

INDIAN HISTORICAL
RECORDS COMMISSION

Proceedings volume

Part II

1958

1142:8p N58
N58.34.2
1958

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

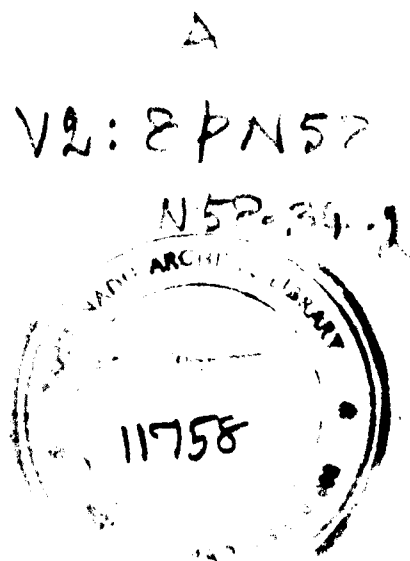
PROCEEDINGS VOLUME XXXIV

PART II



TRIVANDRUM
DECEMBER, 1958

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**CORRESPONDENCE OF EDWARD ROUGHSEDGE RELATING
TO THE NEPAL WAR, 1814—1876**

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The recently started State Central Archives at Patna and some District Record Rooms in Bihar contain plenty of unpublished records of much importance for studying the relations between Bihar and Nepal since the closing years of the eighteenth century. I have studied here¹ only a few of these from the State Central Archives relating to the Nepal War 1814—1876. These are letters written by Edward Roughsedge, Commanding Ramghur Battalion, dated from September, 1814 to March, 1815, to Lt. Col. G. H. Fagan, Adjutant General, to Major P. Bradshaw, Commanding Troops of North-East Frontier, to Major-General Marley, to Captain Watson, Assistant Adjutant General, to Major Casement, Deputy Quarter Master General and to some British officers in Bihar like H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, C. J. Sealy, Magistrate of Tirhoot and H. Parry, Collector of Tirhoot.

For these few months in the course of the Nepal War the English were in a critical situation. Some facts about British Military activities on the Saran frontier in this period, first under the command of General Marley and then under his successor Major-General George Wood from 20th February, 1815, have been narrated by a contemporary writer, Henry T. Prinsep in his work, entitled *History of the Political and Military Transactions during the administration of Marquess of Hastings, 1813—1823*². The correspondence studied here supplement our knowledge about these by some additional information, not yet found in print elsewhere, excepting some very brief references in the Muzaffarpur and Saran District Gazetteers.

In the first letter of this series, Edward Roughsedge wrote as follows to Colonel G. H. Fagan :—

“I have this day had the honour to receive your letter of the 10th instant and beg to assure you for the information of His Excellency the Right Hon’ble the Commander-in-Chief of my punctual obedience to the orders it contains :—

2. With reference to the 2nd paragraph of your letter I have the honour to state that one thousand *Bangywallas* have already entered their names

1. A research Scholar of mine has been engaged in preparing a thesis on this subject.
2. Vol. I, pp. 118-141.

with me, as willing to be employed in any Department of the army proceeding against Nepaul and no Exertion shall be wanting to procure another thousand of them before my detachment marches to Danapore.

3. Adverting to the importance of obtaining as many of these useful men as may be practicable, and to the expediency of satisfying them, without delay that every reasonable indulgence will be granted to them, I have thought it my duty to avail myself of the discretion given in your letter, to promise that each man shall be paid at the rate of four Sicca Rupees per month from the day of his quitting Hazarribaugh (Hazaribagh) to join the army at Danapore, that he shall receive from me one month's pay in advance to enable him to leave something with his family and that he shall have one anna *per diem* subsistence from the day he is mustered and attached to a particular set of twenty until he is sent to Danapore.

4. I have also appointed to every set of twenty *Bangywallas* a mate who is to receive five Rupees Sicca per month and to be chosen by his comrades, to every five mates is allotted a sirdar who will receive six rupees sicca per month, and to these I have found it necessary to add a Lalla (a Kayasth writer) at ten Rupees per month for the purpose of keeping their account and muster roll."

On the 31st October, 1814, Edward Roughsedge wrote to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna :—"I have the honour to inform you that a Detachment under my command consisting of six companies of Infantry and two four Pounders with Camp followers of *Bangywallas* together amounting to about 3,500 persons will encamp at Munnoura on the banks of the Poonpon (Punpun) on the 9th, at Bankipore on the 10th proximo and I shall consider myself obliged by your giving the customary orders for the provision of supplies at those places on the days mentioned." He also sent letters to C. J. Sealy, Magistrate of Tirhoot, and H. Parry, Collector of Tirhoot, informing them of the march of the battalion and requesting them for "the usual number of supplies".

Major Edward Roughsedge sent the following communication to Lt. Col. Fagan after reaching Muzaffarpur on the 20th November, 1814.

"We marched into this place today and having had two days' hard work in crossing the Ganges and then long marches since, it is my intention to halt tomorrow to refresh the men and cattle. Afterwards we shall go straight to Bradshaw's camp, unless he sends orders to the contrary, without further delay. I cannot hear at this place that there is any large force in the service, though from poor Hay's letters (whose sickness I believe I mentioned to you) it would appear otherwise, the Major of course will know what the truth is. There are some improbable but amongst the natives very generally circulated rumours of the existence of a plot in which

the disaffected and dissolute Inhabitants of Patna are concerned with concealed bands of Napaulees to raise an insurrection at Patna, and at Hajipoor during the approaching fair (Sonepur fair). Of course these rumours must be known to the Magistrate and constituted authorities at Patna, and I do not mention them from a belief of their having any foundation, or from a doubt of the officers who are responsible having taken proper measures of precaution but to strengthen (by combining this report with the general Belief which prevails here both amongst Europeans and the natives of the determination of the Napaulees to ravage Tirhoot, so soon as we by entering their country shall in their minds justify the measures) a suggestion I have to submit to your consideration for the more effectual security of this rich and flourishing part of our Dominions. It appears to me that as long as the Nepaulee armies are kept together and their spirit unbroken which without cracking may be for some time to come no strength in Infantry however, well disposed can secure the Zillah of Charprah (Chapra) and Tirhoot, and Purneah from ravage and desolation. I would urge upon your notice, therefore, the expediency of detaching if possible a Regiment of Cavalry to this part of the world. Its Headquarters it seems to me should be at Maissy (Mehsi) in the district of Saran, a place abounding in Grain of all sorts, in fine grass and water and perfectly healthy. A squadron might be here and the remaining four troops disposed to the east and west though three of them should join the former direction. If regular Cavalry cannot be spared perhaps Amreet Rao's Horse or other regular troops might answer the purpose tolerably and all the great Rajahs such as the Rajah of Bettiah, of Durbhangah and of Purneah should be encouraged and permitted to arm for the protection of the Frontier to which their Estates extend."

Next day there was one letter from Roughsedge to General Marley to the following effect :—

"I had the pleasure of receiving your kind letter the night before last. Tomorrow I shall leave Muzaffarpore and proceed by the usual stages unless I hear from Major Bradshaw that great Expedition is necessary to Gorasien. I have this morning sent him a present state of my Detachment. I agree with you in the probability of the Nepaulese doing much mischief in these Zillah between the time we commence Hostilities and the conclusion of matters and I think Government has overlooked the entire want of means to prevent their revaging the country to the edge of the Ganges after we shall have advanced. In my opinion nothing but a Regiment of Cavalry will effectually provide against this danger. Its Headquarters (one squadron) might be at Maissy, a place admirably adapted for a post of horse. One troop might be to the west of and 3 to the east of that place. If there is a regiment that can be spared for this service it would I really think be of inestimable service. Your communications to Kathmandu might be kept by it and no Nepaulese would dare to

enter the fertile plains of Tirhoot, Saran and Purneah if in danger of being cut off by its parties. The opinion of all the people black and white in this part of the world is in favour of attempts to ravage our districts so soon as hostilities shall have commenced."

We know from a letter of Major Edward Roughsedge to Major Bradshaw, dated camp Dacca, the 26th November, 1814, that a detachment of the Ramghur Battalion under Lt. Herring marched from there that day with a guide and two horsemen, to join the troops under Major Bradshaw at Burhurwa, situated on the right bank of the Bagmati. It is stated in one letter of Major Edward Roughsedge to Fagan from his camp at Buspeeta, dated 30th November, 1814, that, at Burhurwa, Major Bradshaw "destroyed three companies of Nypaulese" probably on the 25th November. The Terai "was immediately evacuated by the Goorkhas, and occupied and annexed pro-tempore, by proclamation, to the British possessions³."

Major Bradshaw made some arrangements for the defence of the Tarai, till the arrival of General Marley, and he placed Major Roughsedge "for the present in charge of the protection of the Zillah of Tirhoot from the possible attempts of the enemy to plunder the district". Major Roughsedge therefore, called on the "Rajah of Durbhangah and the other great *malguzars*" in that frontier "to assemble a portion of their dependants in arms in the neighbourhood of the position" he might take up. He wrote to the Magistrate of Tirhoot on the 30th November. "I have to request the favour of your countenancing with your influence and authority my requisitions on these persons, and in general that you will be pleased to give order to the officers subject to your command to yield a zealous and prompt compliance to all calls from me connected with the due performance of the duty to which I have been appointed."

In some letters we get accounts of the march of Major Roughsedge to Janakpur, and from there he wrote as follows to Major Bradshaw on the 8th December, 1814 :—

"I had the honour to address you on the 4th instant and have now to report my arrival at Janickpore (Janakpore) without the slightest opposition, south of this place about a mile is a mud inclosure which they dignify with the name of the *Guree* (garh) of Roopeeta. I visited it this morning and was not surprised to learn that it was evacuated as soon as the news of the affairs at Burhurwa reached the Souba, it is not strong enough to keep out a body of Pindaries—2—Concluding that considerable delay must take place after the arrival of General Marley on the Frontier before the adoption of a general forward movement, it is my intention, unless I

3. Prinsep, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 121.

receive your orders to a contrary Effect, to pursue my March towards the River Coosey (Kosi) but turning again to the northward as far as the Saul (Sal) Jungles which I quitted only for the purpose of settling this principal part of the Purgunnah of Mowterree, and taking possession of Roopeeta.—3—I have before stated to you unofficially the report of the assemblage of a considerable body of Nypaulese at Lohl Bettiah in the Jungle and whilst writing it is confirmed to me with the addition that they only wait until they are strong enough to make a night attack on my camp. I have sent out spies I can depend upon, and if I am fortunate enough to gain such information of their numbers and position as will warrant the measure it is my intention this evening to anticipate their visit.—4—I regret to be obliged to state that neither your orders nor the influence Magistrate has, I conclude, exerted, nor my own pressing letters to the great landholders have as yet been attended with the slightest effect. From the Rajah of Durbungah I have no reply, therefore, I still hope for his assistance, the Turki Rajah sent an answer to my Perwanah by a Dosad, which contains a long interested account of his claims to lands wrested from him by the Gurkha Government, and ends by setting forth his poverty and inability to produce armed men; he also tells me he has received no orders from the Magistrate—5. The Chaudhuri Mahendra Narain who I am told has the most profitable estate in this District, had sent no reply to my letter though I have passed within 6 Coss of the place of his residence. He did it is true write a letter to Mir Jafar Shah, which that native gentleman gave me the perusal of, setting forth his inability to raise men, or to come near me, lest his Estate should be sold during his absence, and urging him to obtain by some means or other, my permission for his presence and services to be dispensed with—6. Thus with the exception of the Durbhunga family from which I confess by expectations are not sanguine it evidently appears that we can not count on assistance of any kind from the worthless Zamindars on this Frontier. I never suppose that they could afford aid to be considered valuable in a military point of view but their presence and the appearance of their followers would have had a beneficial effect on the inhabitants of the Nepaulie Terrai independently of the resources for obtaining information, I should have found in their local knowledge and connections by Blood and Marriage, with their neighbours beyond the Borders—7. I have dwelt on the subject as a means of explaining and accounting for the deficiency of intelligence under which, I can not conceal from myself, that I at present labour, it has produced and until a short time has elapsed, must continue to produce contradictions in my communications to you, that it is vain to regret—8. It is reported to me, only since my arrival at Janakpore that there are troops, besides those said to be at Lohl Bettiah which is 16 or 18 miles North and by West of this place, at Much Deea a Pergunnah about 30 miles and consequently close to the Hills, N.N. East of this place, and that there are four *Sirdars* one with the Rank of Colonel and a son of the General Amar Singh Thappa

at Bijapore in the Morung with five or six thousand regular troops—9. If this be wholly or in part true, adverting to the imprudence of depending, as I have I trust shewn in this letter, in the smallest degree on the exertions of the great Zamindars for the protection of Tirhoot, the expediency of the Establishment of some forces which I submit to you should if possible be composed of Cavalry, along the northern Frontier from the Bagmautty to the Goosah appears to me in the highest degree obvious—I shall have the honour again to address you tomorrow.”

In a letter of Major Roughsedge, dated 13th December, 1814, written from his camp at Buckree, it is evident that he utilised the assistance of some local men to get necessary information. “By the assistance of Lallah Bahadur Singh and Meer Jaffer Shah I have been fortunate enough,” he observed in it, “to get into my camp Byjenaut Uppady and his two brothers. These persons are Brahmins of respectable family and were born at Seedly in the neighbourhood of which they had 24 charity land villages, some ten years ago their lands were taken from them by Nepaul Government, and they came down into the Tarrie where they have ever since chiefly resided. I had some difficulty in bringing them in, for an infamous report had gone abroad that no Purbuttea would be spared by the British troops. Having devoted the whole of my leisure since my arrival on this frontier to enquire into the roads and passes through the mountains which separate it from Nepaul though I can not boast of any great progress I think myself in some degree qualified to appreciate the value of the information possessed by these persons and I do not hesitate to assure as far as I can judge their knowledge of the roads from the Tarrie to Seedly and thence to Catmandu (Katmandu), from Seedly to Hurrarpore (Hariharpore) and thence to Mackwanpore (Makwanpur) and in general of all the roads from the Tarrie leading northward between the longitudes of the Mandu (Katmandu) and Seedly is extensive and correct, of their Zeal and Fidelity I have taken what appeared the best mode to assure myself, viz., by prevailing upon them to send their wives and children to Maissy (Mehsi) or Muzaffarpur the necessary funds for which I have provided. I am engaged in preparing for you sketches in English of the different routes with which they have supplied me drawn in the *nagri* language, and will transmit them as soon as possible. In the mean time I submit to you the following abstract of their information which coincides as much as can be expected with what I stated in a letter dated 4th instant. When I had not seen the Brahmins from my present encampment about 10 miles north and by west of Janakpore there is a frequented road by the stages of Bowane, Rajah Buss, Bheembhand and the confluence of the Comlah and Goangah rivers to the village of Seedly total distance about 54 miles. The fort of Seedly is of bricks without mortar, stands on an eminence perhaps one thousand feet high from the village, may be approached without difficulty and easily

taken. It commands no road and is considered by the Nepaulese of no importance. Indeed my informers are persuaded that it would be deserted on the approach of the British Troops into the Marre or valley of Seedly. About 16 miles further on to the north-west, however, stands on the brow of an excessively high mountain the fort of Pawa or Powa-cote which commands in so effectual a manner the Road to the Capital of Nepaul and is so strong and well situated that it is believed impracticable for any number of troops to force a passage in that direction nor could it be taken unless attacked on the north-western or northern face without the greatest difficulty. It was at this position (though the fort has been rebuilt within the last 15 years) that Captain Kinloch (1767) received the check which proved fatal to his expedition. The present fort I am informed stands on a square Biggha of land, is constructed of stone and mortar and supported by a smaller Fort of the same materials about 500 yards of the west and the road is made to turn round the Southern and Eastern faces of the large fort in such a manner as to preclude all approach without the risk of certain destruction. My informers, however, say that if one detachment could be advanced to Seedly another to Hurrearpore and a third to Mockwanpore, a depot of grain established at Petinga (Patanga) (to which loaded Bullocks can be brought) a place about 12 miles west of Seedly on the road to Hurrearpore and which can be approached also from the Terraie via Cadraha, the Luckuen Dhy Nullah Chaerecagautee and the Colah or bed of the Murhin Nullah that after the occupation of this line, whilst demonstrations were made against Cheesa Panee and Powa Gurhee which would induce the Nypaulese to concentrate their troops at those two points, they would undertake to lead the remainder of the army by secret roads at present shut up, but which they would answer with their lives for tracing direct towards the valley of Neupaul without the intervention of an enemy's fort or position. They add that after ascending the Mahabarut Range on which both Cheesa Panee and Powa Gurhee are situated and which they propose to do at a point about 15 miles west of Seedly, many roads can be found to the Capital or if that be thought preferable. The Forts above mentioned (at all events Powa) may be attacked from the heights in its rear and soon taken. Before any measures indicative of an attempt to proceed from Peingee or any part of the line between Hurriarpore and Seedly are made, however a strong demonstration against Powagur in which should be if possible heavy guns (and there seems no reason to doubt the practicability of taking them to Seedly) must be established and every method used to mislead the enemy into a belief of our determination to secure our route to the valley by the previous conquest of that fortress. The Bramins do not profess to be well acquainted with the country west of Hurriarpore, but they assure me that the Road along the Cohla of the Bagmuttee is impracticable to troops, and they are not of opinion that there is any Road whatever by which an army can avoid passing over the Mahabarut mountains that is the grand chain extending

from Chusa Panee to Powagurh so that we have only a choice of difficulties. I regret exceedingly that the Seedley and adjacent routes have been overlooked at Headquarters as you will no doubt feel reluctant to move in that direction without the fullest conviction of its superior eligibility. I do not know that discoveries have been made of routes to the west of the Bagmuttee and it is possible that some may have been found preferable to the one this letter is intended to recommend to your serious consideration but if enquiries I am still pursuing should turn out as I hope and expect they will I should not hesitate to pledge by reputation on the success of your detachment. If it be sufficiently strong to make a powerful false attack in Powaghur and a respectable diversion towards Cheesa Pani leaving the Europeans chief part of the light artillery and about two thousand Sipahes to ascend the Mahabarut range somewhere between Pitingee and Seedley, I know not your present situation but I have taken measures for the speedy arrival of this despatch and if you think it advisable I will ride over the country to your camp with the sketches, and what information I have as quickly as possible. My detachment is so admirably posted at this place for watching the motions of the enemy at Powagurh (where there is a large force and between the borders of the Terrai and Seedley on this side of which a small party also arrived the day before yesterday) that for the present I strongly recommend its being kept where it is. I made rather a difficult march this morning which must be my apology for the haste and confusion with which this letter is drawn up. If you permit me to wait upon you I think I shall show good reasons for what I have advanced. Your camp if near Burhurwa is not more than 40 miles in a straight line from this place to that. I shall have no difficulty in making the trip and for fear of accident I will bring Rogers with me."

Additional information about the operations of Major Roughsedge was narrated by him in a letter, dated, camp Burkree, 15th December, 1814. "I hope you will have safely received by letter of the 13th. The sketch is not quite ready but we are working at it. The News of today is but I know not now for correct, that Run Beer Sein the brother of Bheem Sein is come down to Muckwanpore with ten thousand men and Khune Singh Thappa and Beer Singh Thappa with four or five thousand to Powaghur and Seedley. They say also that an advanced guard for four or five hundred men is arrived at the confluence of the Comlah and Goang which is about 8 miles on this side of the valley of Seedley and about 16 Coss due north of my position. All these troops are only lately arrived and arriving, and I hear that when the affair at Burhurwa took place there were no troops at all at Seedley which looks certainly as if the Neppaulese at that time did not know they were quarelling with us, now they talk it is said very big. A proclamation has been published announcing death against every male capable of carrying a musket who shall be found at home instead of join-

ing the Levy *en masse* which is going forward and the Rajah says he will either make the Ganges his boundary or give up his country altogether. The troops raised in the way I have mentioned are not likely to fight very well but certainly they have regular soldiers in sufficient numbers, and a sufficient portion of natural advantages to render caution in our operations against them a matter of the first necessity. Guns of a large calibre if it were possible to transport them which by means of your efficient corps of Pioneers, of Elephants, and of the zeal of Europeans and natives (a zeal at this time of year and in the climate we are to enter which rather benefit than injure the health of your troops) will I think be the case, would be found in the highest degree conducive to your ultimate success. If you should think the Establishment of a Depot of grain necessary on this side of the Bugmutty, I would take liberty to recommend the Mud Fort of Ranpeta 2 miles south of Janickpore (Janakpur) as a very proper place for the purpose. For four or five hundred rupees the ditch might be depend, the parapet thickened and the well cleaned and it would be then out of danger from troops without six Pounds. The situation is critical and provisions in great abundance and cheapness are to be drawn from the country to the East, West and South of it. I have not as yet been joined by the followers or people of a single zemindar in Tirhoot. You will have known from my letter of the 9th instant to Major Bradshaw the account given by the Chaudhuri Mahendar Narain of the state of mind and uselessness of the person named Sinher Dass whose presence with you or the Major was considered of so much importance by Mr. Moorcroft. The Chaprassies whom I mentioned to have sent for him yesterday returned and in a conversation of two hours and more which I have held with him this morning. I do not perceive the smallest symptom of Imbecility or Derangement, on the contrary though from circumstances he can not be very intimately acquainted with the roads, particularly the secret ones, from the Terrai to Nypaul, I am of opinion that after we have got to or near the Capital he will prove of the greatest use and I consider him to be so sensible a man that I have taken great pains and I trust with complete success to secure his zealous services with your detachment. I will write to you again about him tomorrow or the next day, and if I know that you had taken the command I should address you officially, but being ignorant of that, and having been placed by your orders under Major Bradshaw it would be a breach of etiquette to do it until I hear that is the case. I beg you will excuse haste and a thousand interruptions and believe me."

By the 23rd December, 1814, Major Roughsedge was at Ratoo Sudder. By the 4th of January, 1815, he was near Pusta and by the 16th January he was at Buragurhee. The story of the establishment of British control over the villages in the Tarai by the middle of March, 1815, is narrated

in the following letter of Major Roughsedge to Major Bradshaw, dated 16th March, 1815 :—

“I had the pleasure of receiving your letter two or three days ago. The proclamations have been distributed but as the Pergannah of Churmunt was not mentioned I state one from another insignificant Pergana for it as a place of some consequence and now belong to it. The night before last a servant of your Tahsildar came to mention his master's arrival at a village in this neighbourhood and excuse his personal appearance until the next day on account of indisposition. He mentioned that a serious quarrel had taken place between the Tahsildar and the Rajah of Bettiah's troops who had proceeded so far as to threaten his life. I took the opportunity of giving your letter to the servant and said I should be glad to see his master the next day. It was 3 O'clock yesterday afternoon however, before he arrived and having been much harassed by the Government for the last week I had retired to lay down a good deal fatigued and was obliged to request that he would come again this morning. However as it is now past three I fancy he has been prevented. The villages to the northward are coming in very satisfactorily and in conformity with an order from General Wood. I am taking from them engagements to deliver as much of the grain (paddy) left in their store-houses as they can spare from the quantity necessary for their own subsistence and for the sowing of the spring crop—I was very sorry to hear of the invasion of the Garrison of Runpheta. The troops lately in front of us are moving parallel to General Wood *via* Godraha etc. But I fear they will take care to observe a most respectful distance. The Gang of Moosen Raut is recommencing a number of Buffaloes have been stolen by them lately in this vicinity and I have got hold of the land of Anup Raut of Cachmena taken in *ipso facto******.”

Further information on the point noted in the preceding paragraph is available in the following letter of Major Roughsedge to Captain Watson, Adjutant-General, dated 19th March, 1815 :—

“I have the honour to transmit for the information of Major General George Wood the enclosed statement of villages from the managers of which I have received engagements for the voluntary delivery of all their surplus grain. 2—No village in the vicinity has been deserted altogether, that is to say, the raiyats are willing and anxious to rebuild with the spirit of my orders to encourage this inclination. Only one heap of grain will, therefore, I conclude be necessary and with the Major-General's permission the merchants of Chupra and Tirhoot to whom the villagers are under engagement for the sale of *paddy* may have the amount delivered to them from the fort under the receipts and in the presence of the parties or the quantity taken from each village may be considered as a revenue

payment at the Nerrick (rate of payment) of the country. I am very certain that at this moment in the vicinity of Banagurel no connection or intercourse whatever exists between the Taroo inhabitants and managers of the villages near the forest and the Goorkhas. The latter indeed on quitting the plains gave the strictest orders to the Dunwars or Kuchars who live at the Southern Foot of the Chereegautty range to let no one from the Terraie approach their villages and this order appears to have been obeyed for the Taroos though very ready to go as far as Ratanpore or Doomharpore declare that they cannot attempt to explore the mouth of the Lucta Cola or penetrate to Muckwanpore Maree without great risk of their lives and I believe that the magnitude of the force now assembled on this Frontier and the declaration of the British Government of the irrevocable annexation of the Nepaulese Terrie to its dominion have made such an impression on this class of people that under the powerful protection they are now certain of enjoying—there is not the least risk of their being tempted to swerve from the allegiance which I beg to submit to the Major General that this is a very advantageous moment for exacting their obligations of conforming to. 4—The destruction of some of the villages and the flight of the inhabitants in general obliged me to grant them until the end of the present month to bring in the surplus grain which I trust the Major General will not disapprove. 5—It is my duty to submit to you that nothing like positive proof of the truth of the accusations against him of being the instigator of the burning of Colonel Bradshaw's bungalow and the Rajahas Granary at Goorahsahum has been produced against Sooklall Gheer the Gossien whose person I deemed my duty to secure immediately after learning the Evacuation of Suphee.”

BRITISH CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE GURKHAS IN THE SIMLA HILL STATES

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In the beginning of the 19th Century the Gurkhas embarked upon an ambitious plan of the conquest of the states westward and wished to extend their empire from Nepal to Kashmir. All the country from Garhwal to the Sutlej fell an easy prey. Once established at Sreenagar (Garhwal) they crossed the river to pursue their fortune and laid siege to the strong fort of Kangra. But there the sweeping advance was arrested, because Maharaja Sansar Chand, the overlord of the Kangra hill states, stoutly resisted the invaders and in the long protracted siege the Gurkhas lost more men than the conquest of half the country entailed.

The British had viewed the growing aggressions and encroachments of the Gurkhas on their own territories with grave apprehension. When their representations and negotiations for settlement of border disputes proved fruitless the authorities prepared themselves to repel them. The Nepalese War of 1814—16 followed.

The British made preparations for a campaign against the Gurkhas in the North-Western Himalayas, as a part of the Nepalese War, 1814—16. After a long drawn out struggle the Gurkhas were defeated and evicted from the entire hilly territory between the Sutlej and Kali or Gogra rivers. The operations against the intrepid and gallant Gurkhas, who were strongly entrenched in the chain of forts and strongholds in the almost impregnable mountains, proved to be the most complicated and arduous.

Amar Singh Thapa, the Gurkha general, held the command over the newly conquered territories towards the West. He was the Chief Commander of the troops that had crossed the Kali or Gogra river to push the Gurkha conquests through Garhwal to the Sutlej. His son, Ranjor Singh Thapa, had established himself at Nahan, and various inferior officers were scattered up and down the country in numerous fortresses and strongholds to keep the area under subjection. Amar Singh himself remained at the extremity of his conquests; and having been unable to obtain any permanent footing beyond the Sutlej, occupied the line of posts around Arki and Bilaspur, where were situated in the strongly fortified towns of Ramgarh and Malown.

The British troops called upon to engage in the Nepalese war were divided into four divisions located at Banaras, Meerut, Dinapur and Ludhiana. The fourth, or the North-Western division, at Ludhiana, was smaller than the others, and at first consisted of less than 3,000 men. It

assembled under Brigadier-General Ochterlony and was expected to advance against the strong and extensive cluster of posts held by Amar Singh Thapa and troops under his immediate orders at and surrounding Arki, a considerable town in Kuhloor. The force was designed to co-operate with the troops under Major-General Gillespie, moving downwards among the hills. The positions surrounding Amar Singh were thus designed to be forced.

A detailed account of the British dealing with the Gurkhas, who had taken possession of the whole of the North-Western Himalayan region, subsequently known as Simla hill states, during the years 1809 to 1815, until they were finally expelled, is forthcoming from a huge bundle of papers written in Persian recently salvaged from the office of the Commissioner, Ambala. The mass of papers on the subject tied together in a cloth sheet in the form of the traditional "Basta" seems to have been transferred there when the Political Agency at Ludhiana, from where the documents emanated, was incorporated into the North-Western Frontier Agency at Ambala in 1840.

The voluminous papers comprise 807 consultations, covering some 2,000 pages. A list of the documents, giving captions and dates, is affixed to the bundle. With the exception of a couple of letters from the agents of the Gurkhas written in Hindi all the papers are in Persian. More important documents appear to have been translated into English, presumably for the benefit of British authorities. In stray cases the translation into English is given just below the original text on the same paper. There are copies of the letters, reports or proclamations issued by British Officers. The receipts from the protected hill and native chiefs, their authorized agents, the Gurkha Commanders, Amar Singh and Ranjor Singh Thapa, or their emissaries bear seals or signatures. A few papers contain orders at the back issued by competent authorities.

The collection contains complaints preferred by protected hill chiefs against forcible occupation of their territories by the Gurkhas and appeals for assistance and restitution of their former possessions. Numerous letters relate to the correspondence carried on between the Gurkha Commanders and the British local authorities about rival claims to disputed territories and mutual expressions of good-will and concord. The bulk of the papers pertains to preparations for the campaign against the Gurkhas in collaboration with the protected hill chiefs who had been instructed with information about routes and stages, plans of the forts to be recaptured, communications about the movements of the Gurkhas in the area, requisitions for troops, supplies and stores, terms and conditions of restoration of reconquered territories and sundry matters in connection with the expulsion of the Gurkhas.

The campaign against the Gurkhas can be divided into two distinct phases, as revealed by the wide assortment of papers in the said collection.

The first phase—from August, 1809—October, 1814—may be described as preliminary and preparatory. The documents relating to the first stage are frequent appeals for help and restitution by the various hill Chiefs whose territories had been overrun and occupied by the Gurkhas. There are detailed reports about their activities, strength, resources and plans. Relevant data regarding the political situation in the region, the hill principalities that existed there before the Gurkha invasion and routes and approaches to the various forts and strongholds under the control of the Gurkhas are being collected by the British. Large numbers of letters, complimentary or political, are exchanged between Kajis Amar Singh and Ranjor Singh Thapa or their agents on the one hand and the British local officers on the other regarding developments in the mountainous area. Steps are taken by the British authorities to enlist the active support of the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs in their impending campaign against the Gurkhas, which is felt to be inevitable in the face of their persistent aggression and intransigent attitude. Letters are sent to Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore to allay his apprehensions in regard to Gurkha encroachments across the Sutlej. Time and again communications are received from hill Chiefs or their representatives regarding cases of cattle lifting, high handedness and oppression by the Gurkhas.

The second or operational phase of the campaign against the Gurkhas in the Western Himalayas may be taken to have started with the proclamation by Col. David Ochterlony, dated the 17th October, 1814, copies of which in Persian and Urdu are available in the collection. It urges the chiefs and residents of the territories between the rivers Jamuna and Sutlej to make a concerted effort to drive out the Gurkhas and to join the British army which was being organised for the expulsion of the Gurkhas. In the meantime Lord Minto had been succeeded by Earl of Moira as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief.

The Maharaja of Nepal, in a number of communications to the Governor-General and Col. Ochterlony, declares that the territories to the west of Sutlej—Tehra, Kangra, Kotla, Kulu, Mandi, Chamba, Nurpur, Guler, Siba, Jaswan and Datarpur, up to the river Irawady have been brought under Gurkha control after strenuous efforts. The British should recognise the same.

In anticipation of the British Campaign proposed to be launched detailed information about the disposition of the Gurkha troops at various places is collected. Offers of help in troops and supplies from various Chiefs are received. Arrangements are made for the purchase of grain and its storage at different places. Details of soldiers, labourers and "bagaris" in various forts held by the Gurkhas are obtained through secret agents. Topographical details and information about passages, routes, streams, halting stages, towns and villages are gathered from the whole region.

Requisitions for a specified numbers of soldiers, labourers, and 'bagaris' are sent to the different chiefs in the protected country. Offers of help are received from the rulers of some of the principal Cis-Sutlej Chiefs—Patiala, Nabha and Jind and a host of minor Sardars. Elaborate arrangements are made for the transport and storage of grain and stores required for the campaign. Instructions are issued to all the protected chiefs to preserve peace and order and not to create disturbances. The people of the hilly areas are exhorted to withhold all assistance to the Gurkhas and aid the British troops in their exertions against them. Maps and plans of all important forts and strongholds occupied by the Gurkhas, such as Jagatgarh, Morni, Nahan, Rajgarh, Kot Kamol and Bathgarh, have been secured. Chaudhuries of the areas are promised rewards for services to the British troops engaged in the campaign. The Maharaja of Patiala is called upon to furnish troops to protect the rear of the British army proceeding to the hills. Other protected Chiefs are asked to join the Patiala troops and assist in the expulsion of the Gurkhas.

