to keep your appointed successor out of his seat. I have not time to detail these arguments—but be assured they will be made use of unless very particular precautions are taken at home to preclude the possible application of them—Besides too Sloper was coming, and if he should find Stables the only Councilor he might be inclined to join him—Whereas should he find the Governor in a minority it would undoubtedly be his interest and inclination to give him his support. Add to all this the most complete revenge that could be taken on Mr. Stables, and Mr. Stewart would be to give them their way—the evils attending it would be manifest before the arrival of Sloper and compel him to join Macpherson and possibly to reinstate Gung. Gov. Sing—But why should I detail all the arguments which were urged on

this occasion? You know them all. It is sufficient to say that knowing the timidity and indecision of Mr. M.—considering his interests—the safety of Y' Dewan, and the very doubtful construction of the Act I was not myself much disposed to hazard a question on it—I was overruled—the danger was at a distance and they were all bold. I consulted Davies—We agreed that if Messrs. Stables and Stewart pressed an order for the confinement or removal of Gung Gov. Sing—He should protest agt. Mr. Stewart's right to his seat—that Mr. M. should then take the Act upon himself—dissolve ye. Council—declare Mr. Stewart no member—and in future summon only Stables—From this he would have nothing to fear—*Politically* there were many arguments in favor of this step—the danger of a doubtful Govt.—the pretext it would furnish for disobedience to all its subjects—consequent Languor etc.—*Legally* he might defy Stewart—for Stewart could have no action but for his salary. If he was really entitled to a seat he would receive his salary from the Co.—; if he was not entitled to a seat he had received no injury and consequently had no remedy.

I waited on Mr. M.—the next morning—He adopted our plan with only this difference which was indeed a material one—that after dissolving the Council he would submit the question to the Judges—to this Gung. and Cowper agreed—Davies and I prepared a protest with many arguments—this was on Friday—to-day Tuesday was to have been the Revenue Council at which the whole business was to have been brought forward—On Sunday Gung. Gov. Sing called on me at Alipoor—he was much dispirited—said that Mr. Macpherson would be afraid to support him that he (M) had declared he would not attempt ye. removal of Mr. Stewart—and that ye. design must be dropped—I again called on Cooper, represented wt. had passed and told him that we must yield and procure the best terms we could for Gung.—To this Cowper consented—and such I thought was to have been the plan—Yesterday Mr. M. took a little courage and disposed Cowper to attempt the removal of Stewart. The Council was to have been to-day but Stewart was taken ill—I saw Cowper this morning who says that Mr. Macpherson is now decided to act a manly and decided Pt. to propose when ye. Protest is delivered that it shall be submitted to ye. Judges—and if ye. other two members object to dissolve the Co. and in future to prevent the attendance of Mr. Stewart—I know that he will not do so—and am determined therefore that Gung. shall not take any step which may commit himself or encrease the malice of his enemies till Mr. M.—shall by some Act in Co. have led to and paved the way for the delivery of the protest. I have written in much hurry—Be pleased to make my respectful Compts. to Mrs. Hastings and believe me, Dear Sir.

Your faithful Sert.,
G. N. THOMPSON.

No. 9.

CHELTENHAM,

The 21 July 1785.

MY DEAR THOMPSON,

I have been unfortunate in missing the *Surprise's* packet, which I regret extremely, because I know that it will be a great disappointment to you, and some other of my special friends; though you will know more particulars of my situation and prospects from others than you could from myself. The best that I can tell you is that I found Mrs. Hastings in better health than I have known her possess for some years, and that my reception has been as flattering as pride could wish it. I have experienced the distinction of *Digito monstrari, et dici hic est*; but my humility preserved itself by the influence of a monitor within that whispered:—all this will expire in less than 3 months. I think much of it is already gone. But as much of it as I wish to retain will, I am persuaded, remain yet for years, the esteem of those whom all esteem.

I had a pleasant voyage; without bad weather; a clean and tight ship; officers of skill and attention, and even of science; a society that I loved; and a rapid course. The worst of the voyage was that my mind was stupid, and that I never passed a night without a slight fever. Thompson, never take the counsel of a physician that shall bid you go to sea for health:—I believe that my first sufferings were from vexation; for you were scarce out of my sight when I recollected that my old bureau, which contained all my most secret papers, and some things of intrinsic value had been left behind; Francis* having with admirable discretion sent it out of my sight, and therefore out of my remembrance, as a piece of lumber, to the old house. What heightened my ill humor at this discovery was, the consideration that though you were almost within hail, it would not be possible for me to apprise you of my distress in less than eighteen months; and that unless you, or Larkins, had the prudence to suppose that every article of my furniture that could contain anything valuable was worth looking into these would not only be lost, but what would be infinitely worse, fall into strange, and possibly scoundrel, hands. I wrote to you about this foolish business from St. Helena, but to little purpose. Your own good sense and recollection had long before provided my relief, or it is past for ever. I am yet vexed whenever I recur to the subject.

We landed at Plymouth on the 13th of last month, & passed through a Lucnow beat to London, where I passed two most uncomfortable days, by Mrs. Hastings being at Cheltenham. Having performed all the duties of loyalty, respect and civility, I ran away to this place, where I have been since the 5th. We have been drinking the waters ever since, but without any benefit

* Dr. Clement Francis.

hitherto, and rather the reverse, which people say is a sign that they will do us good.

I had an early visit from young Mr. Anstey, who brought me a very polite letter from his father, whom I am anxious to see, as with his aid I may be more successful in a personal application than I have been by letters. The Directors are to a man, friendly to me, and Mr. Smith both obtained the order for publishing the *Gheata* with a very handsome preface, and himself attends to the impression. My friends tell me that I defeated my own recommendations in your favour and Turner's by a subsequent remonstrance against overloading the service with writers and cadets. This checked the zeal, and served as a plea to others; and the next year appointments were made as usual, and mine were forgotten. I fear that in the article of patronage even the most virtuous men of this kingdom want virtue. Nevertheless be you sanguine. I cannot wholly lose my influence; and will not desist from my purpose till I have obtained your appointment with the arrears of time, though you may lose the intermediate advantages of emolument.

Tunbridge 22nd September. The preceding sheet, and if more it is lost, was written long ago under the impulse of recent disappointment and the apprehension of losing the next packet, the dispatch of which was uncertain, to me at least. I have since had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Anstey, and flatter myself that short as our acquaintance yet has been, we shall not meet again as strangers, nor without a mutual welcome. I have received yours by the *Cornwallis*. It is dated the 4th of March, and is the first of yours that I have rec'd. I wished for one by the *Surprise*, and expected one by the *Lord Mansfield*; and I must tell you that I shall feel a repeated and mortifying disappointment by every ship's arrival that does not bring a letter from you. But my greatest disappointment arises from your total silence in that which I have received concerning my bureau. It contained many letters and other papers which I would not for the world have seen by strangers, and some not even by you, implicit as my confidence is in you. There are also some miniature pictures which I should grieve to lose, and trash immeasurable. And why do I tell you this? The life of man will have run out much of its course ere you can avail yourself of this information if you have waited for it; and how can you avail yourself of it. I have letters from Larkins; but these too give me no intimation of what I want.

I have led a most idle life, but not wholly unprofitable, having been allowed to contribute some little good to the Service, which would not have taken place perhaps had I stayed in Bengal. I have not time to detail the particulars, nor am I sure that it would be proper. I am sanguine in the hope that I may be instrumental in undoing the mischiefs created by the last Indian Act. I will try at least, and shall think it the best deed of my life

if I can effect it. Let my friends, but only special friends, know that I have such hopes and such intentions.

How much have I to write, could I indulge my inclination ; but I must be short.

We are both well, but neither very well. Mrs. Hastings always remembers you, and speaks of you with an affection kindred to my own. We are at this time in a community, to which Lord Mansfield's partiality has made it fashionable to regard us with an uncommon degree of attention and respect. Indeed, my dear Thompson, I should wrong your sensibility, were I to conceal from you what would afford it the most pleasing gratification, that I find myself everywhere and universally treated with evidences, apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good opinion of my country. Yet this blessing (for such it is, and I would not forfeit it for Lacks,) is not without its alloy ; since it holds me up an object for public calumny, which I could well support were I the sole object of it. Nor is it malice that assails me. Such is the profligacy of the ruling manners that three are multitudes who get your bread by detraction ; but so little of system is there in this vile science, that even the similitude of character is scarce ever preserved in the features which are held forth to the public in such compositions ; and for the newspapers, even indifferent anecdotes of persons are often published without a spark of truth to justify them.

I am yet unsettled, but am in treaty for an old family estate of no value, which has employed me in a longer negotiation than would have served for the acquisition of a province ; and if I get it, I shall pay almost twice its worth according to the common market.

Your sentiments of the person who is the principal subject of your letter are literally mine, and what is more I hear them from the mouths of all men. Yet, bad as he is—but enough.

I did not tell you that I was early summoned to receive the thanks of the Directors for my services, and the Chairman who read them dwelt with a strong emphasis on the word, unanimously. From the King and Queen my reception was most gracious. The Board of Control has been more than polite to me, for they have quoted me as authority, and so have the Court of Directors both a little more than I like, and in a way that I dislike. Thy friend expected more, but I can almost assure you that I have received the full recompense of all my services, and I am thankful for it ; for the King cannot bestow any honor superior to a good name, and with a larger income I should live what my present will compell me to, retirement. No : I have not said all. Lord Thurlow has been more substantially my friend than King Ministers and Directors.

Tell Wilkins that his *Ghaeta** is printed, presented to the King, and

* English translation of the *Bhagabat Gita* by Sir Charles Wilkins.

published. Mr. Smith inspected the press, and zealously promoted my application for the patronage of the Court of Directors by whose authority it was printed. I have yet but one copy; but I believe the more will be sent for his use. I do not know how the public will relish it. If it is abused, W. has a good shelter by standing behind me.

In the voyage I amused myself in writing a history of the 3 last months of my Government in which I wound up all the preceding years. It has been of signal use, and is in the hands of the two rulers of the two great Indian Boards, *i.e.* Mr. Dundass and Mr. Deearing, who both (and others with them) profess to have derived much instruction from it. I am myself not dissatisfied with it. It will be an antidote against the person of false "*statements*." I wish you could see it.

Don't forget to send a good horse for Mr. Corneille. I promised him that you would. Write to him, and offer your services for other commissions. He is a worthy and most hospitable man.

My Arab arrived in excellent condition, and is wonderfully admired. I ride him in spite of his beauty and long tail, though both valid objections:—for this is a land of ostentation, and therefore every body detests it in others. I give them little cause.

1st.—I must trouble you with a few commissions. All my shawl goats by Carr died in the voyage. Pray get me some, and send one, or at most two, but not more, by every ship that will take them and bespeak an enclosed birth in each for them. Otherwise they will die of ill usage.

and.—Send me some seeds of the lichae. Tie them loosely in a coarse cloth or bag, and give them in charge to some one who will take care of them.

3rd.—Seeds of the cinnamon, in the like package. Both must be suspended so that a little air may get at them.

Turner promised to send me some Bootan turnip seeds and he must assist you with the goats; that is, he must get them.

4th.—Custard apple seeds, from my Allipoor trees, whoever is the proprietor of them.

Adieu.—Yours ever, my dear Thompson, most affectionately.

WARREN HASTINGS.

[Endorsed:—]

Mr. Hastings.

Cheltenham, 21st July

Tunbridge, 22d September } 1785.

Received per Talbot, 29 April 1786.

[To be continued.]

Wellesley's Plan for the Improvement of Indian Agriculture.

THE question of the promotion of agricultural, commercial and technological studies under the auspices of the University has been engaging the serious attention of the Calcutta Senate for some time. A Special Committee appointed by the Senate drew up a definite scheme, however, imperfect, about the beginning of the current year. The scheme has now been accepted by the Senate and it is common knowledge that the Committee's recommendations are before the University Commission whose pronouncement on the subject is being eagerly looked forward to. In view of this it would interest many besides purely technical students interested in the results of historical investigations to know how so far back as 1805, the British Indian administration under the inspiration of that great Proconsul, Wellesley, recognised the need and importance of the development of agriculture in India. The memorable Minute which the Governor-General penned on the subject deserves to be most widely known and a few salient extracts from it are here reproduced. We read in the Minute—

Upon the first improvement of the grounds at Baruckpore, it was in the contemplation of the Governor-General to combine with the arrangements then adopted at his recommendation, the establishment of an institution calculated to effect the gradual improvement of the agriculture of India, and to meliorate the general condition of our native subjects in these extensive and populous provinces.

To a cursory observer, the extensive and highly cultivated plains which are to be seen in every part of Bengal, suggest an opinion that the utmost abundance everywhere prevails, and that nothing remains to be accomplished to assist the fertility of the soil, or to augment the comforts of the people. On a more accurate investigation, however, it will be found that the great mass of the people who are employed in agriculture (and especially the day-labourers) are in a state of comparative indigence.

The poverty of the lower classes of our native subjects must in some measure be ascribed to the improvement policy of the landholders, in generally renting their lands on short leases at the highest rent which can be obtained, and to the long established practice among the Hindoos of every description, of lavishing all the wealth which they can amass in expensive religious ceremonies, at the marriages of their children, and for the maintenance and support of religious mendicants, and other idle retainers.

It is, however, an unquestionable fact, that the produce of the soil is infinitely below what it is capable of yielding under proper management, and that the resources and comforts of the people might be much improved, if they were instructed in the best means of converting its natural fertility to the utmost advantage.

Under the present system of Indian agriculture, with the advantage of a soil of uncommon fertility, and of a climate which yields a crop of some description at every season, the industry of a single ploughman, however, exerted, is insufficient to enable him to cultivate a greater extent of land within the year than seven acres, and the expense of separating the rice from the husk for culinary purposes, after the grain is reaped, cannot be estimated at a sum inferior to one-fifth part of the value of the grain; whilst a similar operation can be performed in England, and in other European countries, at an expense not exceeding one-fortieth part of the value of the crop.

Similar defects pervade every branch of Indian agriculture, and in no instances are their injurious consequences more manifestly exemplified, than in the general state of the cattle employed in the labours of the field within these provinces. A breed of strong and powerful black cattle is to be found in very few situations producing good pasture throughout the year; but the weak and inefficient condition of the cattle generally employed for agricultural and other purposes, as well in Bengal as in the Upper Provinces, cannot have escaped the notice of the most inattentive observer.

The advantages which would accrue from an improvement of the breed of cattle are great and important; but this desirable object can only be accomplished by the introduction of a more perfect system of husbandry, where the skilful application of art shall be employed to provide suitable nourishment for the cattle at those seasons when the pasturage is almost universally destroyed by the parching heat of the sun.

The Permanent Settlement of the Revenues, in the Lower Provinces, by insuring to the landholder the enjoyment of all the advantages which may arise from the improvement of his property, has contributed essentially to the encouragement of agriculture; under the present defective system of husbandry, however, the large proportion which the rent, payable to the State, bears to the value of the produce of the soil, operates, in a certain degree, as a check to the employment of the capital of the landholder in the improvement of his property; and this obstacle is only to be removed by the introduction of a system, calculated, at the same time, to augment the produce of the land, and to diminish the expense of preparing the grain for general use.

In the opinion of intelligent European gentlemen, conversant with the subject, the profits of the landholder might be augmented in a considerable

proportion by the introduction of many simple improvements in the implements of agriculture, and in machinery now in general use throughout Europe; by these means the property of a large proportion of our native subjects would be increased, and gradually the comforts of affluence would be more generally diffused through the mass of the people.

Independently of the moral duty imposed on the British Government to provide, by every means in its power, for the improvement of the condition of its subjects substantial advantages must necessarily be derived by the State from the increased wealth and prosperity of the people. The consumption of all articles of comfort and of luxury would increase with augmented wealth, and the Government would be enriched by the additional produce of the taxes on those articles, without imposing any burden on the people.

Adverting to the genius and habits of the natives of India, it cannot be expected that any attempts will ever be made by them to improve the system of agriculture, practised for ages by their successors, unless the example shall be given to them by the Government, and unless the personal advantages to be derived from such improvements as shall be clearly manifested to them.

Under these considerations, the Governor-General is satisfied that the establishment of an experimental farm, under proper regulations, in Bengal, would be an object of great public utility; and he is persuaded that the expense of such an institution would not prove considerable. The object of the establishment ought to be, as already stated, the improvement of the breed of black cattle, the introduction of a better system of agriculture than the system now in general use in these territories and the reduction of the expense of preparing the grain for consumption, by the use of machinery, or by the other means.

The quantity of land required for the proposed farm would not exceed three hundred acres or nine hundred *begas*, and the establishment could not be founded in any situation so desirable, on many considerations, as at Baruckpore; and, at that place, manure might be obtained at little expense, and the greater part of the grounds at Baruckpore might be employed as pasture ground for the cattle. The business of the farm would there be conducted under the occasional inspection of the Governor-General, whose influence might be employed with great advantage to explain the benefits of the plan to the natives of rank and property, and to induce them to introduce, on their own estates, such improvements as might be found to be useful at Baruckpore.

To superintend the proposed farm with advantage, the assistance of an European Overseer of experienced knowledge in the practice and theory of agriculture, and of an ingenious European Mechanic and Civil Engineer,

would be absolutely and indispensably necessary. These persons ought also to be men of some education, capable of applying the general knowledge they shall have acquired, to the circumstances of a country differing so materially from England in soil, in climate, and in its natural productions; and of explaining, in clear and intelligible language, to be translated for the use of the natives, the principles on which their system of management may be founded, and the prospect of ultimate success.

It would likewise become a part of the duty of the Superintendent or Overseer, to correspond on agricultural subjects with intelligent European gentlemen, residing in every part of India, by which means a knowledge of the practice of agriculture, in its various branches, as established with success in any one province, might be disseminated and tried by actual experiment throughout the British possessions. In this manner the drill husbandry, now practised with advantage in the centre of the Deccan, might be extended to many parts of Bengal; means might be devised to instruct the inhabitants in the preservation of hay, for the use of the cattle, at the season when little or no herbage is to be found and many other useful improvements might be introduced.