As the campaign against the Gurkhas progresses attempts are made by them through accredited agents to reach a settlement with the British. Several documents contain terms on which negotiations are proposed to be initiated by the Gurkhas. Prolonged parleys are carried on for the settlement of the disputes. The operations are intensified by the British. Intelligence is received from various quarters about the Gurkhas. Several letters exchanged between the Gurkha Commanders are intercepted. Communications are sent to protected Chiefs for assistance; negotiations are carried on through their agency for procurement of supplies and stores. Raja Ram Singh is recognised as the ruler of Kuhloor in place of Raja Mahan Chand, who is believed to be a supporter of the Gurkhas. Persistent complaints are received about the desertion of 'bagaris' and stern action is desired to be taken against them by the suppliers. The protected Chiefs are enjoined to prohibit their subjects from supplying grain and cloth to the Gurkhas. Requisitions are made for 'banjaras' and oxen for the transport of stores to the hilly regions. Information is sought from secret agents and letters about strategic movements of the Gurkhas intercepted. Intimation about British conquests is sent to protected Chiefs. Defection of hill Chiefs and dignitaries is reported. They are encouraged to stay in the British territory and support their war effort. Enquiries are instituted regarding their antecedents for the satisfaction of the authorities. Others are encouraged to leave the Gurkhas on promises of maintenance and rewards and return to their homes on the termination of hostilities. Orders are issued to British supporters stationed at various places. Arrested secret agents of the Gurkhas are interrogated to elicit information about their plans.

In the face of increasing British military pressure, offers of evacuation of Jagatgarh and Morni are made by Ranjor Singh Thapa on specified

terms. The British demand complete withdrawal from the territories situated between the Jamuna and the Sutlej according to a draft treaty of eight terms (written both in Persian and Hindi on the same paper). The final agreement is reached between Col. D. Ochterlony and Kaji Amar Singh Thapa after the evacuation of Malown and Jaitak forts on the 16th May, 1815. The Gurkha Commander is allowed safe return to Nepal.

On the successful conclusion of the campaign the protected Chiefs and supporters are asked to return. Intimation about British victory is sent to various feudatories and native rulers, including Maharaja Ranjit Singh. There is a spate of felicitations for the British general from the protected Chiefs, who took part in the campaign, and others. Letters of thanks and commendation of services are issued to all concerned. General Ochterlony is back at Ludhiana and Kaji Amar Singh Thapa is reported to have proceeded to Kurukshetra on way to Nepal.

The aftermath of the campaign is described in documents relating to the taking over of the contents of the forts and properties left behind by the Gurkhas. The job is being done under the supervision of Mr. J.B. Fraser, who is in the interior of the territory lately conquered. The remnants of the Gurkhas in the remote parts are being cleared by the local Chiefs. Detailed inventories of the articles taken over are available. Historical sketches of several hill states are given. A sanad granting the 'Thakurai' of Kuhloor to Raja Ram Singh on new conditions is included in the papers. Receipts furnished by employees, contractors and local chiefs for payments made to them for services rendered and men and stores furnished to the British during the campaign form the epilogue of the campaign. Acknowledgements of rewards received by several persons for loyalty and support to the British are also forthcoming. Towards the close, complaints are received from British functionaries regarding obstructions caused to them by some Gurkha stragglers in the jungles. The Governor-General has addressed a letter to the King of Nepal to stop their activities. The last letter in the collection is dated 5th September, 1815.

From the outline of the contents of the rich and remarkable collection of original documents it is clear that the whole of the campaign against the Gurkhas in North-Western Himalayas is available therein. The papers will be found invaluable for a detailed study of the operations in all their different aspects. The documents furnish a contemporary record and first hand information about the planning, execution and aftermath of the campaign. The voluminous collection of assorted papers not only constitute a highly useful source for the study of British relations with the Gurkhas, but also mark the beginning of the establishment of the new system of paramountcy in the Simla Hill States after the reconquest of the area. The papers contain valuable data about topography, stages and routes and the history of some of the hill principalities. The untapped original documents offer a virgin field for fruitful historical research.

EARLY ANGLO-NEPALESE RELATIONS WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE PRINCIPALITY OF THE RAJA OF MAKWANPUR

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The decade following the grant of Diwani (1765) was a highly formative period from the view point of the growth and development of the powers and responsibilities of the English in Bihar. The period witnessed the trial of several administrative schemes in Bihar as also the expansion of the Company's dominions over several hitherto inaccessible parts of the province. The expansion was due both to force of circumstances and sheer aggressive designs. The inner working of those designs is available to us from a perusal of the proceedings¹ of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, Patna, (1771—73) and the Provincial Council, Patna,² (1774—80). These were the highest administrative bodies looking after the administration of the Company's affairs in Bihar. As such their deliberations, as preserved in these volumes, are an important primary source of information for the History of Bihar in the latter part of the 18th century. These proceedings³ relate, among other things, to the early political relations of the English authorities, in Bihar, with the various local chiefs like the Rajas of Ramgarh, Chotanagpur, Hatwa, Bettiah, etc. The early Anglo-Nepalese relations specially in connection with the dispute

1. I have been studying these Proceeding volumes, preserved in the Record Room of the Board of Revenue, Bihar, Patna, in connection with the collection of materials for a comprehensive and authentic History of Bihar, which is being brought out by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, under orders of the Govt. of Bihar.

2. The Controlling Committee of Revenue at Patna, was constituted by virtue of a letter from the Governor and Council, dated 11th Oct., 1770 and was abolished in 1773 and its place was taken by the Provincial Council (1774-80). There are 9 volumes of the proceedings of the former and 16 volumes of the latter. The present paper is based upon a study of the proceedings of the former body.

3. There are 9 volumes of the proceedings of this Committee covering the period 1st Jan., 1771 to 23rd. Dec. 1773. The original 9 volumes of the proceedings are in the Central Record Office, Calcutta, and out of these 7 duplicate copies were sent to Bihar in 1915. The two volumes for which no duplicates are available, at Patna, cover the period June—December 1771. The first two of these duplicate volumes are in a sadly decaying and brittle condition. Nearly half the number of the pages in these two volumes have been completely worn out.

regarding the principality of the Raja of Makwanpur⁴ (or the Tauter⁵ Pergunnahs, as they have been referred to, among these records) also figure prominently. We shall confine ourselves to a study of this latter topic in the present paper.

The grant of the Diwani of Bihar, along with those of Bengal and Orissa, conferred on the East India Company the right, in theory, of collecting the revenues of the entire province. The actual enforcement of this right was, however, a different matter. The main concern of the E.I. Co.'s authorities during this period was the collection of revenue; other administrative matters engaged their attention only so far as they promoted or retarded the efficient collection of revenue. There are a large number of records about the various expeditions sent against different chiefs for enforcing collection of revenue or realising the arrears of it. Political subjugation often followed suit.

The gradual establishment of the English administration in Champaran brought them to the border of the vast and unsettled Terai region. For centuries past this area at the foot of the Himalayas had been ravaged in the course of the border warfare between the numerous hill chiefs and the rulers of the low lands. The area never came under the effective control of the Mughal Government and, but for the unfruitful expedition of Mir Qasim in 1763, was left undisturbed by the Mughals. A few years later the Gurkha Raja Prithvi Narain not only seized some parts of the principality of the Raja of Makwanpur, but also some villages claimed by the Raja of Bettiah. This led to the intervention of the English. The Kinlock expedition of 1767-68 followed. Commercial interests were also involved, for the conquest of Makwanpur principality by an unfriendly power would have interrupted the trade with Nepal.

The Raja of Makwanpur had, however, been only partly dispossessed, and at about this time Pursee Khan, an officer of that Raja, had started regaining the areas which he considered to belong rightfully to his master. He sought the neutrality, if not the support, of the English in this dispute with the Gurkha Raja. The position of the English was particularly advantageous. Both the parties were bidding high to gain their support. The Raja of Makwanpur offered to pay the customary tribute, in elephants, if he was helped in regaining the possession of the Tauter Pergunnahs. The Gurkha Raja, on the other hand, represented that he was gradually being dispossessed by Pursee Khan and although he paid the tribute for the whole of the Pargannah he was in possession only of 3 out of the 23

4. Makwanpur was one of the numerous petty chieftainships in the Nepal Terai.

5. The area has been referred to as the Tauter Pergunnah (consisting of 23 Mahals) probably because the principality was more or less co-extensive with this pergunnah. The name Tauter, itself, could not be traced either in the list of the names of Pergunnahs of Bihar, in the English Revenue Records, or in that of Sirkar Tirhut as given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Some idea of its location can however be formed from the boundary mentioned.

Mahals. He argued that unless the English helped him regain the possession of the area from which the elephants came he would find it difficult to continue paying the tribute. It was in this dispute, between these two, that the English played a highly dubious and equivocal role.

The correspondence on this subject is spread roughly over an year and comprise chiefly of the letters passing the local supervisor⁶ and the Controlling Committee of Revenue at Patna. Occasionally the Central Committee at Calcutta were also consulted over matters requiring their opinion and consent. By far the most important record is the Memorandum of Raja Shitab Rai setting forth the previous history of Tauter Pergunnah whether it was considered part of Bihar for land revenue administration purpose; how it was occupied by the Gurkha Raja and what was the amount of tribute paid by the latter, for it.

The correspondence clearly reveals the purely aggressive and opportunist attitude of the English authorities in Bihar. For instance in the very first letter, dated 26th May, 1771, with which this series of correspondence starts, Mr. Keighly advocates the occupation of Tauter Pergunnah simply because the lower rate of assessment prevailing there (it was 10 seers per maund as compared to 22½ seers per maund in the Company's territories) induced the cultivators of his own district to migrate there. Then again in the dispute between the Makwanpur Raja and the Nepal Raja the attitude of the local English authorities was purely mercenary. They extended their support to whomsoever offered them a higher price (or tribute) without bothering about the rights or wrongs of the claims of the contending parties. In typical Machiavellian spirit, they considered it to be in their interest that the two should exhaust themselves in mutual warfare and thus find to develop into strong powers on the border of the British territories.

A perusal of the letters, arranged in their chronological order, will give a clear idea of the sequence of events.

The first letter in this series of correspondence is one dated 26th May, 1771 from J. I. Keighly, the Supervisor, Sarkar Tirhut, to the Controlling Council of Revenue at Patna.

".....By your not possessing yourself", he wrote, "of these Pargunnahs you will never have it in your power to cultivate the lands in

6. During the period (1765—89) the E.I. Co. tried several administrative measures for the efficient collection of revenue. At first Indian Amils were appointed under a mixed controlling body (consisting of English and Indians) at Murshidabad, then British Supervisors were appointed under purely English control at Calcutta. The institution of Supervisors was adopted by the Select Committee on 16th Aug., 1769, on the basis of the plan of Mr. Verelst. The Supervisor on Tirhut was Mr. James English Keighly.

Tirhut or increase the revenue of it (to?) anything considerable for there is a continued drain from the country of its inhabitants, by the Gourkhally Rajah only collecting 10 seers per maund from the Ryot when we collect 22½ seers, but on the contrary if you do possess yourself of these lands Sirkar Tirhut may be made one of the finest Sircars in the Province". He was further of the opinion that the Tauter Pergunnahs could be taken possession of without there being the least danger of getting involved in a protracted war with the Gurkha Raja "because he is so involved in wars with Rajahs at the back of Nepal which are of so much consequence that he will sacrifice the Tauter Pergunnah rather than risk the chance of meeting defeat from the Rajah with whom he is at variance; and again because in the attack which was made by Capt. Kinlock,⁷ he never ventured to oppose him in the low country as he marched through these Pergunnahs with the least inconvenience."

The Patna Committee having deliberated over the matter and agreeing largely with the views of the local Supervisor wrote⁸ to the Governor and Council at Fort William to the following effect :—

"It is certain that the Gurkha Rajah has rendered himself very powerful and Raja Shitab Rai thinks it probable that he may make attempts on our Territories and prove a very troublesome neighbour 2 or 3 years hence; how far this consideration and the further reasons alleged (adduced?) by Mr. Keighly may render it advisable to anticipate the troubles apprehended from him we leave it to the judgement of you gentlemen.

"We could easily take possession of Tauter Pergunnah but we believe it would occasion an immediate rupture with the Gurkha Raja and it would then be necessary either to march a considerable force into the Hills and attack him into his own country or else to station about two battalions of Sepoys along the border of Bettiah and Tirhut in order to cover our Territories from incursions of his people."

The Governor and Council⁹ wished to have "the pretension of the Gourkhally Rajah to the Tauter Pergunnahs fully explained" before they came to a final decisions in the matter and for this they wanted detailed information on the following specific questions; (i) From what time had the Tauter Pergunnahs been alienated from the 'Province of Tirhut' and

7. Capt. Kinlock was despatched with a contingent of Sepoys in Oct., 1767, owing to the dispute over some border villages as also the protection of English Commercial interests. Owing to lack of communications and other difficulties he could not proceed beyond Hari-harpur. Having failed to penetrate in to the hills he was ordered in Jan., 1768, to occupy the Terai region for recouping the expenses of the expeditions (*Champaran Gazetteer*).

8. Letter dated 25th June, 1771.

9. Letter from Governor and Council, Fort William, to Mr. J. Jekyll, Chief of Council of Revenue, Patna dated 9th July, 1771.

by what means; (ii) Whether the Mucwammy Rajah has been considered a zamindar of the province of Bihar independent of the possession of Tauter Pergunnah. (iii) When the Gourkhally Rajah possessed himself of the Tauter Pergunnah, with whom was the Peshkash (Tribute) settled, and what was the tenor of such agreement, (iv) What was the established revenue of these Pergunnahs?

The required information, along with the previous history (from 1556 A.D.) of the Tauter Pergunnah was submitted in the form of a Memorandum¹⁰ by Raja Shitab Rai,¹¹ the Naib Dewan of the Province :—

RAJA SHITAB ROY'S ACCOUNT (of) PERGUNNAH TAUTER BELONGING TO SIRKAR TIRHUT OF BIHAR PROVINCE.

Bounded on the west by Pergunnah Maissey (Mehsi) a District of Sircar Champaran, on the east by Sircar Purnea, in the Bengal Province, on the south by river Ganduck and on the north by the skirts of the Nepal Hills called Tinana (Tirriana).¹²

After the death of Sheo Singh¹³ (Shiva Singh) and his heirs, in the year of the beginning of the reign of Akbar Shaw (Shah) in the year 953¹⁴ Fassily (about 1546 A.D.) Raja Nursing Ram (Nursing Dev?) took possession of the zamindary of Sircar Tirhut and after his death his heirs possessed for sometime; during their imprudent and mismanaged Government Burnagar (Birnagar)¹⁵ and Pergunnahs adjoining to Purnea

10. Enclosure to a letter from the Chief of the Comptrolling Council of Revenue, Patna, to Governor in Council, dated Patna, 30th July, 1771.

11. Raja Shitab Rai was the Naib Dewan of the Province. He was associated with the day to day working of the Patna Committee and regularly attended its meetings. His presence was both useful and necessary for the Committee was frequently faced with problem requiring an expert knowledge of and familiarity with the previous history and administration. In such case he was called upon to give his opinion and the historical background of a problem or dispute. Thus these records contain a number of Memoranda, Explanations etc., by Raja Shitab Rai on various subjects, historical and administrative. Some of these documents are very important and full of new information.

12. The Terai area is also called as Tirriana by the local people.

13. Shiva Singh of the Oiniwara Dynasty of Mithila was the patron king of the famous Vidyapati Thakur.

14. There is apparently a mistake of date here and the construction of the sentence also is faulty. It has to be remembered that the original account was in Persian and mistakes might have been made either by the translator or the copyist. The translation was made by G. Henry Richardson, the official translator.

15. Birnagar was an independent principality, under Bir Shah, bordering on the Mughal Sarkar of Purnea. It was reduced by Saif Khan the Faujdar of Purnea (in Aurangzeb's time) who defeated Durjan Singh, son of Bir Shah. According to Mr. J. Grant (Fifth report) Birnagar included all the lands west of the old channel of Kosi.

were annexed to the Bengal Province and the Mucwanpur people possessed themselves of Tauter and 23 Mahals [small districts] together with Junneck-pore situated below to the Hills; and the zamindars¹⁶ of Tirhut were unable to call them to account. After them Mahas Tagoor (Mahesh Thakur),¹⁷ Soobhunkur Tagoor (Subhankar Thakur), Mynaut Tagoor (Mahinath Thakur), Sunder Tagoor (Sunder Thakur) and Nurput Tagoor (Naripati Thakur) successively from father to son possessed the zamindary of the Sircar Tirhut on part of the King. Having represented these circumstances to the Nabob Fidaiy Cawn (Nawab Fidai Khan) Subedar of Patna, (1692—1702) in the reign of Shaw Allamgheer (Shah Alamgir) and having obtained force and armed the zamindars under his subjection, concealing his hostile intention under pretence of a hunting party he (Naripati Thakur?) surprised the Raja of Mucwanpur unawares (*Sic*) in the Tattritir (?) Pergunnah, he carried him to Darbhanga the residence of Fougedar (Faujdar) who being unwilling to put him to death made him a Mussalman and obliged (as it is said) to give an acknowledgement in writing that he would pay 1,200 rupees as an yearly *Nazrana* (or present) which was to be paid in elephants and then set him at liberty and having reconciled him to Raja Mynaut Tagoor¹⁸ dismissed him.

He paid the *Nazrana* for some time till the year 1058(?) Fussily (about 1678 A.D.) when Khaja Mohammad Syed Cawn (Saeed Khan) was the Dewan (or the Deputy) of the King, it was discontinued. This happened ninety three years ago but afterwards Nawab Fidaiy Cawn,¹⁹ Mir Jumly (Mir Jumla) Akidut Cawn (Aqidat Khan) Maramat Khan

16. The word 'Zamidar' has been used, here, rather loosely. The Persian historians often used the words Zamindar, Rais, etc., for local ruling chiefs.

17. Mahesh Thakur (1556-58) was a contemporary of Akbar, and the founder of the present line of the Maharajas of Darbhanga. The other names are those of his successors. Shubhanker Thakur occupied the gaddi from 1581-1617, Sunder Thakur from 1641-68, Mahinath Thakur from 1668-90, Narpati Thakur from 1690-1701 and Raghav Singh from 1601-39. The names of the Rajas have not been enumerated, in the Memorandum, in the order of succession.

18. Mahinath Thakur died in 1690 and was succeeded by his brother Naripati Thakur (1690-1701). The latter was a contemporary of Fidai Khan who was Governor of Bihar from 1692-1702. So the correct name, here, should be Naripati Thakur and not Mahinath Thakur.

19. These were the names of the Governors of Bihar; Fidai Khan held charge from 1692-1702, Mir Jumla from 1714-15; Aqidat Khan and Marhamat Khan held charge for brief periods during 1721-22. The periods of their Governorships are given approximately. During the disturbed political conditions of the time changes in Governorships were frequent and abrupt. The difference of time between the actual appointment and assumption of office as also dismissal and actual departure was often considerable.

(Marhamat Khan) Nazims of the Province increased by force till..... it amounted to 10,000 rupees in elephants. At the time of Fagru-ul-Dawla (Fakhruddawla) was Subedar [or Governor] of the Province in the year 1133 Fussily (about 1726 A.D.) Raja Ragoo Singh (Raghav Singh) (1701—39) son of Nurput Tagoor, zamindar of Sircar Tirhut went against Bolanund Puddia (Bhola Nath Puddia) Naib (Deputy) of Manick Singh of Terraina (?) with great force and fought against him. Bolanand fled and Dilpat Singh brother of Manick Singh came in and settled a sum with him agreeing to pay two thousand and five hundred rupees increase upon the *Nazrana* to be paid in elephants. From that time till the year 1168 Fussily (about 1761 A.D.) the 12,500 rupees was paid at the rate of 1,000 rupees per cubit for Male (Elephant) and 700 rupees for Female.

In 1169 Fussily (1762 A.D.) the Gorkhally inhabitants of the mountains of Gourkha descended with a strong army and took Till Bicram Sin (Til Bikram Singh) the grandson of Manick Singh (the Raja of Mucwanpur referred to earlier) prisoner and seized upon the Pergunnah Mukwanpur of which Kunut Singh Naut (Kanak Singh Nath?) a servant of Til Bicram Sin complained to Nabob Mir Mohd. Cossim (Nawab Mir Md. Qasim) in the year 1170 Fussily (1763 A.D.). In consequence of this complaint the Nabob himself crossed over sending Gourgaun Cawn (Gurgin Khan the famous Armenian general of Mir Qasim) who arrived near Mucwanpur where his whole army being destroyed the Nabob returned to Patna. From this time to the year 1174 Fussily (1767) and Aamil (Collector) resided there on the part of the Government. In 1174 Fussily (1767 A.D.) Raja Prety Narain (Prithvi Narayan) the Gourkhally Raja sent in his people and took possession but did not pay the tribute as usual. In the interim Capt. Kinlock was put there with a detachment of Sepoys and drove out the Gourkaiys (Gurkha) and collectors were placed there on the part of Mr. Golding^{19A} and upon Kinlock's return the Pergunnahs were again taken possession of by the Gourkhally Raja; he last year agreed with Raja Purtab Singh (Pratap Singh, 1761—1776) to pay the tribute of Rs. 12,500 in elephants at the customary rate and this year (1772) five elephants have actually been received from him.

For the next six months there is no correspondence on the subject. In February, 1772, Mr. Keighly forwarded a letter from the Rajah of Nepal. The letter was in reply to those of the Chiefs of the Patna Committee and Raja Shitab Rai, and was accompanied with two bundles of musk for the former. The letter dealt with the difference in the method of measuring elephants for evaluation. The measurement was done by

19A. The Supervisor of Saran and Champaran.

cubits²⁰ or haths of 8, 10 or 12 Tussoos²¹ each. The text of the letter is given below :—

Translate of a letter to the Chief from Perchy Narain (Prithvi Narain) the Raja of Tauter Pergunnah.

With regard to the rents of Tauter Pergunnah it had been customary for the Mucwammy Rajah to pay at the rate of8½ cubits, 12 Tussoos per Haut; afterwards there was some dispute between the Rajah (of Makwanpur) and his brother Dewan Dularchand, who was Phousdar (Faujdar) of Terhutt, in the year 1153 Fussily (1746 A.D.) settled for his payment four additional cubits for one year as Dewani Dastoor, and the Aamils who succeeded him included these four cubits in the revenue and so demanded 12½ cubits. I hope, therefore, you will be pleased to cause enquiry to be made into the justice of this demand which may be ascertained on examination of the Cannungoe's papers; what was formerly the customary pay. In the year 1176 F. (1769 A.D.) Bopal Singh was appointed Aumil of Sircar Tirhut who after his arrival made a deduction of 2 Hauts, the remainder being 10½ Hauts. I agreed to pay and a Pattah (Title deed) and Faigkuty (Deed of discharge) was sent to me by that Aumil the truth of which may be ascertained by the Cannungoe's paper, in which an account must be inserted.

If the revenue be in this manner increased every year upon me how is it possible, I should pay it. Moreover on the Eastward 23 Mahals from the river Coolesury^{21A} and Pergunnahs²² Daheer and Juntawepur to the river Cossey (Kosi) belong of old to me but are now out of my possession as well as Roosutt²³ to the west of Pergunnah Seemraon²⁴, though they are all included in my Pattah. My Vakil has continually made representation to you on this subject. If you do not regard them I am helpless; only three desolate Mahals remain in my possession and for these I pay the Elephants out of my own house; it is out of my power to give you any more than the stipulated amount of 10½ Hauts. If you will cause the above Mahals to be restored to me I will always act agreeably to your order but I must observe that my country is mountainous and full of jungle and the produce of it is but small."

In reply to this letter the Patna Committee instructed²⁵ the Supervisor to verify and report on the claims of the Rajah of Nepal. He was also instructed, in the meantime "not to make any settlement with him but

20. Cubit is a measure equal to 18 inches.

21. 1 Tusso = 2 Fingers, 24 Tussos constituting 1 yard or 36 inches; 12 Tussos = 1 Hath or Cubit.

21A. The river Kosi and its tributaries are called by different names in the various areas through which they flow. Kamleshwari (Coolestary?) is one of the small streams flowing through Manihari, in the S. E. corner of Purnea.

22. The exact location of these Pergunnahs could not be established.

23. There had been a long standing dispute between the Rajahs of Bettiah and Makwanpur for possession of some border areas. Tappa Rahutat (Roosutt) of the Pergunnah Simraon was one of the disputed areas.

24. A border pergunnah of Champaran district.

25. Letter dated 25th Feb., 1772.

receive on account as many elephants as he may think proper to deliver." He was also directed to inform them particularly of the country of Pursee Khan, where his capital was situated and at what distance from Durbhanga; the number of forces he had with him and whether he was on terms of friendship or at variance with the Raja of Nepal.

The Supervisor, in compliance with the direction of the Patna Committee, reported²⁶ that "Pursee Cawn (Khan) is more than a servant of Currun Singh the Muccwanny Rajah and is now come into that part of the Tauter Pergunnahs which is collected by the Gourkha Rajah, to take possession for his master. Pursee Cawn himself resides in a village under the Hills. The force Pursee Cawn now has is, I am informed, 1,000 men which by all accounts he increases and his intentions are to beat the Gourkha Rajah out of the Tauter Pergunnah." With regard to the representation of the Raja of Nepal regarding the difference in the unit measurement the Supervisor, while denying the facts and figures adduced by the Rajah, promised to look into the accounts under the Cannungoe's signature and to report therein. He, however, supported the statement of the Rajah regarding his being in possession of only 3 out of 23 Mahals of this Pergunnah.

In the same letter the Supervisor reported the offer made by Currun Singh (Karan Singh) the Rajah of Mukwanpur to "pay the custom which had always been paid from the Tauter Pergunnah" provided the English helped him regain his lost possession. The Supervisor forwarded an abstract of the letter of Currun Singh, and Pursee Cawn his Commander.

"Purport of Curun Singh's letter to Mr. Keighly"

Requesting Mr. Keighly's assistance for the recovery of the Tauter Pergunnah which he asserts are his right and engaging to pay the Government the Customary tribute.

"Purport of a letter from Pursee Cawn"

That he has marched to recover the Tauter Pergunnah which were the ancient inheritance of his Master and which the Gourkha Raja had violently and unjustly took from him some years ago; that it is not his intention to do any mischief to the Company's possession; that he imagines his attack on the Tauter Pergunnah will be of some use to the Company by inducing the Gourkha Raja to pay his Balances more readily than he otherwise would; that if attacked (by the English) he (Pursee Khan) will defend himself as well as he can.

The Supervisor seemed more apprehensive of the designs of Pursee Khan and inclined to support the Raja of Nepal. He, therefore, requested military reinforcement, in addition to the two Company, he had already

26. Letter from J. I. Keighly, Supervisor, Tirhut, to the Chief and Council of Revenue of Patna, dated Singhia 24th February, 1772.

sent to the border to "beat off so troublesome a neighbour." He also directed Lieut. Hay to proceed on arrival, at Darbhanga, to take command of the forces sent to the border.

The Patna Committee however, did not want to strengthen the Gourkha Rajah too much. They probably wanted to use Parsee Khan as a lever against the former for extracting more favourable terms of tribute from him. Their instruction²⁷ to the Supervisor was accordingly to the effect that while he should take all possible measures for repulsing Parsee Khan's forces from making any incursion into Tirhut, he should not otherwise "give him (Parsee Khan) any interruptions in his attempts on the Tauter Pergunnah. The disturbances there must we apprehend be of some service to the Government by inducing many of the inhabitants to retire into our territories for their security and it is to our interest that the powers of the Gourkha Raja should be lessened. With respect to the usual tribute of elephant if the Gourkha Raja pretends he is unable to pay it we may hereafter, if we may judge it proper, support the claims of Pursee Khan and settle such terms with him as may appear advisable or we may take the Pargunnah into our own hands."

Matters were, however, precipitated by the allegedly²⁸ unprovoked attack of Pursee Khan on Lieut. Hay's army. The Supervisor reported²⁹ that the attack had been beat off and the two forts from which the attackers had sallied had been destroyed. Pursee Khan himself had, however, escaped and the Supervisor, therefore, requested the Committee to instruct Lieut. Hay to pursue and if possible 'take' Pursee Khan or destroy the villagers where Pursee Khan resided.

The Patna Committee were, however, still bent upon proceeding cautiously in the matter and not very keen on extirpating Pursee Khan altogether. They accordingly ordered that "we would not chase that Lieut. Hay should pursue Pursee Khan to any considerable distance but he may encamp his detachment a few *coss* out of Tirhut so as to secure the tranquillity of the border."³⁰

27. Letter to Mr. Keighly, the Supervisor, Tirhut, dated Patna 27th Feb., 1772.

28. It is also likely that Mr. Keighly because of his anxiety to extricate the forces of Pursee Khan and in the face of the reluctance of the Committee to permit it (of which there is ample indication in their correspondence) might have tried to force their hands by bringing about a war, not of his own making.

29. Letter from Mr. Keighly, Supervisor, Tirhut to the Chief and Council of Revenue of Patna dated Darbhanga 13th March, 1772.

30. The correspondence ends rather abruptly here and there are no further letters on this topic in the series under review.

DISTRICT RECORDS IN BIHAR

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We have in Bihar some of the oldest British districts in India. Out of the seventeen districts of modern Bihar only two have been created in the 20th Century and two in the Post-Mutiny years of the last century. The remaining thirteen have all pre-Mutiny records in their archives.

The nature of the records in the various district record rooms varies according to the nature of the administrative development through which the districts have passed.

Hardly any records of the period prior to the appointment of English Supervisors in 1769 exist, although the three Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa producing a clear revenue of £3,000,000 sterling have been under the absolute management of the Company's servants ever since Mir Jafar's restoration.¹ Only a few letters received by Harwood and Bateman, English Supervisors in charge of Bhagalpur and Monghyr respectively, are to be found among the old records of Bhagalpur Collectorate. Hastings thought of direct collection and Supervisors were given the title of collectors. After some changes the office of the collector was firmly established in 1793, which after an eventful history during which it was often invested with magisterial powers developed into the present office of Magistrate and Collector after the close of the Company's rule.

In the field of the administration of justice English Judges were first appointed in 1780-81. Afterwards with the abolition of the office of Fauzdar they were made Judge-Magistrates. They were divested of magisterial functions in 1833 and thenceforward they have functioned as District and Sessions Judges.

The general English records of the period in the district record rooms consist of the correspondence that passed between the district heads and their respective subordinate bodies relating to different aspects of administration.

The special requirements of certain districts necessitated special arrangements for their administration. The districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Rajmahal were always under European Officers. The extensive jungle tracts of South Bihar formed the two Military Collectorships of Ramgarh and Jungle Terai. Some of the districts had seceded from the Provincial Councils though the Chiefs of the Councils continued till 1787 and thus

1. Malcolm, *Life of Clive*, Volume II, p. 379.

the records of Purnea, Saran and Tirhoot begin respectively from 1775, 1779, and 1781. Shahabad and Bihar (the latter later on bifurcated into Patna and Gaya) owe their origin to Cornwallis's arrangement of 1787. The English records of the Shahabad Collectorate from 1781 to 1786 are actually records of the Patna Revenue Chief who later on under Lord Cornwallis's arrangement of 1787 became Collector of Shahabad.

The above background may give some hints as to the nature of pre-Mutiny records of regulation districts. Between 1793 and 1833, the Collector was a Collector in the literal sense and his records are, therefore, mainly of fiscal interest. They relate to the settlement of land, exchanges of pattah and kabuliyats, inquiries into boundary disputes, collection of rents and revenues, submission of monthly treasury accounts, sale and partition of estates, payment to staff, remittances of treasures and goods, arrangements for their escort, cultivation of opium and indigo, management of saltpetre trade, collection of excise duties, resumption of invalid jagirs, tables of prices current etc. More important papers, such as those relating to administration of law and order, public opinion, political upheavals, social unrest, civil disturbances, etc., are generally available in Magistrate's records which are found not among the records of the office of the Collector but usually in those² of the Judge's Office, though the latter have now nothing to do with those aspects of public life. In the districts where the office remained generally together, as in the case of Bhagalpur, all these records are found in the same place. Again, in certain districts which originally started as Magistrate's or Joint-Magistrate's charge, such as Monghyr in 1812 and Champaran in 1837, their early revenue records are not available in those Collectorates. They may be found in the districts of which they originally formed part.

In non-regulation districts where there was no separation of functions, all Revenue, Judicial, Magisterial and Political records are found together as in the case of the districts of Chotanagpur Division. Their records begin from 1834 when these tracts were separated from the operation of general Regulation.³ Their early records, *i.e.*, the records of their parent districts are not forthcoming. But in the case of Santhal Parganas, which, prior to its creation in 1855, had continued as a superintendent's charge,⁴ the records created by that officer⁵ are available in the district records room.

Some of the record rooms have had to suffer from natural (such as fire, white ants etc.) and political (such as Mutiny) ravages, and early

2. As in the case of Patna and Shahabad Judge-Magistrates' records.

3. The district of Singhbhum was created 3 years later in 1837.

4. Under Regulation XIII of 1833 Chotanagpur was de-regulationised.

5. Mr. Pontel from 1832.

records are either lost or in fragmentary condition. Gaya, for instance, as has already been said, has existed as a district since 1787, but the English records available there begin as late as 1843. The same may be said of Patna Collectorate records. Some of the record rooms apparently suffered during the Mutiny of 1857, but it is known that when there was responsible leadership, destruction of records was not allowed. Samuels writes in his letter of 30th September, 1858, that Babu Kunwar Singh, the leader of the movement in Bihar, during the sack of Arrah Collectorate personally instructed his followers not to destroy records as these would be required for running the new administration.

The above narrative is intended to give some hints as to the nature of the records and not to serve, in any way, as a guide to their contents. No idea can actually be formed of these details through any generalisation: a guide and a catalogue prepared after detailed examination are in any case necessary. I may quote a few instances to show the defects of my own generalisations.

In districts like Muzaffarpur, Champaran and Purnea situated on the border of Nepal one naturally expects and usually gets a lot of valuable information on Indo-Nepalese relationship, but the archivist feels a pleasant surprise when he comes across some interesting despatches on the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-15 in the record room at Ranchi. Similarly we will find copy of the Anglo-French treaty concluded after the American War of Independence in Bhagalpur Collectorate papers, a copy of Lord Bentinck's celebrated minute of 1833 on land tax in India among Patna Commissioner's records, an account of Lord Ellenborough's dramatic parade of the so-called Somnath gate among Ranchi records, an account of Thomason's Educational reforms in North-western Provinces among Bhagalpur records, and a report on the first year of Lawrence's administration in the Punjab among Patna Divisional records. These are some interesting instances of movement of records.

The records in a district record room may roughly be divided into the following classes :—(i) English correspondence, (ii) Vernacular records, (iii) Land Registers, (iv) Survey records and (v) Miscellaneous.

The nature of English correspondence which forms the most valuable part of the records from historical point of view has already been pointed out in the foregoing paragraphs. Here I will say only a few words regarding their size and form. The district records generally do not contain 'Minutes' and 'Proceedings' that necessarily form part of the archives at the Secretariat or the Board's level. They contain simply letters received and letters sent.

The earliest system of keeping correspondence in these offices is the *Bound Volume system*. Under this system all letters received were bound in file books in chronological order and all letters issued were copied consecutively in blank books. Some originals of letters received and a few drafts of letters issued were also kept in bundles arranged month-wise, apparently because they were considered to be of administrative importance.

The *Bound Volume system* was then discontinued under orders of the Bengal Board of Revenue in 1855, and the letters received and drafts of letters issued, instead of being bound in books, were folded together and tied in bundles, arranged according to the date of their receipt and despatch. This is known as *Monthly Bundle system*. This system does not appear to have been simultaneously introduced in all districts, for some of the districts continued to maintain bound volumes for many years longer. In the midseventies the bundle system was discontinued with the introduction of collection and file system. This modern system of keeping correspondence is still in force with the difference that the letters, instead of being folded, are now kept flat.

The records contained in the bound volumes, though more than a century old, are generally in a better state of preservation, thanks to the quality of paper used, than the folded letters and files of the subsequent period. Deterioration in the quality of paper is visible from the early sixties, but it becomes too glaring by the end of the next decade so much so that the records from this period onward have succumbed more easily to the ravages of time than their earlier counterparts. Perhaps our records have not yet been able to recover from this debility. Serious attention is required here.

The *vernacular records* generally contain Persian and Hindi proceedings with stray English sheets attached here and there. These are mostly collected in *bastas* maintained estatewise, i.e., papers relating to each estate borne on the collectorate rent roll are tied up in one *basta* in a chronological order so as to give a complete revenue history of that particular estate. Sometimes the *bastas* contain papers right from the time of Lord Cornwallis's settlements or even earlier. Occasionally they also yield valuable farmans and sanads of the Mughal period. The number of such *bastas* in many districts is very large. Then there are other miscellaneous records in vernacular, such as those relating to civil and criminal cases, abkary, income-tax, roadcess, opium, etc.⁶ The most interesting part

6. The vernacular records are generally connected with the English correspondence of the period but not necessarily so. Some of them are quite independent and important in their own way.

of the Persian records is however, *Parina Papers* preserved in some of the old districts which were formerly under the Mughals.

The *Parina Papers*, which literally means old papers, are generally pre-1784 land records of the Kanungoes' Offices and of the *Amanat Daftar* or the head revenue office of the district. Perhaps these are the only records that the British districts inherited from their Mughal counterparts. These papers are of much historical interest specially to the students of the revenue system of the later Mughal and early British period. The old records are sometimes likely to yield still older accounts of the Mughal Land Revenue system. While collecting Bhagalpur district records for transfer to the State Archives I found a small register named "*Rukbabandi Todar-Malli*" dated 1001 F.S. or 1594 A.D. It is written in Persian in two parts and the arrangement is *Parganawar*, *Tuppahwar*, *Mauzawar*, *asli* and *dakli*. In other words, under each *paragana* the names of *tappas* and their area in *bigha* are given. The area is subdivided into *culturable* and *deeh*. The number of *mauzas* under each *tappa* is also given, specifying how many are *asli* and how many *dakhli*. In the register the word *Mahal*, means *Sairati Mahal* as opposed to Land Revenue *Mahal*.

Lastly I come to the huge mass of registers, both in Persian and English, which form the most voluminous part of the Collectorate records. Most of these are uninteresting but it will be wrong to suppose that all of them are useless. A long and connected history of private property lies hidden in some of these registers, apart from their local, administrative and antiquarian interest, offer valuable materials for those interested in the evolution of class structure during the last two hundred years. The more important of these registers are (1) *Nawab Hoshiyar Jang's Bahi* of 1773 (2) *Kaifyat dehat minahai* register or the registers of the rent free tenures of 1787, (3) *Kaifyat bandobast* register or decennial settlement register of 1789-90, (4) the register of *Badshahi and Hukumi* grants prepared under the auspices of the Baze Zamin Daftar⁸ in 1791 known as 'A' register, (5) the quinquennial register maintained under Regulation XLVIII of 1793 from 1795 onwards, (6) *Singraflal Bahi* or *Mauzahar* registers also called Chamberlain's grant registers of 1815-21 compiled from Canungoes' papers (the office of Kanungo was revived temporarily in 1813-1818), (7) *Kaifyat bandobast* or settlement of resumed estates registers of 1821-56 and (8) the registers, maps and files of *Thakbast mahalwari*

7. The Kanungo according to the Fifth Report, was a confidential agent of the Government, and a repository and promulgator of the established regulations and superintendent of revenue matters. His office, according to Shore's minute on Permanent Settlement, dated 1 June, 1790, was established for the purpose of recording transfer of land and the circumstances which occasioned a change in the State of the country.

8. Established in Bihar in 1784 under Bushby.

survey of 1842—47⁹ etc. The earliest of the series, *i.e.*, the Hoshiyar-jang's Bahi was prepared during 1771—73 under orders of George Vansittart, Chief of Patna, who bore this Persian title. This was apparently the first revenue register ever compiled in Bihar during British rule and gives interesting data for studying the nature and structure of property during the period.

THE DARBHANGA RAJ RECORDS OFFICE WITH A PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE EDUCATIONAL RECORDS

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In January last, I visited the Record Office of the Darbhanga Raj in connection with the collection of materials for the 'History of Bihar'. We felt that for any authentic and comprehensive history of North Bihar the study of Raj archives was indispensable, extended as the estate was till very recently over a large part of Bihar. I concentrated mainly on English records of the period between 1860 and 1880.

It was in 1860, the year in which the Raj came under the Court of Wards, that English¹ became the official language of the estate. Prior to that year the records were maintained in Persian. At present these records are kept separately in two Record Rooms. The English records are more scientifically arranged and are in a better state of preservation.

As early as 1861, we learn from a letter of the Commissioner of Patna Division, dated the 29th July, 1861, to the Government that there existed at Darbhanga "a strong desire to secure an English school" and the General Manager of the Raj was "keeping this in mind with a view to the introduction, when Practicable, a good system of teaching." In fact, the General Manager, James Forlong, had evinced this desire of his in his letter, dated the 16th May, 1861, to the Collector of Tihut. He wrote :

"I am very anxious to establish a good school here (*i.e.*, at Darbhanga) and expect to get a subscription from the public of one hundred rupees per month : Of this I propose my own contribution to be Rs. 25 per month and Roy Nundiput has kindly promised a similar sum. I think it fair that the estate of the minor should contribute for the support of the school to as large an extent as the public, and I should be glad to know if you would sanction a disbursement of one hundred rupees for the purpose."

1. It is since 1860 that we have unbroken series of English records in the Raj Record Office. The records were probably organised when the Raj came under the Court of Wards for we read the following in the Annual Administrative Report submitted by C. F. Worsley, Offg. Collector of Tirhut, on the Darbhanga Raj, dated the 9th July, 1871. "Major Burn's office is one of the best arranged offices I have ever seen. A most elaborate system of Registers is carefully and regularly kept up and the Record Room is almost as perfect as a Record room can be."

9. In Bihar this survey was done by Captain Sherwill.

The school was opened in September 1861 "with a view to extend the benefit of an elementary education in English, Persian and Urdu among the children of the native community".² We do not know much of the institution till we come to the year 1867. From the Annual Administration Report (of the Darbhanga Raj) submitted by the General Manager of the Raj for the year we learn the following :

"The English School here is going on successfully and has now 100 boys in daily attendance. under the sanction of the Commissioner the English School at this place will in future be supported by the estate and I contemplate establishing other two schools supported by a grant-in-aid from Government."³ But the following was noted with some concern in the Annual Report of the School for the year 1869.

"It is a matter of deep regret that the boys of this school, unlike those of any other do not aspire after anything like a tolerable English and Persian education. With them a smattering of English or Persian—Just as much as will do to become a copyist or a Mohurrir—is all that is wanted towards entering the wide world. To a boy who has hardly gone through School Reader—the offer of a post of Rs. 10 or even 6 per month is an irresistible temptation for his giving up reading."

In 1871-72, the total number of students, according to the Annual Report of the School for that year, was 136, the average daily attendance being 82. About the First Class, the headmaster observed in the above report that "the students as a rule do not continue their studies long enough to enable them to acquire a fair knowledge of English. Many of the boys leave the Institution too prematurely, that is to say, even before getting upto 1st class." But from 1872 onward we find improvement in these respects in the school. The headmaster observed in his Annual Report of the year that an encouraging fact was "the unusually small number of withdrawals." The average daily attendance in the School was 101. The Inspector of Schools had also noted his entire satisfaction on the progress of the boys, particularly of the 1st Class.

In July 1871, another Anglo-Vernacular School was founded at Madhubani, a Sub-division of Darbhanga District, by Mr. Morely, the then Sub-divisional Officer of the place (and the school was maintained mainly by the subscription from the Raj). It began to receive grant-in-aid from the Government from March 1875. The headmaster of the school in his

2. Annual Report of the Raj English School, Darbhanga.

3. The Raj English School "was maintained in its infant days by a grant from the Raj and subscriptions from the wealthy *Mahajans* of the place." Ibid.

Annual Report for the year 1875-76, noted the following with some satisfaction. "One striking feature which deserves notice is that Tirhootias both *Kayesth* and Brahmins who are as a rule averse to English education have begun appreciating the same." He further observed : "the school has certainly made a most welcome improvement upon that of the previous year. The love of education is spreading far and wide among the inhabitants of this locality. I am happy to say that the prejudice of allowing lower class boys to mix with the higher is dying out which for a time was a great hindrance." This latter point was again emphasized in the report of the following year. The following lines occur in the report. ". the fact of Tirhoot Brahmins attending the school is an encouraging sign because the tenets of their religion have hitherto led them to regard any attempt to educate the people in English with distrust and suspicion, in the ignorant belief that the teaching of English is indirectly intended to discourage the teaching of Sanskrit, their mother tongue."⁴

The number of students rose to 303 in the Darbhanga school during the year 1875-76. The headmaster gave the following table in his Annual Report for the year.

<i>Creed of the Boys</i>		<i>Race</i>	<i>Social Status</i>
Hindoos	254	Biharis	288
Musalmans	48	Bengalis	13
Christian	1	N.W.P. men	2
		Upper Classes	6
		Middle Classes	203
		Lower Classes	94

And he (the headmaster) drew the following conclusion from the above table. "Our school is in more than one sense an essentially Middle class institution and that in point of number the Musalman boys are to their Hindoo comrades as 3 to 16th. With respect to the race it may be seen . . . that with the exception of the few Bengali boys who form but a small fraction of the whole, by far the great majority of the pupils are Biharees—a fact not to be lost sight of in forming a correct estimate of the utility of our institution. It is a middle class Anglo-Vernacular School imparting gratuitous instruction to a very large number of Biharee boys in a benighted district where caste prejudices are at their highest."

4. The word 'mother tongue' for Sanskrit has been loosely used. Sanskrit was not the mother tongue of the people of Tirhut. It was the language of their "Shastras" and medium of higher instruction. Maithili was and still is the mother tongue of the people of this region. In 1873, when the opinion of the General Manager of the Raj Darbhanga Lt. Col. James Burn, was sought, on the question of introducing the "Devanagari" or "Kaithi" in the Raj, he observed that Hindi in Devanagari or Kaithi was not the indigenous language of this part of Tirhoot, but it was in much more general use than Oordoo in Parsian character. "The indigenous language, in this part of Tirhoot is Tirhootee or Mithila, which more resembles Bengalee in word and character than it does Hindce, but nearly every Mithila Brahmin is able to converse in ordinary Hindce and most of them can read Kaithi."

A number of students of this school competed in the Junior Scholarship examination and this encouraging fact led to the opening of a "Preparatory entrance class" in the school during the official year 1876—77.

But it was really in the field of vernacular education that the Raj set an example for the fellow-Zamindars of the state. About the year 1866 the Raj devised a scheme of spreading elementary instruction among its tenantry. The General Manager began correspondence with the Government for their approval (as the estate was then under the Court of Wards) and also with the proprietors of the several Indigo Factories on the Raj estate for contributing their respective shares to the establishment of such schools. Very encouraging letters were received from all the proprietors in reply. Mr. J. F. K. Misselback of Purnea informed the General Manager of the Raj, on the 25th December, 1867, about his readiness to contribute his share for establishing vernacular schools, the object of which he described as "a laudable one". Mr. Saunders, another Indigo-proprietor of the district, also agreed "as to the moral obligation on the part of the estate to make some provision for the education of the tenantry." He further observed that "other Europeans and Native *Ticcadars* who hold farms from the court of ward should also come forward and contribute towards the support of an object so good and benevolent towards their tenantry in the cause of education." Similar letters were received from the proprietors of Pandaul, Huthowri and other factories. They all agreed to contribute $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of their total rental.⁵ The scheme also received the sanction of Government with some modifications.⁶

According to this scheme 26 vernacular schools were opened in the villages under the jurisdiction of the Raj.⁷ Besides providing school houses

5. This appears to have formed an example for the government also, for we read in the Administration Report of Bengal for the year 1871-72 that effort was made "to stir up some of the great landholders...to spend something in promoting Primary education among their tenants." For setting an example, the Court of Wards had been moved to spend at least one per cent of the rental of estates under its charge in establishing and promoting primary schools in such estates.

6. Although references to the correspondence with the Govt. regarding Durbhanga Raj Vernacular schools are found in those letters the actual papers could not be traced out even in the State Central Records Office, Patna. The references are to (1) Collector of Tirhut's letter No. 13 to the Commissioner of Patna Division, dated the 12th February, 1868 and (2) Patna Commissioner's Memo No. 672 of the 19th March, 1868.

7. The following villages were selected, on the advice of the various Raj officials as sites for opening the schools. (1) Serail, Bakerganj, (2) Sripur Gahar, (3) Jhanjharpur (4) Dahibhut Madhopur, (5) Behta, (6) Bheja, (7) Rusiari, (8) Bhowarah, (9) Harinagar, (10) Bilaspur, (11) Jaleh, (12) Dhurwarrah, (13) Bajitpur Thukra, (14) Koili, (15) Nagarbasti, (16) Bahera, (17) Kamrauli, (18) Simari, (19) Sariso Pahi, (20) Kusma Madar, (21) Makarampur, (22) Narar, (23) Narahiapatti, (24) Kanhauili, (25) Bhagwatipur, (26) Arair.

the Raj proposed to spend Rs. 38 per month on each school.⁸ This however, was regarded by the Commissioner of Patna Division as too much, and he desired some cut in the expenditure.⁹ He was in favour of cheap village schools where an attempt was to be made to bring about a taste for education, that is, "where children can learn the rudiments of the languages they are to speak and write." He observed; "It is useless trying to attain to anything like an educational system in these village schools." Moreover he was not in favour of incurring any further expenses unless these schools were inspected and reported on by some officer of the Education Department or by Major Burn himself as to the efficacy or otherwise of such institutions. Major Burn, the manager of Raj Darbhanga, accordingly requested Mr. S. W. Fallon, Inspector of Schools, North-West Division of the Province, on the 29th June, 1869, to send a subordinate officer of his for the purpose. Mr. Fallon deputed Abdul Rahim, a Deputy Inspector, who visited 15 of the Raj Vernacular schools and submitted his report in July, 1869. The Report was a very unfavourable one. The school houses he found "in a very miserable condition." Most of them were found in a sad state of cleanliness and repair. According to Abdul Rahim the teachers were responsible for it, as they appropriated the funds meant for the purpose. He was also not satisfied with the progress of students. They did not continue long in the school, which in the opinion of Abdul Rahim, was owing "to the inefficiency and carelessness of the teachers." He was so critical of the inefficiency of the teachers that he suggested a wholesale removal of them. About the popularity of these schools he wrote that while in some villages there was a prospect of a rise in the number of students upto 150, there were others the people of which were "at a loss to consider what could be the reason of opening schools at the expense of the Raj, of levying no fees, of giving books gratis, which none of the forefathers of the Maharajah Darbhanga or any Zemindar within their knowledge has done." They thought there must be "some secret and concealed motives."

One of the most important suggestions of Abdul Rahim was the appointment of a Supervisor to inspect these schools frequently. The

*8. The expenditure of Rs. 38/- a month on each school was made up thus.

Urdu Teacher	15	0	0
Nagri Teacher	10	0	0
Peon	5	0	0
Oil	1	8	0
Allowance for sweeping out the School	0	12	0
Average for books, slates and stationery	3	12	0
Annual repair	2	0	0
	38	0	0

9. Letter from the Offg. Commissioner of Patna to the Collector of Tirhoot, dated 8th June, 1869.

supervisor was to act under the Government District Inspector of Schools. His other suggestions were levying of school fees, purchase of at least a copy of *Chashma-i-Ilm* (a newspaper) for each school, removal of some schools to other villages, and the discontinuance of the practice of giving books to students free of cost.

The General Manager who himself visited 14 of these schools refuted some of the observations made by Abdul Rahim. In his letter to the Collector of Tirhoot, dated the 30th December, 1869, he observed, "with one exception I have found the school houses clean and in no instance used for the purpose described by the Abdool Rahim." The General Manager also found the Hindee Teachers invariably inefficient, but he "did not expect to find men on the pay.....the teachers receive capable of imparting instruction upto the standard apparently anticipated by Abdool Rahim." He was ready to dismiss them if he could get better men on the same pay. In only two instances he found teachers absent from schools, one of whom was immediately discharged. But the General Manager was one with Abdul Rahim so far as the question of a Supervisor for these schools was concerned. As a matter of fact, he had been impressing upon the Commissioner of Patna Division the necessity of having a Supervisor for these schools from before. He was, however, not in favour of the imposition of fees in these schools. It was as a rule the children of the poor class that attended them and he considered that the Raj could well afford "to impart the blessings of education to its tenantry free of cost." As to the popularity of these schools he observed the following: "I everywhere found the Brahmans openly opposed to education, but there are plenty of our tenants eager to have their children taught....."

The Commissioner of the Patna Division broadly agreed with the views expressed by the General Manager. He considered Abdul Rahim "to be far too young and inexperienced for so responsible an office." About the appointment of a Supervisor for these schools he was of opinion that the question should be left for the present. "It will be enough", wrote the Commissioner to the Collector of Tirhut, on the 17th March, 1870, "if the European officers of the (Raj) establishment visit these schools every now and then." And as to the question of bringing these schools under the control of the Education Department, he very frankly observed the following: "I am averse to allowing the Education Department any footing in our schools. These schools are private schools, established by an enlightened landholder for the benefit of his Ryots and tenants, and as a means of diffusing an elementary knowledge generally amongst those in whom the Darbhanga Raj takes special interest..... We are now trying an experiment and if we bring a Government Department to bear upon it, we shall spoil the nature of our experiment."

By 1871, these schools began to function on a definite footing. During this year there were 21 vernacular schools entirely maintained by the Raj at a cost of Rs. 7,632 per annum. During this and the following years some schools, which were badly attended, were either abolished or transferred to neighbouring villages. The General Manager once again moved the Government in December 1871, for the appointment of a Supervisor, which resulted in the appointment of Lala Ganesh Prasad, First Grade Sub-deputy of Tirhut, as "Sub-Inspector of Schools of Raj Darbhanga."¹⁰ In 1872, these schools made satisfactory progress. The total number of students rose to 702, their average daily attendance being 506. The teachers were also of superior merit.

About this time the Government also devised a plan for the spread of primary instruction among the people. Some "Pathshalas" came to be established within a few hundred yards of the Raj schools. Naturally the question of their re-adjustment soon attracted the notice of the authorities, and the new 'Pathshalas' were shifted to some other villages where there was none. The Raj also encouraged by the success of existing schools, established in 1873, five new primary schools in Pargana Kharagpur providing each with a monthly grant of Rs. 5 (besides agreeing to erect the school houses¹¹). The Assistant Manager of the Raj Darbhanga wrote to the Collector of Tirhut, on the 24th September, 1873, the following about their future plan: "Our further plan to extend primary education among our tenantry is to proclaim throughout the Raj our willingness to grant aid at rates extending at the highest to Rs. 3 a month, provided the villagers desire to establish a *Pathshala* or *Muktab* and undertake to meet half the cost of the same." And from a letter of the Commissioner of the Patna Division to the Manager of Raj Darbhanga, dated the 7th November, it appears that "the Raj aid was required to make the deficiency caused by the reduction of the Government grant for primary education".¹² And although the Government grant of Rs. 10,000 for primary education was in subsequent years restored to the District of Darbhanga the District Education Committee of Darbhanga still requested its continuance.

But as we have seen above, there were other villages where these schools could not be as popular. In Bilaspur village there had been opposition in 1868 to the establishment of a school, which was put to an end by the Raj *Patwari* and *Jethryots* there. We also know from the Diary of the Deputy

10. Till then the schools were inspected by the headmaster of the Anglo-Vernacular School, Darbhanga.

11. According to the Deputy Inspector of Monghyr no more *pathsalas* were required for the time being in that portion of the Raj estate.

12. The reduction of the Grant-in-aid allotment in 1876-77 was necessitated by the Pressure arising out of the famine in Bihar.

Collector of Sitamarhi, Mr. A. Koally, recorded during his tour in January, 1873, that even the village *Patwaries* and *Jethryots* did not send their wards to these schools when they should have, as employees of the Raj, come forward to serve as examples. In a letter to the Collector of Bhagalpur the Manger of the Raj himself observed "Unpopular as education is among Raj tenantry in general and specially at Naradigar. I am not very hopeful of the *Ryots* availing themselves at present of our offer of aid towards establishment of *Pathshalas* or *Mukhtabs* and a large time I fear will elapse before you can see a large number of primary schools established under the proposed system."

The claim of Sanskrit learning was also not overlooked. As a matter of fact correspondence with the Government began from 1871 for the establishment of a Sanskrit School in the town of Darbhanga. While forwarding the scheme Mr. C. S. Bose, an employee of the Raj, commented that "the support of such an institution will be a credit to the family and one that the Maharajah in his position in this, the ancient Deah (home) of Sanskrit lore ought to revive and patronize...." It appears from the above correspondence that the learning of the Vedas was gradually becoming obsolete. The reports, no doubt, mention a number of Pandits in the Raj well versed in the several branches of the Vedas, but their study was becoming unpopular among the students. So in the proposed scheme this subject was left out¹³. The school was to be divided into five classes according to the subjects taught therein. The following were the subjects—Literature, Mixed Philosophy, Nyaya and Vaisheshika, Law and Religion, and Astronomy and Astrology. Teachers were to be locally recruited. Besides the financial burden involved in inviting *Pandits* from Nadia and Banaras the primary cause of local recruitment was that the Maharani wished Tirhutia *Pandits* to be appointed in preference to outsiders. Teachers were to be paid Rs. 30 each per month. The boarding expenses of 50 boys were also to be paid at the rate of Rs. 4 per month. Provision was also made, in the Scheme, for annual prizes.

The Commissioner however held different views about the subject of study. In his opinion instruction should be given in Sanskrit language and not in "Philosophy, Astrology and Astronomy." He thus wrote to the Manager of Raj Darbhanga "I do not think the Court of Wards can be expected to establish schools of philosophers whose duties will be to disseminate erroneous doctrines." The scheme, however, received the formal sanction of the Board of Revenue on the 20th March, 1877, and the following establishment was allowed to begin with.

	Rs.
1. Grammar Pandit	20
2. Do	25

13. The Maharani, however, desired that no subject should be left out.

	Rs.
3. Grammar Pandit	30
4. Do	40
5. Alankar Pandit	40
6. Philosophy Pandit	50
7. Theology Pandit	45
8. Vedas Pandit	50
9. Two Servants	8
Contingencies	2
20 Stipends @ Rs. 5/- each	100
Total:	410

There is only one document among these records, regarding Female education in the district of Tirhut. It is a formal application from the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Tirhut, to the Manager of Raj Darbhanga, dated the 30th November, 1868, recalling their meeting at Mazaffarpur for the establishment of a female school there, and requesting for a monthly aid of Rs. 30 from the Raj to the proposed institution.

SOME UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS RELATING TO HORSE AND CATTLE BREEDING IN TIRHUT* (1795-1804)

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There are among the Collectorate records of Muzaffarpur and the judge's Court records of Patna some interesting documents on the subject of horse and cattle breeding in Tirhut towards the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These documents are important as showing what interest the Company's Government took in the matter. To encourage the breeding of horses was part of the policy of the Government; for horses were in great demand to supply the needs of both the army and communication. The encouragement of cattle breeding proceeded partly from the desire of intensifying agriculture, upon which depended the prompt and regular payment of land rent. Quite apart from that, the documents reveal the contrast between the present position and the past. Today horses are, in this part of the country at any rate, hardly indispensable, though cattle are quite as important as before. Then also, the documents tell us about the origin of the cattle and horse fair at Hajipur, better known as the fair of Sonapur, to which place it was subsequently shifted, and is reputed to be the second biggest fair in the world.

It may be noted that the Company's Government in Bengal maintained at the time a Board of Superintendence for the improvement of cattle. The following questions and answers appear in a letter addressed to Mr. Thomas Graham, President of the Board, by the Collector of Tirhut on 16th January, 1795.

QUESTIONS

1. Whether the inhabitants of the district of Tirhut were before or have been since the Company possessed these provinces in the habit of breeding horses.
2. What number might formerly have been and what number are now annually produced?

ANSWERS

1. Horses have constantly been bred in this district.
2. Formerly horses of very description from 2500 to 3000 were produced in this district. The annual produce at present is from 1500 to 2000, but

*The district of Tirhut then included, roughly speaking, the present Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts.

there are now very few horses of any good size produced owing to the want of good stallions.

3. What particular situation in the district of Tirhut were horses formerly bred in and what situation are now held in most estimation by the natives who breed horses?
3. The best horses that have been produced in this district were in Serissa pergunnah on the banks of the Jumwarrah, which is still the place most in repute.
4. Of what description, and size are the horses at present produced in the district of Tirhoot?
4. The horses produced in this district were generally of no value, being small of stature and vicious. The mares were formerly in great repute among the natives, being very docile and hardy, but they seldom exceed in height 13½ or 14 hands. The race is within these few years greatly degenerated owing to the want of good stallions, but the chief cause, I believe, to be owing to the natives parting with all the good mares to the merchants who buy them at 12 and 18 months old, and the mares they were bred from are scarcely better than Tattoes. (ponies).

During the few years I have been in this district I have seen a few very good mares that have been bred here, and were the zamindars to preserve the best for breeders and a few good stallions brought into this district, I have no doubt but that the breed might be considerably improved.

In a letter, dated 21 April, 1795, addressed to Mr. Graham, by the Collector of Tirhut the following questions and answers appear.

QUESTIONS

1. What number of cattle yearly of the description included in the

ANSWERS

1. It is difficult to ascertain the number of cattle yearly produc-

QUESTIONS

following statement do you estimate to be now bred in your district and what are the average prices at which they are sold?

Description of Cattle	Maunds	Inches in stature
1st sort	5	54
2nd sort	4	49½
3rd sort	3	45

2. What species and size of cattle are now held most in estimation amongst the landholders for the purpose of heavy work?
3. Do the landholders take any measure to preserve land to multiply the breed of the most approved description of cattle and what are the modes they adopt?
4. Are there any persons in your district, landholders or others coming under the description of graziers, who breed and feed cattle for the purpose of sale?
5. What are the sizes of those commonly bred by them and what may be their cost to graziers by the time they are of an age to be

ANSWERS

ed but it is estimated that about 6000 are yearly bought by merchants. Scarce any bullocks of the first sort are produced in this district. The average price of the second sort when full grown is from 35 to 40 rupees per pair and of the 3rd sort from 25 to 30 rupees.

2. The size held most in estimation for the purposes of heavy work are from 45 to 48 inches in stature, deep bodied with short stout legs, and a particular species produced in Bonchour and other pergunnahs in Tirhut are most in repute.

3. I have already observed that there is a particular species produced in Tirhut in high repute and the inhabitants are particularly careful in preserving the breed by sending them to graze in the Terryaney in the month of Assin where they remain till the rains set in.

4. In pergunnahs Bonchour, Nursingpoor Koorah, Narrodeygur etc., there are a number of Guallahs (milkmen) whose sole occupation is breeding and feeding of cattle.

5. The size commonly bred by the Graziers is from 45 to 48 inches high. As they graze entirely in the jungles of Terryaney, and

QUESTIONS

carried to market for sale as fit for labour?

ANSWERS

two herdsmen are sufficient for 100 breeds of cattle, the cost to the graziers by the time they are of an age to be carried to market is little or nothing and it is adding to that there are a number of Guallahs in this district of large property.

6. What number do they dispose of annually and to whom?
6. About 6,000 are sold annually and chiefly purchased by merchants from the westward. A number are bought by the indigo planters in this and the Benares district.

For the improved breeding of horses the Company's Government established a stud at Pusa¹ in the vicinity of which there were good grazing grounds. The mauzas of Malinagar and Ektearpur in its neighbourhood "being well calculated for the growth of grass and English grain for the horses as well as pasture land," the Government obtained in 1798 a lease of these from its owner, Maharaja Rajballav, on a fixed rent.² The Maharaja gladly gave his assent to farm out the mauzas to the Company. Accordingly the villages of Malinagar and Ektearpur with their dependencies were given in charge to Captain W. Fraser, Superintendent of the Stud at Pusa, subject to the payment of a net annual rent of 1500 sicca rupees.³

To afford further encouragement to cattle and horse breeding, the Governor General in Council ordered on 18th June, 1801, the establishment of a market for the sale of horses at the Harihar Chhattra fair which used to be held every year in the month of Kartik (October-November) at Hajipur at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gandak. It should be noted that this market was established in addition to the annual horse fair at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sarju (Gogra) further west. A letter from the Secretary, Bengal Military Department, to the Magistrate of Patna, dated 13th October, 1801, directed the addressee to "either attend

1. Pusa has retained its importance for farming and agriculture to this day. At present there is a Government Co-operative Institute at the place.

2. See my paper on Maharaja Rajballav in the *Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1953.

3. Letter from Sub-Secretary, Rev. Dept. to Collector of Tirhut, 14th Sept., 1798.

the fair in person" or depute his assistant "for the purpose of affording due protection to the marchants."⁴ In the Proceedings of the Governor-General in Council in the Military Department, dated 28th June, 1804, it is stated: "The orders of the 18th June, 1801, were passed and promulgated with the view to obviate the inconvenience experienced by the dealers in horses from the confined site of the Duddry Market (at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sarju), from the want of resident bankers and traders, and from the badness of the roads, as well as the dangers to which the dealers were subject in passing to and from the Duddry Fair."⁵ It is further stated: "The principle on which the whole of the orders of the 18th June are founded is to afford every proper and reasonable encouragement to the horse-dealers, with a view to the attainment of a more general diffusion of an improved race of horses over the Company's provinces."⁶

It should be noted that the sale and purchase of horses at the Duddry Fair was not intended to be abolished. This was made clear in the Governor-General in Council's orders of 19th July, 1804.⁷ In fact the magistrates, collectors and other officers of Government were "directed to afford to all persons resorting to either of the above mentioned places for the sale or purchase of cattle and horses any encouragement and protection throughout their jurisdictions."