Amongst these it has been suggested, that the cultivation of the turnip might be introduced with considerable advantage, for the purpose of feeding cattle at that season of the year, when the deficiency of the articles of food for cattle, now in common use, is most severely felt.

When a sufficient number of intelligent and industrious natives shall have been instructed in the improved system of agriculture, to be introduced at the experimental farm at Baruckpore, they may be dispersed throughout the country, for the purpose of disseminating a knowledge of its advantages; and other establishments may be formed in the distant provinces, as circumstances shall indicate the propriety of the measure, on principles corresponding with those of the proposed establishment at Baruckpore.

J. N. DAS GUPTA

Wellesley's Scheme for the improvement of Calcutta.

IN these days when town improvement schemes loom large before the public mind, it would interest many to learn that, so far back as June 1803, the then Governor-General of India, Marquess Wellesley, appointed a Special Committee to consider the question of the improvement of the town of Calcutta and invited attention to certain very definite points conducive to the health and happiness of the inhabitants of the town—European as well as non-European. The Minute, which the Governor-General drew up in this connection and which sets forth the outlines of a well-thought out scheme, enables us to judge in some measure what British India owes to the administrative genius of a much-maligned Pro-consul. The Minute states:—

“The increasing extent and population of Calcutta, the capital of the British empire in India, and the seat of the supreme authority, require the serious attention of Government. It is now become absolutely necessary to provide permanent means of promoting the health, the comfort, and the convenience of the numerous inhabitants of this great town.

“The construction of the public drains and water-courses of the town is extremely defective. The drains and water-courses in their present state neither answer the purpose of cleansing the town, nor of discharging the annual inundations occasioned by the rise of the river, or by the excessive fall of rain during the south-west monsoon. During the last week a great part of this town has remained under water, and the drains have been so offensive, that unless early measures be adopted for the purpose of improving their construction, the health of the inhabitants of Calcutta, both European and native, must be seriously affected.

“The defects of the climate of Calcutta, during the latter part of the rainy season, may indeed be ascribed in a great measure to the state of the drains and water-courses, and to the stagnate water remaining in the town and its vicinity.

“The health of the town would certainly be considerably improved by an improvement of the mode of draining and cleansing the streets, roads, and esplanade. An opinion is generally entertained, that an original error has been committed in draining the town towards the river Hooghly; and it is believed that the level of the country inclines towards the salt-water lake, and consequently that the principal channel of the public drains and water-courses ought to be conducted in that direction.

"Experience has manifested that during the rainy season, when the river has attained its utmost height, the present drains become useless. At that season, the rain continues to stagnate for many weeks in every part of the town, and the result necessarily endangers the lives of all Europeans residing in the town, and greatly affects our native subjects.

"Other points connected with the preservation of the health of the inhabitants of this capital appear also to require immediate notice. No general regulations at present exist with respect to the situation of the public markets, or of the places appropriated to the slaughter of cattle, the exposure of meat, or of the burial of the dead; places destined to these purposes must necessarily increase in number with the increasing population of Calcutta. They must be nuisances wherever they may be situated, and it becomes an important branch of the police to confine all such nuisances to the situations wherein they may prove least injurious, and least offensive. It must however have been generally remarked, that places of burial have been established in situations wherein they must prove both injurious and offensive; and bazars, slaughter-houses, and markets of meat, now exist in the most frequented parts of the town.

"In those quarters of the town occupied principally by the native inhabitants, the houses have been built without order or regularity, and the streets and lanes have been formed without attention to the health, convenience, or safety of the inhabitants. The frequency of fires (by which many valuable lives have been annually lost, and property to a great extent has been destroyed) must be chiefly ascribed to this cause.

"It is a primary duty of Government to provide for the health, safety and convenience of the inhabitants of this great town, by establishing a comprehensive system for the improvement of the roads, streets, public drains, and water-courses; and by fixing permanent rules for the construction and distribution of the houses and public edifices, and for the regulation of nuisances of every description.

"The appearance and beauty of the town are inseparably connected with the health, safety and convenience of the inhabitants, and every improvement which shall introduce a greater degree of order, symmetry, and magnificence in the streets, roads, ghauts, and wharfs, public edifices and private habitations, will tend to meliorate the climate, and to secure and promote every object of a just and salutary system of police.

* * * *

The Minute then gives us the names of the gentlemen whom the Governor-General appointed to consider and report to His Excellency in Council the means of improving the town of Calcutta.

The Governor-General proposes further that the following special instructions be issued to the Committee :—

1. To take the level of the town of Calcutta and the adjacent country, and ascertain and report what alteration may be necessary in the direction of the public drains and water-courses.
2. To examine the relative level of the river during the rainy season, compared with the level of the drains and water-courses.
3. To suggest what description of drains and water-courses may be best calculated, (1) To prevent the stagnation of rain water in Calcutta, and the vicinity thereof; and (2) To cleanse the town.
4. To consider and report what establishment may be necessary for cleansing the drains and water-courses, and for keeping them in constant repair.
5. To take into consideration the present state of all places of interment in the vicinity of Calcutta, and to propose an arrangement for the future regulation of those places, in such manner as shall appear to be best calculated for the preservation of the health of the inhabitants of Calcutta and its vicinity.
6. To examine the present state and condition of the bazars, and markets for meat, and of the slaughter-houses in Calcutta; and to propose such rules and orders as shall appear to the committee to be proper for the regulation of those already established for the removal of such as may have actually become nuisances, and for the establishment of new markets or slaughter-houses hereafter.
7. To enquire into all existing nuisances in the town and vicinity of Calcutta, and to propose the means of removing them.
8. To examine and report for the consideration of Government the situations best calculated for opening streets and roads, leading from east to west, from the new Circular Road to Chowringhee, and to the river; and from north to south, in a direction nearly parallel with the new road.
9. To suggest such other plans and regulations as shall appear to the committee to be calculated to promote the health, convenience, and comfort of the inhabitants of Calcutta; and to improve the appearance of the town and its vicinity.
10. To form and submit to the Governor-General in Council an estimate of the expense required to complete all such improvements as may be proposed by the committee."

The picture of Calcutta during the rains in the opening years of the 19th century as presented in Wellesley's Minute naturally invites a comparison between the town then and now, and is suggestive of varied reflections to contemporary observer.

J. N. DAS GUPTA.

Materials for a History of Calcutta Streets and Houses—IV.

THE following extracts from the Proceedings of the Board of Inspection have been most kindly furnished by Mr. William Foster, C. I. E. The Old Council House referred to in No. 1, is probably the "cutcha building" placed on sale in 1773. See *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 519. For house "belonging to Mahomed Reza Caun," see *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176—77. The house described in No. 11 as "the property of the estate of the late Colonel Fortnom" at the present day forms part of Messrs. Burn & Co.'s place of business in Hastings Street.

W. K. FIRMINGER.

No. 1.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Inspection, the 9th February, 1775. (I. O. Records: Home Miscell., Vol. 357.)

THE Governor-General delivers in the following minute.

.....On his accession to the Government he was accommodated in the present Council House, which was entirely occupied by him for a dwelling, and the offices of Government were then kept in the old Council House, since fallen to ruins. It was soon after this that the offices were removed to the house belonging to Mr. Keir, which was rented for the Company at the rate of 1,000 rupees per month. This house proved both inconvenient and insufficient for the purposes required, and at last the Governor-General, for the convenience of publick business, gave up his house, the present Council House, to the offices, and rented for himself the house where he now resides, belonging to Mahomed Reza Cawn, for which the Company pay the same rent (1,000 Rs. per mo.) which they gave for Mr. Keir's house. By this arrangement the Council, the Select Committee, the Secretary, Accountant, and Persian Translator were all provided with ample offices and accommodations for the business of each department, and the Governor alone felt himself retrenched in the accommodations which either the convenience of his family or his business required. On receipt of the instructions of 29th March, which also allotted one of the Company's country houses for the use of the Governor-General, the Company were possessed of none such. These

houses had been all disposed off at public sale about a year before, for reasons which appear on the Minutes of the Board of Inspection. The Governor-General, however, willing to avail himself of an indulgence which, in the manner in which it was bestow'd, he regarded as a particular mark of favour, endeavoured to secure a country house for his use, which would be suitable to his convenience and to the dignity of the first officer of the Company's Government in India. For this reason he purchased the house occupied by his predecessors Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier, called *Belvidere*, for the sum of 60,000 sicca rupees, and is in actual possession of it. But he does not wish to bring the Company under any engagements respecting it till their positive directions on this head shall be receiv'd; and in the mean time he proposes that the Board should only allow him a yearly rent for this house, equal to the common interest (10 per cent.) of the purchase money.....

The Board agree to the request of the Governor-General.....and that the allowance do commence from the beginning of this establishment.

No. 2.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Inspection at Fort William in Bengal the 17th June 1779. (J. O. Records: Home Miscell., Vol. 357.)

GOVERNOR-GENERAL,

I am sorry to take up more of the time of the Board on a subject of a private and personal nature; but having prepared the following Minute to be presented to the Board in this department, I must beg leave to introduce it.

Fort William, 16th June, 1779.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL,

Among the economical regulations which were made soon after my accession to this Government, I relinquished the use of the Council House, which had been the habitation of former Governors, for the purpose of facilitating the public business by allotting the apartments to the offices and officers dependent on the Council.

The reluctance which I feel at increasing the public expenses for my personal convenience has made me thus long submit to reside in a house which is much too small for the accommodation of my family and for transacting my business, to both which purposes I have been obliged to apply it, although it is hardly sufficient for the latter. When the Company were pleased to allow me the use of a house in town and another in the country, they doubtless intended that they should be in every respect suitable to the station of their Chief Magistrate. I have put them to no greater expense in

these articles than *1,500 rupees per month. The inconveniences which I have hitherto suffered in so circumscribed a habitation as my house in town are now become intolerable by the increase in the number of my family and the necessity of their residing at Calcutta during the rainy season. I believe the Board will rather be surprized that I have so long endured these inconveniences than that I now apply to them for relief; and in this opinion I am induced to propose that the house, the property of the estate of the late Colonel Fortnom, be taken for the Company on a lease of one year to commence from the 1st of July at the rent of 1,200 sicca rupees per month for the accommodation of the Governor-General or for such other public purpose as may hereafter be thought proper, if it should not suit the person who may in future fill that office.

W. H.

(The Board agreed.)

• [Marginal Note.] 15 x 12 = £180 = £2250 per annum.

Early History of Bengal—V.

ON Nāyapāla's death, his son, Vīgrahapāla 111, came to the throne. Although we have no clear account of the events of his reign, there are certain indications pointing to a probability that it was marked by the beginning of that permanent invasion of Bengal from the southwest, which ultimately led to the downfall of the Pāla dynasty, and the establishment in their place of that of the Senas.

In the commentary of the *Rāma Carita*, a versified chronicle of the career of Vīgrahapāla's son, Rāmapāla, to which I will refer again later on, there is a passage indicating that Vīgrahapāla went to war with one Karna, ruler of Dāhala, and defeated him, but subsequently made peace with him, and married his daughter, whose name was Yauvanasri. It seems clear that the Karna here referred to is the celebrated king of the Kalacuri dynasty, who bore that name. Dāhala was the name of the western portion of the Cedi country, with its capital at Tripuri, now Tevar, near Jabalpur, which was the original headquarters of the Kalacuri clan. The eastern Cedi territory was called Mahākosala, the chief town of which was Ratanpur. It comprised the valley of the Mahanadi River; and was roughly equivalent to the modern Chhattisgarh division of the Central Provinces. At the beginning of the 11th century Dāhala and Mahākosala formed two distinct kingdoms, but the paramount Cedi state was, evidently, that of Dāhala. Then, in a work entitled *Vikramānka devacarita*, a biography of Vikramāditya VI, or Vikramānka, of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalyāni, written by Vihlana, who was employed as Vidyapati, or chief pandit, at his court, it is stated that Somesvara I, Vikramānka's father, defeated Karna, and that Vikramānka captured in war the victory elephants of Gauḍa and destroyed the farspread power of the lord of Kamrup. In this work, Vikramānka is described as "Karnātendu," or moon of Karnāta, and Kahlana, the author of the well known versified chronicle of Kashmir entitled *Rajatarangini*, who gives a brief account of Vihlana's career, refers to Vikramānka as "Karnāta." Karnāta is, of course, that ancient name of part of what is now the Madras Presidency, the English form of which, "the Carnatic," is familiar to students of the British period of Indian history.

Now, there are some indications that the Sena family, who subsequently possessed themselves of the throne of Gauḍa, originally came to Bengal in the train of some invading chief of the Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāni, and settled in the Rāḍa country, as feudatories of that dynasty.

In an inscription of Vijayasena, the first of the Sena kings, on the Pradyumnesvara temple at Devapāda in the Rajshāhi district, it is stated that Vijaya's grandfather, Samanta Sena, destroyed the enemies of Karnāta, and, at the end of his life, visited the holy places on the banks of the Ganges.

Again in a copper-plate grant of Vijaya Sena's son, Vallālasena, found at Sitabati near Katwa, in the Burdwan district, it is said that "from the moon-race many princes took their birth, who adorned the country of Rāḍa by their valour and virtues," and the victorious Sāmantasena sprang from that race. And the Madhainagar copper-plate grant of Lakshmanasena, the last Sena King of Bengal, refers to Sāmantasena as descended from a "Karnāta-Kshatriya" family of princes.

It is necessary here to take up again the thread of political events outside Bengal from the close of the reign of Mahipala I. We have seen that, by the end of the tenth century A. D., the Pratihāras of Kanauj, the traditional rivals and enemies of the Palas of Gauḍa, had been supplanted by the Chandelas, who, starting in Jejakabhuku, the modern Bandalkhand, had gradually established a powerful kingdom. At the beginning of the 11th century, the Chandelas came into collision with the Mahomedans, who were invading India from the north-west, and sustained some serious defeats. In the first part of the same century the Kālacuris of Cedi, under their kings, Gangeya, and his son, Karna, rose to power, extending their territory, probably at the expense of the Chandelas and Pratihāras. It seems that the pressure exercised by the Mahomedans on the Chandelas and Pratihāras may have favoured the ambitions of Gangeya and Karna, as well as of Mahipala of Gauḍa. Karna was, evidently, an energetic and aggressive potentate and seems to have been a bad neighbour. Although, as we have seen, the Kalacuris of Cedi had become connected by marriage with the Palas of Gauḍa at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, Vighrahapāla I, or Surapāla, of Gauḍa having married a Kalacuri princess named Lajjadevi, we find that Karna went to war with Nayapāla of Gauḍa at the beginning of the latter's reign. That quarrel was settled through the mediation of the great Atisa, but, after Nayapāla's death, hostilities again broke out between Karna and Nayapāla's successor, Vighrahapāla III. In the commentary of the Rāmacarita, as I have said, it is claimed that Vighrahapāla defeated Karna, and then made peace with him, and married his daughter. Very probably, there was an alliance between Karna and Vighrahapāla, which brought the latter into collision with the Chālukyas of Kalyani.

That dynasty, as I mentioned in my last paper, had risen to power in the Deccan at the end of the tenth century, under king Taila or Tailapa II, who defeated Kakka II, the last of the Rashtrakūṭa kings, in the year 973.

A. D. Shortly afterwards, the Chālukya territory was invaded and overrun by the Chola king, Rājārāja, but in 1052 or 1053 A. B., the Chālukyas under Someswara I. fought a great battle against the Cholas at Koppam on the Tungabhadra river, in which Rājādhirāja Chola, grandson of Rājārāja, and son of the Rājendra Chola, who invaded Bengal, was killed. As the result of this battle, the Tungabhadra became the boundary between the Chālukya and Chola kingdoms. Someswara was, perhaps, the greatest king of the Chālukya line, and he was the founder of the city of Kalyāni, which became the capital of the dynasty.

It was natural that, as the power of the Chālukyas in the Deccan extended, they should come into collision with the ambitious king of Cedi to the east of them, and, as we have seen, it is claimed in the *Vikramānka-devacarita* that Someswara defeated Karna.

About this time, Karna seems to have suffered a series of reverses. He appears to have been defeated by the Chandelas under Kirtivarman, by Udayāditya of Malwa, and by Bhimadeva I. of Anhilwāra, as well as by Vīgrahapāla III. of Gauda. With reference to these names, it may be mentioned that Kirtivarman Chandel, who reigned from 1049 to 1100 A. D., appears to have succeeded to a great extent in restoring the fortunes of his line, which had been so greatly impaired owing to the attacks of the Mahomedan invaders.

Udayāditya was the representative of the Paramāra or Pawar dynasty of Malwa, founded early in the ninth century by a chief named Upendra or Krishnarāja. Their kingdom, also known as Avanti and Ujjain, was at one time celebrated for the cultivation of Sanskrit literature, arts and sciences.

Anhilwāra was a kingdom in Gujarat founded in 961 A. D. by a prince of Chālukya race named Mularāja.

The Chālukya king Someswara I. died in 1068 A. D.—it is said that, being attacked with an incurable disease, he committed suicide by drowning himself in the Tungabhadra river,—and was succeeded by his son, Someswara II, who, however, after a short reign of eight years, was deposed and supplanted by his brother, Vikramāditya VI. or Vikramanka. This king is reported to have captured the town of Kanchi, and he evidently established his sway over the Karnāta country to a sufficient extent to give him a claim to the appellation Karnātendu. During his reign, the celebrated jurist, Vijnānesvara, the author of the *Mitākshara*, lived at the Chālukya capital, Kalyāni.

The passage in the *Vikramānka-devacarita*, which I have quoted above, indicates that hostilities occurred between Vikramanka Chālukya and Vīgrahapāla III of Gauda. This may or may not have been the consequence of an alliance concluded between Vīgrahapāla and Karna Kālacuri, the

enemy of Vikramanka's father Somesvara I. and may probably have resulted in the establishment of the Senas in the Rāḍa country as feudatories of ten Chalukyas.

The passage referred to couples the defeat of Gauḍa by Vikramāṅka with a victory said to have been gained by him over the power of Kamrup.