BHAGALPUR IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

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The official correspondence kept in bound volumes classified as either Judicial or Revenue formerly preserved in the Collectorate Record Room, Bhagalpur but recently transferred to the Records Department of the Patna Secretariat provides a picture of Bhagalpur in the early decades of the 19th century.

It is learnt that Bhagalpur (Bhaugulpoor) and Rajmahal (Rajmehal) were the only two places in the District (Bhagalpur) that could be properly called towns. Neither of the two towns was surrounded by walls. The streets in Bhagalpur were repaired by the working convicts, who were sometimes employed in cleaning particular places and "clearing away the jungle so as to admit a free current of air." Accumulation of filth near houses were not permitted and "Precautions were taken to render as little offensive as possible the spot to which the people resorted morning and evening to obey the calls of nature." In both the towns most of the natives of respectability kept the ground immediately round their houses tolerably clean.

Buchanon, who came to Bhagalpur in the first decade of the 19th century, observed that the main stream of the Ganges ran at a considerable distance from the town of Bhagalpur. This state of things continued even in the third decade of the century, and it is learnt from an official report of the period, that the Ganges was only accessible by water (through a nullah) at certain seasons of the year, and the consequence was that much less business of a commercial nature was done there than formerly.

Bishop Heber¹ who visited Bhagalpur in 1824 writes, "Boglipoor (Bhagalpur) is in a pretty situation, and said to be one of the healthiest stations in India." The town provided a picture of a miserable straggling collection of huts extending over four miles of ground cut up and divided by fields, gardens, plantations and numerous roads, the whole place resembling an inhabited forest rather than a town. Champanagar and Lachmigungj, two large contiguous towns, lying near the old Karnagarh fort, formed a portion of the town of Bhagalpur. These towns were filled with weavers, traders and dyers and had numerous markets.² The natives had 150 houses of brick all in a very bad style and none of them respectable in

4. Patna Judge's Court Records.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. Copy of orders to Magistrate of Patna (Patna Judge's Court Records).

1. Bishop Heber's *Narrative of journey etc.*, London. John Murray, p. 27.

2. Cop. Sherwill's *Geographical and Statistical Report of Bhagalpur*, (1869).

size. The houses of Europeans were numerous, but most of them were unoccupied. Some of them were large and all scattered round very fine and commanding situations that added to the ornament of the vicinity.³ The total number of houses in the town of Bhagalpur as estimated by Buchanan was 5,000. "The Kutchery was held in a mosque situated at the foot of the hill on which the dwelling house belonging to Dickinson, the Collector, stood. It consisted of one or two small dark rooms with open verandah, and the doors and windows were entirely out of repair.⁴ The official records were deposited in two or three small but very damp godowns situated under the shade of a great tree; the treasure and stamp papers were lodged in a godown adjoining the kitchen of the dwelling house.

There was also another building in the park, directly opposite to the dwelling house, about 100 yards distant, the high road running between them, but in so ruinous a state that it was dangerous to appropriate it to any use.⁵ Under the circumstances, Hamilton was compelled to relinquish the said building of Dickinson and hire a bungalow for himself and the Kutchery. The latter was built at Hamilton's own expense. It was pucca built, fitted up with good doors, venetians and glass windows. The treasury was entirely pucca and 20 ft. square, and the detached bungalow for the abkarry department was entirely new, consisting of two rooms 16 ft. × 14 ft. Close to the Kutchery, was Hamilton's own dwelling house built on a very small scale. The public building at Rajmahal was and had ever been known as the "Singh Datan". It originally consisted of a large mosque, on which Cleveland, the Collector, made great improvements and built a bungalow and other dwelling places.

The fort of Carrinhur (Karnagarh) containing 190 bighas and 13 cottahs and associated with the name of Raja Karna of the Mahabharata was situated at Nathnagar, about a mile-and-a-half distant from the then civil station. Pareshnath Ghose, Hiraram, Rudra Mohan and Manick Chand were the four Zamindars who claimed the ground of the old fort, the walls of which underwent some repairs in the last quarter of the 18th Century by Sheikh Yar Mahammad, a Mughal Officer. Under orders of the Governor-General in Council the Collector of Bhagalpur delivered over to Capt. Shaw the whole of the ground situated within the limits of the fort for the accommodation of the Hill Rangers, a battalion composed of Hill-men of Bhagalpur, for keeping under control the unruly and wild hilly people.

3. Buchanan's *Journal*.

4. Letter of F. Hamilton, Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, dated 23rd March, 1805.

5. The hill and the dwelling house of Dickinson is now known as 'Tilla-koti' and the park referred to was the 'public garden' which in the opinion of Heber was one of the finest gardens in Asia, now totally levelled to the ground and forming the site of the Marwari College.

An official record⁶ dated 5th April, 1816 provides a list containing the number of villages in the 19 thanas in the district of Bhagalpur. In the list the first five places have been taken up by Tarapur with 858 villages, Luker Diwani with 806 villages, Banka with 765 villages, Ratangunj with 642 villages, and Gogri with 476 villages. The other thanas serially arranged according to the number of villages are Mulipur, Pialapur, Rajmahal, Sankarpur, Lokmanpur, Monghyr, Kalkapur, Surajgurrah, Kamargunj, Fudkipur, Chandarpura, Pointy and Furrukabad.

Another official record⁷ while giving a statement of the towns and villages in Zila Bhaugulpore (Bhagalpur) gives the distance of each place from the Magistrate's office and the number of houses at each place. Sahar Rajmahal situated at a distance of 72 miles east from Bhagalpur had 1,639 houses. Next came Sultangunj which was situated 16 miles west and had 1,189 houses. Next came Amarpur (18 miles), Casba Calgong (20 miles) and Golah Jaipur (50 miles south) with 970, 748 and 157 houses respectively.

In 1802 Government is said to have ordered a *Khana Shumari* or a list of inhabitants to be prepared. But how far the order was carried out and what the population was is not known. Martin Montgomery, who visited the district in the thirties of the last century in a statistical table gives an estimate of the population of the district at 20,19,900. The first enumeration of population carried on scientific lines was, however, made in 1872.

The only tax that was collected at Bhagalpur and Rajmahal was the choukidari tax for the maintenance of a night-watch. It was collected by an officer called *Bakshi* according to the rates fixed upon every householder by the Panchayats. This tax varied in amount from rupee one to anna one per head per month. Each choukidar received a salary of Rupees three and had to guard from thirty to fifty houses. The *Bakshi* had an establishment for collecting the tax and keeping accounts. There were no other town duties.

It is on record that on 30th September, 1811 an attempt was made to collect House Tax at Bhagalpur according to Regulation XV of 1810. On the appearance of the *Tahsildars*, however, the people shut up their houses and shops. In the evening when F. Hamilton, the Collector of Bhagalpur, was driving out in his carriage, several thousands of inhabitants stood on either side of the road. They poured forth complaints of

6. Letter of E. Parry, Magistrate of Bhagalpur to J. Shakespeare, the Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, Calcutta.

7. Letter of E. Parry to the Supdt. of Police, dated 9th Sept., 1816.

the hardness of the measure and declared their inability to pay the tax.⁸ Later, on 21st October Hamilton was severely assaulted in his carriage. Bricks, stones, and every description of offensive missiles were hurled at his head. He was very badly cut on his face and head, and had he not effected his escape nothing on earth could have saved his life. Two days later, the Collector, in concert with the Magistrate and aided by a military force under command of Major Little John, proceeded to the house of Lushkiri Sahu, the principal defaulter and instigator of the disturbances, for the purpose of levying the arrears due from him on account of the House Tax.

Under the provisions of Regulation VII of 1799 the outer door of Lashkiri Sahu's dwelling house was forced open and distress levied upon his property, upon which a tender was made of the balance which was accepted. The Magistrate found arms in the house which he thought proper to confiscate to Government.

Drinking was common and great quantities of liquor were consumed in towns and villages. In his letter dated 9th September, 1816, to G. Tucker, Secretary to Government in the Revenue and Judicial Department, J. Fombelle, Magistrate of Bhagalpur, while giving an account of the different kinds of intoxicating liquors manufactured in the district remarks that "the present immoderate consumption of these articles, if not checked, must not only have an immediate and alarming effect on the habits and morals of the present age, but must ultimately diminish the population of the country and produce a degenerated and enervated race of people.

The liquors manufactured in the district belonged to four classes, viz., *Mohua*, a distillation from the produce of a tree of the same name; *Phul*, a distilled spirit from *Goor* or clayed sugar; *Kundee*, a double distilled spirit from the same material; *Tauree* or *Toddy*, a distilled spirit from the palm tree; and *Putchwaye*, a distillation from grain made by the hill people of the district.

Mohua worth Rupees fifty to hundred was sold per month; its greatest consumption was during the rains. The price of one bottle of *Mohua* was half anna. The crude material from which *Mohua* was made was sold at the rate of eighty-two seers per rupee. These eighty-two seers of *Mohua* produced fifty bottles of liquor.

The quantity of *Phul* sold was about twenty-four bottles per mensem at two annas per bottle.

Kundee sold at about four annas per bottle.

8. Letter of Hamilton to R. Rocke, Actg. President and member of Board of Revenue, Fort William.

Slavery was prevalent in the district. The male slaves were called *najars* and the female *laundies*. There was scarcely any native of respectability who did not entertain one or more slaves. The slaves were not employed as confidential servants but were employed in agriculture and their descendants continued in a state of slavery in the same family for several generations.⁹ As per rules framed by the Council of Revenue, Fort William, on 17th May, 1774, for regulating slavery, persons forcibly detaining or selling any man, woman or child as a slave without a deed attested in the usual manner by the Qazi of the place where the slave was purchased, or those stealing children from their families or places of abode were to be punished by law. Further, no person was allowed to buy or sell a slave (who was not such already) by formal legal purchase, and a Qazi granting any deed after 1st July, 1774, was to be dismissed from employment and the deed was to be declared invalid. The right of the masters to the children of their slaves already their property was not legally taken away from them, but that right could not be extended to subsequent generations.

Superstitious belief in magic and witchcrafts was common with the people. At Bhagalpur town about twenty-five children were supposed to perish annually from the malevolence of witches, called *Dains* in the native tongue. In his letter dated 15th June, 1785 to the Governor-General-in-Council of Revenue, Champman, the Collector of Bhagalpur, refers to an incident in which a poor old woman was put to death by the people on the suspicion of having killed a large number of children by magic. The petty chiefs of the locality met and killed her. Later, the Collector prevailed upon the chiefs and secured from them a promise to the effect that in future they would refer all matters relating to magic and witchcraft to his (Magistrate's) particular examination before taking any action.

There were several instances of natural calamities, such as, famine, drought, scarcity of grain, storm, outbreak of fire, cholera, and small pox. The earliest famine in the district was the great calamity of 1770. It brought about impoverishment and ruination of the country and its people. In the next fifteen years there were recurrent drought and scarcity. In his letter dated 31st May, 1779 addressed to Hon'ble W. Hastings, Augustus Cleveland, the Collector, refers to the alarming situation of the country for want of rain. Lands which ought to have been cultivated two months ago lay in waste. Tanks and wells were entirely dried up. Cattle died for want of grain; there was a rise in the price of articles: scarcely did a village in the district escape being burnt to the ground. The official correspondence of the year 1783 reveals that for want of rains in most parts of northern India, there was a failure of crops leading to a rise in the prices of every article of produce. Famine raged with great severity to

9. Letter of J. Fombelle to G. H. Barlow (Mar. 19, 1795).

the westward of the Northern Provinces, its fury increasing more and more up to Lahore, and a great multitude of people sought relief from the calamity by coming down to Lucknow and thence further east to the Bengal side. As an immediate and effectual precaution, measures were adopted against artificial scarcity being created by the merchants by hoarding grain. The Magistrate personally attended the public markets and watched the course of the price of grain. He forced the sale of grain at a rate which was deemed reasonable and fair, and made a public example by punishing the delinquents. Granaries were established in different towns, viz., Aurangabad (1,500 maunds), Bhagalpur (3,500 maunds), Colgong (2,500 maunds), Ganga Persad (2,000 maunds), Jehangira (2,000 maunds), Monghyr (3,500 maunds), Rajmahal (92,500 maunds), Sacrigally (500 maunds) and Surajgurrah (2,000 maunds).

These public granaries were, however, abolished in the beginning of the 19th Century. In his letter dated 31st July, 1801 to the Board of Revenue, J. Fombelle, the Collector of Bhagalpur, supported the Government resolution for abolition on the ground that heavy losses were sustained in disposing of the grain that was stored up and that, in case of famine, the trifling supplies from the granaries were, inadequate to the effectual relief of the vast population of the company's possessions. In conclusion, Fombelle drew the attention of the authorities to the improvement of agriculture and commerce and the steady but cautious interference of Government in preventing monopolies in the event of scarcity.

There was a heavy storm at the station (Bhagalpur) on 14th May, 1805. The bungalow belonging to Dickinson, the Collector, was blown down. Of the convicts working on the high roads, five lost their lives and a large number had their limbs broken. J. Sherburne, the Judge and Magistrate of Bhagalpur, and Dr. Clunes who were expected to arrive at Bhagalpur from Purnea became victims of the storm. The boat which carried the Judge and the Doctor had been built under the inspection of the former on the plan of a life boat discovered in Europe and from its form resembling the shell of a turtle called by the local people 'Cutchooa naw'. It was either driven on a quicksand or broken to pieces on a sandbank in which the bed of the river (Ganga) abounded. The body of Dr. Clunes was found floating at Sakrigali Ghat, but the efforts to find the body of Sherburne proved ineffective. There is on record occurrence of another disastrous cyclone in September, 1899.

Fires were very frequent during the summer season. They happened more frequently immediately after the season for cutting the straw, and at the time of the year when the high winds rendered them more extensively destructive. In his letter dated 6th July, 1789 to John Shore, President of the Committee of Revenue, J Davis, Acting Collector at Rajmahal, suggested the issue of a regulation which should introduce tiled instead of

straw roofs to the houses in Rajmahal, Bhagalpur (Boglipore), Monghyr and other considerable towns for the prevention of outbreaks of fire occurring generally in the months of March and April, partly due to natural causes and partly due to the malevolence of the incendiaries, who expected to profit by the general distress. One recorded incident of such an outbreak of fire is to be found in the correspondence of Fombelle, the Judge and Magistrate of Bhagalpur. The said letter dated 10th April, 1795 and written to Barlow, the Sub-Secretary to the Governor-General-in-Council, refers to a serious outbreak of fire that almost consumed the town of Monghyr between 5th and 10th April. There are other instances of outbreak of fire in G. Dickinson's (Collector of Bhagalpur) letter dated 14th April, 1797 to W. M. Cooper, President, Board of Revenue. The letter refers to fire which became extremely fierce and rapid owing to the very high and drying winds and entirely consumed the Monghyr Bazar, the town of Rajmahal, Sahebgunj and Sakarpur villages.

Cholera Morbus was one of the common diseases of the summer season. The appearance of this disease in a virulent and epidemic form is recorded in the official report made on 20th April, 1818. Opium being the only remedy for this disease in those days, the Government supplied opium to the headman of each village for distribution in the affected areas.

Besides the aforesaid disease, Small Pox visited the hilly tracts of the district and caused a great mortality among the inhabitants. The letter dated 6th September, 1822 of W. A. Chalmers, Magistrate of Bhagalpur, mentions that Dr. Glas, the surgeon of Bhagalpur, maintained a small vaccine establishment at his own expense, and performed without remuneration all the duties of a superintendent of an institution. The benevolent efforts of Dr. Glas to introduce vaccination in the hills were in a great measure frustrated by the difficulty he experienced in procuring persons to go there as native doctors, and the unwillingness of the hill people to submit their children to the operation.

Besides the natural calamities and the annual visitation of infectious diseases that carried away a large number of people, the country suffered from the depredations of wild animals, such as elephants and tigers, as well as pariah dogs. A year hardly passed when the inhabitants of several parts of the district did not experience considerable loss from the damage done to their villages and fields by elephants coming from the northern side of the Ganges. On those occasions many human lives were lost.¹⁰ There was also a considerable number of these animals towards the southern part of the district, which was wild and woody. Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Bengal, when passing through the district in his flight left behind him

10. Letter of the Magistrate of Bhagalpur dated 30th April, 1801.

several useless elephants. Those elephants made good their retreat to the wildest parts of the country and produced a progeny that later infested the forest. For the prosperity of the district, and the safety and comfort of the inhabitants effectual measures were adopted for destroying those dangerous and destructive animals. Rewards were offered for either killing or capturing elephants; rupees fifty were paid for every full-grown elephant, and thirty for elephants of a smaller size.

Rewards were likewise paid for killing tigers. At first Rupees ten were paid for each tiger. Later, the payment of reward was discontinued. Thinking that the abolition would be attended with fatal consequences F. Hamilton, the Collector of Bhagalpur, wrote a letter on 3rd May, 1806 to J. Buller, President, Board of Revenue, advising the resumption of payment of rewards for killing tigers. It appears from the said letter that the hills of the district were full of tigers, and in consequence, dawks were stopped for a considerable time and the cattle of several individuals destroyed. Tigers could even be seen in the town of Bhagalpur. On receipt of the said letter, the Board reconsidered the matter and revived payment of rewards for tigers' heads at a reduced rate (12th March, 1807). Rupees five were offered for an adult tiger's head and half the amount for the cubs.

Armstrong's (Judge of Bhagalpur) letter dated 28th June, 1806 to the Secretary to Government, Fort William, refers to the existence of Pariah dogs in the town of Bhagalpur—particularly in the Sepoy lines. Those animals owing to extreme heat became mad to the great terror and annoyance of the inhabitants. On the recommendation of the Judge, the Governor-General-in-Council authorised the award of annas three for the destruction of each pariah dog during the months of June, July and August every year.

EVIDENCE ON SOME CORRELATIONS OF RENTS AND PRICES IN BIHAR UNDER EARLY BRITISH RULE.

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The want of statistics to substantiate logical constructions is one of the major despairs of the economic historian of the early British period. This is true particularly of the study of rents. The abundance of data on revenues and their extreme paucity on rents in the old English records indicate, no doubt, the characteristic bias and blind spots of the East India Company's administration. It was only when fiscal deficiency could no longer be treated at the upper levels of proprietorship and first-degree tenancy that attempts were made to investigate its causes in the process of agricultural production. One such inquiry recorded in the Calcutta Record Room Series of the Proceedings of the Governor-General-in-Council, Revenue Department (GGC) has left for us some rare rewarding evidence on rents in Bihar.

In 1778 the Patna Council of Revenue, headed by Ewan Law at that time, sent Henry Richardson "to make a particular enquiry into the cause of the difference between the revenue of Pergunah Ekyll etc., in this and last year."¹ The three parganas of Ekil, Aucry and Behlaur had defaulted by Rs. 4,896.²

Richardson's first impression was that "the failure arises partly, from a short cultivation of the Lands, but more materially from the excessive cheapness of Grain in the last year."³ But in subsequent letters he corrected himself to say that cultivation, far from declining, had actually increased, and that the deficits in revenue were the direct consequence of a slump in the grain market.

1. Richardson to Patna Council, 29th September, 1778. (GGC, 24 November, 1778).

2. Appendix No. 30, "Abstract of Balances due in Pargana Ekil etc." (24th November, 1778) in Ms. volume, *Miscellaneous Revenue Accounts, 9th January to 8th December, 1778*.

3. Richardson to Patna Council, 29th September, 1778. (GGC, 24 November, 1778).

"I find that upon the whole there has been an actual increase in the Number of Begas cultivated."⁴

"The failure in the Rent of the Year 1185 can be attributed to no other cause that I have learnt but the excessive Cheapness of Grain, and Refusal of the Farmers etc., to rate it at the Nuckdy Mode."⁵

As indicated above, it is the nature of rents that connects the fiscal prospects with the movement of grain prices. In one of his letters Richardson explains in some detail the character of the two principal forms of rent—in money (*nagdi*) and in produce (*bhaoli*). This description is, to my knowledge, one of the most complete statements on record on the subject, and is of more than local interest. It applied to conditions all over Bihar at that time, and with a change in terminology—to Bengal, too, where *bhaoli* was known as *Kut Khamar*.⁶

"... there are two General Modes of assessing the revenues of a District," says Richardson. "The first which is called Nuckdy is very simple, resembling the manner in which lands are let in England at so much an acre, with this difference, that the rate p. Biga varies according to the Plant or Grain etc., cultivated. Thus, Sugarcane is rated at twelve Rupees, and Jawura pays only one; and again the rates of even the same Articles vary in the different Districts, according to the fitness of the Soil for their production, or convenience of carrying them to market. But however the same articles may differ in different Districts, each Pergunnah has rates for its own produce, which undergo very little alteration.

"The other Mode, called Bhawly, is adjusted by a Survey of the land Cultivated, when the Crop is so far advanced as to enable appraisers to give a near guess at the quantity of grain which will be produced, which after the usual deduction made for the Cultivators share, is rated according to the Current price of the respective Grains in the District and the Zemindars or Tickadars engage to pay for the Zemindar, or Government's share in cash.

4. Richardson to Patna Council, 12th October, 1778, (GGC, 24th November, 1778).

5. Richardson to Patna Council, 5th November, 1778, (GGC, 8th December, 1778).

6. Verelst, *View*, 217; *Burdwan Letters Issued*, lxiii-lxiv.

"The former mode is by much most eligible for Government when it can be adhered to, and the Cultivators of the Lands themselves prefer it when the produce bears such a price as to enable them to Discharge the rates p. Biga; because it saves them a great deal of vexation and impositions to which they are subjected by the appraisers and the number of Peons and Charges which the Aumil introduces, yet the very great cheapness of Grain in 1185 made them chuse the Latter as the lesser evil. Sugarcane, Tobacco, Opium, Cotton and a few other articles, which will admit of it they cheerfully offered to pay for at the usual rates, but with one voice, they declared that if this mode was to be pursued throughout, they would not cultivate their Lands to see the whole Crop taken from them at the close of the Year—but would go into the alienated Lands, where they were Secure of much better terms, and more equitable rates, than they could hope for under the Aumil, even was the Baully adopted. The Aumil had had no alternative but by yielding in a great measure to the justness of their objection, to secure the District from being deserted by the Baully, or by holding out against them, suffer them to depart. He preferred the former, at the same time that he made as good a compromise with them as he could and kept up the Nuckdy as far as possible...."⁷

The statistical accounts sent by Richardson with his report add greatly to its importance. They make it possible for us not merely to verify his general statement, but also to analyse some of the related movements of rents and prices. Two of these accounts, particularly helpful for such analysis, have been reproduced in *Appendix A* and *Appendix B*.

The comparative statement on "Rates of Grain" (*Appendix A*) is an index of the slump. Of the thirty-two agricultural products for which complete figures are given, two are steady (Nos. 11 and 27) and two moving up (Nos. 30 and 31). The commercial crops, not being used for payment of produce rent (*Vide* Richardson's letter of 12th October, 1778), need not be considered here, although the falling trend is clear in that case too. For all other articles, taking the prices of 1777-8 as 100, there is a sharp decline ranging from 45.6 to 93.8 in cereals and cereal products, 64.5 to 84.6 in pulses, and 72.7 to 80.0 in oil seeds (*Table I*).

7. Richardson to Patna Council, 12th October, 1778, (GGC, 24th November, 1778).

TABLE I: PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IN
1778-9.

(Serial numbers indicating products are the same as in *Appendix A*)
Index number : 1777-8=100

Article	Price	Article	Price
<i>Cereals and cereal products</i>		<i>Pulses</i>	
1	71.4	6	66.7
2	45.6	9	64.5
3	61.1	10	66.7
4	65.0	21	84.6
5	62.5	23	82.3
7	63.3	24	78.5
8	70.0	28	81.8
17	93.8	<i>Oil seeds</i>	
18	90.9	12	72.7
19	73.7	25	84.6
20	77.4	26	80.0

Foil to this statement of the slump, the "Comparative Statement of the Cultivation" in *Appendix B*, re-arranged in *Table II* and *Table III*, illustrates its consequences for rents. There is no decline in cultivation; on the contrary, over 4298.5 bighas are added to tillage in 1778-9, representing 16.11 per cent of the cultivated area in the previous year (*Table II*). It would be rash, of course, on this basis alone, to seek an explanation of the incentive in the depression itself. But it certainly indicates that produce rent is by itself no protection against the effects of a slump, unless the cultivator has land enough to produce the necessary surplus. No wonder, therefore, that the peasantry paying produce rent (*Sanja*) in Bengal were considerably pauperized and uprooted during later periods of agricultural depression—in the decade following the crisis of 1929, for instance—when the pressure on land had already made it impossible to balance sagging price curves by additions to tillage.

The dependence of rents on prices is very clearly demonstrated in the sectoral distribution of tillage between the two forms of rent. Produce rent, already quite predominant in each pargana in 1777-8, covering 69.3 per cent of the total area under cultivation, swells enormously under conditions of the slump in the following year and reduces the sector of money rent to the nearest fraction of the cultivated area—from 30.7 per cent to 18.2 (*Table III*). The cultivation of lands paying in money falls off by

2,412 bighas or 29.4 per cent, and that of lands paying in produce increase by 6,711 bighas or 36.3 per cent (*Table II*). In the entire region over eighty-one bighas out of hundred pay produce rent in 1778-9.

Henry Richardson's report on the three parganas of Bihar thus helps us to understand one of the fundamental economic trends of the eighteenth century: that *produce rent tends to expand in volume and money rent contract under conditions of falling agricultural prices*.

TABLE II: DISTRIBUTION OF LAND UNDER CULTIVATION BY
CATEGORIES OF RENT.

(In Kathas)

Category of Rent	Total cultivation for all parganas in 1777-8	Increase & decrease of cultivation in each pargana in 1778-9.			Total increase & decrease in 1778-9	Total cultivation in 1778-9
		Ekil	Aucry	Behlaur		
Nagdi	163730	-16517	-24560	-7175	-48252	115478
Bhaoli	369780	+43568	+64380	+26275	+134223	504003
TOTAL	533510	+27051	+39820	+19100	+85971	619481

TABLE III: PERCENTAGE OF CULTIVATED LAND
DISTRIBUTED BY CATEGORIES OF RENT

Year	Category of Rent		Ekil	Aucry	Behlaur	For all parganas
1777-8	Nagdi		35.8	31.2	23.7	30.7
1778-9	Nagdi		22.9	17.5	16.2	18.2
1777-8	Bhaoli		64.2	68.8	76.3	69.3
1778-9	Bhaoli		77.7	82.5	83.8	81.4

II

In the records of the Board of Revenue (*BOR*) there is also some very good evidence to show that this correlation is reversed when prices are moving up instead of going down.

I have not been able to collect the figures for 1788 to fill the gap that is there in the statement of prices in Purnia in *Appendix C* and *Appendix D*. But this is more than made up by the following information from a letter sent by the Collector to the Board on 3rd January, 1789. It speaks of "unusually" high prices received for the autumn harvest (*bhadoi*) of the previous year and equally high expectations for the winter crop (*aghani*) of 1788-9.

"The Harvest of Bhadun", the Collector wrote, "was uncommonly abundant but the Market for it was so great that the whole was soon disposed of.

"Since the 12th of September last no rain has fallen in these Districts and the Augunny harvest suffered much in Consequence but not to such an Extent as to create any Apprehensions of a Scarcity.

"The Board will observe by the Price Current which accompanies this that the Mofussil prices are unusually high which is not occasioned by Scarcity but may be ascribed to the following Causes—

1st the Produce of the Baudye harvest was sufficient at the rate it was sold to enable the Ryots to discharge so much of their Rents as to obviate the necessity of their carrying that of Augun to market.

The 2nd is that although there is an appearance of a very considerable Robbi which in the event of a timely fall of Rain must infallibly lower the price of Rice yet such is the prevailing Opinion of the precariousness of the Seasons that they prefer running the risque of a probable loss to the certain and advantageous disposal of such part as can be afforded to the Market".⁸

Reading this together with the statistics given in *Appendixes C* and *D*, one can have no doubt about the increasing trend of cereal prices. Taking the prices of October, 1786 as 100, there is a more or less steady upward slope which culminates in a clear rise of 22 to 75 per cent at the close of the series (*Table IV*).

The movement of the rents under these conditions tends to be exactly the opposite of what it was during the slump discussed above. We are fortunate in having some excellent documentation, though not much statistics, recorded on this point in the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue of 1st April, 1790.

8. Heatly to BOR, 3rd January, 1789. (*BOR*, 27th January, 1789).

In December, 1789 the Collector of Purnia, S. Heatly, was on a "circuit" in Dharampur, the westernmost pargana of that district. There in *zillah* Bhawanipur, in course of his interviews for the coming Decennial Settlement, he received from the Mustajirs and Patwaris, a large number of complaints about ryotts insisting on payment of rents in money instead of in produce. These complaints together with the Collector's decisions on them are reproduced in *Appendix E*.

It comes out clearly from these documents that the ryots began to change over from produce rent to money rent in 1788-9, the year of high prices described in Heatly's letter quoted above. In the heightened conditions of the grain market of 1787 they must have found some sort of a solid assurance for the future—an end to what presumably had been a trough (*Table IV*). So, in the invariable language of the complainants, "they insist to pay Nukdee."* And it is one of those rare occasions in the history of the long-drawn dispute over tenancy deeds (*patta*) during early British rule, when the ryot was definitely proved to be in the wrong. No doubt he violated the standing agreement to pay produce rent—for the simple reason that it no longer conformed to economic realities: the changes in the grain market had dated the *patta*.

The methods used by the ryots to get round the terms of the old agreement follow the familiar pattern of the period. Asked to produce the *pattas* prescribing, according to them, the payment of money rent, they report the loss of the documents. One of them is said to have bribed a petty official and "received a Pattah from him in 1196 for the year 1197

TABLE IV: PRICES OF CEREALS
Index Number: October 1786-100

			Novem- ber 1786	Decem- ber 1786	Octo- ber 1787	Novem- ber 1787	Decem- ber 1787	Augu- st 1789	Septem- ber 1789
Rice	1st sort	..	100.0	90.8	112.0	100.0	108.3	163.1	161.1
Rice	2nd sort	..	70.9	64.7	123.3	99.8	118.5	152.7	157.2
Rice	3rd sort	..	77.9	71.0	131.8	120.0	140.4	135.0	121.7
Rice	4th sort	..	80.5	78.6	145.1	138.3	166.7	140.0	140.1
Wheat	1st sort	..	91.8	87.6	125.4	125.6	135.9	175.1	175.1
Wheat	2nd sort	..	91.0	85.8	129.5	122.6	154.6	153.6	149.7
Wheat	3rd sort	..	92.1	85.3	136.6	128.2	160.0	174.2	174.1

*This and all subsequent quotations are taken from the extracts reproduced in *Appendix E*, unless otherwise mentioned.

for 12 more Begahs at Nukdee rates. Another who has to pay rent for half of his lands in money and for the other half in produce "neglects to weed the Bowlee with a view that the produce being small in consequence of the neglected cultivation, the officers of Government may be induced to accept of Nukdee rates." And so on.

How far this bid for a rational adjustment of rent to prices resulted in changing the exact proportion of produce rent to money rent cannot, for want of data, be statistically measured. But the evidence of Heatly's "Cutcherry Proceedings" shows well enough that the relationship defined at the end of the first section of this paper is reversed when prices move in a reverse direction: that is, *money rent tends to expand and produce rent contract under conditions of rising agricultural prices.*

III

The documents on Purnia also illustrate the social significance of the correlations of rents and prices. They are, in a way, the record of a dialogue between opposing social interests brought to clash by a radical change in the price level. In all cases mentioned in the Proceedings (Appendix E) the Zamindars and Mustajirs are arguing for a form of rent definitely harmful for the ryot. They plead that "Nukdee be made Bowlee", and "then certainly the revenues may be well collected." The Collector promptly responds to the suggestion and decides on every issue in favour of reversion to produce rent—sometimes on the ground that the ryots have illegally violated the former agreement about produce rent by "fraud" or "collusion", sometimes simply because of its "appearing that the Nukdee rates are contrary to the rule of the Mouzah." At a time when the Government was seriously discussing such radical measures as the abolition of all internal duties in order to secure freedom of trade, and members of the Board of Revenue like Thomas Law were quoting Montesquieu and Turgot in justification of anti-feudal reforms, it is interesting to see a local Canute commanding a powerful and progressive movement of rents to recede. In doing so he was, of course, basing himself on a perfectly understandable sense of identity of interests between "the rights of the Zemindar and the Security of Government", as he himself stated in a covering letter sent with the "Cutcherry Proceedings". "The Board will I trust be satisfied", he wrote, "that I have accented no engagements from the Ryots which can have a tendency to confirm them in the expectation of a permanent enjoyment of immunities destructive of the rights of the Zemindar and the Security of Government."⁹

Thus backed by official policy, the proprietor in contesting for rents is, in essence, disputing the producer's claim to dispose of a part of the

9. Heatly to BOR, 25th March, 1790. (BOR 1st April, 1790).

marketable surplus of grains. To the extent that money rent, by definition, deprives him (in his purely landowning capacity) of the opportunity to profit from rising prices, the opposition is irreconcilable. Relating this element of conflict in social interests to the function of rents and prices already discussed, it may, therefore, be concluded that *in a period of rising prices proprietors tend to resist and producers prefer the expansion of money rent at the cost of produce rent.*

APPENDIX A

*"Rates of Grain in Parganas Ekyll, Aucry and Behlaur in 1184 and 1185 as taken from the Office of Kazi Rahamtulla and attested by him."*¹⁰

Serial No.	Article				Amounts in maunds & seers per Rupee	
					1184	1185
1.	Mundua	..	..	..	2 20	3 20
2.	Sauty	..	..	..	2 20	5 20
3.	Muckye..	..	..	..	2 30	4 20
4.	Cunguy	..	..	..	3 10	5 0
5.	Samagh	..	..	..	3 30	6 0
6.	Mash	..	..	..	1 20	2 10
7.	Paddy	..	..	..	2 15	3 30
8.	Cuddram	..	..	..	3 20	5 0
9.	Coorty	..	..	..	2 20	3 35
10.	Moong	..	..	..	1 0	1 20
11.	Beringhy	..	..	..	2 0	2 0
12.	Tory	..	..	..	1 0	1 15
13.	Jugry	..	..	..	0 30	0 35
14.	Molasses	..	..	..	1 0	1 5
15.	Choa	..	..	..	1 0	1 15
16.	Tobacco	..	..	..	0 16	0 17 1/2
17.	Rice fine	..	..	..	0 37 1/2	1 0
18.	Rice coarse	..	..	..	1 30	1 37
19.	Wheat	..	..	..	1 30	2 15
20.	Barley	..	..	..	3 0	3 35
21.	Pease	..	..	..	2 30	3 10

10. Appendix No. 31 for 8th December, 1778 in MS. Volume, *Miscellaneous Revenue Accounts*, 9th January to 8th December, 1778.

APPENDIX A—contd.

Serial No.	Article	Amounts in maunds & seers per rupee	
		1184	1185
22.	Addas	2 0	2 5
23.	Kissary	3 20	4 10
24.	Gram	2 30	3 20
25.	Renry or Palm Christi	1 15	1 25
26.	Mustard Seed	1 0	1 10
27.	Aurhur	3 0	3 0
28.	Gullan	(1) 5	1 15
29.	(torn)	3 20	
30.	Field Pease & Barley Mixed	3 20	3 0
31.	Gram Peas & Barley Mixed	3 20	3 10
32.	Dunnia	0 20	0 37
33.	Cotton	0 16	0 20

APPENDIX B

*"Comparative Statement of the Cultivation in Pergunnahs Ekyll, Aucry and Behlaur in 1184 and 1185"*¹¹

(In bighas and Kathas)

		1184	1185
Ekyll	Nuckdy ..	2978 5	2152 8
	Bhaulv ..	5332 15	7511 3
		8311 0	9663 11
Aucry	Nuckdy ..	3586 10	2358 10
	Bhaulv ..	7924 10	11143 10
		11511 0	13502 0
Behlaur	Nuckdy ..	1621 15	1263 0
	Bhaulv ..	5231 15	6545 10
		6853 10	7808 (10)
		26675 10	30974 1

11. Appendix No. 31 for 8th December, 1778 in MS. Volume, *Miscellaneous Revenue Accounts, 9th January to 8th December, 1778.*

APPENDIX C

"Comparative Account of the Medium Prices of Grain during the Months of October, November and December in the years 1786 and 1787.

*Extracts from the Accounts Current sent by the Collectors etc."*¹²

(Amounts stated only for Purnia in Maunds, Seers and Chhataks per Rupee)

	October 1786	October 1787	November 1786	November 1787	December 1786	December 1787
Rice, 1st sort ..	1-2-8	0-37-8	1-2-8	1-2-8	1-6-4	0-38-12
Rice 2nd sort ..	1-15-0	1-4-10	1-37-10	1-15-2	2-5-0	1-6-7
Rice 3rd sort ..	1-27-8	1-11-4	2-6-10	1-16-4	2-15-0	1-8-1
Rice 4th sort ..	2-2-8	1-16-13	2-22-8	1-19-11	2-25-0	1-9-8
Wheat 1st sort ..	1-30-0	1-15-13	1-36-4	1-15-12	2-0-0	1-11-8
Wheat 2nd sort ..	2-5-13	1-26-4	2-14-4	1-30-0	2-20-0	1-15-9
Wheat 3rd sort ..	2-22-8	1-35-0	2-31-4	2-0-0	3-0-0	1-24-1

APPENDIX D

*Cereal Prices at Alamganj, Purnia, for 16—31 August and 16—30 September, 1789*¹³

(Amounts stated in Maunds, Seers and Chhataks per Rupee)

		16—31 August, 1789	16—30 September, 1789
Rice 1st sort ..	..	0-25-12	0-26-0
" 2nd sort ..	..	0-36-1	0-35-0
" 3rd sort ..	..	1-10-0	1-15-8
" 4th sort ..	..	1-8-14 1/2	1-19-0
Wheat 1st sort ..	..	1-0-0	1-0-0
" 2nd sort ..	..	1-5-15	1-7-5 3/4
" 3rd sort ..	..	1-18-12	1-19-0

12. BOR, 25th January, 1788.

13. This table of average prices in Purnia (Alamganj) is based on statements of current prices sent by the Collector of Purnia. The documents are entitled in the Board of Revenue Proceedings as "Price Current of every Species of Grain at Allum Gunge from the 16th to the 31st August, 1789" and "Price Current of every Species of Grain at Allum Gunge from the 16th to the 30th September, 1789", and are enclosed with S. Heatly's letters of 1st September, 1789 and 1st October, 1789 respectively. (BOR 14th September, 1789 and 12th October, 1789).

APPENDIX E

Extracts from the Cutcherry Proceedings of S. Heatly, Collector of Purnia¹⁴

Bhowanipore, 17th December, 1789.

Dullulsing late Mustajer of Porindah Mozah in the Zillah of Bhowanypore being present is called upon to make a Bundobust of ten years. . . . He replies that many ryotts enjoy Bowlee lands as Nukdee without Pottahs if this be inquired into and Nukdee be made Bowlee as formerly and the lands which ryotts enjoyed improperly exclusive of these established Nukdee through the connivance of the Amlah, be resumed, then certainly the revenues may be well collected. He is asked what ryotts? He replies—one is present called Mugnee Lala whom he had asked these three years past for his pottah in vain—The Nazir is ordered to bring this ryott, being present in the Cutcherry he is brought forward and interrogated—Where is your Pottah?

A — I have lost it, for ten years I have paid my rent as Nukdee.

Daleelsing on this says he has been Mustajer of that Mozah three years and has asked him annually, for his Pottah without effect, on this account he calls upon him for his rent Bowlee but he insists on paying it as Nukdee, so that the collections of Government are injured.

Ordered—that as this ryott does not produce his Pottah that he pay his rent to the Mustajer as Bowlee.

18th December, 1789.

Atmaram Putwaree of Mhutwak Zillah Bhowanypore attending sets forth that there are no Nukdee rates established for any Raiot in that village, all the Raiots paid their revenue on Bowlee rates for 1196 and received their acquaintances, but Modun Roi and Gumbeer Roi claim upon Pottahs of Dooleechand to pay half Bowlee and half Nukdee, and in the whole Mouzah no other Raiots pay at such rates.

Ordered that agreeably to the rule of the Mouza the Nukdee be set aside and the revenue be taken on the Bowlee rates from Modun Roi and Gumbeen Roi.

14. Enclosure to S. Heatly's letter of 25th March, 1790 to the Board of Revenue. (BOR, 1st April, 1790).

Dheerdoss Putwaree of Mouzah Phootcow attending sets forth that one Koonjul Raiot holds land on old leases of Nukdee to the Jamma of Rs. 12 As. 15 and further enjoys 13 Begahs of Gowura or land situated near the village fit for all crops for which he pays at Nukdee rate of As. 4 of which on Bowlee rates the Jamma would amount to Rs. 76. The said Raiot being called upon for his Pottah says he has lost it.

Ordered that the ancient Nukdee be continued and that the revenue of the 13 Begahs of Gowura land be paid at Bowlee rates.

The same Putwaree sets forth that Sheik Buttrum and some other Raiots whose Jamma and ancient Nukdee land is still enjoyed by them have cultivated kheel land for which they have no Pottahs, they insist on paying at Nukdee rates. On enquiring it appears that nine Begahs of land have been long held by Sheik Buttrum and which were settled in 1192 at half Nukdee and half Bowlee, of which (he) cultivates the Nukdee lands and enjoys the produce, but that he neglects to weed the Bowlee with a view that the produce being small in consequence of the neglected cultivation, the officers of the Government may be induced to accept of Nukdee rates.

Ordered that a Mochulka be taken from him that he will in future weed and carefully cultivate the Bowlee lands under the penalty in case of neglect of becoming liable to pay at Bowlee rates for his Nukdee lands.

The same Putwaree sets forth that the said Raiot gave a bribe 15 Rupees to Keerutnarain and received a Pottah from him in 1196 for the year 1197 for 12 more Begahs at Nukdee rates which he now holds. That Putwaree being called upon to prove his assertion says that Raiot will not acknowledge it and he has no witnesses to prove the bribery.

Ordered that the Nukdee granted for 1197 is inadmissible and that the revenue be taken at the Bowlee rates.

Bhowra Charj, raiot of Mutwa attending and being called upon to produce his Pottah says he left it at home. The Zemindarry and Canon-goes officers set forth that he obtained in 1196 a Pottah from Keerutnarain at Nukdee rates and had it dated in 1195. It appearing that Nukdee rates are contrary to the rule of the Mouzah —

Ordered that the Pottah which appears to have been collusively obtained be set aside and the revenue be paid at the Bowlee rates.

19th December, 1789

Dianutullah on the part of Currum Aly farmer of Golparra complains that Hurlpurshed and Goordial Raiots formerly paid Bowlee as well as Nukdee, but in 1195 and 1196 took out Nakdee Pottahs including deserted lands, on which they insist to pay Nukdee. The Pottahs being produced it appears that the Raiots had taken the Pottahs at Khash Kumdurreh for his whole Nukdee and done away his Bowlee altogether. This being an evident fraud tending to diminish and weaken the security of the revenue of Government—

. Ordered the Pottahs to be resumed and the Raiots to pay at Bowlee rates for all lands except those which have been invariably held by them as Nakdee to the year 1193....

The Vakeel of Meer Juvun farmer of Bhowanypore Rajdhun complains that Jeet Roi and Boodhoo Khast Raiots formerly paid part Nukdee and part Bowlee, but obtained in 1195 Pottahs from Keerutnarain for their Nukdee as Khast and insist on paying accordingly. The Pottah being produced it appears that the whole is Nukdee and that there is no Bowlee in the Pottahs this being highly injurious to Government—

Ordered that the Raiots do pay at Bowlee rates for all except those which have been invariably held by them as Nakdee down to 1193 and that the late Pottahs from Keerutnarain be set aside.

THE SURVEYS AND OPERATIONS AT THE PETROLEUM- SPRINGS AND COAL-BEDS IN ASSAM

(1826—58)

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Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the North-East Frontier had remained a 'terra incognita' to the foreigners, to the East India Company in particular. The surveys and explorations conducted by a band of gallant adventurers dispelled the gloom and also revealed, to some extent, the hidden wealth of this region. John Peter Wade in his 'Geographical sketch of Assam' (1800), refers to the existence of gold in the bed of most of the rivers which have their sources in the Northern hills.¹ From the mine at Pakerguri, at the confluence of the river Dhansiri with the Brahmaputra, about 40 miles east of Gauhati we learn from Dr. Francis Buchanan alias Hamilton that 15,000 tolas of gold dust annually reached the treasury of the former Government; he also mentions the existence of salt-brine and iron-ore in scattered areas of Eastern Assam.²

Captain Wilcox discovered, in 1826, mineral oil near about Jaypur, in the district of Lakhimpur and on the water of the stream Daphapani, which descends from the Singpho hills.³ In 1838, Captain Jenkins, the Commissioner of Assam, found several oil-springs accompanied by Coal-beds on his way from Borhat to Jaypur,⁴ roughly on the site of the recent drilling operations at Naharkatiya. In early 1854, Captain Dalton, the Principal Assistant, Lakhimpur reported the existence of petroleum 'Poongs' or springs at Bapooopoong (Digboi), Makum and Namchik.⁵

The local people in those days never used mineral oil and its demand, therefore, was confined to a few European residents who used it mostly

1. Particularly, the rivers Subansiri, Dikrong, Borpani, Borgang, Burigang and the Manah: The gold obtained from the Burigang was considered to be the most precious in Assam and was valued at Rs. 20 per tolah; Whereas, ordinarily, it was available from Rs. 12 to Rs. 14 per tolah. Wade, J. P.: *An account of Assam* (1800), Edited by Sarma, vide the Geographical Sketch of Assam, pp. 16—23.
2. Hamilton, F: *An account of Assam*, Edited by Bhuyan, S. K., pp. 46-47.
3. Wilcox: *Memoir of a Survey of Assam etc.* (1825—28) vide Selection of Papers Regarding the Hill tracts between Assam and Burma (1873); p. 5.
4. Political consultations, India, 1838; 28 March, Nos. 44-45.
5. Revenue Proceedings, Bengal, 1854; 27 July, No. 204; Dalton to Jenkins; 2nd March, 1854.

s a preventive of white ant infestation of the timbers and official records. The search for further oil springs or scientific operation of the existing ones was, naturally neglected. Petrol could be had at Dibrugarh at Rs. 4 a maund, and as reported by Captain Dalton, "the small quantity exported or used in the province has generally been collected through a petty trader at Makum, a Bengalee acting for or with Ramjoy Majumdar at Jaypur."⁶

Mr. Wagentrieber, a foreign speculator, applied in early 1854 to the Principal Assistant, Lakhimpur, for a lease to operate the Poongs (springs) at Makum, Bapooipoong and Namchik.⁷ In his application, he prayed for an exclusive monopoly of all the springs yet discovered, an adequate protection to his interests at different sites and also the right to raise coal from the neighbouring beds. The risks involved in Mr. Wagentrieber's undertakings were, indeed, very great; but the difficulties in the way of accepting all his terms were also not inconsiderable. No protection could be afforded to him at Namchik, which was beyond the jurisdiction of the police and military out-posts. At Bapooipoong Khedda operations were conducted by the Government; the presence of a party to work for the production of petroleum would be likely to affect the *khedda* operations and above all, it was felt inexpedient to close the door against other speculators by granting an exclusive monopoly, as demanded by Mr. Wagentrieber. Nevertheless, the Commissioner of Assam recommended the grant of a lease of the two 'Poongs' at Makum and Bapooipoong⁸ and in view of the existence of other poongs at Jaypur, he raised no objection to granting a monopoly, for a period of about ten years, "as Mr. Wagentrieber would be obliged to sink wells at the springs to render them at all profitable."⁹ The Board of Revenue, to whom the case was later referred, reduced the term to a period of three years, and disapproved altogether the grant of a monopoly in digging coal either to Mr. Wagentrieber or to any other party.¹⁰ The Government of Bengal in the Revenue department concurred in the opinion of the Board as to the grant of exclusive right in coal mines, but accorded its sanction, as suggested by the Commissioner, to the grant of a monopoly for a period of ten years to operate the petroleum springs at Makum.¹¹ Until 1854, apparently, the authorities in Calcutta valued coal more than Petroleum.

6. Revenue Proceedings, Bengal, 1854; 27 July, No. 40 : Dalton to Jenkins, 12th June, 1854.

7. Revenue Proceedings, Bengal, 1854; 27 July, No. 17: Jenkins to the Secretary, Board of Revenue; 14th March, 1854.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. Revenue Proceedings, Bengal, 1854; 27 July, No. 16: Officiating Secretary, Board of Revenue to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 14th July, 1854.

11. Revenue Proceedings, Bengal, 1854; 27 July, No. 18.

The existence of coal-beds, too, was not known before the surveys made by Captain Wilcox. In 1826, he discovered coal on the bank of the rivers Buridihing, Disang and Daphapani.¹² Mr. C. A. Bruce, the famous discoverer of tea-plant in Assam, also found traces of coal on the river Suffray, where he worked for sometime, under the direction of Mr. Scott, the Commissioner of Assam.¹³ In July, 1832, Lieutenant Watson, the officer commanding in the Khasi hills, reported the existence of coal in the territory of Cherra Raja, and by an agreement with that chief, operations began there soon after, and boat loads of coal were despatched to Calcutta.¹⁴ From Jaypur, limited quantities of coal were raised by the Assam Company to meet the requirements of their plantations.¹⁵

In early 1837, the Supreme Government took some interest in the coal-beds of eastern Assam; and towards the middle of the same year, Captain Hannay, the Commandant of the 2nd Assam Light Infantry at Jaypur, was directed to open the coal-beds between Jaypur and Borhat.¹⁶ The 'experiment' which began 'successfully' received a set back two years later on the transfer of Captain Hannay as the Commandant of the 1st Assam Light Infantry to Sadiya. Mr. Landers, the special sub-Assistant, who was placed in charge of these mines, possessed neither the energy nor the technical know-how to conduct the operations. He fared no better when he was subsequently employed at the foot of the Naga Hills, the present site of Naginimara Coal-mines.¹⁷ The repeated failures of Mr. Landers convinced Captain Jenkins that the operations to be successful must be entrusted to some duly qualified persons. In his letter of 26th February, 1842, while reporting the proceedings of Mr. Landers, the Commissioner submitted a constructive scheme for the working of the coal mines in Assam. Incidentally, he also made an interesting survey of all the coal-beds, discovered and supposed to exist, in the Province.¹⁸ Extracts from his report are given below :

"In the *Namchik*, *Namrup* and *Namsang* rivers falling into the Buridihing above Jaypur, little is known to me; but the quality of coal is really the same (as) Major Forbear (?) reported on some sent down by Lieutenant Bigge from Namrup, that it was the best for certain purposes of any discovered in India."

12. Wilcox, *Memoir of a Survey of Assam* etc. p. 5; Pemberton, R. B. *Eastern Frontier of British India*, pp. 82-83.

13. Political consultations, India, 1842; 14 March, No. 98.

14. Political consultations, Bengal, 1832; 2 July, Nos. 102-3, Political letters, India and Bengal, 1841; 14 January, No. 3.

15. Political consultations, India, 1842, 14 March, No. 98.

16. *Ibid.* vide also the letters from Mr. Mangles, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Political Department, dated the 2nd and 30th May, 1837; Nos. 152 and 202 respectively.

17. Political consultations, Ind 1842 14 March, No. 98.

18. *Ibid.*

"At Jaypur, there are three beds; two directly on the gorge of the hills, through which the river flows: one of these the Assam Company are working and the strata as far as exposed when I visited it was six feet thick of very fair coal and containing apparently much less sulphur than in the first small strata overlying that now working."

"Half way to Borhat from Jaypur is the bed worked by Captain Hannay and Mr. Landers above adverted to. I imagine, the coal is similar to that of Jaypur and Borhat."

"At Borhat directly in the bed of the (river) Disang, is a deep stratum of coal that has not yet been worked, but the locality seems very favourable."

"In the Dhansiri (Valley) coal has been traced in several places, but we know nothing of the beds."

"In the Suffray is the coal worked by Mr. Bruce (C.A.) under late Mr. Scott's directions; the coal was said to be very good."

"In the Jamunna (valley near Dharampur) there is a coal bed connected with limestone (Quarries), perfectly identical with the limestone of Cherra and there is, therefore, fair ground for supposing the coal may be of the same quality."

"The last known bed on the south bank is, that lately discovered by Mr. J. Bedford on the Caribari Estate under the Garrow Hills, of which, the coal as far as yet opened appears inferior and earthy, but as the situation is extremely favourable, it may be worthwhile to go on with the operation here, to some extent, in the hope of coming upon a richer stratum below. This coal is besides connected with the bed of iron-ore and pottery clay of much value."

"On the North bank, several traces of coal have been met with from time to time, I have lately had samples of coal from the Godadhar river, falling into the Burhumpootur at Doobry, which was sent to me by Mr. Bedford and small samples from Mr. C. K. Hudson and Captain Matthews of Coal from (the bank of the river) Manas, (the) Bynee (Bijni) Doar, and lastly, Lieutenant Scott shewed me at Tezpur both good coal and lime-stone of Koreapara Doar."

"No province in India," the Commissioner emphatically remarked, "possesses in greater abundance this most valuable mineral, and it is very probable, that some of the beds do contain Coal of a very valuable quality, and in all the beds above enumerated, there are considerable facilities for mining operations and for transport at all seasons of the year."

The exertions of a number of indefatigable officers had thus brought to light innumerable coal-beds lying scattered in different parts of the province; but in the absence of adequate local demand, few of them were properly worked. The difficulties and high cost of transportation and particularly dearth of labour discouraged even the most enthusiastic entrepreneur from working at the mines, on a commercial scale. No attempt was, further, made to ascertain which mines could be worked profitably. "Until these several beds are examined by a competent authority", the Commissioner wrote to the Supreme-Government, "we may be losing time and spending money to great disadvantage." "It is incumbent on the Government", he added, "not to allow our great resources in this mineral to be thus imperfectly examined and to be as now, in all probability unprofitably worked."¹⁹ The Governor-General-in-Council approved in their order of 14th March, 1842, the scheme submitted by the Commissioner, particularly appointment of an experienced officer to conduct a thorough survey of the coal deposits near the bank of the navigable rivers.²⁰ Until the end of the period under review, no action seems to have been taken in this regard nor any attempt made to encourage speculators—Indian or foreign. The problem of labour remained unsolved; rather, it became worse, as the Assam Tea Company, with the increase in their plantations, drew all available hands at competitive rates. The introduction of a Government steamer service in 1847 apparently eased communication to and from Calcutta; the services were, however, few and far between, and the freightage was so high*, that few speculators could venture to invest funds in developing the mineral resources of Assam. It was no wonder, therefore, that in 1853, when Mr. Mills, the Judge of the Sadar Dewani Adawlat, visited Assam, he found only one speculator working at the coal field of Jaypur; and he, too, raised no more than the limited requirements, of the Government steamers, then plying along the Brahmaputra.²¹

19. Political Cons., India, 1842; 14 March, No. 98.

20. Ibid. No. 100.

*Freight of carrying coal from Jaipur to Gauhati was As. 4 per maund, to Goalpara As. 6, to Sirajganj As. 7. Up-stream to Dibrugarh the charge was the same as to Sirajganj.

21. Mills, A. J. Moffat; Report on Assam (1854); vide the report on General Administration, paras. 103-4.

A CONSTITUTIONAL STORM THAT WAS AVERTED

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The speech delivered by the late E. S. Montagu as Under-Secretary of State for India while introducing the Indian Budget in the House of Commons on 26th July, 1910 attracted more than usual interest both in Great Britain and in India because of a reference made by him to the constitutional relations between His Majesty's Secretary of State for India and His Viceroy in India who also headed the Government of India as Governor-General.

The following is the controversial part of the speech which caused so much resentment in the Viceroy's Council :—

"The relations of a Viceroy to the Secretary of State are intimate and responsible. The Act of Parliament says, 'That the Secretary of State in Council shall superintend, direct and control all acts, operations and concerns which in any way relate to or concern the Government or revenues of India, and all grants of salaries, gratuities and allowances, and all other payments and charges whatever out of or on the revenues of India.' It will be seen how wide, how far reaching and how complete these powers are. Lord Morley¹ and his Council working through the agency of Lord Minto² have accomplished much. I believe that men of all parties will be grateful that Lord Morley remains to carry out the policy he has initiated."

The quotation of the relevant section of the Government of India Act made by Montagu was not very accurate in the sense that the words used by him made obligatory on the Secretary of State the exercise of a power that was in fact discretionary in nature.³ The speech aroused academic discussion in the British and Indian press about the relative powers of the occupants of these high posts in London and in Calcutta, and the reaction of the speech on the inner circle of the Government of India was one of resentment, so much so that Governor-General-in-Council seriously considered the question of despatching a formal protest repudiating the position enunciated by the new Under-Secretary of State and raising "the question that the constitution was in danger." But before any definite action was taken it was wisely decided that an exposition of the statutory relations

between the Secretary of State and the Governor-General-in-Council should be obtained from the Legislative Department of Government of India.

While putting up the speech for the examination of the Council, H. C. Woodman of the Home Department pointed out at the outset that the Under-Secretary of State might have made his statement without proper caution, for "words used in debate cannot be expected to be chosen with the same accuracy of expression as would be used in a formal document."⁴ But Woodman at the same time drew the attention of the Council to the fact that the tendency of interference from Home had "increased at an infinitely greater rate" and that the constitutional usage of forty years ago as recorded by Sir John Strachey⁵ has been considerably modified by the process of time.

The Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, Archdale Earle, stated in his note that after careful consideration he was inclined to the opinion that the occasion was not a very good one for a despatch. Though the Government of India were without doubt on very strong grounds, they would do well not to choose this as "the field of battle." Earle would rather wait for a more favourable opportunity. One such opportunity might come if the Secretary of State ordered the Government of India to restrict their powers of prosecution in sedition cases.

J. L. Jenkins, a member of the Governor-General's Council, was also disposed to doubt whether this would be a suitable opportunity for raising the constitutional issue. The matter had already been taken up in the press in a manner which, he thought, would be more effective with the Secretary of State than a despatch which would not be published. Jenkins further feared that if the Government of India sent a despatch on the subject they would get a reply which would go some way towards confirming the *pretensions* of the Secretary of State and converting them into *usage*. In his note dated 22nd August, 1910, Jenkins observed that, as the terms of office of Lord Minto as Viceroy would come to its normal end in November, 1910, many people would during the next two or three months have opportunities of acknowledging how great a debt the country owed to his personal initiative and he had reason to believe that the opportunities would not be neglected. At the same time, remarked Jenkins, it must be admitted that the position had been and was most unsatisfactory. For some time past the whole tendency of the action of the Secretary of State had been to *disintegrate* the Government of India, to represent, on all possible occasion, the Governor-General as standing apart from his Council and as exercising authority independent of it. Thence it would be but a short

4. Home Department, Political Proceedings, September 1910, No.16.

5. J. Strachey, *India, its Administration & Progress*.

1. The Secretary of State for India.

2. The Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

3. Ilbert, *The Government of India*, p.145.

step to treating the Departments of the Government of India as Departments of the India office and the Viceroy merely as a convenient channel of communication, or, as Montagu would put it, as an Agent.

According to Jenkins, there was but one remedy to cope with the situation. That was for the Government of India steadily to refuse to be resolved into its component parts, to maintain that the Government of the country was vested in the Governor-General-in-Council and not to permit responsibility for the actions of the Government to be attributed to this or that Department, or to this or that officer. The Members of the Council must draw together and support the Governor-General to the fullest extent possible, and in case of disagreement the minority must loyally acquiesce in the decision of the majority. The Government of India must, in short, show a united front. If they did so, the position of the Governor-General-in-Council would be almost impregnable; if they did not, they should never be able to resist the encroachments of the India Office.

Lord Minto, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, took strong exception to the "agency theory" propounded by Montagu. In a personal letter dated 18th August, 1910 addressed to Lord Morley he gave vent to his private feelings and said that he had not realised that the Viceroy "was merely an agent and the Government of India apparently only a registry office." ⁶ But in his note circulated to the Members of his Council, the Viceroy adopted a more conciliatory tone. "I am sure", wrote he, "no one is more strongly tempted than I am to take immediate official exception assumed by Mr. Montagu in respect of relations between the Secretary of State and the Government of India—but after much consideration I entirely agree with the Hon'ble Member—that such action on our part would afford an opportunity to the Secretary of State for a definite pronouncement as to his interpretation of his constitutional authority and powers of the Government of India. There would be grave risk of the conversion of his 'pretension' into usage."

Minto also emphasized that the interpretation of the constitutional position of the Secretary of State as affecting the Government of India would always depend largely upon the individuality of the Secretary of State and that his desire at the moment to centralise authority at Home would meet with the full support of a democratic House of Commons. It would, therefore, be a mistake to afford the Secretary of State and Parliament an opportunity of officially ratifying a procedure which was merely due to the abnormal conditions prevailing at the time. Minto was convinced that the course advocated by Jenkins was "thoroughly sound", viz., that the Government of India should stand fast as a whole and that whilst not raising the main issue of their position as a Government, they should assert that position in respect of every concrete case as to which they are called upon to

6. Mary, Countess of Minto, "*India: Minto & Morley*", p. 408.

exchange views with the Secretary of State. He also agreed that the continued and united self-assertion of the Government of India would guarantee the strength and impregnability of their position.

But strong as their position was, the Viceroy concluded, they must be prepared occasionally to suffer from deceptive appearances. The Government of India by the conditions under which they had existed during the last few years had not been in a position to secure for themselves public applause in England, at any rate, but their work had been, none the less, valuable for that and, personally, he believed that in view of the growth of Indian interests, and development of economic and political factors which only local knowledge could satisfactorily direct, the strength of the Government of India would necessarily increase, and not diminish, as years passed on.

The Finance Member of the Government of India, G. F. Wilson, who was not so much enmeshed in the Indian atmosphere, being comparatively fresh to this country, remarked that in his opinion the situation in India was what the Viceroy made it. If a Viceroy took all the members of his Council fully into his confidence, if he afforded frequent opportunities of conferring with him, if he allowed them to know his mind, if he let them share his anxieties and his intentions in other words if he elected to govern India as a Governor-General-in-Council, his own position and that of the Government of India would be unassailable. If, on the other hand, he turned for counsel to one or two people only, and specially if he allowed his Council as a whole to be very much in the dark as to what was passing between the Home Government and himself; in other words, if he elected to govern India as Viceroy pure and simple, then the position of the Government of India would be weak, and when differences arose between a Viceroy and a Secretary of State—and they inevitably must arise sooner or later—a Viceroy would of necessity find himself bereft of that devoted support which the Members of the Council would wish to render him, but which they would not be in a position necessarily to offer. He agreed that in the circumstances as they were, it would be most inexpedient to join issue with the Secretary of State on Montagu's speech. The remarks of Wilson afforded thoughts for introspection for the Government of India. Other members of the Council, viz., S. P. Sinha, R. W. Carlyle and B. R. Robertson agreed that it would not be politic to take official notice of the passage in Montagu's speech, which was characterised by one of them ⁷ as "Unfortunate and unwarranted."

Thus was averted in the twentieth century a constitutional conflict between the Secretary of State and the Government of India.

7. B. R. Robertson, Temporary Member, Governor-General's Council.

FROM THE FAMILY RECORDS OF THE JAGIRDAR OF MALUD IN ORISSA

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Malud is a small *pargana* with an area of 16.86 sq. miles of the Puri District of Orissa.¹ It is a small island-like area situated near the southern border of the Puri District between the Chilka Lake and the Bay of Bengal. In the Mughal and the Maratha periods, when Orissa extended up to the borders of the Ganjam District in the South, Malud was considered of great strategic importance. So it was converted into a semi-military out-post under a *thanadar*. During the Maratha period, the duties of the *thanadar* and *Uhdahdar* (revenue contractor) were combined in one man who was granted the *parganas* of Malud, Bajrakot, Manikpatna and Andhari as his Jagir, the grant being subsequently confirmed by the English under Section 34 of Regulation XII of 1805.² In consideration of the strategic importance of the place, the *thanadar*, who was appointed there, was naturally one of the most trusted men of the rulers. But the trust reposed in the *thanadar* Fateh Muhammad by the Maratha ruler of Orissa was utterly betrayed by him. The object of this paper is to show how he and his brother, Waz Muhammad, played a vital part in the conquest of Orissa by the English. The facts are gleaned from the family records, twenty-nine in number, of the Jagirdar of Malud discovered by a member of the permanent Regional Records Survey Committee of Orissa. They were exhibited in the Exhibition of Records during the Bhubaneswar Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission in March, 1958.

The earliest record is dated the 4th Rajab, 1186 *amali* year corresponding to the year 1778-79 of the Christian era. The record is issued under the seal of Peshwa Raghoba to Kamal Muhammad, the *thanadar* of *thana* Malud and *Uhdahdar* of Manikpatna, who is allowed to continue in the above two capacities and is directed to exert himself for the welfare of the tenants and Zamindars and general improvement of the above two *mahals*.

It is not known when Kamal Muhammad was appointed to the posts, or whether his predecessors also held both the posts. From the record it appears that he was appointed to the posts sometime after the establishment of Maratha rule in Orissa in 1751 A.D. and his term of appointment

was up to the *amali* year, 1186. He was granted a further extension without any time-limit, obviously for so long as he could discharge his duties efficiently. The extension of the period of service of Kamal Muhammad as in charge of one of the most strategic out-posts of the Marathas an unlimited period indicates that he enjoyed the full confidence of the Maratha ruler.