Now there is a copper-plate grant of a king named Bhojavarma, found at the village of Belāva in the Mahesvari pargana in Rupganj thana, in the Narayanganj Sub-division of the Dacca district, in which it is stated that Bhojavarma's grandfather, Jātavarma, conquered Kamrup, and married Virāsri, daughter of Karna. If this was Karna Kalacuri of Cedi, then Vīgrahapāla III. of Gauḍa and Jātavarma were brothers-in-law, having married two daughters of Karna, Yauvanasri and Virāsri, respectively. If it be true that Jātavarma made himself master of Kamrup, the passage in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita above mentioned may indicate that an alliance was formed between Karna, Vīgrahpala III. and Jātavarma, and that Vikramāṅka came into collision with the combined forces of all three.

According to the Belāva grant, the dynasty, to which Bhojavarma belonged, was descended from the race of Yādu, from which Krishna sprang, and was established at a place called Sinhapura, which the learned editor of the grant, my friend Babu Radha Govinda Basak, of Rajshahi college, holds, with great apparent probability, to be identical with the Sinhapura, in the Rāḍa country of Bengal, from whence, as appears from ancient chronicles and inscriptions of Ceylon, came chiefs, who ruled in that island at different periods of its history. This ancient connection between Bengal and Ceylon is a subject of great interest, which demands further notice. According to the tradition current in Ceylon, and enshrined in such chronicles of that country as the Mahāvamsa, the Dipavansa and the Rajawaliya, the first immigration of colonists from India to Ceylon was led by a prince named, Wijaya, whose father Sinhabāhu was king of the country of Lāla or Rāḍa and had as his capital the town of Sihapura or Sinhapura, said to have been founded by him.

Sinhabāhu or Sinhabāhu is said to have been the grandson of a king of Wango or Vanga, who married a daughter of the king of Kalinga. The story of Wijaya's birth, his banishment from his father's kingdom, and arrival in Ceylon, is purely fabulous, but the references in the legend to Vanga, Kalinga, and Sinhapura, have a significance, in view of later historical evidence. According to the legend, Wijaya and other descendants of Sinhabāhu were given the name Sihālā, or Sīnhalā, which is also the modern name of the island of Ceylon, from Sinhabāhu having slain a lion, who was actually his own father. It is also said that Wijaya and his followers, when they first landed in Ceylon, being much exhausted with seasickness, rested

with the palms of their hands pressed on the ground, and that they were given the name "Tāmbapaniya" or "copper-palmed" from their palms having been stained with the colour of the soil. Hence the name *Tāmbapāṇi* (*Tāmrāṇi*), which was applied in ancient times to Ceylon. Coming to a later period, it is stated in the 59th chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* that *Tīlakasundari*, a queen of *Vijayabāhu I*, who is reported to have reigned from A. D. 1054 to 1109, so that he may probably have been a contemporary of *Vijrahapāla III*, of *Gauḍa*, was a prince of *Kalinga*, and that three relatives of his, one of whom was named *Madhukannava*, came to Ceylon from *Sīhapura*. In certain copper-plate grants of the *Ganga* dynasty of *Kalinga* there is mention of a king of that dynasty named *Madhukāmarnava*, and it might be surmised that *Madhukannava* in the *Mahāvamsa* is the Pali rendering of the same name, but the date of *Madhukāmarnava* of the *Ganga* dynasty, as deducible from the grants, is somewhat earlier than that of *Vijayabāhu I* of Ceylon. Then there have been found in Ceylon a series of inscriptions of a king named *Nisanka Malla*, and his brother, *Sahasamalla*, who succeeded him in the year 1200 A. D., both of whom came from *Sīhapura*. In *Nissanka Malla's* inscriptions he is described as belonging to the royal line of *Ikshvāku*, and the dynasty of *Kalinga*, and as being a descendant of king *Wijaya*, and in one of them, found at *Galpota*, near *Thuparama*, he is described as the son of the *Kalinga* king, *Jaya Goparāja* of *Sīhapura*, by queen *Parvati*; in another, found at *Anuradhapura*, he is said to have been born at *Sīhapura*. *Sahasamalla's* inscription at *Polonnaruwa* sets forth that he was descended from the unbroken line of *Kalinga* emperors, belonging to the glorious *Ikshvāku* family, and was the son of *Sri Goparāja*, by his queen *Bahidālaka*, and was born at *Sīhapura*; that, on the death of his brother, king *Nissanka Malla*, by the advice of the chief minister of the State, who observed that because king *Wijaya*, having destroyed the *Yakshas*, established *Lanka*, like a field made by rooting out the stumps, it was a place much protected by *Wijaya's* family, a chief named *Mallikarpura* was sent to *Kalinga*, and invited *Sahasamalla* to accept the throne, and that, on this invitation, *Sahasamalla* came to Ceylon, and established himself there as king, after overcoming the opposition raised by certain bad counsellors.

Then, we have two copper-plate grants of kings of *Kalinga* named *Chandravarma* and *Umavarma* respectively, which purport to have been issued from *Sīhapura*. Of these, the grant by king *Chandravarma* was found in village named *Komarti* in the *Ganjam* district; that of *Umavarma* is said to have been obtained from a smith in the *Palakonda* taluka of *Vizagapatam*, but the place where it was originally found does not seem to have been recorded. These grants are undated. There are several other grants of a dynasty of kings of *Kalinga*, with names ending in "varma,"

known as the eastern Ganga dynasty, the dates of which have not, so far as I know, been exactly fixed.

We have, thus, on the one hand, the half fabulous tradition current in Ceylon of the conquest or colonisation of that island by a king named Vijaya, who came from a place called Sinhapura in the Rāḍa Country in Bengal, and the names of Wango or Vanga and Kalinga handed down in the legend,—Wango the state ruled over by Wijaya's grandfather, and Kalinga the country from which his great grandmother came. Then we have later historical and reliable evidence of a succession of princes belonging to the royal family of Kalinga, which had its capital at Sinhapura, having ruled in Ceylon, and, lastly, there are two copper-plate grants issued from Sinhapura by kings of Kalinga with names ending in varma. From all this evidence it seems to me most probable that the Sinhapura mentioned in the Belāva grant of Bhojavarma, was the place in Rāḍa, where a dynasty of kings of Kalinga, from whose family were taken several ruling chiefs of Ceylon, had their capital, and that Bhojavarma belonged to the same family. In the Belāva grant, there is a passage, unfortunately mutilated, which contains the word "lankādhīpah," and may refer to a claim possessed by Bhojavarma himself to a suzerainty over Ceylon.

Babu Rākhāldās Bannerji suggests that Bhojavarma of the Belāva grant may have been a scion of the Yādava dynasty, which as we know from Yuan Chwang's memoirs, was reigning at a place called Sinhapura in the Panjāb in the seventh century A.D. This, however, seems to be mere conjecture and, if it be correct, it is not explained how the family found its way from the Panjāb to Bengal. The exact site of Sinhapura in Rāḍa has not, so far as I know, been identified, but we may suppose it to have been somewhere in south-west Bengal, close to the border of Orissa, or Kalinga. Part of Rāḍa may at one time have been included in the Kalinga empire.

Jātavarma referred to in the Belāva grant was Vajravarma's son, and the grant sets forth that he not only conquered Kāmrup, but also established his power in Anga, or south-eastern Bihar, and defeated persons named Dībya and Govardhana. It is not known who this Govardhana was, but it appears from the Rāmacarita of Sandhyākara Nandī that Dībya or Dīboka was the leader of the Kaivartas in northern Bengal, whom, in the time of the next Pāla king, Mahipāla II, we shall see revolting, and establishing themselves as an independent power. It may be inferred from the Belāva grant that Jātavarma survived Vīgrahapāla III, and co-operated with his successor, Mahipāla II in opposing the Kaivarta chief. The grant shews that Jātavarma was succeeded by his son, Syāmalavarma, whose son was the donor, Bhojavarma.

I am tempted to say a little more about this grant, because it is very

important; it has been carefully edited by Babu Rādha Govinda Basak; and it is a good specimen of a land grant of the period, to which it belongs.

The grant begins, as usual, with an account of the ancestry of the donor, king Bhojavarma, and proceeds:—

"Now, from his royal camp of victory established at Vikramapura, the glorious Bhoja, who meditated at the feet of Maharājādhirāja Syāmala-varmadeva—that is, his father—pays respects to, informs, and instructs (Vinayati bodhāyati samadīsatīca).

Then are set forth the different categories of persons to whom the grant is addressed. They are, first, the members of the royal family, described as Rājans, Rājanyakas, rājñi (queens) rānakas, rājputras. Next follows a list of numerous officials, and official classes, some of whom may be readily recognised by their titles, while the functions of others have not, so far, been determined. They are as follow:—

- (1) *Rājāmātya*, Prime Minister.
- (2) *Purohita*. Priest, presumably, to the royal family.
- (3) *Pithikavitta*, uncertain.
- (4) *Mahādharmaśākhya*, chief Justice.
- (5) *Mahāsandhivigrahika*, Minister of peace and war,—perhaps foreign minister.
- (6) *Mahāsenapati*, Commander-in-chief.
- (7) *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*, keeper of the royal seal.
- (8) *Antarangaśrīmaduparika*, chief privy-councillor.
- (9) *Mahākṣapatalika*, Keeper of the records.
- (10) *Mahapratihara*, translated as "chief warder"—meaning uncertain.
- (11) *Mahābhogika*, translated as "chief groom"—meaning uncertain.
- (12) *Mahāvryuhapati*, Commander of an army—a *vryuha* was a complete army of all four arms, *viz.* horse, foot, elephants and chariots.
- (13) *Mahāpīlupati*, chief elephant keeper.
- (14) *Mahagunastha*, commander of a *guna* consisting of 27 elephants, 27 chariots, 81 horsemen, and 135 foot-soldiers.
- (15) *Daussādika*, Superintendent of villages.
- (16) *Chauroddharanika*, thief catcher.
- (17) Inspector of the fleet (*naubala*).
- (18) Inspector of elephants, horses, cattle buffaloes, goats, sheep.
- (19) *Gaulmika*, commander of a *gulma*, consisting of 9 elephants, 9 chariots, 27 horsemen, and 45 foot soldiers, or one-third of a *guna*.
- (20) *Dandapāśikās*, police officers, or, possibly, executioners.
- (21) *Dandanāyakas*, Magistrates.
- (22) *Visayapatis*, officers in charge of a *Visaya* or district, the territorial division next in size below a *bhukti*.

- (23) All other dependants of the king (*rājapādopajivinah*) mentioned in the official list (*adhyaksha pracara*), but not specified (*akirtita*) in the grant.

After these officials, are mentioned, as people to whom the announcement of the grant is addressed, those of the races (or castes) of *chatta* and *bhatta*, the citizens and the cultivators, the Brahmans, and the Brahman elders.

I have not met with any clear explanation of the names *chatta*, (or, as it appears, in some other grants, *chāta*), and *bhatta* or *bhāta*. In other grants, we find these names preceded by other names of races or tribes, some of which are familiar, while others, so far as I know, have not been identified, and followed by the word "*sevakādin*" or "*servants*." Thus, in the Bhagalpur grant of *Narāyanapāla* we have "*gaṇḍa-mālava-Khasa-huna-kulika-karnāta-lāta-chāta-bhāta-sevakadin*", meaning, apparently, servants of the king belonging to the races of *Gaṇḍa*, etc." Here, *Gaṇḍa* evidently means people of *Gaṇḍa*, *Mālava* those of *Malwa*, *Huna* would be *Huns*, *Karnāta* people of the *Carnatic*, and *Lāta* people of the country of *Lāta*—the present *Gujarat*.

Khasa is the name of a race or caste described by *Manu* as descended from a *vrātyakshatriya*, but who they were exactly, or where they were found, does not seem to be known. The ordinary meaning of *bhāta* is a mercenary soldier, or servant, but the word appears also in *sanskrit* literature as the name of a race or tribe, the origin of which has not been traced, *Kulika* has not been interpreted, so far as I know.

Again, in the part of the grants specifying the privileges and immunities attaching to them, we find the expression "*achātābhatta-pravesha*," apparently, meaning "not to be entered by *Chātas* or *Bhattas*."

Perhaps we may infer that the ancient kings of *Bengal* had in their service a number of officials drawn from different parts of *India*, that some kind of inferior services, such as collection of taxes, police duties, or the like were performed by people of the *Chāta* and *Bhatta* races or castes, and that the exemption of land from the visits of such officials was a privilege, but the matter is quite uncertain.

Lastly the announcement is addressed to the citizens or subjects of the state, generally (*jana-pādāh*), the cultivators (*Kshetrakarāh*), the Brahmans and the Brahman elders (*Brahmanottarāh*).

This introduction ends with the words "*matam astu bhavatām*," which may be translated, "may it please you."

Then comes the specification of the land granted. It is situate in the village of *Upyālika*, in the *Khandala* of *Kausambi-ashtagachcha* belonging to the *Adhahpattana mandala* of *Paundra bhukti*.

I have mentioned before that, in ancient *Bengal*, as appears from all the

land grants of the Pāla kings, the country was parcelled out in large territorial division called *bhukti* and these again in sub-divisions, *visayas* or districts, *mandalas* or circles of villages, and *grāmas* or villages, each *bhukti* comprising so many *visayas*, each *visaya* so many *mandalas* and each *mandala* so many *grāmas*.

A similar system of territorial organisation obtained in other parts of India, as appears from land-grants of different dynasties. In the grant now under consideration, there is no mention of the *visaya*, although we have *visayapati* in the list of officials, to whom the grant is addressed.

On the otherhand, we have here a new sub-divison, the *Khandala*, smaller than the *Mandala*, and between it and the village. It is not known whether the name of the *bhukti*, Paundra, is connected with that of Paundravardhanabhukti mentioned in other grants of Pāla kings of Bengal. In the seventh century (A.D.), as we learn from the record of the travels of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, Paundravardhana was the name of a city in Bengal, the capital of a feudatory kingdom of the same name included in the dominions of the Emperor, Harsha, by whom Yuan Chwang was entertained.

There have been different conjectures as to the site of Paundravardhana, but, from Yuan Chwang's description, it seems most probable that it may have been at the place now known as Mahāsthān, near Bogra, where remains of an ancient fortress and city may be seen. From this indication we may infer that the Paundravardhanabhukti of the Pāla grants was a territory in north-eastern Bengal. The Paundrabhukti of the grant now under consideration may have been the same territory.

After this statement of the situation of the grant, comes the statement of its area, which was one *pālaka* and nine-and-a-quarter *dronas*, the *pālaka* and *drona* being measures of area then in use.

In this grant there is no statement of boundaries, such as is found in other ancient land grants. The incidents and conditions are set forth *seriatim* as below:—

- (1) *Trinaputigochara paryanta*.—Babu Radhagovinda Basak translates this, "including grass, filthy water, and pasture grounds," but in the 12th volume of the *Epigraphia India*, in which this translation was published, there is a footnote referring to it, by Professor Sten Konow, the learned editor of the *Epigraphia*, pointing out that *puti* is also a kind of grass.

I find a similar expression in four grants of the Pāla kings published in the *Gauḍa Lekhamāla*, namely the Monghyr grant of Devapāla, the Bhagalpore grant of Narāyanapāla, the Banagar grant of Mahipāla 1, and the Manahali grant of Madanapāla, but in the first three, the first letter of the second word has

been deciphered as *y*, not *p*, making the word *yuti* instead of *puti*. The expression has not been translated by the learned editor of the *Gaudalekhamala*.

- (2) *Satāla soddesa*, including the subsoil as well as the surface.
- (3) *Sāmrapanāsā saguvākanalikera*, with mango and jack fruit, betelnut, and cocoanut trees.
- (4) *Salavana*, including salt or saline earth. The editor infers from this that the land was in a coast district, but the entry may have been inserted as a matter of form. It may indicate the existence, at that time, of a tax on salt.
- (5) *Sujalasthala*, including land and water.
- (6) *Sagarttoshara*, including pits and barren land.
- (7) *Sahyadas'āparādha*.—The editor translates this: "with respect to which the ten offences should be tolerated." In other grants we have "*sadasapachāra*" and "*sadasaparādha*" coupled, in some cases, with "*sachauroddhurana*." The latter word would mean the right or function of arresting thieves, and the other expressions may have reference to a criminal jurisdiction extending to ten kinds of offences, or the right to appropriate fines imposed for the commission of such offences on the estate granted.
- (8) *Parihritasarpāda*, exempt from all oppression.
- (9) *Achātābhatapraves'a*, this has been discussed above.
- (10) *Akinchitpragrāhya*, free from all taxes.
- (11) *Samastarājadhogakarahiranya-pratyūyasaḥita*, this expression, which occurs also in other grants, means that all taxes and tributes of the land were assigned to the grantee, that is, not only the main land-tax, or royal share of the produce, but also all additional cesses and tributes, or as we might now say, "abwabs."

It will be seen that these grants were drawn up with almost the meticulous precision and minuteness of a deed drafted by an English Solicitor. The long list of officials suggests an advanced and elaborate system of Government, but, as these grants were drafted according to set forms, it is not quite safe to infer that all the classes of officials mentioned were actually in existence at the date of the grant. On the other hand, the names of the various classes of officials vary in grants of different periods and dynasties. There is much that remains to be elucidated as to the functions of the various officials mentioned in land grants, and the whole subject is one of great interest.

Then there are the name and descent and "additions" of the persons

to whom the grant was made. His name was Rāmadeva Sarman, and he was of the *Savarna gotra*, and great grandson of Pitambaradeva Sarman, who came from Madhyadesa, that is, from Kanauj, and had settled at the village of Siddhala in northern Rāḍa. It is set forth that the king has made the grant on an auspicious day, after going through the ceremony of touching water, and having the deed engraved on a copper-plate stamped with the seal of the wheel of Vishnu, and that it has been made according to the maxims of Bhūmichchhidra, that is, according to certain rules for making grants of land, contained in the Arthashastras. The document is dated the 14th of Śrāvan in the 5th year of the reign of king Bhojavarma, and purports to have been signed by the king himself.