Shaikh Kamal Mahammad was succeeded by his son Fateh Muhammad, who evidently was appointed to the posts held by his father by the Maratha Government, though there is no order to that effect among the records available. So the Maratha ruler of the period³ thought that Fateh Muhammad would be as trustworthy as his father, but he little knew at the time that his confidence would be utterly betrayed.

Fateh Muhammad had a younger brother, Waz Muhammad by name. He was an able accomplice of his brother in his designs against the Maratha Government as will be evident from the facts related hereinafter.

After the establishment of British rule in Bengal, the necessity of acquiring Orissa for uniting their possessions in the north and south of it was keenly felt by the authorities, who left no stones unturned for achieving this end by indirect means. But when they failed to achieve their aim by subtle diplomacy, they wanted to acquire Orissa by force, for which they only needed a plea. With the appointment of Lord Wellesley as the Governor-General of India in 1798 A.D. a vigorous policy of political domination was launched in India. The two powers that stood in the way of Wellesley's aggrandisement were Tipu Sultan of Mysore and the Marathas. The first check was removed by the death of Tipu during the siege of his Capital, Seringapatam, in 1799. The English concentrated on the removal of the last obstacle to their political aspiration, and the course of events made the Second Anglo-Maratha war inevitable. So the English began preparations of all anticipated fronts for the inevitable event. Orissa, under the Marathas, constituted one of the fronts. Consequently the English took measures for its easy conquest well in advance of the outbreak of hostilities. One of the measures adopted by the English was the seduction of officers by alluring promises. The Governor-General himself wrote to two prominent officers of Cuttack, and Lt. Col. Campbell of the contingent of Ganjam was asked to open negotiations with them, being authorized to offer money in each case up to two lacks of rupees. Attempts were also made to seduce other officers who held key positions. Since Fateh Muhammad came under that category and his help was essential in crossing the Chilka Lake from the Ganjam side, negotiations were naturally started to win him over.

3. Rajaram Pandit was the *Subahdar* of Orissa from 1778 to 1793.

1. Hunter, *Orissa*, Appendix 1, p. 23.

2. Madox, *Final report on the Survey and Settlement of the province of Orissa*, 1890-1900, Vol. 1, p. 413.

The negotiations of Col. Campbell resulted in the execution of an agreement by the two parties, i.e., Col. Campbell and John Melville representing the E.I. Company and Fateh Muhammad, on the 20th August, 1803, about a month prior to the actual invasion of Orissa by the English. According to the terms of this agreement, Jamadar Fateh Muhammad, "promises that when the British army will proceed from the port of Ganjam towards the province of Cuttack, he will depute his brother Waz Mahammad with the army and will himself from his own post render assistance to the best of his capacity in the occupation of the province and supply of provisions to the army." John Melville and Col. Campbell, in their turn, promised, "As long as the aforesaid province will remain in possession of the Company, the above mentioned Shaikh and his heirs will continue to enjoy as Jagheer of the tract situated from north to south in the Province of Orissa, the annual income of which is approximately Rs. 10,000 and which has been in the possession of the Shaikh and his forefathers for 40 years." Another alternative was also provided, in case, for some reasons, the promise could not be exactly fulfilled. In that case, another *Jagir* of equal area in some other place, or half the *Jagir* in possession of Fateh Muhammad and cash in lieu of the other half will be granted to him it also provided for promulgation of the Company's law in the area. The details of the *Jagir* in question is given at the end. According to it, Andhari, Manikpatna, Malud, Bajrakot and Parikut constituted the area. The agreement is signed by A. Campbell, J. Thompson, Major Brigade and J. Melville, Commissioner for the affairs of Cuttack. Thus, Shaikh Fateh Muhammad was won over by the English to facilitate the invasion of Orissa from the south, that is, from the Ganjam side.

In compliance with the above agreement Fateh Muhammad deputed his brother Waz Muhammad to assist the invading English army which reached Manikpatna on 11th September, 1803. Waz Muhammad helped the troops in crossing the Chilka and landing a detachment from a ship. Then he accompanied the army to Cuttack.⁴

After the conquest of Orissa, Lt. Col. Harcourt and John Melville, 'the Commissioners of the Orissa Province' issued a sanad to Fateh Muhammad in conformity with the agreement noted above. The sanad is dated the 23rd December, 1803. According to it Fateh Muhammad and his heirs were to enjoy the *Jagir* consisting of the *parganas* mentioned in the agreement subject to the conditions that the Government dues were regularly paid and the tenants were not oppressed.

Just after the conquest of Orissa, the British authorities proceeded against the Raja of Khurda for unfriendly behaviour towards the British

4. Letter No. 2241, dated 17-10-1845 from the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department.

Government. He was subsequently declared to depose on 7 December, 1804. The subjugation of Banpur under the Raja of Khurda was undertaken first because, it was situated between the Ganjam District and Khurda. It was not easy of access, being a jungle area, and was inhabited by turbulent *paiks*⁵ and *Khandaits* (paik-leaders) of the Raja of Khurda. So its subjugation would mean peace for the Ganjam area adjoining it and also collapse of the power of resistance of the Raja of Khurda.

Colonel Harcourt in his order, dated 5 November, 1804 appointed Waz Muhammad as the *amil* of the *pargana*, Banpur, on pay of Rs. 500 p.m. and further agreed to pay 10% of the surplus revenue collected beyond Rs. 500 p.m. On the same date he also issued a notification informing the officials and inhabitants of the Banpur area of the appointment of Waz Muhammad as the *amil* of Banpur asking them to comply with his orders on the pain of drastic punishment. Waz Muhammad appears to have been successful in the reduction of the area.⁶

One letter of Colonel Harcourt, dated 7 November, 1804, addressed to Waz Muhammad contained strict injunctions against proceeding against the Raja of Khurda or doing any harm to him. But Waz Muhammad was asked to keep his arrangements for conquering Khurda in turn until further orders.

The order shows that Colonel Harcourt had arranged to attack Khurda as early as the 7 November, 1804, but owing to some considerations he had to put it off. The Raja was deposed on the 7 December, 1804. So it probably took some time to build up a plausible case against the Raja of Khurda before actually proceeding to reduce him. After the declaration of the 7 December, 1804 deposing the Raja of Khurda, Colonel Harcourt took steps for revenue collection of the Khurda estate and also for apprehending the Raja and his chief counsellor, Jayi Rajguru. So he wrote a letter to Waz Muhammad on the 21 December to enquire about the place of abode of the Raja and his counsellor. Waz Muhammad was urged to strive hard to arrest them and those connected with them. He was instructed to bring all the property (movable, of course) of the Raja and his men, on the sale price of which he would be given 25% commission. In another letter, dated the 24 December, 1804, addressed to Waz Muhammad, Col. Harcourt referred to notices and *sanad* of *tahsildari*. Evidently, Waz Muhammad was appointed as the *tahsildar* of Khurda and was entrusted with the collection of the revenue of that area. There is

5. Paiks are foot-soldiers employed by the Orissan Chiefs. Stirling describes them as 'landed militia of the Rajwara' who 'combine with the most profound barbarism the blindest devotion to the will of the Chiefs x x x.' Stirling, *An Account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, pp. 25-26.

6. Letter No. 2241, dated 17-10-1845 from the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals to the Secretary, Bengal Government in the Judicial Department.

mention of one Ramrai Pandit who brought a letter from Waz Muhammad to Col. Harcourt on 20-12-1804. He was probably a Maratha revenue officer of Khurda.

Immediately after, the British soldiers invaded Khurda and overran it. The Raja and his counsellor were apprehended in January, 1805, mainly through the help of Waz Muhammad.

The records dealt with above throw new light on the British conquest of Orissa and subjugation of the Raja of Khurda by them. From this point of view they are very important. The rest of the records provide the following details about Waz Muhammad's subsequent career.

There was some quarrel between Waz Muhammad and Fateh Muhammad, the latter having claimed the whole of the *Jagir* to the exclusion of his younger brother. Thereupon Waz Muhammad sent a memorial to the Governor-General who wrote to Fateh Muhammad asking him to make provision for his brother out of the *Jagir* which he had got mainly due to the honest and loyal exertions of Waz Muhammad.⁷ There was prolonged litigation about the *Jagir* between the two brothers, and at last, Waz Muhammad succeeded in procuring an allowance of Rs. 100 p.m.⁸

In 1814, he was appointed as the *Sheristadar* of the office of the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals. In 1825 he was mainly instrumental in bringing about the surrender of Jagabandhu Vidyadhara, the leader of the Paik Rebellion of 1817.⁹ In 1832 he was suspended from service on the charge of corruption but was reinstated in the post in 1834, the charges having been proved baseless.¹⁰

Henry Ricketts, the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, recommended to the Government Waz Muhammad's name for being invested with the title of 'Khan Bahadur' in recognition of his loyal services.¹¹ He exerted¹² himself much for the Government during the Angul Rebellion

7. No. 31, dated 4-6-1807. From Persian Secretary to the Governor-General-in-Council to Fateh Muhammad.

8. No. 2241, dated 17-10-1845 of the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals.

9. *Ibid.*

10. No. 29, dated 22-1-1839 of H. Ricketts, Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, Orissa.

11. No. 29, dated 22-1-1839 H. Ricketts to the Secretary to the Government in the Judicial Department, Fort William.

12. No. 30, dated 28-4-40—M.A.M. Mills to Waz Muhammad.

of 1847 and was instrumental in bringing about the surrender of Gambhir Samanta, the son of the Raja of Angul, though he had retired from service at that time.¹³

The exact date of his retirement from service is not available from the records. Probably he retired in 1844 or 1845 and was granted a pension of Rs. 44—12—9½ pies, equivalent to half of his pay. Thereupon he submitted a memorial for increment of his pension, and it was recommended highly by the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Orissa.¹⁴ The Government considered his petition and granted him a life-pension of Rs. 83—9—7 pies, equivalent to his official pay.

13. No. 37, dated 4-12-1848 of T. Gouldsbury testifying to the loyal services of Waz Muhammad.

14. No. 2241, dated 17-10-1845 of Mr. Mills, the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Orissa.

GURCHARAN SINGH'S MISSION IN CENTRAL ASIA

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In the month of April, 1881, Sir Robert Egerton, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, was pressing the Government of India for the issue of a warrant under the provisions of Regulations III of 1818 "for the detention of Gurcharan Singh during the pleasure of His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council."¹ Gurcharan Singh was already under arrest and detention at Lahore but the Punjab Government did not know any other way of keeping him "under effectual restraint without trial" unless it was under Regulation III of 1818. In their opinion it was dangerous to leave Gurcharan Singh at large because he was acting as the medium of communication between the Russian administrators in Central Asia and the disaffected Kukas. With liberty to move freely he would lose no opportunity of recounting the "honors conferred on him by the Russians, and of enlarging on the benefits to be reaped by the Kukas in the event of the Russians obtaining possession of the Punjab."² Advanced years, it was argued, did not impair the capacity of this old man of seventy-five to harm the British rulers. In the confidential report on Gurcharan Singh, sent for the perusal of the Government of India, the Punjab Government observed :

"Gurcharan Singh is certainly hostile to the British Government. Though an old man, he is physically strong and capable of undergoing great fatigue. He is remarkably erect and is a very good specimen of a Sikh soldier."³

The proposal of the Punjab Government for the issue of a warrant under Regulation III of 1818 was not very favourably received by the Government of India. In the opinion of Sir A.C. Lyall, the Secretary to the Government of India in the the Foreign Department, it was "a process that rather strains the law but the Punjab Magistrates do it whenever they choose."⁴ Lord Ripon, the Governor-General, also subscribed to this view although H.M. Durand, the Under Secretary in the Foreign Department, fully endorsed the repressive measure, proposed by the Punjab Government. Durand remarked : "To talk of severing Gurcharan Singh's connection with the Kukas seems to me useless. He is a Kuka Subah and

will remain so till he dies, doing meanwhile all the harm he can to us, so that we shall have to keep him in prison for the rest of his life if we mean to disable him."⁵ The insistence from the Punjab side ultimately forced Lyall and Ripon to resort to the ill-used weapon to interrupt and terminate Gurcharan Singh's "attempts to intrigue with Central Asia, which may, if allowed to continue, to some degree encourage disaffection among the Kukas."⁶ The warrant for the detention of Gurcharan Singh under Regulation III was issued under the signature of Lyall, providing for its return only "on the death or release of Gurcharan Singh or when this warrant ceases to be operative."⁷

It is relevant to recall in this connection that the information on Gurcharan Singh's anti-British activities was first supplied to the Punjab administrators by Gulab Khan, the British spy in Russian Turkestan. He reported that Gurcharan Singh, the inhabitant of the village Chak Ram Das in the Sialkot District, arrived in Kattakurghan on May 1, 1879, with a Hindi letter, purporting to be from Ram Singh, the Kuka leader, and signed by several others. This letter, as stated by the informer, began with "Salaams to the Russian Emperor, the Governor-General and the other Russian Officers, and went on to say that Ram Singh was the spiritual leader of 315,000 Kukas, all brave soldiers : that the tyrannical British Government had imprisoned him in Rangoon, but that his younger brother at Ludhiana kept him fully "aufait" with what was going on : that the British were afraid of losing the Punjab by the Kukas, but the Sacred book (the Granth) said that the Russians would go to India and the Khalsa would assist them to expel the English, and then both the Russians and the Khalsa would rule over India."⁸ Gulab Khan also contended that Gurcharan Singh was the bearer of a letter "in the handwriting of the Russian Emperor addressed to Baba Ram Singh",⁹ which was subsequently taken by Mian Singh to the Kuka leader Ram Singh, then in prison at Mergui in Burma. Gulab Khan lamented that if Gurcharan Singh were arrested and searched immediately after his return to Peshawar, as suggested by him to Gulam Ahmed, the Extra Assistant Commissioner, the papers would have been found on him."¹⁰

The missing links in the Central Asian career of Gurcharan Singh are to be found in a piece of document, preserved in the Archives of the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic. Described as item No. 462 in the

1. N.A.I. For. Sec. Progs. Jan. 1882, K.W. No. 1 of Nos. 568—94.

2. N.A.I. For. Sec. Progs. Jany. 1882, No. 569.

3. *Ibid.*

4. N.A.I. For. Sec. Progs. Jany. 1882, K.W. No. 1 of 568—94.

5. N.A.I. For. Sec. Progs. Jany. 1882, K.W. No. 1 of 568-94.

6. N.A.I. For. Sec. Progs. Jany. 1882, No. 594.

7. N.A.I. For. Sec. Progs. Jany. 1882, No. 594A.

8. N.A.I. For. Sec. Progs. Jany. 1882, No. 571.

9. N.A.I. For. Sec. Progs. Jany. 1882, No. 590.

10. N.A.I. For. Sec. Progs. Jany. 1882, No. 574.

consular fonds of the Turkestan Governor-General it bears the title "The ambassador from the priest of the Punjab Sikhs arrives in Samarkhand (1879)" and contains the letter in original, carried by Gurcharan Singh to the Russian court as well as the copy of the reply sent through him. The unearthing of this document by the Soviet historian N. A. Khalifa is an interesting fact by itself. It also brings concrete evidence to bear on the earnest efforts made by the Kuka patriots to secure Russian aid in liberating their country from the English rulers at the opportune moment of Anglo-Afghan War (1878—80) and illustrates at the same time that Gurcharan Singh was a fore-runner of many other well-known Indian revolutionaries from Rash Bihary to Subhas.

The document, mentioned above, discloses that on 9 May, 1879, the citizens of Kattakurghan, a border city of Russian Turkestan, came across an old Indian Gurcharan Singh by name. He was carrying with him a letter, addressed to the Governor-General of Turkestan by the Chief priest and leader of the Sikhs. It was handwritten in Gurmukhi script and did not bear the signature of the sender. On hearing this Major General N.A. Ivanov, the principal officer of the Jeravshansk circle, expressed his desire to the officials at Kattakurghan to meet Gurcharan Singh personally at Samarkhand. The Indian visitor went to have a meeting with Ivanov, but to communicate the import of the letter to the Russian official was no easy job. Fortunately among the Indian merchants trading in Jeravshansk, could be found a person, who knew both Persian and Gurmukhi. He translated the epistle into Persian and from Persian it could be rendered into Russian without difficulty. In translation the letter reads as follows :

"Baba Ram Singh, the Guru of Chaste people, is writing fondly to the Russian Lord. I am sending my companion-in-arms (a provincial chief) from whom you will come to know everything. His name is Gurucharan Singh. Guru Govind Singh predicted that Sant Khalsa would emerge in 1238. We should then be free from Aurangzeb but the English would suddenly begin to tyrannize over us. Then a band of people, called Russians, would come and drive out the English. The Russian hero would win.

The prediction of Guru Baba Nanak Singh is : "I shall incarnate. The incarnation will assume the role of the protector of the true faith and launch a terrible war. Shishnag, the symbol of the earth, has its end. Brahma and Vishnu, the symbols of truth and kindness, have no end. It will always happen like this. Give attention to it. For the general happiness of the world I shall rescue the good souls. I shall wage a bitter war. The bloodshed will be horrifying but the people will like the advent of happiness. The enemy will begin to make a search everywhere in order to find the

horses and the spears. When the battle will be fought in Lahore, much blood will be shed. There will not be found any hireling even on a rupee per day."

Guru Nanak predicted; "The Lord will arrive and victory will be his."

We have 315,000 Sikh fighters. If necessary more will be found. "The Punjab will be destroyed. The town will burn. There will be eight encounters. The English will rule India for 34 years."

"Only two years now remain. The Lord himself will see that the English barracks become empty. All the Sikhs will revolt. We also shall begin to fight. Not a single Subah, inhabited by the Satnam Sikhs, will remain away from the battle but all of them will take part in it. Those who will die with the Satnam Sikhs, shot by the English guns, will become the servants of God."

The prophecy of Guru Baba Nanak Sahab affirms : "You must protect us. 315,000 Sikhs will be under your command. Others also can be pressed into service. When you will arrive, we shall be prepared, as you desire."

"When Guru Govind Singh was asked where the aforesaid battle would be fought, the Guru replied : first in the hills of Kabul, secondly in Kabul itself, thirdly in Jamrud, fourthly in Peshawar, fifthly in Jammu, sixthly in Lahore, seventhly in Phirozepur, eighthly in Ludhiana".

"Baba Budh knows all this lives in Pegine. 35 Subahs obey him."

The arrival of a messenger from distant India with an inviting letter aroused great interest among the Russian administrators in Turkestan. N.I. Korolkov, assistant to the Chief of the Jeravshansk circle, had a long discussion with Gurcharan Singh who disclosed that after the arrest of Baba Ram Singh the leadership of the Namadhari sect passed on to his brother Baba Budh Singh, who entrusted Gurcharan Singh with the task of carrying the letter to the Russian court. He was considered eminently suitable for the task, not because he was a Kuka Subah but because he had been in Kabul several times, knew the way leading to the Russian domains and could interpret to the Russians, better than any other, the attitude of the Indian people towards the British rulers. In his note Korolkov observed :

"Gurucharan Singh unhesitatingly believes that irrespective of the religious creed every one, now serving under the British in India, will join

11. CGIA Uzbekskoi/SSR II, op 34, d 462 quoted in N.A. Khalifa's "Posolstvo Baba Ram Singha B Turkestan B 1879 godu" published in "Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie" No. 2, 1957, p. 156.

the Russians, as soon as they will arrive in India. This belief is fortified by what the saint predicted long before the advent of the Feringhis (Englishmen) in the Punjab."¹²

This note from Korolkov also informs that Gurcharan Singh believed in common with other Indians that Russia had no intention to rule over India. Their move towards India was motivated by a desire to cross swords with the English, who remained beyond their reach in an island home in Europe, surrounded by water on all sides. It was also believed that after inflicting a defeat on the English the Russians would transfer the administration of the Punjab to the hands of Dalip Singh, the offspring of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the creator of the Punjab.

Subsequently N.A. Ivanov, the Major General, had a talk with Gurcharan Singh, who impressed him most as a patriot representing the wounded pride and suffering of the Indians in bondage. Gurcharan Singh's unquestioning faith in Russian capacity to strike the British hard appeared to him also to have an unmistakable ring of sincerity.

The arrival of such an emissary from India did not seem to be very unusual to the Russian rulers in the east. In November, 1862 Tashkent received two representatives from the Maharaja of Kashmir and in 1867 there arrived in Russian Turkestan an ambassador from the Rajah of Indore, assuring his friendship and help in the event of an outbreak of war between England and Russia. Ivanov forwarded the letter of Baba Ram Singh together with the notes on the discussion with Gurcharan Singh to K.P. Kayufman, the Governor-General of Turkestan. Before coming to any decision Kayufman wanted to know precisely the political condition of the Punjab and sought the opinion of I.P. Minaev, the great specialist on Indian affairs at that time. Minaev in a brief communication gave an account of the Namadhari sect, the rising of the Kukas, their suppression by the British rulers and the consequences, flowing from the fact of ruthless suppression. In his opinion there was nothing unnatural in Baba Ram Singh's sending a person to enlist Russian support in the liberation movement, launched by the Kukas. He pointed out, however, that Baba Nanak, the first Sikh prophet, lived in the 15th century and could not be the author of the prediction, concerning the arrival of the Russians. It was of contemporaneous origin and attributed to him to serve the need of the hour. Kayufman decided to proceed with caution and made no departure from the policy of non-intervention in Indian affairs, followed by the Russian authorities at home. In terms of his instruction a letter in reply was given to Gurcharan Singh. It reads :

12. CGIA Uzbekskoi SSR fI, op 34, d 482 quoted in N.A. Khalfin's "Posolstvo Baba Ram Singkha B Turkestan B 1879 godu" published in "Sovetskoe Vostokoveadenie" No. 2, 1957, p. 156.

"Greetings from the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General to Baba Ram Singh and Baba Budh Singh. The letter was duly received from Gurcharan Singh, careful consideration was given to it and the contents were gratifying to note. Thanks for the informative communication but it is desirable to have details, more fresh news about the affairs and situation in India.

"The prophecy of Guru Govind Singh and Guru Baba Nanak was noted for information. Everything will happen, according to the will of God. The prophets know best when the hour will strike."¹³

In the beginning of October, 1879 Gurcharan Singh began his homeward journey incognito across the territories, ravaged by the Anglo-Afghan War. N.A. Khalfin, the Soviet historian, concludes that this representative of the Sikhs reached safely the land of his birth and the Namdhari (Kukas) undertook "no other efforts to renew contacts with Russia."¹⁴ Apparently he is not aware what the English records have to tell how Gulab Khan, the British agent in Central Asia, dogged the footsteps of the Kuka patriot to contrive his arrest and detention soon after his arrival in India.

13. CGIA Uzbekskoi SSR fI, op 34, d 462 quoted in N.A. Khalfin's "Posolstvo Baba Ram Singkha B Turkestan B 1879 godu" published in "Sovetskoe Vostokoveadenie" No. 2, 1957 p. 158.

14. N.A. Khalfin's "Posolstvo baba Ram Singkha B Turkestan B 1879 godu" published in "Sovetskoe Vostokoveadenie" No. 2, 1957 p. 158.

A FORGOTTEN MINUTE OF 1875 REGARDING THE DESIRABILITY OF UNITING HINDI AND URDU

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Among the old post-Mutiny records of Lucknow, there is a forgotten minute by Mr. A.W. Croft, Inspector of Schools, of June 16, 1875, which suggests the modern notion that Hindi and Urdu can and should be unified. It is significant that Mr. Croft anticipates by more than three quarters of a century an idea which is becoming popular in recent times.

Mr. Croft's thesis is that Hindi and Urdu are not two different languages, but are really one language "enriched from two different sources", and that the object of Government should be to destroy or diminish the antagonism between the two.

The arguments put forward by Mr. Croft may be thus summed up :—

- (1) Hindi and Urdu "have the same accident and syntax";
- (2) They have "the same stock of words for most simple objects and concepts";
- (3) They "diverge when it is necessary to express complex ideas";
- (4) The delusion of two languages "is due to the antagonism of Pundits and Maulavis."

Mr. Croft recommends that Government ought to unify the languages through "its ordinary civil administration, and by its educational machinery." He asserts that Government should not pass any orders "which may countenance the idea that, Hindi and Urdu are two distinct languages", but on the contrary should try "to unite these two elements, now separate and discordant, into one full and harmonious language." Mr. Croft is sensible of the fact that such a language can not be created by an edict, but he thinks that Government can help "to hasten this desirable consummation."

Mr. Croft's conclusion is highly interesting. He says: "In an illiterate age, and with no efforts of Government tending to promote the union, it took two centuries to weld the English and the French elements of the language into the national speech of England. It should not take so long now."

AN OLD DOCUMENT DEALING WITH HINDI-URDU CONTROVERSY

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In the course of my examination of the documents of the Hitkarini Sabha* I came across a document¹ which throws valuable light on the language controversy prevailing in the northern region of the old Madhya Pradesh in the early seventies of the 19th century.

Ceded to the British in 1818 by Appa Sahib Bhonsla this region was organised as an administrative unit under the designation of 'The Saugor and Nerbudda Territories' and was administered by a Commissioner subject to the British Resident at Nagpur up to 1820. Thereafter up to 1835 it was administered by an Agent to the Governor-General when with the constitution of North-Western Provinces it was added to the new province. It now became subject to the laws and regulations of the new province and Hindi which was its court language before was replaced by Urdu.

The Saugor and Nerbudda Territories together with the Nagpur Province were formed into a separate unit, called the Central Provinces, in 1861.

With the constitution of the Central Provinces, it was decided that the Hindi and Urdu languages were to be taught in schools but the business of the law courts continued to be transacted in Urdu alone although it was gradually replaced by the Marathi language in the law courts of the Nagpur region.²

But the exclusive use of the Urdu language in the courts of justice was attended with great inconvenience to the people and a movement was set on foot to secure the adoption of Hindi as the language of the courts of law.

The question was discussed at a public meeting held at Jabalpur on the 20th August, 1871 under the auspices of the Hitkarini Sabha which had been established three years before to promote the cause of education and public welfare. It was a representative gathering that assembled "to adopt

*Established in 1868 at Jabalpur.

1. Proceedings of a public meeting held under the auspices of the Hitkarini Sabha on August 20, 1871.

2. Report on the administration of the Central Provinces up to August 1862 by Sir Richard Temple, paras 78 and 245.

a memorial to the Chief Commissioner praying for the introduction of Hindi in place of Urdu as the court language here."

It is interesting to note that the arguments advanced in support of the adoption of Hindi follow the common pattern with which we are familiar today viz., (1) Hindi is the language of the people, (2) Hindi is easy to learn while Urdu is difficult to learn and its writing hard to read, (3) Hindi is necessary for the advancement of popular education and enlightenment, and (4) use of Urdu in the law courts while causing grave inconvenience debar the majority of people from securing employment under the Government.

A few extracts from the document under review may serve to illustrate the points made above.

I. Hindi is the language of the people

"Urdu is not the language of the people, nor of the 'Sircar'. It was the language of Emperor Akbar's camp which is now a thing of the past. We, therefore, cannot understand why it has been introduced. There is not a shadow of reason for its continuance; on the contrary it is absolutely necessary for the improvement of the community both in the worldly and religious sense of the term that Hindi be substituted in its stead."

II. (a) Hindi is easy to learn

"Also it takes little time to learn them (i.e. Nagari alphabets) and one cannot read them wrong. Another advantage in these characters is that every language can be written with them with facility. The words too are pronounced as they are written and not, as in case of other languages, one thing is written and another is pronounced."

(b) Urdu is difficult to learn

"..... its (Urdu) combination of letters is so complicated that it costs a great deal of trouble to master it so that, in fact, very few use it. The system of spelling is also very difficult, and no one can read a word correctly unless he knows it. It is proverbial that the names of persons, places and things are not legible in Persian. This leads to mistakes and opens the door to fraud."

III. Hindi is Essential for popular advancement

"The people cannot be reached by Urdu; in fact they have natural objections to it. Hence their condition is not improved and the country suffers."

IV. (a) Urdu subjects the people to inconvenience

"The prevalence of Urdu in courts subjects the people to all sorts of inconvenience; they being obliged to seek the aid of a Munshi. So much so that out of one rupee one is to receive for killing a snake he must pay two annas to Munshi for writing a receipt. No doubt there are things in which professional assistance is necessary, but all the business of the courts is not made up of such intricate matters and if the language were intelligible to the people they would manage most things themselves."

(b) Urdu debars people from securing employment under the Government

"Another evil resulting from the prevalence of Urdu is that although it is the intention of the Government that the people of the District be entertained in the Police department still as a matter of fact the persons in actual employment, both in the higher and lower grades, are mostly foreigners. The Government would gladly give them preference in other offices but Persian and Urdu stand in the way."

The meeting was largely attended and was addressed by ten leading citizens drawn from different sections of the community, 9 Hindus and 1 Muslim. It is noteworthy that the subject was debated purely on merits and the speeches delivered were singularly free from the taint of communal prejudice and religious orthodoxy. In fact, the most telling arguments in support of the adoption of Hindi and Nagari script were advanced by the solitary Muslim speaker. (*Vide* II(a), (b) and IV(a), (b) above). On the other hand two Hindu gentlemen waxed eloquent in support of Urdu as the following extract will show—

"Gentlemen, I cannot think of giving my opinion in favour of Hindi. Urdu is such a beautiful language so euphonious and so agreeable to the ear that it is a pity there should be any talk of proscribing it. I do not think anything can shake it from the firm hold it has on the people in virtue of its inherent beauty and what is Hindi which is proposed to be substituted in its stead. Is it not a rude dialect? There is another great objection to Hindi. It makes the learners dull and stupid and what I am urging cannot be gain-said. Do not the people who only know Hindi often confess the same to the Urdu scholars?"

It was finally decided to present a memorial to the Chief Commissioner praying that Hindi be made the language of the courts of justice.
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A NOTE ON THE UNPUBLISHED ARCHIVES OF JAIPUR

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Formerly every state in Rajasthan, irrespective of its size or dignity, had relations with the others and also with the Mughal Emperors or their provincial governors. The states of Rajasthan were linked to one another socially, politically and economically for centuries. With the coming of the Mughals in Rajasthan a new phase started. The rulers of Jaipur were the first to establish political relations with the Mughals. Later on, other States also had to yield to political pressure by the Mughals. Jaipur's relations started with Bihari Mal in Akbar's time. Besides political relations with Akbar, the house of Jaipur was the first to enter into matrimonial relations with him. Jaipur gave the Mughals a number of princesses in succession and some famous commanders. Notable among the latter are Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Man Singh, Mirza Raja Jai Singh, and Ram Singh. Subsequently, Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur played an important role in the Court of the later Mughal Emperors, besides controlling the entire Rajputana. Practically every State in Rajputana had been brought under his sway, either by force or by agreement. Sawai Pratap Singh, another Jaipur ruler, played an important role in Jaipur's dealings with the Marathas.

The establishment of social, economic and political relations among the different States of Rajputana and between them and the Mughals led to a voluminous correspondence among them. This correspondence is preserved in the different Archives Offices of Rajasthan. Of all these offices the Jaipur Archives is the most important for a student of history. It contains a valuable collection of records starting right from the period of Jahangir. They are divided into a large number of categories and so it is not possible to deal with every category in detail. Only the general nature of the categories and of their contents can be given. The most important categories of records are as follows:—

S. No.	Kind of files and documents	Year
1.	(a) Farmans (148 in all)	1622 to 1711
	(b) Nishans (125 in all)	1622 to 1711
2.	Akhbarat	1666 to 1719
3.	(a) Vakils' Reports to Maharaja in Persian	1657 to 1719
	(b) Vakils' Reports to Maharaja in Hindi	1657 to 1719
	(c) Vakils' Reports to Officials in Persian	1657 to 1719
	(d) Vakils' Reports to Officials in Hindi	1657 to 1719

4.	(a) Khatut Maharaja in Persian	1657 to 1719
	(b) Khatut Maharaja in Hindi	1657 to 1719
	(c) Khatut Officials in Persian	1657 to 1719
	(d) Khatut Officials in Hindi	1657 to 1719
5.	(a) Kharita in Hindi	1750 to 1950
	(b) Kharita in Persian	1750 to 1950
6.	(a) Draft Kharitas in Hindi	1750 to 1950
	(b) Draft Kharitas in Persian	1750 to 1950
7.	Arastta	1662 to 1806
8.	Waqaya	1662 to 1950
9.	Barat	1662 to 1850
10.	Awarza	1675 to 1854
11.	Roznamcha	1675 to 1850
12.	Shamlat Records	1600 to 1900 A.D.
13.	Amber Record	1600 to 1900 A.D.

Farmans and Nishans

These categories will now be dealt with separately. Farmans and Nishans are the most important of all the categories. The Farmans were issued by the Emperors to the rulers of Jaipur at different times. A Nishan on the other hand was addressed by a prince of the royal blood. A prince could also order or direct the rulers by authority of the Emperor. The style of a Nishan was different from that of a Farman. The total number of Farmans and Nishans is 282. They cover the period 1622 to 1711.