There are other records extant, which establish the existence of a Varma dynasty in Bengal at about this time.

One is a copper-plate grant, in very bad condition, of which the portion that is legible shows that it purports to have been made at Vikramapura by a king named Harivarma, son of Jyotivarma. It also shows, if the edition published by Rai Sahib Nagendranath Basu, in his *Banger Jatiya Itihas* is correct, that the land covered by it was situated in Paundrabhukti. It seems that the Rai Sahib's rendering is regarded by Babu Rakhāl Dās Banerji and Ramaprasad Chandra as, to some extent, conjectural and inaccurate, and Babu Rakhāl Dās Banerji, in his notice on the Palas of Bengal, published in 1915, promised to bring out himself a new edition of the grant, but this I have not yet seen. Next, there is a well-known inscription, found at Bhubanesvar, near Puri in Orissa, recording the erection of the temple of Anantavāsudeva there by a person named Bhavadevabhāṭṭa. It sets forth that, of all the villages inhabited by Srotriyas of the Savarnamuni stock the leading village is Siddhala, the ornament of the Rāḍa country. Bhavadeva, the first of that name, who sprang from a distinguished family of Siddhala, received a village named Hastinibhitta from the King of Gauḍa. That Bhavadeva had a son named Rathāṅga, whose son was Atiāṅga whose son was Sphuritabudha; whose son was Ādideva, who became chief minister of the King of Vāṅga. Ādideva had a son named Govardhana, who married a lady named Sangottā, daughter of a Vandyaghatiya Brahmin. Their son, Bhavadeva, second of the name, who was for a long time minister of Harivarma, and afterwards of his son, dug a tank in the Rāḍa country and built a temple at Bhubanesvara. The inscription mentions that Bhāṭṭa Bhavadeva was also known by the name or title of Vālavallabhibhujāṅga, and purports to have been composed by his friend Vācaspati. The name Vālavallabhi occurs in the Rāmācarita, where, in the list of feudatory chiefs, who supported Rāmapāla, there is mention of one "Vikramarāja of Devagrāma and the surrounding country washed by the rivers of Valavallabhi."

Where the place was is still uncertain. It will be noticed that the names of Kings of a Varma dynasty in these two records, *viz.*, Jyotivarma and Harivarma, differ from those in the Belāva grant, where the succession shown is Vajravarma, Jātavarma, Syāmalavarma, Bhojavarma. At the same time, it will be seen that the Varma Kings mentioned in all three records were patrons of Brahmins belonging to the same village of Siddhala in the Rāḍa country, and, if the reading of "Paundrabbukti" in Harivarma's grant is correct, that territory was included in the dominions of Harivarma as well as of Bhojavarma. The inference is thus supported that the kings with names or titles ending in Varma, who are mentioned in these three records, all belonged to the same dynasty. Probably, as will be seen further on, Jyotivarma and Harivarma were predecessors of Bhojavarma. It will further be observed that, according to the Bhuvanesvara inscription, the first Bhavadeva received a grant of a village from the King of Gauḍa; four generations later in descent, in the same family, Ādideva became chief minister of the King of Vanga, and Ādideva's son, the second Bhavadeva, was minister to Harivarma. It may be surmised that the King of Gauḍa here mentioned was one of the Palas, possibly Mahipāla I, and it is a probable inference that, between the time of the first Bhavadeva and Ādideva, the sovereignty of the part of Rāḍa, where the village of Siddhala was situated, had passed from the Palas to the Varmas.

In Nepal there have been found two manuscripts, which purport to have been written during the reign of Harivarma, one, a copy of the "*Ashtasahasrika prajñāpāramita*," dated in the 19th year of the reign, the other, a work named "*Virmalaprabhā*," which is a commentary on the "*Kālachakrayāna*," and is dated in the 39th year of the reign. I have now to refer to an entirely different class of evidence, namely that furnished by the extracts from various genealogical treatises (*Kulagranthas*, *Kulamanjaris*, *Kulapanjikas*, etc.), dealing with the origin and descent of castes, subcastes, and families settled in Bengal, which have been collected, translated, and annotated with so much industry, learning, and acumen by Rai Saheb Nagendranāth Basu, in his great work, *Bāṅger Jātiya Itihas*. These treatises are of comparatively modern date, and the evidence bearing upon the ancient history of Bengal, which they supply, is, of course, much inferior in value to that of the contemporary inscriptions and documents, with which I have been dealing. At the same time, apart from the great value of the Rai Saheb's book as an exposition of the existing organisation and structure of a portion of Hindu society in Bengal, it would be a mistake to neglect the historical evidence of the genealogical treatises in question, since we may reasonably suppose that some of the traditions, which they enshrine, are, at least, based on a foundation of fact.

Rāghabendra Kabishekhar, in his account of the origins of the Samaj of Baidik Brahmins of Kotālipāda in Faridpur district, to which he belonged, written in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D., states that his ancestors lived on the banks of the Sarasvati river, and enjoyed the favour and protection of the Rāja of Kanauj. When the Rāja's power declined, seeing the approaching destruction of the kingdom, the advent of the 'Yavanas,' that is, the Mussulman invaders, and the general disorder into which the country had fallen, two of the leading Brahmins of that locality, Gangagoti Misra of Karnavati and Jādabanand Misra, decided to emigrate, and, leaving Kanauj with their families and dependants, travelled to Benares, where Jādabanand settled. Of the Brahmins, who emigrated from Kanauj at that time, some settled at Prayāg, or Allahabad, some at Benares, and some at Gaya, and some returned again to Kanauj. Gangagoti went on to Bengal with his relatives and household. They settled first for a time in Jessore, but finding there certain drawbacks,—snakes, tigers in the forests, crocodiles in the rivers, and the river water brackish, they left Jessore, and, travelling again eastwards, came to Kotālipāda, where they settled. After living there for some years, Gangagoti returned to Kanauj to find a husband for his daughter, and, after arranging her marriage with Jasodhara Misra, who, later on, migrated to Kotālipāda with a number of attendants and followers, came back there, and, on the way, visited the capital of King Harivarman. There the chief minister, Vacaspati Misra, introduced Gangagoti to the Rāja, who received him favourably and gave him a grant of land, revenue free, at Kotālipāda. It will now be remembered that the eulogy of Bhavadeva Bhatta, minister to Rāja Harivarman, in the Bhubanesvara inscription, of which I gave an account just now, purports to have been composed by his friend Vacaspati. It is a reasonable supposition that the Vacaspati of the Bhubanesvara inscription may have been the same person as Vacaspati Misra mentioned in Rāghabendra's work.

An extant work on Nyāya philosophy entitled "Nyāyasūtrinibandha" purports to have been written by Vacaspati Misra in the year 976 A.D. If the author of this work was the same person as Harivarman's minister, the time of Harivarman's reign must be placed at end of the 10th, or beginning of the 11th century A.D. Rāghabendra's narrative is prefaced by an introduction invoking victory to Rāja Harivarman, whose virtues and prowess are described in flowery language. It is there stated that Harivarman left the Jains, Buddhists, and other infidels no peace, and it is also mentioned that he had seven ministers headed by Valabhatta, Garga, Bhattachārjya, and Vacaspati. "Valabhatta" here may well be Bhavadeva of the Bhubanesvara inscription, who is there given the titles of Bhatta and Valavallabhībhuja. It is also mentioned that, when Rāja Harivarman's

mother expressed a wish to go on a pilgrimage to Benares, the Rāja had a new and broad road made to enable her to travel there in comfort.

According to other genealogical works, (Kulagranthas) of a later date, the first western (pāschātya) Vaidik Brahmins were brought to Bengal by a King named Syāmalavarma.

The "Vaidika-Kulamanjari" of Rāmadeva Vidyabhusana describes Syāmalavarma as the ruler of Gauda, who brought five "Agnihotrikvaidik" Brahmins from Karnāvatī to the country of Gauda, and states that, of the lunar race a king named Trivikrama was born, who had a son named Vijayasena, who, by his wife named Mālātī had two sons, named Malla and Syāmala. Malla having succeeded to the throne of his father Vijayasena, Syāmalavarma went forth with a numerous army, and, after traversing many countries and overcoming many kings, returned to his country of Gauda, and built a new city for his own residence near Vikramapura. Subsequently, he married the daughter of Nilkantha, King of Benares. In the "Vaidika-Kulamanjari" by Isvara it is stated that Maharaja Trivikrama had his capital at Kasipuri on the Suvarṇarekha river. He had, by his queen, Mālātī, a son named Vijayasena, who, in due course, came to the throne, and by his queen, Vilola, had two sons, named Mallavarma, and Syāmalavarma. Mallavarma remained in his father's kingdom, and gained renown. Syāmalavarma, after defeating all his enemies living in the kingdom of Gauda, proceeded to conquer those belonging to the country of Vanga. Afterwards, he married the daughter of Nilkantha, King of Kanauj, and, when bringing his bride from that country, brought, also with her a "Vedavadi" Brahmin purohit named Jasodhara.

The "Paschatya-Vaidika Kulapanjika" says that Syāmalavarma was the son of Vijayasena of the Sura race, that he became Rāja in the year 1072 A.D., and that he married Bhadrā, a daughter of the King of Kāśī, or Benares. In a work called the "Vaidika-Kulārnava" relating to the Vaidik Samāj of Sāmāntasāra in Faridpur district, it is stated that Syāmalavarma ruled over the country east of the Ganges, west of the Meghna, north of the Salt Sea, and south of Varendra, paying tribute to the Sena King, and under his protection. These later genealogies of the western Vaidik Brahmins agree in saying that the first western Vaidiks were brought by King Syāmalavarma from Kanauj or Benares, and that, among them, was Jasodhara Misra of the Sunakgotra. Some of them give the date of the Brahmins' advent as 1079 A.D. According to Rāghabendra Kabishekhar, the first Vaidik Brahmins to settle in Bengal were Gangagoti Misra and his companions, who came during the reign of Harivarma, and Jasodhar, who came later, was Gangagoti's son-in-law. As we have seen, Harivarma may have been on the throne at the beginning of the 11th century A.D., and, if Gangagoti came to Bengal

about that time, and Jasodhar was his son-in-law, it would not be impossible for Jasodhar to have arrived in 1079 A.D. But the later genealogies make no mention of Harivarma, and the account of Syāmalavarma's descent, which they give, is apparently inconsistent with that contained in the Belāva grant, according to which Syāmalavarma, the father and predecessor of Bhojavarma, was the son of Jātavarma, who was son of Vajravarma, and with authentic records of the Sena Kings, which show that Vijayasena, was the son of Hemantasena and was succeeded by the celebrated Ballālasena. Rai Saheb Nagendranāth Basu suggests that Hemantasena may also have been known by the name or title of Trivikrama, and he quotes a Kulagrantha compiled by Satkari Ghatak of Rānaghāt, as showing that some of the Sena Kings had more than one name. The custom of different names and titles being borne by the same king is found to have obtained in several dynasties of different parts of India in ancient times, and it greatly increases the difficulty of tracing the course of historical events from the materials at our disposal. But, if Trivikrama of the genealogical works, which I have quoted, was the same person as Hemantasena of other records, then Syāmalavarma would be the same person as Ballālasena. We have seen above that Syāmalavarma's father, Jotivarma, may have been a contemporary of Vīrabhāpāla III. We have not the exact date of Vīrabhāpāla III's accession, but we know that his predecessor, Nayapāla, was on the throne in 1040 A.D. when Atisa went to Tibet, so that Vīrabhāpāla III may have succeeded him some time in the latter half of the 11th century A.D. If Harivarma was on the throne at the end of the 10th, or the beginning of the 11th century A.D. as we may infer from the date of the "Nyāyasūciibandha" of Vacaspati Misra, we may suppose that Vajravarma and Jātavarma of the Belāva grant occupied the throne in succession to Harivarma, or, possibly, that Harivarma and Vajravarma were the same person. Either supposition would be consistent with Syāmalavarma, successor to Jātavarma, who was contemporary of Vīrabhāpāla III, having reigned in 1079 A.D. So far as this evidence goes, the identity of Syāmalavarma and Ballālasena does not seem impossible, but other records point rather to the middle of the 12th century A.D. as Ballālasena's date.

Another interesting point is the connection between the Senas and the Suras. I learn from a paper 'Ādisura,' by Babu Rāmaprasād Chanda, dated the 27th Pous 1321 B.S., which was read at a literary conference in Calcutta, that, according to a recently discovered but not yet published grant of Vijayasena, his queen, Vilasdevi, who was the mother of Ballālasena, came of the royal race of Sura. The Paschatya-Vaidika-Kulapanjika says that Vijayasena was himself of Sura race, and, according to Rai Saheb Nagendranāth Basu, Syāmalavarma is referred to in some "kulagranthas" as

'Surānvaya' and in others as 'Senānvaya.' And it appears that, according to certain genealogies of the Varendra Brahmans, Ballālasena was descended from a grand-daughter of Ādisura. There has been much controversy as to the date, and, also as to the historical reality of Ādisura, the king, by whom, according to a wellknown tradition, the five Brahmans, from whom many families in Bengal trace their descent, were brought from Kanauj. So far, apart from genealogical works of comparatively modern date, no written evidence of the existence of Ādisura has been found, but it would be very unsafe to infer from this that Ādisura is merely a mythical creation. Had it not been for the discovery of the Belāva grant, Harivarma's grant, and the Bhuvaneshvara inscription, Harivarma and Syāmalavarma might have been regarded as mythical. We have seen, in the Tirumallai inscription of Rajendracola, mention of a chief named Ranasura, who ruled, probably, over a territory in Orissa or south-western Bengal, about the year 1030 A.D. and the existence in the 11th century in Rāḍa of a dynasty with names or titles ending in "sura" is now certain. It is not at all improbable that there may have been a chief of that dynasty called Ādisura, and that he may have brought some Brahmans from Kanauj to Bengal, but as to their exact number, and the date of their arrival we have not fully reliable evidence. It may be said, however, that the Mohammedan invasion of north-western India would furnish a very good reason for the migration of Brahmans from Kanauj to Bengal.

According to the Vaidika Kulapanji, Syāmalavarma's father, Trivikrama, held his court at Kasipura on the Suvarnarekha River, which is the traditional boundary between Bengal and Orissa. Rai Saheb Nagendranāth Basu identifies with that place the site now known as Kāsiyāri, where, he says, remains of an ancient fort are to be seen. And the name of Syāmalavarma's elder brother, Malla, makes one think of the two brothers, Nissanka Malla and Sahasa Malla, scions of a ruling family of Kalinga, who ruled in Ceylon at the end of the 12th, and beginning of the 13th century A.D.

The existence of another dynasty in Eastern Bengal has been brought to light by the discovery of two copper-plate grants of a king named Srichandra. One of these, which was found by Bahu Rādhagovinda Basākḥ among the ruins of Rampal in Dacca district contains a *prasasti*, from which it appears that Srichandra was the son of Trailokyachandra, who was the son of Suvarnachandra, that they belonged to the royal race of Harikel, and that Trailokyachandra became ruler of Chandradvip. Harikel is a very ancient name of a territory in Bengal which has not, as far as I know, been exactly located. In an ancient Chinese map, of which a reproduction was published by M. Stanislas Julien at the end of his translation of the life of Yuan Chwang, Harikel is shown as situated between Samatāta and

Orissa. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who visited India in the latter part of the seventh century A.D., has left on record that he stayed a year in the country of Harikel, which was near the eastern limit of India. The same country of Harikel contained, in the 12th century of the Christian era, an important place of pilgrimage for Buddhists. A distinguished French *savant*, M. Foucher, in his work entitled 'Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde' describes the miniature representations of several images and shrines, which appear in two Buddhist manuscripts of the 12th century, found in Nepal, and now deposited, one at Cambridge, the other in the library of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. Several of these miniatures relate to places in Bengal, and one of them is a representation of the stone image of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara called the Silalokanatha at Harikel.

Chandradvip is the ancient name of the territory, which became, under the Mogul Empire, Sarkar Bakla, and is now represented by part of Bakarganj district.

Originally an island, as its name implies, it is associated in legend with a celebrated personage named Chandragomin who was a distinguished scholar, man of science, and artist, and an authority on the theory of Buddhist art. It is related of him that, a few hours after his birth, he had made such progress that he was able to address polite enquiries to his mother with regard to the state of her health. Tāranāth tells the story that a certain king, in recognition of Chandragomin's remarkable talents in grammar, medicine, poetry, and the plastic art, conferred on him a rich endowment, and the hand of his daughter in marriage. Chandragomin had a special devotion to the Buddhist female divinity, Tāra, and, hearing one day a maid-servant address his wife by that name, he was seized with scruples as to the propriety of being married to one who bore the name of his special goddess. This offended the king, his father-in-law, who had him shut up in a box and thrown into the Ganges. Through the protection of the goddess Tāra, however, the box was stranded on an island, created expressly for the purpose, near the mouth of the river, which took from him the name of Chandradvip. There Chandragomin resided for a time, and fashioned images of Avalokitesvara and of Tāra. A statue of Tāra in Chandradvip, ascribed to Chandragomin is represented in one of the miniatures mentioned by M. Foucher.

The copper-plate deed, to which I am here referring evidenced the bestowal by Srichandra of a grant of land in the village of Nehakashti in the Mandala Kanga in Paundrabukhti on a Brahman named Pitābasgupta Sarma "*sāntibārika*" of the Sandilya Gotra. It will be remembered that the Belava grant of Bhojavarma, and, perhaps, Harivarma's grant also covered land in Paundrabukhti. Babu Rākhaldās Bannerji points out that the characters of Srichandra's grants are of a somewhat older type than those of

the Belava grant, and suggests that the Varmanas may have supplanted the Chandras.

In this grant, the name of the Visaya, which was the unit of area next in size above a Mandala, is not mentioned.

The other copper-plate grant of Srichandra was discovered by the late Babu Ganga Mohan Sarker at a village named Idilpur, in the Bakarganj district. It purports to bestow on a certain Brahmin the village of Loliya, in the Mandala Kumaratola, in the Visaya "Satata Padmāvati." In this grant the name of the bhukti is not mentioned.

There is also mention of a Chandra dynasty in certain old manuscript songbooks, known as the songs of Maynamati and Gopichand, which are referred to in Rai Saheb Nāgendranāth Basu's history of the castes of Bengal. In these songs, as in the first copper-plate grant of Srichandra quoted above, there is mention of a king named Suvarnachandra, but, whereas the grant gives the name of Suvarnachandra's son and successor as Trailokyachandra, and shows the succession thus :—

Suvarnachandra

|

Trailokyachandra

|

Srichandra

the songs would show the following succession :—

Suvarnachandra

|

Dhadichandra

|

Manikchandra

|

Govindachandra.

The explanation of these discrepancies may be that some of the kings of the Chandra dynasty were known by two names, as was not uncommon with the members of different ruling dynasties in India in ancient times.

On the other hand, it appears that there are certain songs about Maynamati current in Northern Bengal, according to which she was the daughter of King Trailokyachandra, or Tilokchand, and mother of Govindachandra.

It must be remembered that the polity of the Gauda state under the Palas, like that of all India, probably, in those days; was of the feudal type, and there were, no doubt, many local dynasties in different parts of Bengal and Bihar, which, while the Central Government of the Palas was strong and capable, ruled some small territory in a subordinate capacity, acknowledging

allegiance to them, but which,—if represented by an energetic and ambitious chief, at a time when the central power was weak, might assert more or less complete independence, extending their territory at the expense of their neighbours.

The Chandra dynasty in Eastern Bengal was, no doubt, one of these, and it was, apparently a Buddhist dynasty. There was also, evidently, in south-western Bengal, on the confines of Orissa, at least from the beginning of the 11th century A.D., a local dynasty with names or titles ending in Sura. This family, some of whom took the alternative title of "Varma," may probable have been related to the eastern Ganga dynasty of Orissa, and to a family from which were drawn the ruling chiefs of a portion of Ceylon. It is not certain whether this Sura or Varma dynasty were ever feudally subordinate to the Pālas. In the course of the 11th century A.D., they appear to have increased in power and extended their sway over portions of Central and Eastern Bengal, and possibly, also over north-eastern Bengal and a part of Kāmrup. They were supporter of Brahminism, and allied by marriage to the Senas, who may have come to Orissa and Bengal as feudatories of the Chālukyas of Kalyāni. Nevertheless, we find that Bhojavarma, the contemporary of Vīgrahapāla III, married a daughter of Karna Kalacuri of Cedi, who was at war with the Chālukyas, and it seems not unlikely that Bhojavarma may have formed a combination with Vīgrahapāla and Karna to oppose the Chālukya power.

From the above it will be evident that Vīgrahapāla III did not rule over the whole of Bengal. Perhaps his dominions, as well as those of Nayapāla and Mahipala I, were limited to Magadha, Northern Rāda, and Varendra.

We have seen that, according to the commentary of Sandhyakara Nandi's Ramacarita, Vīgrahapāla III married a daughter of Karna Kalacuri of Cedi named Yauvanasri. On the same authority we learn that Vīgrahapāla married also a princess of Rāshtrakuta race, who was the mother of King Rāmapāla, the hero of the poem. The great Rāshtrakuta dynasty of the Deccan had fallen from power in the year 973 A.D., when the last king of that line, was defeated and overthrown by the Chālukya, Taila or Tailapa II, but it appears that a local line of chiefs of Rāshtrakuta descent continued to exercise authority, as vassals of the Pālas, over some part of Magadha. Considering the longstanding alliances and numerous marriage connections between the Rāshtrakutas and the Pālas, there would be nothing surprising in a local line of Rāshtrakuta chiefs being found in Magadha. We have three inscriptions of the reign of Vīgrahapāla III, two of which I have already mentioned. One is the wellknown copper-plate deed found in 1806 at Āmgachi in the Dinajpur district, which records the grant of half of the village of Brahmini in the Kotivarsa Visaya of the Paundravardhana bhukti to a Brahmin named

Khoddhata-deva-sarma on the 9th day of Caitra in the 13th year of the reign. The other inscription of this reign, to which I have already referred, is on a block of stone embedded in the roots of the sacred fig-tree known as the Akshayavata at Gaya, and records the erection of two lingams called respectively "Vatesa" and "Propitamahesvara" by a man named Visvaditya in the fifth year of Vighrahapāla's reign.

The third inscription of this reign is on an image of the Buddha discovered at Bihar town, and now in the Indian Museum, and records that the image was set up by a man named Dehak in the thirteenth year of Vighrahapāla's reign. A number of silver coins of Vighrahapāla III were discovered in the ruins of a temple at Ghoshvara in the Patna district. These are, so far as I know, the earliest coins of the Bengal Palas as yet discovered, but it seems hardly credible that a dynasty of such importance should not have had a coinage of its own before.

F. J. MONAHAN.

Who Wrote *Hartly House*?

THE announcement in a recent number of *The Times Literary Supplement* that the British Museum Library had acquired a copy of the very rare first edition (1789) of this early Anglo-Indian novel caused me to peruse again my own copy (also a first edition) and reawakened my interest in the question of its authorship.

That the letters of which the work is composed are fictitious and the heroine (whose name is sometimes given as Goldborne and sometimes as Goldsborne) a creature of imagination, no one has doubted; but it has been very generally assumed that the story came from the pen of a lady, and that this lady had been a resident of Calcutta in the days of Warren Hastings and had utilized her experiences in that manner. From this opinion I venture, though with some diffidence, to dissent. That the book exhibits a considerable acquaintance with the topography and social life of Calcutta at that period cannot be questioned; and that it was at all events based upon authentic materials may be readily conceded. But the errors which may be detected at even a casual reading are of such a character as to raise serious doubts whether the writer could possibly have had actual experience of life in India, for however short a period. Would such a one have drawn the highly idealized portrait of a Brahman (who, by the way, is supposed to be necessarily doomed to "a life of voluntary celibacy,") or have made an English young lady, moving in the highest circles, beg for a lock of his hair after his demise? Or have mixed up sepoy with syces, harkaras with mashalchis, and bazars with shopkeepers? How are we to account for the fact that on two occasions "veranda" is explained as meaning a venetian blind, while on a previous page it is more correctly described as a "balcony"? The mistake of making Warren Hastings and his wife leave Calcutta for England at the same time could not have been committed by any one who was on the spot, or was in touch with Anglo-Indian friends. Further, the account of the outward voyage is irreconcilable with actual experience. The vessel touches at St. Helena (though this was in the homeward, not the outward, course), and that island is not only endowed with a harbour, but placed between St. (sic) Johanne (in the Comoros) and Bombay. Again, the heroine is unexpectedly taken on board ship by her father at Deal, without the permission of the East India Company; and the said father, though in command of an East India man, stays at least two years at Calcutta.

How then can one explain the obvious acquaintance with life in India which constitutes the real value of the work? My theory is that the actual writer of the book was a London literary hack who, having access to a

collection of private letters written in Calcutta, conceived the idea of working up some of their details into a novel, adopting for that purpose the then fashionable framework of a correspondence between one gushing young woman and another. For particulars which he did not find in his materials he either drew upon his general knowledge or sought information in books. This would explain the dissertations upon Indian history and Indian religion and the particulars given concerning the Company's stock—all topics unlikely to occur to a woman writer; also the two Latin quotations, which, though mere tags, would probably not form part of a feminine vocabulary. It would also solve the mystery of the concealment of the authorship. The book was undoubtedly a success—it was pirated in Dublin the same year and translated into German soon after—and its origin must have been a source of speculation and inquiry in Anglo-Indian circles. Why should not the writer, if an amateur, have allowed the fact to be known? If, on the other hand, the author was only an obscure professional hack, intent only on the fee to be obtained from the publisher, he had no motive for dispelling the mystery.

The question remains whether the letters on which, by hypothesis, the book was based, were the production of a man or of a woman. This can hardly be solved, since we are ignorant how much of the actual text is derived from them. For myself, I see no convincing testimony of a woman's hand; while the particulars given concerning the High Court Attorneys and their fees point rather to a masculine correspondent.

I had formed the theory here set forth before I had an opportunity of consulting the Calcutta reprint of 1908. This, it is perhaps needless to say, had been planned by the late Mr. John Macfarlane, of the Imperial Library, Calcutta; but after his premature death his notes could not be found, and the reprint was issued without the benefit of the materials which he had so assiduously collected, but with useful notes appended by Mr. Evan Cotton. In a short introduction, however, his former colleague, Mr. G. F. Barwick, the Keeper of the Printed Books at the British Museum and himself a bibliographical authority of the first rank, recorded Mr. Macfarlane's conclusions on the point at issue. He says: "In view of one or two curious errors in regard to native customs, Mr. Macfarlane was at one time disposed to regard the book as possibly a piece of hack work; but further consideration led him to give up that opinion entirely and to recognise that it is the work of a lady who wrote it a year or two after her return to England, and drew upon her recollections, and in a few instances upon her imagination." Thus it will be seen that at one time Mr. Macfarlane had actually come to the same conclusion as I have done. It is to be regretted that we have no knowledge of the reasons which induced him to change his opinion.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—XIII.

No. 496.

CALCUTTA,

TO JOHN ROBINSON, ESQR.,

The 24th July, 1776.

Private.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 15th December last and seize this earliest opportunity of acknowledging it. My letter to Lord North and your friend Mr. Stables both of which I imagine will be communicated to you, will give you a just idea of the state of the Company's affairs in Bengal, and I dare say the picture will surpass the most sanguine expectation of the most sanguine well-wishers to the Publick. Mr. Hastings and myself have been equally disappointed in our views to conciliate our associates, and I fear all our future endeavours will prove as vain and futile as the past. The Government and the command of the Forces in reversion are objects of too grand a nature to be relinquished voluntarily, and I shall be very much out in my conjecture indeed if the strongest injunctions of the Minister or the recommendations of the general friend of all shall heal divisions that unhappily subsists in our Councils.

"Tis in the ruling passion these alone

"The wild are constant and the cunning known.

"This clue once found unravels all the rest,

"The prospect clears and Clodio stands confest.

Though this is my firm opinion, nothing shall be left unattempted on my part and if it is judged necessary hereafter that the chair shall be vacated to promote the General and Col., do me the justice to believe I will not decline my services while I think I can in any respect render them to the satisfaction of the Minister and the Company.

No. 497.

CALCUTTA,

TO JOHN PURLING, ESQR.,

The 24th July, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Allow me the conciseness of one who placing a dependance on your friendship does not think the ceremony of words necessary to excuse him. As I am much stinted in time permit me to refer you to Mrs. Barwell for

whatever I have written respecting the public interests or those of individuals in Bengal. You will find the Company rich beyond your most sanguine hopes, and what is more, not in speculation but in positive and actual possession, so much ready cash, so much opium, so much salt, which is equivalent to cash. The investment for Europe I take no notice of because that is realized to you in England, but of the increasing property here which you must fall on some ways and means to get to Europe without drawing the country of its specie. I am much obliged by your letter of the 15th of December and am ever—

No. 498.

CALCUTTA,

The 24th July, 1776.

TO JOHN STABLES, ESQR.,

DEAR STABLES,

The heartiness of your letter of the 16th December flatters my hopes of having you at least for my well-wisher even at the time you may be so circumstanced as not to give me your support. Inclination is not our only bond or spring of action. I am sensible that considerations which have nothing to do with personal predilections must have superior weight when they come in competition with them, and all we can expect in this case from the man disposed to befriend us is that he will not take an active part to our prejudice but soften and conciliate as occasions arise and his particular situation and political connections will admit. When you can assist me I shall be obliged to you. When you cannot I must be content. I have a letter from Mr. Robinson written at Lord North's instance: it is not such a one as I wished for, no decisive line being pointed out; and as to harmony, without giving Clavering the power of fixing Hastings in his seat, it is not to be looked for—Fix Hastings or remove him: do one or other. If you fix, vest him with real as well as nominal superiority in his station. Give him a negative and let the public officers of Government be appointed by him liable however to removal by the Council on detection of any abuse in office. Define them in some little degree the powers of the deliberative body and in what degree the executive power to be exercised by the Governor-General may be checked and controlled if you mean really that he is to possess and exercise an executive power, for at present he neither possesses that power nor exercises it. The Council sometimes by its Secretary, and sometimes by the Governor, just as the humour of the day prevails, orders its acts to be enforced.

The Rohilla War is adjudged to be a wrong measure, and yet I believe no one will be so hardy to deny that from our political connections with the Vizeir, the most beneficial consequences have resulted to the public—Policy certainly did not demand of the English Government to examine

with a scrupulous nicety the moral rectitude of the Vizier's views—all that was necessary or could be required of an able statesman Hastings has performed. In all his engagements with the Vizier his steady and unvaried object was the prosperity of his own Government. Nothing has been adopted by him but what was conducive to such end—he broke no faith with the Rohillas by entering into an alliance with their enemy, and he certainly would have been both impolitic and weak had he declined seizing the occasion that presented, an occasion so very favourable both to relieve the distresses of the Company in Bengal and to extend their power and influence abroad, and this when no tie whatsoever (except the vague instructions of the Company shall be deemed to bind him to forego their interests) prevented or checked him. His schemes have not only been crowned with the success they merited, in throwing a large burthen of the Company's military charge upon others; but will continue to operate in the same beneficial manner to the latest period, and shall not the prosperous state of the Company's affairs extricated by him from confusion and most pressing distress be remembered to his honor—Shall his judgment and the integrity of his intentions or soundness of his policy be impeached at the very instant he must be acknowledged to have given security to the Company and raised them from the lowest depth of indigence in this country to opulence beyond the most sanguine expectations of the most sanguine man in Europe? At this moment is not there a surplus balance in cash, opium or salt after every debt of the Company's is discharged here of at least C. Rs. 110,00,000, and was not this Government on Mr. Hastings' accession to the chair the 1st May 1772, burthened with a debt of about two crore forty two lacks seventeen thousand one hundred and sixty-four current rupees? Can any one have the impudence now to call in question these facts and while the money, the opium and the salt are actually in the hands of the Company's agents here, affirm that Clavering, Monson and Francis did not attempt to mislead and were deficient in candour, when in their Minute of 11 January 1775, they questioned the fairness of the accounts then stated to the Company, and did not hesitate to declare "the affairs of this Government were involved in imminent danger and difficulties?" Blush for shame, Gentlemen, your arts are now detected—you have no subterfuge and depend upon it the Minister whom you have attempted to impose upon by villifying and depreciating Mr. Hastings' measures, will and must resent the base endeavor to entrap his judgment. I enclose you the Minute and account I recorded on 13 March 1775 in opposition to the Minute of the Majority of the 11 January 1775, to give you a more perfect idea of the truth.

No. 499.

CALCUTTA,

The 25th July, 1776.

TO MARY BARWELL,

MY DEAR SISTER,

As a public letter is sent overland to Madras to go by the *Green-rille's* packet, I conceived it necessary to enlarge my correspondence which I otherwise should have confined to the letter already written to you. The enclosed addresses you will employ an amanuensis to copy and preserve by you, as you will probably have occasion to refer to them, and they are all necessary to submit to your active friends for their advice and assistance. When they are copied, you may or may not send them to the several persons, as you judge most proper—make my excuse to the Friends if I do not write and furnish them all with such materials as you think may benefit Hastings and my cause. This will at once apologize for me and gratify them.

P. S.—From the state of the Company's affairs it is my hope and my wish you may have made large purchase of India Stock, if you have, be not in haste to sell out. The opulence of the Company will increase daily and there is no danger of the present prospect turning out like the *ignis fatuus* with which Lord Clive dazzled mankind. Depend upon my word: the Company will have wealth in Bengal by April 1777 after sending home 80 lacs investment, of at least two and one half millions sterling.

No. 500.

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CALCUTTA,

The 3th September, 1776.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQR.,

DEAR LEYCESTER,

With this I send you invoice of the goods delivered to Captain George Thompson late of the *Calcutta* Indiaman so long ago as December 1767 and a copy of his letter to me acknowledging the receipt of them and engaging to account with my attorney for the nett saleproceeds or amount of the invoice. You have also a power of attorney from me to yourself and poor Beaumont authorizing you to recover the money from Captain Thompson at law or equity in case you cannot prevail on him to satisfy you without proceeding to extremities, but as the transaction is of so long standing and he has hitherto withheld the account sales and declined coming to any settlement, I request you will lose no time in compelling him to do me justice by paying you the nett saleproceeds or amount of the invoice agreeably to the tenor of his letter with interest from about 18 months after the date of the

invoice, if by your application or proposing to him an adjustment by arbitration he cannot be prevailed upon so to do, which I would have first tried before any suit is commenced. By a mistake of my writer the date of this letter in my letter-book is not inserted, but it must have been shortly after the date of invoice—there appears also another mistake which is that the invoice is dated the 12th December and Captain Thompson's letter mentions it to be dated the 1st, but that I imagine will prove of no consequence, as I must have sent the original and duplicate to you or Beaumont, for neither is to be found among my papers.

As it is not expressed in the invoice or in Captain Thompson's letter where the goods were to be carried to or sold on my account, for I think he went hence that voyage to Bombay, I don't apprehend there is any risk of involving me in any dispute with the Company on account of any illicit trade intended by me, as he must be supposed to have taken those goods in his own privilege which he actually offered and promised me he would do; but I leave it entirely to your discretion to manage this old concern for me as you would for yourself, and, in hopes that a letter from me will induce him to liquidate it without trouble, I now enclose you one.

P. S.—You have also enclosed your and Beaumont's Acct. with me to 30th November, 1775 reversed.

No. 501.

CALCUTTA,
The 5th September, 1776.