The Farmans were addressed to the rulers of Jaipur in connection with some battle or to convey some instructions. They were sent by special messengers. They were highly respected and were received by the Maharaja at a special Darbar specially held for the purpose. A Farman was kept in a silken bag decorated with special embroidery work.

A Farman started with *Allah-o-Akbar* or some other similar expression in Persian praising God as great. On the left side of the Farman, Tughra is written. The word Farman is mentioned in the Tughra to indicate that it is a Farman of the Mughal Emperor. If it is not a Farman, the word Nishan occurs. Tughra is written mostly in golden ink, with some portions written in red ink also. On the right side of the Farman there is the Emperor's round seal. The seal is the most important feature of a Farman. The seal is proof that the Farman is genuine. In fact without a seal no one would recognise a document as a Farman. The seal contains the names of all the predecessors of the Emperor who issues the Farman.

The name of reigning Emperor is mentioned in the centre. The seal of a Nishan is different in that the names of the previous Emperors are not mentioned. Only the name of the prince issuing it is mentioned along with that of the reigning Emperor.

Seals are well decorated and have a sprinkling of gold here and there, except when a Farman or Nishan conveys the news of the death of the Emperor or a prince, when it is coloured in black.

The text of a Farman starts with the high sounding titles of the ruler. The name of the addressee is generally given in the same form in all the Farmans. But the language may differ.

All the Farmans are written in highly Persianized style. The language is smooth, flowery and graceful. The words used to refer to the rulers of Jaipur are invariably laudatory. They were considered very faithful and the nearest to the Emperor after the princes of the royal blood.

The Farmans and Nishans give very important information bearing on the relations between the Jaipur rulers and the Mughal Emperors. They refer to appointments and dismissals, and often convey orders and instructions. Besides orders and other instructions they also communicate news of important events at Delhi. For example, one of the Farmans addressed by Dawar Baksh informs the Raja about the death of Emperor Jahangir and his accession to the throne with the consent of Noorjahan. These Farmans also clearly show that the Jaipur House was held in high esteem by the Emperor who often conveyed their appreciation of the services rendered by them.

Vakils' Reports to the Maharaja

They form one of the most important sources of information after the Farmans and Nishans. All the states of Rajputana in those days used to keep an agent in the Imperial Court. These persons were known as vakils. The Vakil used to be an officer of no less standing than that of a Minister. He was a senior man in State service and was held in high esteem by the entire royal family. The Vakil used to look after the State interests and also to a great extent the personal interest of the rulers. The Vakil used to meet all the top ranking Mughal officials. He used to meet the Emperor by appointment and explain various matters in connection with his State and his ruler to the Emperor. Collection of important political news, maintaining friendly contacts with the Prime Ministers, Ministers and Commanders, and carrying out the orders received from his ruler were the main functions of the Vakil. It was his duty to write daily, weekly, or monthly reports regarding work done by him in connection with the multifarious activities assigned to him.

A typical Vakil's report is given below. It is dated Katik Sudi 13, Samvat 1737, i.e., 25th October, 1680 A.D.

"It was reported to the Emperor that Akbar with 800 Pyadas had gone to the territories of Sambha and was collecting an army there. Further, Sambha told Akbar that he was quite welcome and could remain in his territory in peace, but that if he wanted to collect an army he should go elsewhere. Sambha was paying 60 huns per day to Akbar for his expenses."

These reports of the vakils are both in Persian and Rajasthani scripts. Since they are written in two languages it seems either two Vakils were kept or the Vakil had in his service experts in both the languages. The Rajasthani version seems to be more correct. The total number of such reports is 1466. They are divided according to periods, i.e., according to the different emperors during whose reign they were sent.

Reports in Persian are mostly on unornamented paper, there being only a few exceptions. They are beautifully written in hand, and the ink is delible, though it has not disappeared till this day. The reports start with the name of the Maharaja to whom it is addressed. This is followed by the report. The maximum use is made of the space in the paper. On the back side of the report is written the word Arzdasht to show the nature of the document. The date is also mentioned.

The Vakils' reports in Hindi contain the same information as their Persian counterparts; only they start in a different way. In the beginning the name of a Hindu God is written. Then follows the address in one of the following forms:

(i) Maharajadhiraj Adhiraj.

(ii) Maharaja Raj Rajeshewar Shri Ji Maharaj.

This is followed by the report. At the back of the document the name of the Vakil, the type of the document and the date are given.

Since the Hindi letters are written in old Rajasthani script, they are decipherable with great difficulty.

Vakils' Reports to officials

The Vakils also used to write to various officials in the State, like the Prime Minister, and other high officers of the state. Generally these letters were written when the Maharaja was away from his capital. These letters contain instructions to the officials in connection with some important work at Delhi. These documents give more detailed information than is available in the reports addressed to the Maharaja. They give a good deal

of information regarding the activities of Mughal officers and their relations with the State representatives posted to Delhi. Reaction of State officers can also be studied. These documents are in Persian and Hindi. 495 of them are in Persian and 290 are in Hindi.

Khatut Maharaja and officials

These documents are in Persian or Hindi. They are addressed to the rulers of Jaipur by friendly brother rulers residing in Delhi conveying the happenings in the Capital. They are generally from the Maharajas of the various Rajasthan States. There are also letters from important imperial officials of the Mughal Court. For example, there is a letter, dated 1691 A.D. from Aqil Khan, one of the imperial officials, in which he informs the Maharaja that he submitted a report to the royal court concerning the disturbers of peace and the arrest of the elephants and horses of Rajja Jat. Another letter, dated 1660 informs us that "Mirza Raja Jai Singh desires Kunwar Ram Singh to see Sulaiman Shukoh at Salimgarh and then to have an audience with emperor Shahjahan."

They are written on ordinary paper and only occasionally on golden paper. The total number of such documents is 3,235, and they are grouped as under:

Khatut Maharaja

No. of documents	Period
1,244	1659 to 1707
351	1707 to 1712
621	1713 to 1719
1,019	Un-dated

Akhbarat-e-Darbara-Mualla

These form an important series in Jaipur Archives. The total number of Akhbarat is 7,153 classified as under:

Name	No. of documents	Period
Alamgir	3,652	1666 to 1706
Bahadur Shah	1,055	1707 to 1712
Azam Shah	47	1712
Farrukh Siyar	2,399	1713 to 1719

There used to be regular news writers who used to send day to day account of the Mughal court to Jaipur. They took special notice of the activities of the Emperor, and even the most trifling news about him has been included. For example, one of the Akhbars, dated Monday, 14th November, 1681, Kartik Sudi 14, Samvat 1738, 1092 Hijra era, 13 zequad 25 (Regnal year) informs that the Emperor took his bath in the morning.

Another document, dated 7 Shaban 24 (Regnal year), 1091 Hijra era Bhadoom Sudi 9, 1737, 23 August, 1680 informs that after reading the Friday prayers in Darga at Ajmer the Emperor returned to his court.

Besides information regarding the Emperor, news of important persons in the court, the activities of the different rulers who happened to be a Delhi, present-giving ceremonies, activities of princes, dances, entertainments, and activities of queens and princesses were given in detail. Excerpts from a few Akhbars here will give a clear picture regarding the type of news in Akhbars.

- (1) "His Majesty the Emperor held an imperial audience and sitting awhile pronounced judgement and dismissing the royal court sat for Asor Prayers."
- (2) "The Emperor held an 'Adalat' or royal court and granted increase in the mansab of Azamatullah, who had rendered good service during capture of a Pattan fort and the battle with Santa Mufsed."

There are many more documents throwing light on the court life and particularly on relations between Jaipur and the Mughals.

Kharitas

In this category is included all important inter-state correspondence. Jaipur rulers had relations with other states, whether friendly or otherwise. A Kharita could deal with any subject which the Maharaja considered essential. Sometimes simply complimentary letters were exchanged. But generally the correspondence related to important matters such as strategy of war. Advice, suggestions, instructions, warnings and matrimonial proposals were also included. The Kharitas are written in a Rajasthani script which is not easily decipherable. The ink of the Khar is dark black and is durable. Each state in Rajasthan had a different style of writing a Kharita. A Kharita started with the name of God. Then followed the name of the addressee couched in set forms.

These set forms of address could not, as a rule, be changed. When the address is finished the actual matter starts. In the end date and time are mentioned. On the back of the document the name of the ruler to whom it is addressed is written.

A letter was generally refused by the addressee if it was not addressed in the proper form. A special staff was kept at Jaipur for the purpose of writing Kharitas. The quality of the paper used is very good. So these documents are fine specimens of art. Good handwriting is the special feature of these documents.

Kharitas give important information. For example, in one of the Kharitas written by Abhay Singh of Jodhpur, "Addressed to Madho Singh of Jaipur he has advised him to take every precaution after his accession." In another Kharita the Maharana of Udaipur desires to discuss Delhi affairs. The total number of Kharitas is about 10,000. They cover the years 1750 to 1950 and are divided State-wise.

Draft Kharitas in Hindi and Persian

They are the drafts of Kharitas sent from Jaipur State to other States. These documents throw valuable light on inter-state relations. They are in both Persian and Hindi. The total number of Draft Kharitas is 7,146.

Applications to the Maharaja in Hindi

These applications are written by different officials or the public to the Maharaja. They give a lot of information as sometimes officers wrote right from the battle-field. They wrote about their difficulties and many other things. These applications sometimes give more information than the Kharitas written by a ruler to a ruler.

The applications cover the years 1643 to 1850 A.D. and number 14,494.

Adsatta

They extend over the period 1662 to 1806. They are in the form of registers or "Tablaks" of villages, each giving a detailed account of the village lands, both cultivable and non-cultivable, number of crops, land assessment etc. At the beginning is given the name of a Tafa pargana, sarkar or suba and the name of the ruler is mentioned along with the names of the choudhury, qanungo and the head man of the village. Then follows a brief sketch of the history of the village. These are the common characteristics of all the Adsattas preserved in the Archives of the various States of Rajasthan.

Awarza and Waqaya (1755—1937)

Both these terms mean the same thing. It was in 1854 that the term Awarza which had been in use until then was replaced by Waqaya. These are account papers and deal with contributions of jagirs to the State and their realization. The jagirdars did not enjoy immunity from taxes and had to pay various taxes to the Maharajas of Jaipur, e.g., "Nazr", 'Matma', 'Trilmte', 'Talwand', 'Gurmana', 'Nota Shadi' "Charajoe", etc. These dues invariably were not paid in time and hence a separate department was constituted to look after their realization. They are kept in bundles, each bundle having a list of jagirdars with amounts realised from them.

Mawazna (1704—1908)

The term Mawazna comes from the Persian word Moza which means a village. The papers under this head relate to assignments of villages to the different jagirdars of the State.

Nuskha Punna (1786—1948)

Practically in every State free lands were granted for the maintenance of the temples which were held in veneration.

The head purohit and his family were generally in charge of the property attached to the temple. The documents under this head give information regarding total grants to the temples, their expenditure from time to time including amounts spent on scholars. This collection provides valuable material for the study of the temple administration in the State.

Sanad Nawis

This section comprises the pattas which were issued from time to time to various persons of the State. They further inform us about the procedure for granting Khalsa and Bahali lands. Their arrangement is pargana-wise.

Vakaya (1562—1918)

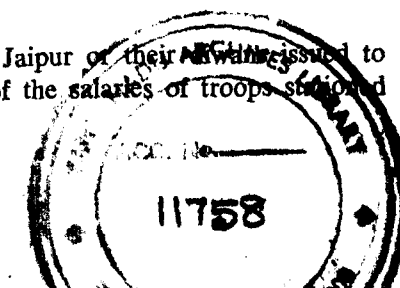
The State of Jaipur maintained a regular office for dealing with the personal and official activities of the rulers. This office also maintained an up-to-date account of the customs and manners of the royal household and also of various Rajput castes inhabiting the various States. The wakaya papers record the movements of princes and diwans, meetings between different rulers of Rajasthan, mobilization of Maratha and Pindari troops, camping places, battles, conquests etc. These records are important on account of the information they give about inter-state relations and particularly for checking dates. Important information can be gleaned regarding the day to day activities of Jaipur rulers, princes, and other members of the royal household. They are written on small sheets of paper and are tied up in bundles.

Roznamcha (1765—1850)

These are the daily accounts of income and expenditure maintained by the tahsils of Jaipur State. They are in loose bundles and have yet to be properly listed and assessed.

Barat (1765—1885)

These are the orders of the rulers of Jaipur or their ~~agents~~ issued to the amlas and ijaradars for the payment of the salaries of troops stationed outside the Capital.



Amber Records

These records were brought from Amber, the old Capital of Jaipur. The entire collection was lying in the royal palace in a scattered manner, covered with dust. They were taken over by the Department of Archives. They have since been cleaned and sorted out. Important letters of Maharajas, applications, letters of officials—practically all categories found in the Jaipur Archives—have come to light here also. A number of documents have already been listed. The records at present are kept in old *Bastas*. They date back to 1600 A.D.

Shamlat Records

These form a huge collection, dating from about 1600 A.D. to 1900 A.D. dealing with practically all aspects of palace life including household expenses under various heads. They also give an account of the general activities of royal princes. The collection is divided into about 105 categories.

Amber and Shamlat Records

S. No.	Kind of paper	Approximate number of documents
1.	Parwana	27,000
2.	Farad	600
3.	Ism	100
4.	Shahbakshi	12,000
5.	Shah Hakikat	42,000
6.	Shah Maharajgan	5,000
7.	Purajat gair Makbuza	25,000
8.	Khatut Diwanan	15,000
9.	Khatut Apsran	12,000
10.	Chittiyat Khajana	3,000
11.	Likhat	3,000
12.	Khasr-i-jat	1,000
13.	Jama Bandi	6,000
14.	Jama Dol	6,000
15.	Jama Basil	9,000
16.	Jama Kharach Izara	8,000
17.	Yad Dasst Bhasli	6,000
18.	Hisab Masal Khana	12,000
19.	Aushadkhana	33,000
20.	Silah Khana	1,08,000
21.	Surat Khana	12,000
22.	Khyal Khana	15,000
23.	Shikar Khana	12,000
24.	Top Khana	33,000
25.	Kirkari Khana	4,35,000
26.	Rang Khana	39,000
27.	Chappa Khana	12,000
28.	Pothi Khana	39,000
29.	Mewa Khana	9,000

S. No.	Kind of paper	Approximate number of documents
30.	Gunijan Khana	6,000
31.	Vastra Grah	9,000
32.	Seevan Grah	12,000
33.	Pakhal Khana	75,000
34.	Top Taluka Jantra	45,000
35.	Ratan Grah	27,000
36.	Janani Sarkar	24,000
37.	Imarat	36,000
38.	Palki Khana	27,000
39.	Jargar Khana	60,000
40.	Jeen Khana	93,000
41.	Tambul Khana	30,000
42.	Gau Khana	45,000
43.	Kosh Grah	86,900
44.	Patra Khana	54,000
45.	Farrash Khana	1,44,000
46.	Tosha Khana	90,000
47.	Angan Jantra Grah	15,000
48.	Khusbu Khana	15,000
49.	Bagh Nolakha	21,000
50.	Shutar Khana	15,000
51.	Awadh Grah	6,000
52.	Kila Jat	6,000
53.	Hisab Pargana Sawai Jaipur	1,50,000
54.	Chabutra Mustodi	15,000
55.	Butayat	9,54,000
56.	Dag Ghoda	15,000
57.	Daftar Diwani Hazuri	21,000
58.	Daftar Mastawfi Hazuri	9,000
59.	Kothayar Hazuri	1,68,000
60.	Taphwat Jagirdaryan	39,000
61.	Roshan Baki	39,000
62.	Vivah	15,000
63.	Wakaya	16,000
64.	Hawalgi	6,000
65.	Puraydesh	6,000
66.	Chabutra Kotwali	12,000
67.	Chahra Nakdi	18,000
68.	Shah Vakaya	6,000
69.	Hisab Parganayati	25,000
70.	Hisab Lashkar	6,000
71.	Haweli Thakur Logans	4,000
72.	Farist Jagirdaran	1,000
73.	Farshi Kagjat	3,00,000
74.	Khazana	5,12,000
75.	Kagjat Nazar Paskas	9,000
76.	Jyautia	6,000
77.	Kota	1,000
78.	Barali	1,000
79.	Bayana	2,000

S. No.	Kind of paper	Approximate number of documents
80.	Piplod	2,000
81.	Niwai	36,000
82.	Nayay Sabha	3,000
83.	Shamlat records	60,00,000

I have tried above to give a brief description of the various classes of documents available in Jaipur Archives. A description of the documents themselves is not possible in a short article. But I believe what has been said is enough to show that Jaipur Archives should be considered as one of the biggest collections of documents in India.

SOME LETTERS FROM JAIPUR RECORDS (HINDI) IN DR. RAGHUBIR SINGH'S LIBRARY AT SITAMAU, MALWA

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In 1957 I happened to go to Sitamau in Malwa where I got an opportunity to work in the library of Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh. Here I came across a volume of newsletters described as Jaipur Records (Hindi) Vol. I, Part I (1658-1718), pp. 4—150, and Part II (1641-1702), pp. 157-212. In this volume of Jaipur Records (Hindi) I discovered several letters not known before, which were written by Maharaja Jai Singh to his son Prince Kunwar Ram Singh at Akbarabad. All these letters were written by Maharaja Jai Singh in the course of his journey to Monghyr when he was accompanying Prince Sulaiman Shukoh in the latter's march against Shah Shuja in the year 1657-58. Two of the letters however have been addressed to Prince Kunwar Ram Singh by Dwarika Das and Harnath Kenai (केनय) and these throw light on the military transactions of Sulaiman Shukoh in Bihar under the guardianship of Maharaja Jai Singh against Shuja. These letters therefore possess the value of first-rate contemporary historical documents so far as they appertain to the political history of Bihar, and hence they deserve detailed treatment.

It may be recalled that when the news of Shah Jahan's illness, "magnified by rumour into actual death", reached Prince Shah Shuja, the Viceroy of Bengal and Orissa, he at once crowned himself and marched with his force to Bihar which had been granted to Dara. Pressed hard by Dara, the old and ailing Emperor Shah Jahan reluctantly consented to send an army against Shah Shuja. But at the time of the departure of these forces, he had appealed to Sulaiman Shukoh, who was in command, to avert bloodshed if Shuja could be persuaded to retire peacefully from Bihar. Maharaja Jai Singh, who accompanied Sulaiman as his guardian and chief adviser, suspected that Dara might possibly, in the Emperor's name, but without his approval and behind his back, ask the officers of the army marching against Shuja to take a line of action which would be contrary to the Emperor's instructions. So he left at court (in Akbarabad) his son Kunwar Ram Singh as his representative to report directly to him the emperor's instructions. It is in the context of this situation that the aforesaid letters in Jaipur Records were addressed to Kunwar Ram Singh.

1. The First letter¹ of Jai Singh to Kunwar Ram Singh is dated 1. Pp. 173-74 of Jaipur Records (Hindi), Vol. I., Part 2 (1641-1702).

10th January 1658² and written from Sarai Bharmal³. This letter reached Akbarabad (Agra) on 15th January, 1658 A.D.⁴. In this letter Maharaja Jai Singh writes that he had already written to him (Ram Singh) about the arrival of Sultan Beg⁵ at Patna. It was further written that on Pus Sudi Chaudas i.e. 14th, Friday⁶, he (Raja Jai Singh) had received a letter from Raja Bihroz (of Kharakpur in Monghyr District), the son of Roz Afzun, wherein he (Raja Bihroz) had called him (Dara) as the Padshah; the letter-bearer of Raja Bihroz informed Maharaja Jai Singh that Raja Bihroz had come right up to Patna, whereas his (Raja Bihroz's) son had encamped 5 Kos ahead of Patna. The Maharaja further wrote that the brother of the Qanungo of Sasaram who had come to him, however, informed him that he (Raja Bihroz) had come away from Rajmahal whereas only his (Raja Bihroz's) son had come to Patna. The Maharaja, however, asked his son (Kunwar Ram Singh) not to make any representation of all these facts (to the emperor) until the authenticity of this news had been confirmed. The Maharaja further informed that he left Allahabad on Pus Sudi Tirodasi⁷ (13th), Thursday; next day (i.e. 14th Pus Sudi)⁸ Sultanji (i.e. Prince Sulaiman Shukoh) crossed the bridge (at Allahabad), halted at a distance of 2½ Kos ahead (of Allahabad) and on 15th Sudi Pus⁹ Saturday, the forces encamped 1½ Kos ahead of Jhusi. The Maharaja then made some adverse observations about the integrity of Prince Sulaiman Shukoh and complained that he (Prince Sulaiman Shukoh) did not care to enlist the support of the new recruits, had no anxiety about the outcome of the war nor had any mind to procure the necessary news (about the enemy); that he (Prince Sulaiman Shukoh) was awfully afraid of the war and trembled at the very mention of it. The Maharaja was himself worried as to how he would be able this time to maintain his honour when the Prince (Sulaiman Shukoh) was just a child and Bahadur Khan¹⁰ was as good as a woman. Here is the true copy of the relevant portion of this letter.

2. Sunday, Magh 1 Badi, 1714 Samvat.
3. Sarai Bharmal is near Saidabad in U.P. It is mentioned as "Barramal Ca Sarae" by Peter Mundi. See *Travels of Peter Mundi*, Vol. 2., Series 2, Vol. XXXV, p. 109 (*Hakluyt* Publication).
4. Mati Magh Badi 7th, 1714 Samvat (20 Rabi-us-Sani, 1068, A.H.)
5. An Officer of Shah Shuja.
6. 8th January, 1658.
7. 7th January, 1658, Thursday.
8. 8th January, 1658, Friday.
9. 9th January, 1658, Saturday.
10. A senior Mughal noble attached to the expeditionary force. Though the guardianship and the management were nominally assigned to Mirza Raja Jai Singh, in reality Dara Shukoh made Bahadur Khan guardian (of Sulaiman Shukoh) and the commander of the army. See *Dara Shukoh* by Qanungo, pp. 16-19.

"सिद्धि श्रीमहाराजधिराज महाराजा श्री जयसिंहजी देव वचनात कंवर रामसिंह सुप्रसाद"¹¹
 वंच्चा अपरंच अरजदास्ति तुम्हारी आई हकीकति मालुम हुई और आगे तो सुलतान बेग पटने आवनेकी खबर में लिखी थी अब पोस सुदी चौदस शुक्रवार¹² राजा बिहराज रोज अफजू के बेटे का लिखा हम को आया। हलभल लिखी थी और उनको पातशाह करि लिखा था और लिखा था तुमको ये बहुत चाहते हैं और उसका आदमी जुबानियां कहता था जो आप पटने आया और बेटा आये को भेजा है से पटने उरे कोस पांच है उहां के तो यह समाचार है और सहसराम के कानूनगो का भाई आया सो यों कहता था जो आप तो राजमहल से उरे आया है और बेटा पटना आया है सो हकीकत में तुमको लिखी है अरजदास्ति नहीं की जो जब ताई खबर की ठीक न पड़े और पोस सुदी¹³ तिरोदसी बृहस्पतीवार ईलाहाबाद सुकूच हवा, दूसरे दिन सुलतान जी भी पुल ऊतर आये अडाई कोस के डेरा हुवा पोस शुदी १५ सनीसरवार¹⁴ झूसी उरे ड्योढ कोस डेरा हुवा इनके न तो कुछ लोग जमा करने का फिक्क है न कोई लड़ाई का तरद्यु है न इनको खबर का तलाश है और लड़ाई का नाम सुने सों इनका जीव कांपे है परमेशवर अबकी बेर शरम राखे साहबजादा तो लड़िका और बहादुर खां तो नामरदीकी कति है मिती माह वदि १ आदित्यवार¹⁵ संवत १७१४ मुकाम सराय भारमल।"

(The date and the place from where Maharaja Jai Singh wrote this letter to Kunwar Ram Singh at Akbarabad). "Mati Magh Badi Satmi¹⁶ (Samvat) 1714 Mutabik Tarikh 20 Shahr Rabi-us-Sani, 1068 A.H. Muqam Akbarabad Mashub Dak Chauki Rasid" (in Persian).

2. In a letter addressed to Sri Maharaj Kumar Kunwar Ram Singh by the humble servants Dwarika Das and Harnath Kenai (कैन्य), they wrote that they received the Parwana of Maharaj Kumar (Ram Singh) with due respects and reached Vanrasi (Banaras) on Thursday¹⁷ Magh Badi 6th, (1714 Samvat).

The true copy of the relevant portion of the letter is as follows :—

"सिद्धि श्रीमहाराज कुमार कंवरजी श्री रामसिंह चरण कमलान लिखतं द्वारकादास व हरनाथ कैन्य पांव धोक अवधारिज्यो ग्रैठां का समाचार महाराज कुमार जी की मेहरबानी सो भला है। श्रीमहाराज कुमार जी को परवानो साहिवां को आयो तसलीम कर माथे पर चढाई लियो और माहवदी ६ बृहस्पतवार¹⁸ वाणरसी आय पहुंचा।"

11. "Suprasad" which the Maharajas invariably wrote to his nobles or subjects by way of compliments. See f.n. 4 p. 35 of the article. "Some unknown sources of the history of Mewar" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1957.
12. 8th January, 1658 A.D. (Friday.)
13. 7th January, 1658 (Thursday.)
14. 9th January, 1658 A.D. (Saturday.)
15. 1 Badi Magh 1714 Samvat = 10th January, 1658 (Sunday.)
16. Friday, 15th January, 1658.
17. Jaipur Records (Hindi) Vol. 1., Part 2. (1641-1702) p. 175.
18. 15th January, Friday, 1658. According to *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.), the 6th and 7th Badi Magh fall on Friday, 15th January, 1658 and not on Thursday, 14th January, 1658 A.D. as recorded in the document.

This letter then conveys the information that Maharaja Jai Singh, Bahadur Khan, Raja Anrudh and others crossed the river (Ganges at Banaras); then Sultan (Sulaiman Shukoh) and his followers and Ikhlas Khan crossed the river (Ganges at Banaras).

3. In another letter¹⁹ Maharaja Jai Singh wrote that he had received his (Kunwar Ram Singh's) Arzdasht; that when he received the news at Prayag about the coming of Sultan Beg²⁰ to Patna, he (Maharaja Jai Singh) crossed the river here (at Prayag) for he was afraid of the fact that the enemy (Sultan Beg) had (powerful) Nawara (flotilla of boats).....In this letter Maharaja Jai Singh wrote that he followed the road that proceeds *via* Banaras and reached Murad ki Sarai²¹ where he received a Farman and a Nishan, the true copies of which had already been sent to him (Kunwar Ram Singh by Maharaja Jai Singh before). This letter which was written by Maharaja Jai Singh at Banaras on Mati Mah 9 Saturday²² Sambat 1714 in the first quarter of the night reached Kunwar Ram Singh (at Akbarabad or Agra) in Shahr Rabi-us-Sani Mati Pus Chaudas (14th), 1714 Samvat²³. The true copy of this letter is as follows :—

“सिद्धि श्री महाराजधिराज श्री जयसिंह जी देव वचनात् कंठर रामसिंह दिसे सुप्रसाद
बंन्या अपरं व अजरास्ति तुम्हारी आर हकीकत मानुस हुई हकीकत रतां की एता
भांति है जो पीरागजी (Prayagji) में हम खबर पाई सुनना वेग पटने
आया तब मैं इहां कहीं आबो इहां सो पार उतरे क्यों जो उनके नवाड़ा है।तब
बनारस की राह आये मुराद की सराय के डेरे फरमान व निशान पहुंच्यो तिनकी
नकल तुमको भेजी है तिससे हकीकत मानु होगी.....सुमती कहां भित्ती माह
६ शनीसरवार पहर रात गुजरां लिखो संवत १७१४ मुकाम बनारस।”

“Batarikh Shahr Rabi-us-Sani Mati Pus Chaudas Samvat 1714 Mashub
Dak Chauki Rasid. Ba Kunwar Ram Singh Rasanand” (in Persian).

4. In one letter²⁴ the date of the battle of Bahadurpur is put as 21
Mah Jamadi-ul-Awwal-Phagun Badi 7 Aditvar Doi (आदीतवार दोई) *i.e.*,
Sunday, 14th February 1658. The letter is dated as Phagn Badi²⁵ Somvar
(Monday) Samvat 1714. The letter bears the following lines in Persian which
tell us the date of its arrival at Akbarabad (Agra).

19. Jaipur Records (Hindi) Vol. I, Part II (pp. 177-78), 1641—1702.

20. An officer of Shah Shuja.

21. Somewhere near Banaras on the way leading from Allahabad.

22. Saturday, Pus Badi 9, Samvat 1714=19 December, 1657.

23. Pus 14 Sudi, Samvat 1714=Friday, 8th January, 1658.

24. Jaipur Records (Hindi) Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 179-83 (1641-1702).

25. Phagun Badi 8, Samvat 1714=Monday, 15th February, 1658.

“Batarikh Sezdahum Shahr Rabi-us-Sani²⁶, 1068 A.H. Ba Muqam Akba-
rabad Rasid. Mutabiq Mati Phagun Sudi Namashi Samvat 1714” (in Persian).

5. In their second letter²⁷, dated Baishakh Sudi 9, Samvat 1715—Sat-
urday, 1st May 1658 Dwarika Das and Harnath Kenai (केन्य) communicated
the following information to Maharaja Kunwar Ram Singh at Akbarabad
(Agra) : there was a great fortification erected at Monghyr (by Shah Shuja's
forces); the way through the jungle (with a view to surprising Shuja from behind
in the east and thus defeat the military fortifications of Shuja in the Monghyr
Fort) was unprovided with water to drink and hence the entire jungle was
to be cleared off first before passage through this way could be possible.

But then the rainy season was close at hand (and hence the clearing of
jungle was not possible). The wakil of Banka (in Bhagalpur district) had appr-
oached (the camp of Sulaiman Shukoh) three to four times and made some
representation (on behalf of Shah Shuja), pointing out that he had
come from Monghyr after receiving due authority (from Shah Shuja) to do so.
Thereupon Pratap Singh Rajwat²⁸ (Rajput) invited Khan Jam Beg²⁹. Jam Beg
came and waited on Sultan Sulaiman Shukoh (the son of Prince Dara). Jam
Beg took leave of Sulaiman Shukoh on Baisakh Sudi 6, Tuesday³⁰, and took

26. Since the battle of Bahadurpur was fought on the 14th February, 1658, and the letter
was written on 15th February, 1658, Monday, from the battle-field of Bahadurpur,
it would have reached Akbarabad sometime after 15th February, 1658. Now the
document bears the words “Phagun Sudi Namashi Samvat 1714”. The word which
looks like Sudi is most probably Badi because in Persian a dot below Sudi would make
it Badi and the scribes are generally guilty of not affixing dot properly in Persian writing.
Hence it should be read as Badi Phagun. This conclusion becomes all the more irresisti-
ble in view of the fact that the happy tidings of the victory on 14th February, 1658
in the field of Bahadurpur would surely have been sent to Emperor Shah Jahan and
Prince Dara at Akbarabad very quickly and this news would therefore have reached
Akbarabad from Bahadurpur near Banaras in two days, *i.e.*, on Phagun Badi Navmi
which in Persian came to be loosely written as Namashi, by the scribe. The corres-
ponding Christian date would be Tuesday, the 16th February, 1658, and the Muslim
calendar month and date would be 23rd Jamadi-ul-awwal, 1068 A.H. and not Rabi-us-
Sani as mentioned in the document above.

27. Jaipur records (Hindi) Vol. 1, Part 2 (1641-1702), pp. 184-85.

28. An officer of Maharaja Jai Singh.

29. Shuja's Amir or noble; *vide* Modern Review 1908, March, Vol. 3, p. 341. See *Aurang-
Namah-i-manzum* or *Aurang-namah-i-Baqiri*, Asafiya Library, Hyderabad, ff. 25-27.
Here Shuja's vazir is called Jam Beg.

30. According to Indian Ephemeris by L. D. S. Pillai, Baisakh Sudi 6, Samvat 1715, falls
on Wednesday, the 28th April, 1658, and not on Tuesday as recorded in the letter above.

ave of Maharaja Jai Singh on Baisakh Sudi 9, Thursday³¹. There is a reference to two horses, one of bluish-cum-yellow and white colour which was sed by Raja Jaswant Singh and the other of Turkish breed. Jam Beg had met ultanji (Sulaiman Shukoh); the Arzdasht of Shahzada Shuja was presented to Prince Sulaiman Shukoh through Maharaja Jai Singh); Jam Beg wrote to hah Shuja that Maharaja had assured him (Jam Beg) of the rights which hah Shuja would get (without the least shadow of doubt). Jam Beg then went to Monghyr and they (Shuja's forces) evacuated the fort of Monghyr. and went to Rajmahal (according to the agreement arrived at between Maharaja Jai Singh and Shuja). The forces (of Sulaiman Shukoh) entered Monghyr Bhagalpur and Pargana Kahalgaon etc., which lay further to the east of Monghyr came under his (Sulaiman Shukoh's) possession. Karoris were sent to the places and Faujdars were appointed. The Karoris then returned. Maharaja Jai Singh now decided to go to Gaya. Dwarika Das or Harnath Kenai (केन्य) after offering the rites of Pinda Dan in the memory of the mother (at Gaya) came to Patna and got the case of Zulfaqr Khan recommended to Shahzada Shuja. Zulfaqr Khan was therefore granted leave to proceed from Rajmahal and he was about to come.