TO CAPTAIN GEORGE THOMPSON, LATE OF THE *Calcutta* INDIAMAN

SIR,

I am at a loss to express my astonishment to find my attorneys Messrs. A. Beaumont and R. Leycester that you had not accounted to them for the amount or nett saleproceeds of this invoice of cloths delivered you so long ago as December 1767, almost nine years and that the frequent applications have been made to you by one or other of my attorneys you have not even delivered them an account sales. I have therefore in justice to myself sent a power of attorney to those gentlemen and directed them to commence an action against you to compell you to pay this debt of so very long standing, but as I do not wish any extremities to be used if possibly to be avoided I have desired Mr. Leycester to settle amicably with you if possible, which I flatter myself you will on a little reflection readily agree to shortly after this reaches you. With these hopes I remain.

No. 502.

CALCUTTA,

The 14th September, 1776.

TO THOMAS RUMBOLD, ESQR.,

DEAR RUMBOLD,

I am concerned any occasion should have arisen to deprive me of the support of your friendship. My regret springs not from any motive of self-interest, though I acknowledge my disappointment great to find you espouse the cause of strangers in opposition to the merits of one long attached to you and who built upon your assistance, for my health at present is so infirm that in all probability I shall this very season quit the scene I am engaged in never to return to India, and of course I can have no inducement to conciliate your future friendship which in a worldly view becomes no object the instant it can be of no further service. This reflection then gives me a confidence that under different circumstances might possibly have checked my pen and have rendered me averse to an advance the principle of which might appear equivocal and be subject to misconstruction. I know not how it has happened, but it is most certain from the Directors' resolution of the 8th of May last, for my removal and in which I understand you concurred that you are adverse to me. Had I offended you in any one instance or had my friends in England run counter to your pursuits when you contested the Government of Madras with Lord Pigot, the consciousness of having forfeited my claim to your consideration would have whispered to me I had met with my deserts, but while I am not sensible that either in my own person or by friends how it is possible I should thus suddenly become obnoxious. My chagrine suggests to me that I must owe it to the insidious base arts of some backbiting scoundrell who has misrepresented me to you. In this idea it is a justice due to myself and to you to remove, if it be in my power, any cause of umbrage which may have been fabricated by the artful to impose upon you to my prejudice and to vindicate my attachment which I must still possess while I regard you as a gentleman and a man of honor deceived into a belief that the friendship you have long indulged me with was ill bestowed. From what I have heard of Colonel Morgan and Mr. Mackenzie and the notice taken of me in a letter to your attorneys I perceive two circumstances (which you have either mistaken or drawn conclusions from the false colourings of others to my detriment) to have instilled a degree of ill humour by no means my due. These I will explain—the first which fell under your suspicion proceeded from the tenderness of friends who wished not to expose me to the resentment of a powerful faction by a public declaration of the part they took in your

cause and that they did take this part. I am only sorry you should have doubted, for their subsequent assurance could be of no avail but to incense a party with whom they might have claimed a merit from your suggestions and that party too the successful one. Yet they rather chose to forego this advantage than leave you under a wrong impression. The other is my not having signed to the accounts transmitted by your attorneys. In what light this has been set off to you I know not, but from your manner of noticing it I must judge it a very improper one. When Mr. Killican waited on me with your attorneys' accounts I observed to him that my signature appeared unnecessary and in that sentiment begged to decline signing them; that I did not recollect ever having put my name to one account your acting attorneys had ever transmitted you before that period, and that the responsibility of all money transactions ought to rest with the transactors, that in any thing I could be useful or serviceable to you I would act, but that I would not bind myself in an agency when the trust was not in my own hands, that I would inspect and assist, but not make myself liable for bonds or money in the possession of other men—that I conceived it to have been simply your intention in the insertion of my name in your power of attorney to give weight to it and to command my services only on such occasions wherein your other attorneys might be diffculted and require them. Had you told me, Rumbold, when you went hence that I was to be responsible for your money, bonds, books, papers, etc., etc. I should frankly have replied the charge was beyond my ability, and had you pressed it upon me, in that case you might be certain I should have taken the trust with the responsibility and not the responsibility without the trust. Thus long you have never said one word to my not signing the papers of your other attorneys, and yet I have been in your commission from 1769, to the present moment. What am I to suppose why! That you are mislead and that some fallacies industriously instilled through your eye or ear have made you take amiss what you never before viewed in the light of a deficiency on my part, or at least never hinted to me that you did so, to convince you how little I am disposed to adopt the motto, "It is easier for to quarrell than to give." I will continue to render my services in remembrance of past days and be useful where I can, but you must excuse me from signing to balances of cash, accounts of bonds, etc., that I do not keep.

I do not propose to leave the country if I can preserve my health in it, but consumptive attacks have alarmed me and the sons of Esculapius tell me I must change the air, and, if I find no benefit, most positively must go for England.

No. 503.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th September, 1776.

TO JOHN ROBINSON, ESQ.,

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 27th December introduced Mr. Wordsworth to me. I am sorry Mr. Sage could not take him up to Patna, as any situation out of the Presidency is in my opinion to be preferred to a residence in it. Your so particularly recommending this young gentleman to me at the very instant you might be satisfied of my perfect inability to push him forward has occasioned me some speculation. You, Sir, who are so well acquainted with the principles of modern rule cannot be ignorant that even the bestowing the most trifling place is regulated upon system—yet knowing this I have adventured to notice Mr. Wordsworth, though, upon my honor, I think he risks by it proscription from every office of emolument.

I find by your letter of the 1st February an anxiety expressed on an occasion touching myself that required clearing up, and from my sister's letter I mark a propensity in many gentlemen to lose the trouble they might find from justifying me (from the publick papers then before them) in the pleasure of an indolent acquiescence to the tales of illiberal misrepresentation. But it is past, and I with pleasure quit a scene to which my health and the sensibility of my mind is unequal, being forbidden to attend public business or which is nearly the same to avoid it as much as possible in order to baffle a consumptive decay that threatens my life. I have not lately much frequented the Councils, and indeed if I do not find myself better, or am flattered with a full re-establishment of my health, I will take my final leave of India and that this very season. And I shall do this with less repugnance in the present crisis, as I find myself a blank and totally useless to my friends or the Government.

In all my letters I have positively and expressly declared my resolve to answer every expectation without a bias to party distinction and that I would stay or depart—the silence observed and the manoeuvres to the 17th of May last, appear something in the nature of a hint. If I am mistaken, intelligence as low down as the present month will in all probability be received by the end of February, and rectify my error.

No. 504.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th September, 1776.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL,

MADAM,

With this are enclosed another copy of my letter to you of 23rd March 1776, and of the papers that accompanied the original per *Talbot* some of

which have already been transmitted you in duplicate per *Greenville* as noted in the list. The bill drawn by Mr. Irwin for £stg. 200, now sent is for payment of the same debt as that enclosed you per *Talbot* which is thus noted lest you should think from its being drawn on different people that it is another remittance—The additional amount against J. Ellis is for the cost of the duplicate copies of his and S. Middleton's bonds examined by Captain Carr of the *Greenwich* and his purser Mr. Scholey to be included in the charges against Mr. Ellis on settling with him the ballances due on J. B. Chevalier's bills. Those gentlemen have witnessed execution of Mr. Barwell's general power of attorney to you also enclosed as are your account relating to the estate of Roger Barwell died and your own discount current with Mr. Richard Barwell both revised and signed by him the balance of the latter account in your hands on the 31st December 1775 being £stg. 37,296-10-2 is carried to the debit of your new account in Mr. Barwell's books—at foot of the latter reversed account is noted the different remittances he hath at times negotiated which could not be realized so as to be included in it: and here Mr. Barwell desires me to inform you he drew a sett of bills on you dated the 19th of August 1776 for £stg. 1,000 as the exchange, of 1/8 per current rupee payable to Russell Arden 30 days after sight and that Mr. Barwell proposes drawing on you by the ships of this season for about ten thousand pounds sterling more at nearly the same exchange, if he can get people to pay him the money here at so low a rate by which a considerable gain will arise as he expects to reimburse as much by bills on the Court of Directors this season at 2/1 per current rupee. Enclosed is a certificate dated 6th instant in favor of Captain Joseph Smith for Cr. 11,520, endorsed to you payable by the Company in England on account of Mr. Barwell which at 2/1 per current rupee the exchange expected it will be rated at, will turn out £stg. 1,200. Wishing your health and happiness and success to your endeavors to promote the interest of your brother,

J. C[ATOR].

No. 505.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th September, 1776.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQR.,
DEAR LEYCESTER,

I have received your favors of 6th January, 19th, 23rd and 25th March and 3rd April 1776, but at present shall confine my answer to them on matters of business. It was with real concern I read an account of my friend Beaumont's death so soon after his letter to me of 24th January last. Accept my thanks for taking charges of my effects that were in his hands which I hope will not be attended with much trouble as they are now reduced

to a narrow compass. The most so I fear will be the settling with Captain Thompson on which I have already wrote you by this conveyance. With that letter is enclosed Beaumont's and your account with me to 30th November 1775 reversed which will clear up all your doubts as the ballance of that account agrees exactly with my books, at foot of it is noted the particulars of the assets that were in Beaumont's hands at that period, which is copied from the notes he himself had made at foot of the account he sent me. In his letter of 24 January last he mentions the selling part of my Bank Stock to complete the payment of the bills I drew in favor of Keir which he had discharged, as will more fully appear from the extract of his letter enclosed, and though he does not express the amount sold it will be in some degree a guide for your settling my account with his executors. But there remains another circumstance in which I must beg you will assist me which is this—Beaumont being satisfied with my security did not desire his money to remain at interest in the Company's cash but let it lay in my hands at the same premium the Company paid, and on his mentioning the losses he was likely to suffer from Mr. Bolts and Mr. Gamon in his letter to me of the 21st December 1774, I wrote him the 5th August 1775, as you will find by an extract of my letter also enclosed, which was merely to accommodate Beaumont for on examining his letter book it will nowhere appear that he expected I should pay him any of my own money remitted to England to make up for the remittance that might have been remitted him through the Company's cash on 1770, therefore, as his heirs are all strangers and indifferent to me, I see no reason why I should make such a sacrifice to them, especially as I did not remit a shilling of my own money through the Company at that period, but in lieu paid money to Monsr. Chevalier on his bills which are not paid to this day, for, as he is out of my reach and Middleton has died insolvent, I have not chance of being reimbursed but by Ellis, and he is so much involved with Chevalier that I have my doubts about him too; I also run a risk in Ellis's bills and the loan to Captain Mercer on respondentia to China. The latter indeed was punctual in remitting the super cargo's bills on the Company, and Ellis's bills, it is true, were at last paid, all which appear in Beaumont's account beforementioned to be reversed—but my disappointment on the nonpayment of Chevalier's and of Ellis's bills was such that I was induced to the necessity of sending a lac of rupees in specie to my sister in 1773, by which I sustained a loss of about 28 per cent. as that remittance turned out no more than $\frac{1}{7}$ per current rupee, and even that would not have turned out so much had not one of the ships in which part of those rupees were sent arrived before my letters of advice by which the charge of insurance was saved. So that all these circumstances being considered, I hope I shall not be obliged from the openness and candor

as well as regard for my friend Beaumont expressed in the extract, to pay his heirs any part of my fortune in your hands what I only intended as an accommodation to him from the long friendship that had subsisted between us; but, if it shall be found that my letter to him on the subject is binding and that I may be compelled to it, I readily acquiesce rather than dispute it at law or equity—though should it prove so I think in justice his heirs should allow something for my risks as well as bear a proportion of the loss I sustained by the remittance of the lac of rupees. However I leave it entirely to you and wish you to settle it on the same terms as you would was the case your own, with which I shall be perfectly satisfied. I have received 2 chests of claret this year I think by the *Greenwich*, and there are two more I understand for me in one of the ships lately arrived that come in Mr. Leettetre's privilege which must of course be paid for. I wish to have 2 chests of Stainforth's wine sent me annually till I shall forbid it.

You mention your intention in one of your letters to draw on me, but by account current that Mr. Cator will send you by another ship you will perceive I have very little money of yours in my hands, for W. Barton has met with so many obstructions from our new administration in the settling of his salt and purgunnah concerns that he hath not had it in his power to pay much on account of his bond to you; and am sorry to say his affairs at present have so dismal an aspect that it is hard to say when he will be in a capacity to discharge it. I am therefore to request your positive instructions what must be done with him; though should you chance to draw on a supposition that Barton has discharged his bond I will honor the bill on my own account rather than you should be subjected to a penalty by any demur to it. Mr. Cator will adjust your restitution claims with Mr. Robinson.

No. 506.

Extract of R. Barwell's letter to A. Beaumont, Calcutta, dated 5th August, 1775.

I have received your letter of the 21st December 1774 and am concerned at the losses you have sustained by Bolts and Gamon, and likewise for my not having answered your expectations in remittances of your fortune. Whatever part has been kept in this country through any omission of mine by my not taking the opportunity offered in 1770, in the 3 years Company's bills I must in equity make up to you, nor have I the least objection to do so. I will look back into my accounts and ascertain what I think you may with propriety expect and I acquiesce to. I am a very reasonable fellow on these occasions and never that I remember treated my friends with playing what some gentlemen stile the best of the game, and agreeably to equity I will

state to the debit of your account the amount I omitted to pay in 1770 for bills as if I had paid it in at that period, and leave you to charge to me what those bills would have produced, and to pay yourself from the monies you have of mine in your hands their amount including the running interest on the bills had such bills been transmitted by me. Thus, my Friend, the remittance omitted in 1770 or the continuance of that omitted remittance, in India is left to your option, but I suppose you will prefer the former as it is undoubtedly most beneficial to you. But the moneys I have received on your account since November 1770 (the limited period for receiving money for that year's draft granted on the Company) you must find some means or another of drawing, for upon my honor I know not when I shall have it in my power to gain you a safe remittance, except on every disadvantageous terms, and you know my distresses on the disappointment of Middleton and Ellis's bills to have been such that under apprehension a sufficient sum would not have been thrown into my sister's hands I sent a lac of rupees in bullion, by which I suffered 28 per cent. difference between the exchange of those bills and what the bullion turned out. You shall lose nothing, Beaumont, by my omission in the remittance of 1770; you ought not and I am satisfied you should not; and yet I shall be badly off in the partial payments of Chevaliers', Middleton and Ellis's bills which I hope to receive by my brother if they have not been fully discharged, or unquestionable security given for their discharge before he sailed.

No. 307.

*Extract of A. Beaumont's letter to R. Barwell, dated Argyle Street,
January 24th 1775.*

The ten bills drawn on Leycester and me £5,000 each in favour of Archibald Keir have been discharged. I was obliged to sell out part of your bank stock for that purpose which I was fortunate enough to do in the nick of time, as news from America has occasioned a fall in the funds near 2 per cent.

No. 308.

CALCUTTA,
The 20th September, 1776.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL,
MY DEAR SISTER,

As all the ships of the season are arrived and it will appear to you from my letter by the *Greenville* that there was a chasm in your correspondence.

It is necessary to inform you that since I wrote that letter all yours have been safely received beginning with K. K. the 7th December, 1775 and ending with B. the 6th April, 1776.

A vessel that was sent to Suez returned in August with letters from Mrs. Graham, dated Marseilles, the 2nd June. These letters communicated the London news as low as the 24th May last, by which I perceive the interest of General Clavering etc., had preponderated to influence a vote of the Direction prejudicial to the Governor-General and myself, and that such vote when canvassed by the Proprietary had been overruled. Clavering, etc. attribute the miscarriage of their views in the Proprietors' Court to the lukewarmness of the Minister, who, they affirm, must have been indifferent to the matter agitated in the Proprietary Meeting, or it could not possibly have met such a fate; that Lord North and Secry. Robinson, while they appear externally to countenance and support their cause, cannot be sincerely or heartily disposed to it, but have cheated them with a mere show etc., etc., etc. Are not these pretty fancies for men of honor to express of their friends and a pleasant intimation that servile acquiescence alone to the most unreasonable and extravagant expectations of Clavering, etc., is the part imposed on Lord North and that he evades it by a trick? I know not what notions these gentlemen may entertain of a great Minister at the head of a potent nation, but of this I am certain that such opinions set him forth in a most mean and contemptible light, a light in which I cannot possibly view him without forgetting how steady, persevering and determined he has shown in all his measures. The idea therefore of Lord North's descending to cheat General Clavering etc. with a show of support is truly ridiculous; self-swollen importance may sooth itself under disappointment with such chimeras—but I confess I have a higher sentiment of the justice and dignity of Lord North's character. To question it like the gentlemen who have been raised by his breath, and rather suppose that his Lordship, thinking the merits of the majority equivocal with the best disposition to support them, from a principle of equity and nobleness, declined an active part in a business which though it might gratify the resentment and views of individuals was not of that national weight to require his interference, and that therefore he left the decision of the contest to popular opinion with the discussion of the merits of each party. Could I form any other conception of this matter, believe me, I would instantly depart. What hope, what prospect to detain one—useless to the government, useless to myself and useless to my friends? Why incur fruitlessly the vindictive rage of party, or expose myself to anxieties and cares, which may not even find the poor reward of barren thanks? I could wish the partisans of General Clavering etc., were asked what mighty benefits they have rendered to the nation and to the Company

that they so confidently present themselves to the public for favor and for power? In the insidious arts of calumny and aspersion they indeed stand conspicuous. Arts, which, they may boast, dignified the worst of Romans in the worst eras of the empire, such as the creatures of a Tiberius, etc. etc. etc. a broad beaten road to infamy, but I hope not to honors and dignities in the English Government.

Indeed the affair of the Dacca Salt contracts is not understood at least. It was not shown you wrote, and from your letters I find even Graham deficient in stating the circumstances, but I flatter myself my Minute of the 19th May 1775, conveyed to you by the *Northumberland*, will set the whole matter in a clear and perspicuous light. I am astonished at the degree of precipitation with which my good friends seemed inclined to proceed, without allowing a man to enter upon a justification of his conduct. To brand him with a censure was surely as partial as it would have proved unjust. So great and so full a reliance have I in my own innocence and that I was unconcerned in any illicit or clandestine transactions that I would almost stake my life on the decision which any unbiased unprejudiced man of honor should pass on the merit of the case. 1st: it is affirmed that I was engaged in a clandestine lease to the prejudice of the Company who might have received more for the Salt contracts if I had not engaged in them. To this I answer the position is false, because it supposes the best offers that were tendered under seal were not accepted, an untruth supported by not a single evidence or circumstance. Next: it is false, because it imputes to me the leasing the contracts for the 5 years of the settlement when in fact they were not leased by me, nor had I any thing to do with them directly or indirectly at the time they were leased, and the Company of course could not possibly be detrimented by my engaging in them when they were under lease. The conditions of the lease must be made good let who would engage in them as lessees, as beyond those conditions the Company had not nor could have the shadow of claim or demand. That I had nothing to do with leasing the contracts for the Company is clear and incontrovertible. They were leased in the year 1772, and I was not Chief of Dacca until the last day of August 1773. How was it possible then I could have any the most distant concern in a transaction which occurred upwards of at twelve months before I was upon the spot? Surely then the person or persons must be mad or drunk who ascribe to me knavery and collusion in the act of others which I could neither know nor expect to reap a benefit from when it took place. I am shocked and tremble at the impudence of such an attempt to impose, and that the clamors of faction should have so far bewildered the dispassionate as to make them forget that the act for which I am villified, if it was not an innocent and fair one, was not mine but the act of others. and the advantages I drew are charged to me as

detrimental to the Company that in fact they were the Company's and that the Company were alone entitled to reap them. I replied if they are adjudged the Company's, I will account for them; here are the engagements, secure the future benefits for the Company, the part that has rested with me if theirs they shall likewise have. Now only mark how consistent—ist my profits are said to be made at the expense of the Company,—and that the Company alone are entitled to all the advantages to be drawn from the Salt contracts. Yet when offered it to them and bid them secure it for the Company, no, on an instant, it is no longer the Company's. It is the Armenians—a pretty Hocus Trick "it is here and it is not here." But will this barefaced subornation for it is nothing less than subornation—pass unnoticed? Shall the authors not be stigmatized? Is right and wrong fixed by no criterion but party support? Is corruption at such a pitch that to affirm one thing one moment and the direct opposite another is just and honorable? I have not patience—and if any thing would tempt a man to be a very great villain—sure such scenes would have their influence. I cannot quit these villainies with which I am persecuted without informing you of another manœuvre as impudent as it is base. The Dellores whom I turned out of employ were excited to commence a prosecution against me under various and complicated pretexts. I returned into Court an answer on oath to their bill and filed it so long since as 18 months, and though such a lapse of time has past they have not as yet brought forward one single article of their numerous aspersions or made the least reply to my answer. But under the same influence and with the same views they lately introduced upon the records of the Company all their villainous budget of perverted facts. I have taken not the least notice of this because it appears evident to me, the object of party to obtain some pretext to enter into a disingenuous proceeding to color the abominable falsifications which were fabricated to hurt my good name. I see it in this light—ist the filing the bill was done to impress a notion that the party had a real intention to prosecute and having such intention there must be some grounds—and that if it could any how be intruded on the records it would in all probability draw me into altercation and give room to throw the whole into greater obscurity and doubt, whereas if it was allowed to proceed in the Court of Judicature the facts must come out, and that was not their object. Lest however my not taking any manner of notice of these matters should give a handle to my very good friends to urge it to my prejudice, I send you under this cover abstract of my reply in equity which not having been attempted to be controverted for these 18 months, shows indubitably that the facts stated by me are uncontrovertible and beyond the power of those who would most impudently have aspered me to refute or answer. I likewise send you abstract of the representation which introduces the subject on the Company's

records with my comments following each article. The Board of Trade pursued the Dellois in the provincial *adawlut* for the balance due on their penalty engagements, they would have evaded the demand on pretext that it could not properly be made on them while they had a bill pending questioning the justness of my having compelled them to pay the part I had recovered of such penalty. This points to another motive for aspersing me by filing the bill they did—they thought it a bar to the Company's claim for the balance remaining to be recovered on their penalty.

My reason for enclosing you these papers is simply to obviate any misconstruction of my silence on matters brought before the Council and which matters were pending in the Court of Judicature. Verbally at the Council Table I told Clavering, etc., I was indebted to their faction for these aspersions, that nothing but a villainous design could have brought them upon the records, and the parties, convinced they could not make good a single allegation upon an impartial judicial investigation, had shifted their battery and thrown all their falsehoods before the Council in confidence that the decided majority would be pleased with it, and might, if I entered into any discussion of them there, involve and obscure facts under the specious show of candour; but I would not be so duped. I would not suffer or put it into the power of the majority to translate to themselves the right of judgment or decision on a subject which had long been before the impartial tribunal of justice, and therefore I would not record a word in reply to countenance my declared foes in any proceedings which I was sensible would have no other object than to vilify me and involve the truth in a labyrinth of obscurity. However to show him and the other Gentlemen on what ground I stood and how little I apprehended the prosecution of the matter at any unbiased tribunal, they might peruse the abstract of the reply I had made 18 months ago and likewise my private comments on the introduction of the subject to the Council. Yet fair as I stood, I would not trust my character while I could possibly avoid it in this or any other matter, to gentlemen who had decidedly and declaredly set their faces against me. No. This and every thing else that malice or faction should fabricate I would bring to a public and judicial decision, or show by my enemies declining to bring it to that impartial test that they are not actuated with any views to justice but to belye and traduce my character. When Clavering had read the papers, says he, "let me persuade you, Mr. Barwell, to record them, they are a full justification and upon oath." "Yes," Sir, "I know they are, but they will not justify me a title more by placing them on our debates. One of them is already a paper of judicial record and has been these 18 months without being replied to, without being controverted—thus let it remain—I will not allow it to be translated to your tribunal and let me see what faction will dare or can do—I defy it to the

utmost. I will transmit the papers to Europe to obviate the effects of misrepresentation and in the meantime proceed as you please: pervert as you please. This base attack I am determined shall come to a judicial decision or being declined, show to the world, what were the views of the agitators and upon what grounds it was made. My smarts are too recent from the candor I experienced in your salt investigation to give me leave to hope for any better treatment in this."

I am sorry I should have been so much mistaken as to give Clavering the least opening to present in the light it has been done the foolish partiality I entertained for his daughter. He little knew me, if he supposed I would revive a pursuit to which I had been led as much from an idea that it was agreeable to Miss Clavering as to the old gentleman. After the manner in which it broke off, without some apology, some concession for the trick—he has no one to blame but himself. I wish Miss Clavering happy, and I make no doubt her good qualities will insure her so if she matches with any man of feeling and sentiment. For myself I can safely aver I shall not be directed by family or fortune in any election I make without my affections likewise lead to it—but more of this in my separate letter. I send under this cover deeds which relate to yourself and Fanny. I do not wish Fanny to know anything of the matter lest she should be displeased at a distinction shown to your judgment which with justice may be equally due to hers. In regulating your approbation, remember it is not fortune it is not family that I look to. I would have her please herself: if fortune and family unite so much the better: if not she will not forget herself, and if she chooses a gentleman: blessed with manners, sense and discretion and enough prudence to regulate with economy his expenses to his income, he may be safely entrusted with the addition proposed to Fanny's fortune, and you will give it with my hearty and sincere wishes for her happiness, but should you doubt of the reliance to be placed in the honor and prudence of the person she chooses, be sure you fix upon her the gift I make, free and independent of her husband, and to descend to her issue, and on failure of issue, to my heirs whoever those may be forever. If she should mistake in her choice I would not aggravate her misfortune, by retracting that she will then stand more in need of, but which can prove of no benefit to her unless it is secured free and independent for her sole use.

Adieu, my dearest Sister and Friend; the enclosures will communicate to you all political anecdotes.

No. 509.

CALCUTTA,

TO HENRY SAVAGE, ESQR.

The 20th September, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received your letters to the latest dispatch by the *Triton*. The letter by that ship is dated 7th March, but as it acknowledges the receipt of two of mine by the *Northumberland* I imagine a mistake in the date and that it should be 7th April instead of March. Allow me in the first place and before I enter on a reply to any matters contained in your letters, to acknowledge myself very much and very highly obliged by the warm and generous manner in which you have been pleased to support my interests, and that I shall always retain such a sense of the favor as shall please you in the reflection of having conferred it and justify me in the soliciting and accepting of it. I owe you a debt, a debt to your kindness, and I will discharge it as far as opportunity and my power allow, though both, I fear, may fall short of my wishes.

By advices as low as the 24th May last *via* Alexandria and Suez the contested point, Mr. Hastings' and my removal from our stations, I find, was determined favorably for us in the Proprietary Court on the 17th of that month. These advices likewise intimate that we may be easy as to any future attempts to eject us. How far this may be relied on I know not and I have so ill an opinion of the moderation and candor of the majority and its partizans that I expect every means cunning and artifice can advise will be exerted to accomplish their object. It is surmised here, and I hope it is true, that Lord North himself is rather indifferent of the success of the majority to the full extent of their views—that he would willingly support their credit as he is bound to secure them in their offices—but has not, nor is at all disposed to take an active and decided part in any measure that may be proposed for Mr. Hastings' and my removal from the Council.

Permit me to refer you to my sister for information touching the salt contracts. By her letter you will perceive with what little decency and candor I have been treated in that matter, and the aim of the Majority in taking it up. Believe me, it was no more than a mode of suborning every man who could possibly pervert a fact, to come forward with accusations. Trace the affair step by step, and I think you will not charge me with using too harsh a term when I say the proceeding of the majority in the Armenian's complaint was a species of subornation—1st—I made not the contracts between the Company and Radachurndey in behalf of the Dacca Factory for the contracts were made in the year 1772 and I was not Chief of Dacca till the last day of August 1773—2nd—I was charged with sacrificing the Company's interests

in making a collusive contract with the Company. I made no contract with the Company. It was made 20 months before my time, and whether I engaged in them or not, after they had been made, was surely an uninteresting point to the Company—they could neither expect or claim beyond the conditions of the contracts, whoever might share in the intermediate profits arising from them. 3^d—It was determined by the Majority, the intermediate profits were the Company's, therefore I must account for the profits I had made. Good—I offered to account for the profits upon the Company's establishing their rights to them and recommended to the Majority to secure the future profits that would arise. What was done? The Majority then decreed to put their instrument, the Armenian, into full possession of the contracts and let him make the most of them. Thus for the time antecedent and posterior to my engaging in these contracts the Company was not made to contend for the contractor's advantages, and yet by a strange inconsistency these very advantages were demanded for the Company in my time and my time alone. In short the object was to involve my character and my fortune, and what a Court of justice never would have given to the Armenian, the despotic power of the Dewanny at once conferred both as a reward to him for his villainous aspersions—and a public sign and proclamation to the whole country inviting all to attack and traduce me.

My honest, my upright, Armenian whom I dismissed from his agency to the Dacca Factory, on account of the complicated and various complaints with which I was daily persecuted, I must inform you is at present in retirement at Chinsurah. He left the Presidency on the arrival of the friends of some black man or men who owe their deaths to his hand. I am not acquainted with the story, but understand from report he flogged them to death. He has been likewise cast in a suit of some of the salt picars for confining and flogging them and cheating them of the just price of their labor.

The notice that is taken in the general letter of the *delolls'* appeal who are denominated *weavers* to blind the Company, has rendered it necessary for me to express my sentiments in a short Minute on the foreign matter purposely introduced into that appeal to prejudice and hurt me in the opinion of the Company. This Minute I enclose for your perusal and refer you to Mrs. Barwell for the answer I gave into the Supreme Court with my remarks upon the letter of appeal. I likewise enclose you a Minute on the subject of a paragraph introduced into the general letter by Clavering. My total ignorance of the grounds on which Clavering wrote that paragraph precludes me from saying any thing to it. I can only assure you upon my honor that my memory recalls not to my knowledge any connexion I ever had with Mr. Lushington that can in the least degree subject him or me to reproach; but to obviate any wrong impression it became incumbent on me to move for a paragraph referring the Company for information to Mr. Lushington.

and I make no doubt whatever this hidden battery is—you will have it satisfactorily answered by that gentleman. Nothing but apprehension of fallacies being exposed before they operate their effect in England can account for the disingenuity with which such a mode of conduct is stamped. Truth skulks not from detection—it is bold and open and never flies from a free and fair discussion in order to fix an unfavorable impression. Her honest face detests a mask; she never can condescend to stab in the dark.

I enclose you a number of Minutes which have sprung out of a pleasant deception the General had prepared for the Company. The impudence of the attempt more excites my astonishment than the folly of the imposition—you were to be told you would have C. Rs. 6,04,417-15,—only remaining after the payment of all debts and demands. No notice was to be taken of your cash in the treasuries of the Provincial Councils and Board of Trade—none of your assets, etc., which were all equal to cash and independent of the growing revenue. In short, by suppressing part of the truth while the rest was given to you, you would have been led into an idea that the Company's real estate in Bengal was no more than above balance of C. Rs. 6,04,417-15 instead of C. Rs. 1,41,56,855-7. The difference C. Rs. 1,35,52,437-1-7, was to have been kept back from your knowledge, and this for the sake of a pitiful agreement and a false one too, that the Company could not have paid their debts in Bengal without risking bankruptcy. What has protracted the sale of your salt, but an attempt to keep up its price? what your opium but for the opening of the season for shipping to export it? what has prevented the remittances from Oude—but an indolent acquiescence in the excuses of the Vizier? Formerly it was "pay or we abandon," now "pay us when you can," though, at last ashamed of such trifling, the Resident has at last collected some little matters and has put the rest in a train—What has prevented our receipts of cash to the amount £st. 1,30,000 remittance but a respect to the conveniency and ease of individuals? what an anticipation of 6 months in the sale of your woollens, etc., if it had been necessary to effect so grand an operation as that proposed by Hastings for a total liquidation of your debts? And all this might have been done as the facts prove without putting the Company's Government here to the least inconvenience.

The political state of Bengal has suffered no change, and the anarchy which for a little time reigned in Oude from the turbulence of the military, has now subsided into order. You may remember (or if you will look back into the Consultations you will find) I was singular in opinion respecting the regulation for training, disciplining and giving Officers to the Vizier's battalions of seapoys. My objections were—1st that by not being on a similar establishment with our own troops the Officers would serve with reluctance in the brigades, and regard with envy those whose superior interest with the Members of the Administration introduced them into the Vizier's battalions.

2nd—As the troops proposed to be thus embodied were the Vizier's, and a formidable body of regulars taught by ourselves would be at his devotion to prosecute any projects, he might form even against the English Government. In short that the officers who had been once in his service debauched by the superior advantages of it, would return with regret to ours and serve in it with impatience, and, if ever he became our enemy, we put into his hands a rod to chastise us with. From hence I deduced that it was far more eligible to introduce into the Vizier's service a body of our own troops under stipulations that should secure their pay and guard against their sudden dismissal, and to raise an equal body to replace the deficiency in our own establishment. This would have effectually rendered him weak to us whilst it made him formidable to his neighbours, but on the present footing the strength we give him is dangerous to ourselves. The Swiss were for a long time the soldiers of Europe and in the service of every potentate, but when regular native armies were once formed and supported, the superiority which they had maintained merely from their discipline sunk, and they became no longer in request with the princes who formerly paid so dear for them. May not this be the case of our Seapoy establishment if we keep not the sword in our own hands. The internal civil policy of the Vizier's Government is under little or no regulation, and the Vizier himself is so unqualified to rule that no amendment is to be looked for. Yet all deficient as he is for a Prince, the Company cannot have a better instrument for their purposes, or one who will ever stand more in need of their support and protection.

Some apprehensions having been entertained of a design formed by Labta Cawn in concert with the Seiks and Mahrattas to invade Rohilkund, it was judged expedient by the Governor to render Nuzziff Cawn useful to the Vizier's Government and to ours, by engaging him, if possible, in a defensive alliance for its protection. Major Hannay is in consequence deputed to proceed to him, but is not to pass our frontier until we are assured by Nuzziff Cawn, in reply to a letter written to him sometime since, that he has dismissed from his service Sumroo and Maddox. Should Nuzziff Cawn come into the views of our Government (and it is his interest as well as ours he should do so), the measure will effect a strong barrier to the Vizier's dominions, and ease us from the solicitude with which we have hitherto regarded the motions of the powers in the upper parts of Hindostan.

The treaty projected in the Maharatta State in opposition to the policy of the Bombay Government has been finally ratified. I wish with all my heart the benefits proposed by it may be derived to us, but I confess I have my doubts and think with you it might have been better to have left Bombay at liberty to prosecute the war. However the occasion is past, and we must abide by the faith of a nation not overscrupulous in its regard to treaties.

This packet will inform you of the most extraordinary suspension in the

annals of the Company's Governments. Lord Pigot (to his own despotic principles inflamed, I believe, by Dalrymple, in an attempt to break through the constitution of the Company's Governments, has been dispossessed of his seat and is now prisoner at the Mount. His Lordship has certainly been to blame and merits in my opinion the fortune that has befallen him. The Council General have delivered this as their unanimous opinion, and it was necessary they should be decided because the servants of the Company as well as the military might be misled—and the same scenes be acted upon the Coast which were exhibited in the Spanish Indies. With Lord Pigot are suspended Russell, Stone and Dalrymple. Some appear to be of opinion that the majority should not have proceeded such lengths, but for my part I see not how they could stop short. The Madras papers will satisfy you on this point.

I find without any set intention that in giving the foregoing relation I have replied to many parts of your letter—particularly those touching the salt contracts and the Company's real estate in Bengal. The proofs of the venality charged to Mr. Hastings, I believe, the Majority will never fabricate, though they may have that object ever so much at heart, and I hope with dispositions so obvious to every man the Majority will not gain the least credit unless they establish their affirmations in the fullest and clearest manner, and this I know they cannot do.

The well-wishers to the Majority in what relate to Nun Comar only echoes their communications, and as I have heard it much insisted on that as Nun Comar did not know the rigor of the law by which he suffered, he ought not to have been adjudged upon it, or made amenable to it—but it is like many other little shifts to cast an odium on the Governor-General, as if he was at the bottom of the prosecution and the bench and Jury leaned to his favor—is in a moment rejected. In Mr. Vansittart's Government the brother of Mr. Amyatt's banian, his name if I recollect it Radachurn Metre, was detected of having forged a bill of exchange in order to defraud—he was respected. This petition has Nun Comar's signature, and, as it precedes in course of time the period of his own forgeries he perpetrated, his villainies with eyes open on all the consequences.

No. 510.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th September 1776.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF SANDWICH, &c., &c., &c.

My Lord,

I have been honored with your letter of 30th December last, by the hands of Mr. Mackenzie. To profess myself bound to answer Your Lordship's commands is unnecessary, persuaded as I am of the right an obligation, and an

obligation of a high nature gives to the conferrer, of my gratitude and services and that without the conviction of my rendering them with pleasure, the present opportunity in a trifling instance would scarcely have been afforded me. I embrace it with joy and as far as my little influence reaches, depend upon it, my Lord, Mr. Mackenzie shall be served.

With your countenance to any object I may have in view on the East India Company it is not probable I should be disappointed, nor will you my Lord in commanding me to the extent of any situation in which your favor may place me in this I render no more than a just debt, and it is but a poor merit for a man to urge that he has simply answered the trust reposed in him.

No. 511.

CALCUTTA,

TO JOHN PURLING, ESQ.

The 22nd September 1776

Dear Sir,

I have received your letters to the 6th April last, and by the Suez advices I do not find the *Eagle* was sailed on the 24th May, although the papers of the 17th of that month give intelligence of the resolutions of a Proprietary Court in opposition to a ballot of the direction for removing Mr. Hastings and me. I am both hurt and vexed to mark so adverse a disposition in the Directors' Court where I at least expected unbaissed proceedings against me, if not a partiality in my favor. I thank you for your candor and friendship in wishing what I wish myself that I had never engaged in the salt contracts, because the most innocent and defensible action on which a false gloss can be set by party will in some degree prove injurious, as it is not sufficient to be right and just unless we preclude to the possibility of detraction.

Touching the salt sure unless men are determined to condemn right or wrong not an imputation can lay at my door—1st What interest or what interest could I possibly expect to have in Dacca contracts in the year 1772? and What interest of the Company's did I sacrifice to advance my fortune in engaging in them the latter end of December 1773—3rd? Did my sharing in the intermediate profits of the contract deprive the Company of a rupee, and has the Company either before or since my Chiefship received a six pence from the benefits derived under the contract? 4th. Was not the contract for 5 years and could any more than the performance of the conditions of it during that time be demanded or claimed? If then I made not the contract, nor had or could have any interest in it when it was made—if I deprived not

the Company of a single possible benefit they could derive under it while I was concerned in it, and if they have not received nor can claim a single benefit before or since then what they enjoyed whilst I shared in the contracts, let me ask in what respect, in what instance am I culpable, upon what principle charged with being deficient to my public trust when Chief of Dacca? Make it out upon any ground and I will honor the ingenuity so happily turned to detract from the most unexceptionable action.

The *delolls* who formerly held the provision of the Company's investment at Dacca you may remember were deprived of the management by me, and that I threw it into the hands of the junior servants of the Company. At the same time I did this, I enforced the payment of a penalty they stood engaged into the Company for deficiency in their deliveries of cloths as well as for the badness of those they did deliver. I was aware at the time that I rendered myself obnoxious to this powerful body of men and intimated as much in all my letters, and indeed, no sooner was the new Government established, than a prosecution was commenced against me for severity in an illegal exaction of a part of the penalty. To this I answered on oath to which no reply has been put in, and it is now nearly 18 months that they have been at a full stand—not knowing how to controvert what I have urged against their bill and to its being totally out of the power to make good a single assertion, or to defend their perversion of facts by any evidence or legal proofs.

In this state of circumstances, through whose means I know not, they have introduced all their lies and aspersions to the Company's records, on a presumption doubtless that the gentlemen of the Majority may either use them as their instruments, or from the variety and intricacy in which they involve the subject extract such matter partially as may give a pretext at least to misrepresent me to the public. Impressed with this idea I am determined the translation proposed and attempted from a Court of Justice to a faction that pursues me with resentment shall not take place. If my enemies have justice on their side let them bring their allegations to the test before an impartial tribunal, and as I have already done I will be bound to support my honor and integrity clear of blot in the face of the world; but when they decline this and attempt to arraign me at a Board where a fixt party prejudice, if not hatred, will involve the clearest facts I will not submit to the artifice; and my friends and every impartial man I hope will justify me and declaim against so gross so obvious an imposition to trick me of justice and cheat me of my good name. A short Minute of mine to this effect has been taken up with a good deal of warmth by General Clavering. I replied, "No man of honor or a gentleman I was certain could be engaged in it, nor had I any grounds to impute it to him—I charged no one, the thing

would speak for itself, but of this I was certain that the paper that had been introduced on the records was not a translation from either the Persian or Bengal language."

The same ingenuity which has been invariably exercised in the perversion of truth and the coloring of factions to depreciate Hastings and me in the public opinion, you will mark in a paragraph proposed to be inserted by Clavering in general letter touching the Company's estate in Bengal. This is so gross that I could not but admire at the effrontery of the endeavor; at the very instant I exposed it by Clavering's communication. The Company would have understood they wanted about 2 lacs of rupees to liquidate the debts and demands of the Bengal Government—when in truth you will find their monies and assets as salt and opium exceeded all the debts and demands upon them by one crore and forty-one lacs and upwards. By a reference to the General's and my Minutes you will at one glance of your eye perceive how he would have effected this falsification. In the independent state of the Company an imposition of this nature would never have past unnoticed, but in its present dependant condition who will presume to note it? No one I apprehend, and the language of individuals will be simply—"General Clavering, etc., are not oversanguine," but to be sure we possess without the least advantage stated to arise from the growing revenue, a clear estate of 1,41,00,000 rupees and more. The Coast revolution and political intelligence will reach you through so many other channels that I will not occupy your time or my own with the relation. Continue to me your friendship, and support me with that warmth which may speak me in your esteem.

No. 512.

CALCUTTA,

TO LAWRENCE SULLIVAN, ESQR.,

The 23rd September 1776.

MY DEAR SIR,

The freedom of a friend dispenses with the ceremony of long epistles repeating subjects which I know my sister will communicate and to her I refer you and Mr. Hastings' intelligence. We have lately met our colleagues in better temper, but still the same determined decided line of opposition in all their measures, and since the aim to separate me from our friend, I have had no small share of the Majority's attention on any little occasion that could possibly be perverted or set in an ambiguous sight. I have been sure of their good offices, but I hope and flatter myself in nothing they have done or can do, will they fix a blot on my name. It is rather discouraging to be

wasting years and health unprofitably in India and at the same time see so gloomy a prospect in Europe. Our opponents secure of support and all our pretensions to it in a life devoted to the public interests entrusted to us passed over unregarded. Mr. Hastings bears his part with surprizing patience and preserves a harmony of spirits which I confess I am not so equal to. The impatience of my temper ill-brooks the artificial address and cunning of faction to blacken the most trivial occurrences. However I will neither fly nor yield the palm while there exists the most distant hope in the chapter of accidents. Though personally unacquainted the traits that mark each character is mutually known to each—and happy in your friendship, it shall be my continued endeavor as it is my wish to merit your confidence with your esteem—believe me with strict honor and attachment.

No. 513.

CALCUTTA,

TO THE HON'BLE FREDERICK STUART, *The 23rd September, 1776.*

DEAR STUART,

If the freedom of a Friend dispenses with ceremony, remember it is you yourself have spoiled me by encouraging the unbounded confidence I place in your partiality—or instead of a simple letter just to speak to you how much I esteem you. Mine I should now set down to enter into a formal repetition of facts which my sister to save me the trouble will communicate. I congratulate you on your entrance on the scene of action and an entrance which public rumour speaks to be equally happy and promising. Flag not in the career, and I am sure if any thing can rouse and secure to your family the full and unabated execution of your faculties you have only to fix your eye on posterity, and the strong resistless lure will operate as a charm and make your mind and body a servant worthy your King, your country, despite the luxury of ease and your indolence of temper, to draw you from the thorny path of fame. Love me and remember me. My best wishes are with you—forget not yourself and I am confident they will be accomplished.

No. 514.

CALCUTTA,

The 23rd September, 1776.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ROCHFORD &c., &c., &c.

MY LORD,

Mr. McKenzie delivered to me your letter of the 24th March. I shall not, my Lord, pretend to any particular merit for the services I may be enabled

to render that gentleman as the obligation will be mine on this and on every other occasion you may afford me to approve my readiness to answer your commands besides in this particular instance. My Lord, it is but candid I inform you that exclusive of the warmest wish I have to desire your favor—I am bound in gratitude to my Lord Sandwich and to Mr. Stuart, the son of My Lord Bute, to exert myself on any opportunity that may arise to promote the interest of Mr. McKenzie. I thank you, my Lord, for the pleasing mark you have given me of your attention and I shall be happy, assure yourself at all times to be favored with your orders.

No. 515.

CALCUTTA,

The 23rd September, 1776.

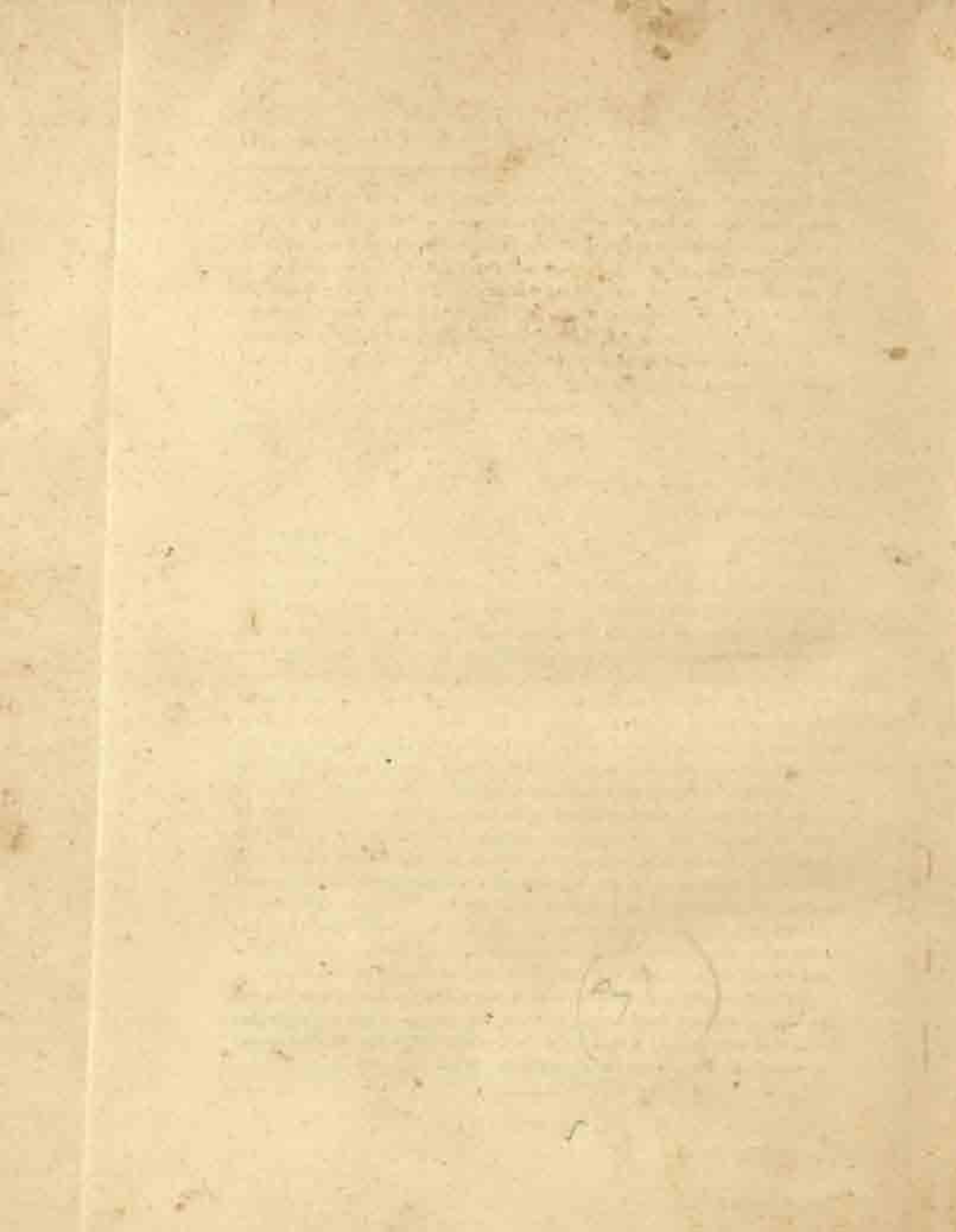
TO WILLIAM LUSHINGTON, ESQR.,

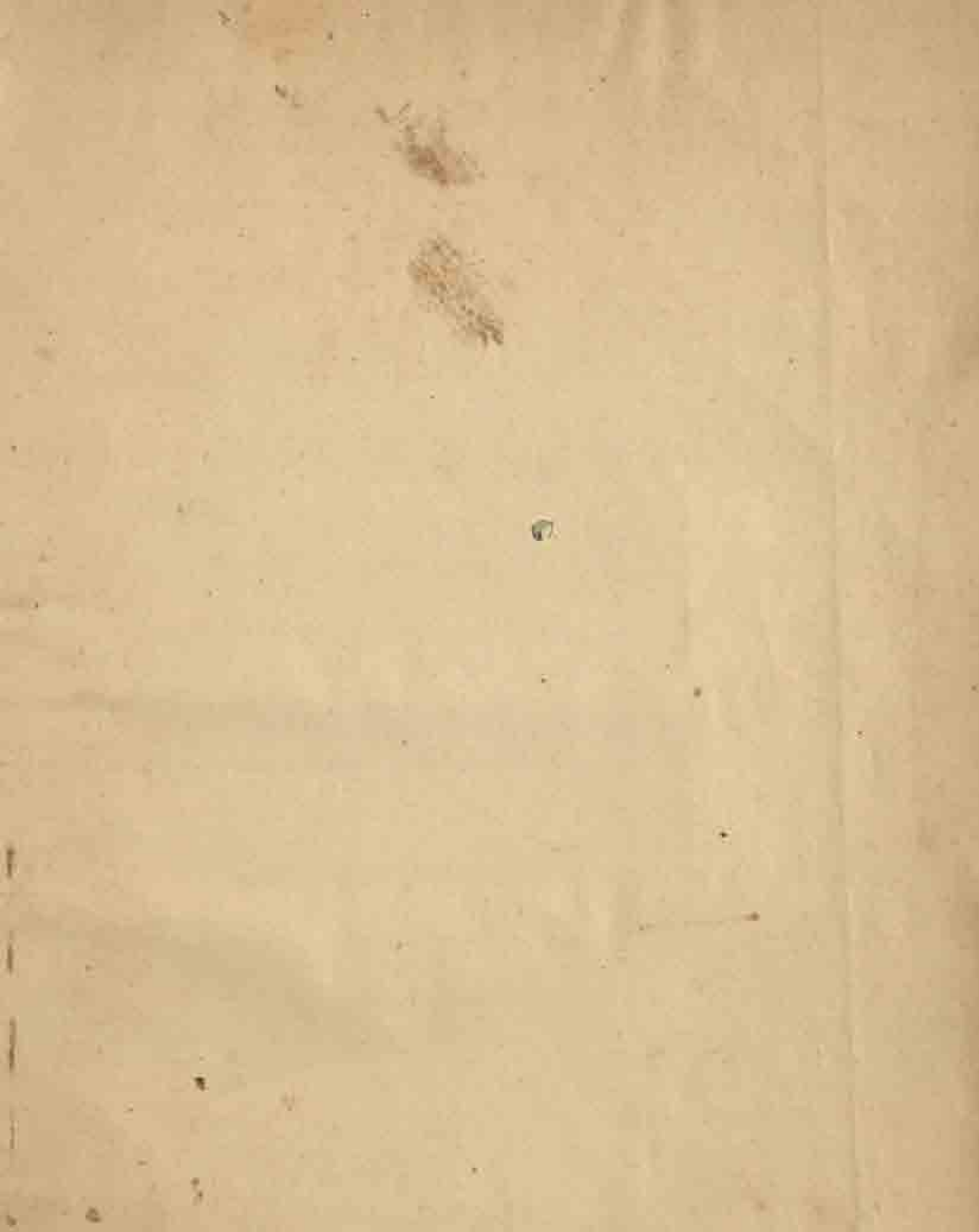
DEAR LUSHINGTON,

A few lines to total silence. Prinsep writes you on your affairs and relieves me from that task. From the Directors' mistaking the nature of the Hugly claims they have blended them with the Malungies, balances, and sent out an express order that they shall not be discharged—and Party taking advantages of this has attempted to give to the adjustment of the Hugly contracts the air of collusion. Without any matter appearing upon the records, Clavering introduced a paragraph in the letter by this packet insinuating as much, and I find he has grounded it upon the contract of Roy Subboo Chund and Dolchund which was purchased in the year 1770 and you disposed of in 1772 signing for yourself, and as the engaging in any altercation here would tend to nothing but to involve the matter in all the obscurity and mystery that faction could possibly throw over it, I judged it most eligible with a short stricture upon Clavering's covert proceeding, to give to you all the advantage of your local knowledge by referring the Directors to you for information. A master as you are of the object with their total ignorance of it, you will have all the superiority of the argument without being subjected, as I am here, to all the arts of chicane and cunning. If I can get a copy of the papers to-night you shall have them—if not and you want means to get them from the India House. Send this letter to my Sister and she will do it—or wait the next ship when you shall be sure of copies.

The imperious and despotic system attempted by Lord Pigot you will hear has terminated in his ejection from his seat, to which Stratton has succeeded supported by a majority of the Council. After this we shall appear very moderate I believe in our altercations. Adieu.

[*To be continued.*]





N.C.

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