The true copy of the letter is as follows :—

“सिद्धि श्री महाराज कुमार कंवरजी श्री रामसिंह जी चरन कमल अरजदास्ति द्वारिकादास वा हरनाथ केन्य पावा धोक आवधरि ज्यो जी औठेंका समाचार साहिब की म्हरबानी सों भला छे सहिवां को परवानो खीख समाचार सदा प्रसाद की जो जी अपरख मुगेर वहां बहुत ही गाढी ठोड़ बणई थी और जंगल को राह भी असो थो जो पाणी नहीं और जंगल काटी जे तबराह होई और बरसात भी नजदीक आयो और बांका बकील तीन चार बार आया त्यो आपनी तकसीर की उजरखाही करी और कहीं मेह मुकम से मुगे छोड़ी तीसों परताप सिंह राजबल ने खंदाया जामबेग बुलायो जामबेग ने सुलतानजी मुलाजमती कराई अब जामबेग सुलतानजी सौ बैसाख शुदी ६ मंगलवार³⁰ बिदा हवो आज बैसाख शुदी ६ बुधवार³¹ महाराज सों बिदा होसी थोडो १ नीलो पील मुकंद जो राजा जसोतसिंहचालता गुजरानो थी और एक तुरकी देमे और जामबेग सुलतान ने मिल्ये थो सो महाराज शाहजादा शुजा ने अरजदास्ति की तीं उपर शहजादा शुजा जामबेग ने लिख मेज्यो मिरजाराजा कहे सो कि जो हम इस्तिथार उनको दियो है सो जामबेग मिल्यो अब जामबेग मुगेर जाय पहुंचो और वे मुगेर सु कुंच कर राजमहल नें जासे लसकर मुगेर ताई तो जासी आगे परगना पहलगां (Kahalgaon) भागलपुर वैगरह वहाल छे तैठे करोडी भेजी सो फौजदार राखी से पाछे फिरी से महाराज जी के विचार छे गया (Gaya) की तरफ होइ गया । मैं मांजी को पीडप्रदान कर पटना की तरफ पधारे और जुल्फकार खां के वास्ते शहिजादा शुजा से कहायो जुल्फकार खां राजमहल से बुलाय छे अब आवेला और हकीकत पाछां सु अरज कराला मिति बैसाख शुद्धी ६ संवत १७१४ ।”

31. According to Indian Ephemeris by L. D. S. Pillai, Baisakh Sudi 9, Samvat 1715 falls on Saturday, 1st May, 1658 and not on Thursday as recorded in the letter above.

6. In one letter³² Maharaja Jai Singh writes that he came to Vanarsi (Banaras) on Jaith Shudi “Tij Somvar”³³ (तीज सोमवार) and halted there for constructing a bridge on the river (Ganges). The following lines of the letter bear reproduction here on account of the subject matter as well as the dates :

“छो मिति जेठ शुदी ५ बुधवार³⁴ बाणरसी (Banaras) से कुच संवत १७१५ मुकाम खोराबधा . . . कंवर रमसिंह दिसे मि० असाढ वदि ३³⁵ सं० १७१५ ता० १७ मा० रमजान सं० १०६८ मु० आवेरी पंहच्यो”

7. In another letter³⁶, dated 3rd May³⁷, 1658, Maharaja Jai Singh gets jubilant over the rout of Maharaja Jaswant Singh at the hands of Aurangzeb and Murad. He also refers to the fact that when Shuja evacuated the fort of Monghyr, he (Shuja) encamped at a distance of 2 1/2 Kos from the fort (towards the east); that Maharaja Jai Singh then entered Monghyr (fort) on the 13th Baisakh Sudi³⁸ Purnmasi, Friday; he (Maharaja Jai Singh) then lavished praises on the construction of the fort (of Monghyr) which was worth seeing and which could be appreciated only when seen; Maharaja Jai Singh left (the fort of) Monghyr on 16th Shabaan Jaith Badi Tij Somvar³⁹ (तीज सोमवार) Samvat 1715. The letter was written from Monghyr dated छो मिति जेठ वदी दोज आदीत्यवार⁴⁰ and it reached Akbarabad on Jaith Vadi⁴¹ 10 Samvat 1715—Sunday 16th May, 1658 A.D.

The true copy of the letter is as follows :—

“श्री रामजी”

“सिद्धि श्री महाराज धिराज महाराज जयसिंह जी देव वचनात कुंवर रामसिंह दिसे सुप्रसाद वांच्या अप्रंच तेरीख दसई माह शबाबान³⁷ (Monday, 3rd May, 1658 फरमान व निशान आये तीमें लिखो आयो लश्कर सों लड़ाईहुई महाराजा जसवंतसिंह जी वगैरह—जुरशाहिजादे औरंगजेब वो मुराद बख्श दोनों आया पातशाही—

32. Jaipur Records (Hindi) Vol. 1, Part 2 (1641-1702), p. 186.

33. Jaith Sudi “Tij Somvar” i.e., 3rd Sudi Jaith Samvat 1715 falls on 25th May, Tuesday, 1658 A.D. and not on Monday as referred to above. See Indian Ephemeris by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.).

34. 27th May, 1658, the day being Thursday according to Indian Ephemeris by L.D.S. Pillai and not Wednesday as recorded above.

35. Asadh Badi 3, Samvat 1715 falls on 8th June, Tuesday, 1658 A.D.=17th Ramzan, 1068 A. H. according to Indian Ephemeris by L.D.S. Pillai.

36. Jaipur Records (Hindi) Vol. 1, Part 2 (1641-1702), p. 188.

37. Shabaan 10, 1068 A.H.=Monday, 3rd May, 1658 A.D.

38. Baisakh Sudi 13th, Samvat 1715 falls on 5th May, Wednesday, 1658 A.D. according to Indian Ephemeris by L.D.S. Pillai, whereas Purnmasi Baisakh, Samvat 1715 falls on 7th May, Friday, 1658.

39. 16th Shabaan 1068 A.H.=Jaith Badi Tij (3) Samvat 1715 falls on 9th May, Sunday, 1658 A.D. and not Monday as recorded above in the letter.

40. Jaith Badi Doyaj Aditvar=Jaith Badi 2, Samvat 1715 falls on 8th May, Saturday, 1658 A.D. and not on Sunday as Aditvar above means and thus it falls on 15th Shabaan, 1068 A.H.

41. Sunday, 16th May, 1658.

लशकर भागो अर तुम को आगे को विदा किया है सु यह खबर सुण वहांत दिलगीर
हुवा अब तुम खरब को मुकुलाहिजा मति कीज्यो । पांच मानस इकट्ठा कीजो अरहं
चलायो है सु मुने दिन छह की ढील ई वास्ते लागी जिदी न फरमान आयो वे दिन
शहजादे शुजामुंगेर से निकसी कोस दाय से परी डेरो कियो तब हम लोग विचारो
जु नीम कला काम कियो छोड़ी चला तीसों तेरीख तेरही बेशाख सुदी पुणवासी
शुक्रवार मुंगेर दाखिल हवा अर या जू केदार गढ़ असो बनायो जो देखा ही बणि
आवे अब तेरीख सोलही सावान जेठ वदी तीज सोमवार का चला आवा छां
अरजीव हमारो बैठे-छै जो तो पातशाहजी का इकबाल सूं सों फतह छै नोकाही छै
अर जो कोई रह छै तो तुम आयण भोभिया चारा सू परी कीजो.....छोमिती
जेठ वदी दोयज आदीतवार मुकाम मुंगेर.....मि० जेठ वदी १० सं० १७१५
मुकाम अकबराबाद पहुंचें ।”

8. In yet another letter⁴² Maharaja Jai Singh wrote that he left Monghyr on the 16th Shabaan⁴³-Jaith Badi Tij Somvar, Samvat 1715, and halted at Surajgarha; on the 20th Shabaan⁴³ (जेठ वदी छिठ सोमवार) or 13th May, 1658 A.D., he reached Patna. The letter reached Agra on वदी १७१५ 22nd May, 1658 A.D.

The true copy of the letter is as follows :—

“सिद्ध श्री महाराज धिराज श्री जयसिंह जी देव वचनात कंवर रामसिंह दिसे सुप्रसाद
वांच्या अप्रंच तेरीख सोलही सावान (Shabaan सावान) जेठ (व) दी
तीज सोमवार मुंगेर सू कूच करि सूरजगढ डेरा हवो तेरीख बीसवी सावान
(13 May, 1758) जेठ बुदि छिट शुक्रवार पटणे (Patna) दाखिल
हुवा और.....हकीकत हमने वाकई नहीं पहुंचें.....डाक चौकी बचसोल वगैरेह
हाथ खबर सिताब-सिताब पहुंचा जौ और हमारो व थांको इजाफो हुवा मो मुबारक
.....वदि संवत⁴⁴ १७१५ (22 May, 1658) यसोल हाथ आगरे आया था
वकील भेजा.....चपुर पहुंचा ।”

9. There is a letter⁴⁵ addressed to Sri Maharaja (Jai Singh). In this letter it was written that the Emperor Shah Jahan was very glad to know of the victory of the imperial forces over Shah Shuja at the battle of Bahadurpur; which was fought and won on Sunday, 14th February, 1658⁴⁶ A.D., that the rank of Maharaja Jai Singh was raised by 1,000 zat and 1,000 sawar as a reward for his service which brought this victory to the Imperial forces at Bahadurpur; that the emperor reviewed the troops of Maharaj Kunwar Sri Ram

42. Jaipur Records (Hindi) Vol. 1, Part 2 (1641-1702), p. 193.

43. 20th Shabaan, 1068 A.H. falls on 7th Badi Jaith, 1715 Samvat - 13th May, Thursday, 1658 and not Friday as recorded in the letter above.

44. "Badi SS Samvat 1715" means Amavasya, Jaith, Samvat 1715 = 22nd May, Saturday, 1658 A.D. = 29th Shabaan, 1068 A.H.

45. Jaipur Records (Hindi) Vol. 4, Part 7, 1639-88, Pp. 131-32.

46. Phagun, Badi 7, Samvat 1714 falls on 14th February, Sunday, 1658 A.D.

Singh and was very pleased. The letter was written on Badi 8 Phagun, Tuesday⁴⁷, Samvat 1714 in the first quarter of the night.

Maharaja Jai Singh was requested to pay Rs. 8/- to Mirdad and Gangaram Mewro who would be reaching Patna within fifteen days. The true copy of the letter is as follows :—

“श्री महाराज जी सलामती महाराज कंवार जी श्री चिमनां जी सुखचेन थे रहे छै.....

हुकम आयो शाहिजादो शुजो पचीस हजार असवार चालीस हजार प्यादा बो सात
हजार तोपची वहांत-उरावलो (araba-artillery) आयो मो । फागुण वदि
७ के दिन लडाई हुई । शाहिजादो शुजा हाथी व नगारा निशान छत्र सब छोड़
भागो । बड़ी फतह हुई सो बहुत खुशाली-खुशाली आनन्द-आनन्द हुआ जी ।
.....और श्री महाराज कुंवार श्री को हुकम आयो श्री महाराज जी की फतेह हुआ
का समाचार श्री पातशाह जी थे अरज पहुंची सो खुश होय हजारी जात हजारी
असवार को इजाफो श्री महाराज जी ने दिन्हों सो बहुत खुशाली आनन्द हुआ जी ।
और महाराज कुंवार श्री रामसिंह जी को महोलो (review of troops) श्री
पातशाह जी लियो सो बहुत खुश हुआ जी ।और सगली बातों का चैन
छैजी मिति फागुण वदी ८ मंगलवार⁴⁷ पहर १ रात कीत्या संवत १७१४ मीरदाद
व गंगाराम मेवडो दिन १५ में पटणे पहुंचे तो रु ८ इनाम को हुकम कीजी जी ।

47. Phagun, Badi 8, Samvat 1714 falls on 15th February, Monday 1658, and not on Tuesday as recorded above.

A DASTUR-UL-AMAL OF THE TIME OF NASIRUDDIN HAIDER

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The Allahabad Record Office has in recent years under the able guidance of Dr. G. N. Saletore collected a large number of valuable documents relating to the history of Northern India and the administrative system prevailing there during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Amongst these documents I found an interesting dastur-ul-amal relating to revenue administration in the Kingdom of Oudh. No date is given but the dastur-ul-amal was probably issued in 1237 Fasli year, corresponding to 1828 A.D. (1244 A.H.) during the reign of Nasiruddin Haider (1827—37). The document gives valuable information regarding land survey and revenue assessment, the rights claimed by the government, rights and duties of zamindars, functions of the Sadr, the Nazim, the Tehsildar, Qanungos, Chaudharies and Muqaddams. For want of space detailed notes are not given but a glossary is appended.

This dastur-ul-amal is based on the regulations which Nawab Mahdi Ali Khan¹ is reported to have issued when he was the leaseholder of the territories comprising Khairabad², Muhammadi³ and Bahraich⁴. The dastur-ul-amal is divided into 63 sections and gives valuable information regarding revenue administration in Oudh.

The Rights of the Ryots:

1. Hereditary ryots are not to be dispossessed of their holdings without proper reason.

1. Nawab Mahdi Ali Khan first came into prominence during the reign of Saadat Ali Khan (1798—1814) when he obtained the lease of *Chakla* Muhammadi for three lakhs and eleven thousand rupees in 1804 and by his able management increased the revenue from this *Chakla* to nearly twelve lakhs. He later on secured the lease of Khairabad and Bahraich in 1817. In 1818 he accompanied Lord Hastings when the latter passed through Khairabad and Bahraich and Lord Hastings was so favourably impressed by the judicious management of these districts that he commended him to Ghaziuddin Haider (1814—27). He was at the height of his power during the reign of Nasiruddin Haider. He was dismissed from his post as Prime Minister in 1832, but was reinstated in office in 1837 by Muhammad Ali. He died in December, 1837.

2. A town in the district of Sitapur, U.P.

3. A tehsil in the district of Lakhimpur, U.P.

4. District headquarters of a district of the same name in U.P.

2. Past customs and practices are to be respected when assessing the share of the government in land produce.

3. The jamabandi⁵ rates should be reasonable and fixed after proper local inquiry into prevailing prices of agricultural produce. The demand slips should bear the signatures of the Qanungos, Chaudharies, Zamindars, Muqaddams and the headmen of the villages concerned.

4. In case of Kankut⁶ assessment, one biswa⁷ selected by the cultivator and another biswa selected by the revenue officer should be reaped and the average of the yield struck and an assessment made on the basis of this average yield. In case of dispute a munsif or arbitrator should be appointed.

5. In case of Naqdi⁸ assessment, rates should be fixed on the basis of the last year's darbandi⁹ and the current year's produce.

6. For measurement, *Ilahi-gaz*¹⁰ of 41 angusht¹¹ was to be used. The *jarib*¹² used was to be stamped with the seal of the government. *Jarib-i-Pukhta*¹³ measures 60 *Ilahi* yards and *Jarib-i-Khan*¹⁴ measures 20 paces of middle length. The latter unit was to be discouraged and measurement was to be made under the supervision of an Amin.

7. Patwaris are enjoined to prepare accurate records and give receipts to the cultivators for payments made by them.

8. The Zamindars and Mustajirs¹⁵ should execute a *patta naqdi*¹⁶ and give the same to the cultivators. Such pattas were to be countersigned by the Patwaris.

5. *Jamabandi*:—"Settlement of the amount of revenue assessed upon an estate" (Wilson's Glossary), a rent roll.

6. *Kankut*:—Estimate of produce of land with a view to fixing the rent to be paid by the cultivator; appraisal.

7. *Biswa*:—Twentieth part of a bigha.

8. *Naqdi*:—Jama-i-naqdi is assessment of land revenue payable in money.

9. *Darbandi*:—Rent-rate; "a statement of proportionate rates of revenue payment"; assessment of the price or value of crops or produce.

10. *Ilahi-gaz*:—The standard gaz of forty-one fingers instituted by Akbar and equivalent to thirty-three inches.

11. *Angusht*:—Finger.

12. *Jarib*:—A measuring chain or rope. Jarib was equal to 60 yards. A bigha of land was equal to 60×60 yards.

13. *Jarib-i-Pukhta*:—A measure of land equal to 5/8 of an acre.

14. *Jarib-i-khan*:—A "Kucha bigha" which is 1/3 or 1/4 of a pucca bigha or jarib-i-pukhta.

15. *Mustajir*:—A farmer of revenue.

16. *Patta-i-naqdi*:—Document specifying conditions on which land is held and the rent is to be paid.

9. The land belongs to the ruler and the zamindars owe their rights to a royal grant. They should not be dispossessed of their grants except for disloyalty. There are two categories of zamindaris, (a) Sanadi,¹⁷ that is zamindari created by a sanad and this has a legal sanction, and (b) Be-Sanadi,¹⁸ that which has been inherited but the papers regarding the grant have been lost.

In case a zamindar is unable to pay the revenue he should execute an inqar-namah¹⁹. The land will in that case be passed over to a mustajir who will pay malikana²⁰ to the zamindar. This dispossession, however, should be a temporary measure. The zamindar was not to be expelled from the village or deprived of his cultivated fields.

10. In case of rebellion the zamindar's lands should be confiscated. If he absconds, the land should be attached and on his reappearance and after due apology for his rebellious acts the lands should be restored to him under the seal of the Sadr²¹. In case of murders or robberies committed within the jurisdiction of a zamindar he should be held personally responsible for tracing the criminals and in case of his failure to render assistance he should be expelled from his zamindari.

11. The property of a zamindar who is a minor or a female or insane, invalid or half-witted, should be entrusted to a reliable and honest relative who should be required to execute an agreement and provide security for the payment of government dues. In case no such relative is available, the property should be handed over to a mustajir. Proper arrangements should be made for the education of such zamindars.

12. The Tahsildars should carefully check the accounts of zamindars mentioned above in case of enhanced income from such zamindaris.

13. Exacting and oppressive zamindars and mustajirs should not be assigned leases of lands.

17. *Sanadi*:—Land held under royal farman.

18. *Be-Sanadi*:—Lands held by a family generation after generation but the original documents conferring or creating the proprietary right cannot be produced.

19. *Inqar-nama*:—A document stating the inability of a party to carry out the terms of a contract.

20. *Malikana*:—An allowance assigned to a zamindar or a proprietary cultivator who has been removed from managing his own estate. Five percent to ten percent was assigned in such cases out of the net amount realised by the government.

21. *Sadr*:—The chief judicial officer.

14. Disputes arising out of division of land in relation to Hissa Dari,²² Patta Dari²³, and Bhayyachari²⁴ should be dealt with by the Tahsildars. In case the parties are dissatisfied with the settlement made by a Tahsildar, an appeal should be made to the Nazim and then to the Sadr if necessary.

15. Zamindars can alienate their zamindari rights by sale, mortgage or gift. All such transfers shall be registered with the Qanungos, failing which the transfer will be deemed to be invalid. Further, such transfer should be in accordance with Muslim Law or Hindu Law according to the religion of the parties concerned. The transferee shall be responsible for the payment of government dues.

16. The Qanungos and Chaudharies should not attest a transfer deed or a muafi²⁵ order without satisfying themselves about the ability of the transferee to pay the government dues. In case of doubt all such cases should be referred to the Nazim or the Sadr.

17. A record of all such transfers should be maintained in the Tahsildar's office.

About Settlement :

18. The final authority for settlement is the Nazim who may delegate his authority to the Tahsildar by a written order.

19. The policy of the government should be to so assess the revenue that neither the ryots nor the government suffer any loss and the prosperity of land may be enhanced.

The Tahsildar should make inquiries about the landed property in a village either by measurement or by estimate. The first entails a lengthy process. Estimates of crops should be prepared and a reliable Amin with proper staff should be appointed and expenses in this collection included in the village expenses.

20. Settlement work should be undertaken in the month of Jaith²⁶.

22. *Hissadari*:—Copartnership or coparcenary right.

23. *Pattadari*:—Leasehold tenure.

24. *Bhayyachari*:—"It is a tenure and it becomes so when the land occupied or cultivated by each co-sharer as his lands represents his share in the profits of the mahal" (Wilson's *Glossary*, Calcutta, 1940).

25. *Muafi*:—Grant of land free of assessment; rent-free lands.

26. *Jaith*:—The second month of the Hindu year corresponding to May-June of the Christian year.

21. No permanent settlement or settlement for a long period should be made by the Tahsildar. If it is necessary to make such a settlement the sanction of the Sadr should be obtained.

22. Strict orders should be issued to observe the conditions of the settlement. In case any variation has to be made, permission of the Nazim should be obtained and in important cases the Nazim should obtain the permission of the Sadr.

23. Settlement should be effected after the applicant has offered a surety, and executed a written agreement. Only then should a patta be issued. In case of lands left uncultivated by the lessee the latter should be required to pay revenue equal to the previous year's demand.

24. The amount of malikana or nankar²⁷ should be entered in hashw²⁸, and if no deductions have been made in the registers, the fact should be mentioned in bariz²⁹.

25. The Tahsildar should see that no village is left under tahsil-i-kham.

26. The Tahsildar should endeavour to bring deserted lands under cultivation, and then proceed to make a lenient and fair assessment.

27. Roads should be maintained in good condition. The zamindars, mustajirs and leaseholders should be required to enter into an agreement for this and the Amils and Tahsildars should see that this is done.

28. The Amils in *amani*³⁰ lands and lessees should see that thefts, highway robberies, and murders are not committed within their jurisdiction. In case of such occurrences they should report the same to the Thanadar and make every effort to apprehend the criminals and recover stolen property.

29. Tahsildars and Nazims are not permitted to mutilate or execute offenders.

30. Nazims and Tahsildars are strictly enjoined not to go to villages in person to arrest persons or to set fire to or plunder villages, or,

27. *Nankar*:—Assignment of land or revenue for subsistence.

28. *Hashw*:—"The page of an account book is divided into two equal parts called zillah; each zillah is divided into two Rakanas. The right hand zillah is called the Hashw".

29. *Bariz*:—See above. "The first right hand quarter of the left zillah".

30. *Amani*:—A method of assessment and collection of revenue directly from the cultivator without the agency of an intermediary.

31. To destroy the house of a person.

32. In case of a tax-payer who refuses to pay revenue the Tahsildar should report to the Nazim who will deal with such cases. Where there is a danger of resistance, report should be made to the King and action taken in accordance with instructions received in this behalf. If there is a danger of the rebellious lessee disappearing with his movable property strict watch should be kept over his house.

33. No person shall be kept in confinement for non-payment of revenue for more than a month. He should be sent to the Nazim after that.

About the sale of Zamindaris :

34. The Nazim may attach and sell the zamindari of a person who is in arrears of revenue. In case of immovable property one month's notice should be given and in case of movable property one week's notice. Further, if there is a possibility of realising the arrears by giving further extension for the payment of the same, extension should be given.

35. Zamindars are not permitted to purchase their zamindari and other movable or immovable property thus put up for sale. This prohibition extends to Government servants also.

*About Taqavi*³¹ :

36. Taqavi may be granted with the sanction of the Nazim if it is required for tilling the land or for providing irrigation facilities, provided *tamasuks*³² are executed, sureties provided and an *iqrarnama*³³ is entered into.

37. Officers should be appointed by the Tahsildars to see that fields are cultivated, and in case of failure to cultivate lands necessary action should be taken.

38. Assistance should be given by the Tahsildars for the construction of *gol*³⁴ and *maind*.³⁵

39. No Government servant, either directly or through an agent, should take lands on lease. Purchase of zamindari is permitted. An infringement of this order should be punished by the Nazim with the dismissal of the defaulting officer.

31. *Taqavi*:—"Advances made by the Government to the cultivators" to help extension of cultivation and as a relief in bad season.

32. *Tamasuk*:—Bond; a note of hand.

33. *Iqrarnama*:—A written agreement.

34. *Gol*:—A granary.

35. *Maind*:—A raised bank marking the boundaries of a field.

40. In the case of a benami³⁶ transaction the landlord who enters into such a transaction through an agent shall be personally responsible for the payment of revenue. In the case of a man without sufficient resources of his own the revenue shall be realised from the sale of any property which such person may hold or the property of his surety.

41. The servants of the East India Company who take zamindaris, or engage in agriculture or trade in this country should be shown great consideration and given necessary facilities and concessions.

About Collection :

42. The revenue is assessed on produce and the Tahsildar should take necessary steps to protect the crops. Shahnas³⁷ should be appointed to look after the crops.

43. If the Tahsildar is satisfied that the revenue would be realised, the Shahnas should be dispensed with to save the zamindars from unnecessary expenses. In case revenue is not paid by the zamindar the Tahsildar should with the help of the Patwaris' papers realise the revenue from individual cultivators. This method of kham tahsil³⁸ should be a temporary measure in case of necessity and not the usual rule.

44. In case of damage to crops as a result of natural calamity the Tahsildar should ascertain the extent of damage and report to the Nazim under the signatures of the Chaudharies and Qanungos who will issue necessary orders for remission of revenue or payment of the same at a later date. No remission should be granted in cases where the zamindar's profit for the last year is sufficient to cover the damage.

45. Instalments should be fixed for the payment of the revenue.

46. The expenses in connection with Talabana³⁹ and Shahnagi should not be excessive.

47. The Tahsildars may appoint with the permission of the Nazim a Sazawal.⁴⁰ His salary should not be excessive. Expenses in this connection

36. *Benami* :—Landed property acquired by purchase. Here properly purchased by one in the name of another.

37. *Shahna* :—A watchman; person appointed to watch the crops. Shahnaga-perquisites of a watchman.

38. *Kham Tahsil* :—Collection of revenue; approximate assessment is tahsil-i-kham.

39. *Talabana* :—Money payable for serving demand notices or writs of courts.

40. *Sazawal* :—An officer specially appointed to collect the revenue of an estate "from the management of which the owner or the farmer has been removed".

shall be paid by the leaseholders. The Sazawal shall attach the property of a defaulting leaseholder and deposit the proceeds of the sale of the same in the Government Treasury.

48. Minors should not be sold or forced to change their religion or be enslaved for non-payment of revenue by their guardians.

49. The practice of ransom may be continued for the present.

About muafi grants :

50. Muafi lands or nankar assignments are not to be resumed. In assessing revenue recourse should not be had to force. Such grants should not be transferred from one village to another. Malikana dues should be in conformity with the practice prevailing amongst the zamindars. Except the King no one is entitled to make grants of land as muafi lands.

51. The Tahsildars should see that land assigned to Chaukidars and others for rendering service to the villagers is not confiscated.

52. In case of a dispute regarding the ownership of land or boundaries of a holding the Tahsildar should either settle it himself or appoint arbitrators with the consent of the disputants; or appoint an Amin. The expenses incurred in this connection shall be realised from the parties. The Nazim's approval of a decision in this behalf is essential.

About the Rates of Grain :

53. The Nazims and Tahsildars should see that grain is sold at reasonable rates; that no hoarding is done and that large scale exports of grain are not allowed.

54. At headquarters the Nazim should appoint a Treasurer who should furnish a surety. The Treasurer shall appoint agents in parganahs and he shall be personally responsible for the agents appointed by him. Without a signed requisition of the Tahsildar no money should be taken out of the Treasury. The Nazim and the Tahsildar should check the balances twice every month.

55. The parganah officer shall be subordinate to the Tahsildar; the Tahsildar and his staff to the Nazim who will have the right to transfer them. The Chaudharies and Qanungos being hereditary officers and basing their claims on royal sanads shall be under royal orders.

56. The sureties shall have no control over the staff or the State-money.

57. Disbursement of the salaries of the staff shall be subject to the sanction of the Nazim. The Tahsildar should prepare a monthly statement

of salaries and submit it to the Nazim who shall issue payment orders under his own seal.

58. The personal servants of the Tahsildar should not interfere in administrative matters.

About Preparation of Revenue Papers :

59. Parwanas in original regarding grant of land should not be given to the grantees by the Nazims or the Tahsildars. They may, however, issue copies of such orders.

60. The Tahsildar should send to the Nazim on the prescribed form a Wasil-Baqi⁴¹ by the sixteenth of every month according to Indian calendar after which the Nazim will issue orders regarding arrears. In case of delay the Tahsildar should be fined. The prescribed form in which such a statement is to be supplied is given.

61. A register should be maintained by the Tahsildar showing the rights of the ryots, the share of the Government in produce, detailed account of administration during the reigns of previous rulers and figures relating to the last ten years or even more if records are available.

The form in which full particulars of a zamindari are to be given is prescribed.

62. Prescribes the form on which jama is to be supplied.

63. These regulations are to be strictly followed. Any suggestion for improvement may be sent to the centre.

41. *Wasil-baqi*:—"An account showing the amount of revenue realised and the remainder outstanding."

SOME UNPUBLISHED NEWS LETTERS OF THE COURT OF HOLKAR

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It was very kind of the Director of the State Records Department, Uttar Pradesh, to have allowed me to go through the following nine newsletters relating to the court of Maharaja Holkar. I am giving a brief summary of their contents serially, in chronological order. I have not been able to identify every personal or place name which occurs in these letters.

Lord Wellesley had exploded the myth of Maratha invincibility, compelling almost every Maratha leader to sign terms of peace at once abject and humiliating. Sindhia surrendered all his districts lying along both sides of the Jamuna, his seaports and his conquests on the West Coast, and the custody of the Mughal Emperor to the British. Subsequently Holkar also was compelled to walk the same way; the Raja of Nagpur had already been reduced to submission.

But Wellesley's success was only of a military character. It did not lead immediately to the restoration of peace in the regions, overawed as these were by the superiority of his striking power. In the interval between his departure in 1805 and the arrival of the Marquis of Hastings in 1813 the stage was set for a final struggle which led to the extinction of the Maratha power.

During this interval forces of trouble came into full play, particularly in the central region of the sub-continent, thanks to the weak-kneed policy of the immediate successors of Wellesley. Though Lord Lake had driven Jaswant Rao Holkar to bay, pressing him relentlessly, Barlow returned to the defeated Chief what he had lost, adding to it the liberty of ravaging the Rajput States as much as he pleased. Even the Raja of Bundi was abandoned to the mercy of the Maratha hordes. And the situation was rendered all the worse by the rise of the Pindaris.

The perusal of the news-bulletins given below clearly brings out the financial distress which had overtaken the Holkar Darbar and the prominent role played by Tusi Bai, (known as Bai Sahiba) and her adviser and right hand-man Balaram Seth and the latter's colleagues Diwan Ganpa Rao, Kasama Bakshi and Mahipat Rao. Other notable persons referred to in the bulletins are Raja Zalim Singh, Wazir Khan of Bhopal, Nawat Amir Khan, Ghafur Khan, Jaggu Bapu, Arlekar Tantia, most of them being responsible for the political and administrative chaos which was prevailing

in Malwa and parts of Rajputana, particularly in the States of Jaipur and Bundi.

The news bulletins throw some light on the relations between the Holkar on the one hand, and the Pindaris, Raja Zalim Singh of Bundi (he was not the Raja of the State) and Wazir Muhammad Khan of Bhopal on the other.

One of these bulletins reveals a veiled attempt on the part of the Peshwa to assert his supremacy by insisting that no succession in a Maratha State should be deemed to be valid until it had been confirmed by the grant of a *khilat* (robe of honour) by him. It appears that negotiations for such a grant had commenced during the illness of Jaswant Rao, through his representative in the darbar of the Peshwa. But after his death Tusi Bai, who seized the strings of administration, clearly repudiated the move.

Even a brief survey of these few news bulletins is sufficient to indicate their importance. It is almost certain that a closer and more detailed study of the large number of bulletins available will reveal facts and tendencies almost unsuspected so far.

(1)

News Bulletin, dated 22nd October, 1811, place Bhanpura, Maharaja Jaswant Rao Holkar.

Morning Session

Arrival of a *harkarah* with a note intimating that Jaggu Bapu, a servant of Daulat Rao Sindhia, was encamping in the village Bar-raundah. Prince Malhar Rao Holkar came to the court. The officers paid their respects to him. After one *ghari* he retired and the darbar was dismissed.

Afternoon Session

Nawab Ghafur Khan represented that Jaggu was encamping in his (Ghafur Khan's) territory, and that he was plundering the villages situate therein.

A letter of admonition was sent to Jaggu Bapu warning him of the consequences in case he persisted in his activities and asking him to leave the territories assigned to Ghafur Khan.

A letter was brought by Thakur Das intimating that Faiz Talab Khan and Najabat Ali Khan Bharaich were encamping with the English troops at Kanpur(?) their destination being unknown.

It was reported that the contingent of troops which formed the following of Bala Rao Anglia in the camp of Muhammad Shah Khan, having left that place, had arrived near Nahangadh and intended to join Bala Rao.

Rattu Patel reported that the allowance for worship had not been received for four days. Bai Sahiba was much annoyed to hear it. She sent for Thakur Si Modi and demanded an explanation for the same. He submitted that the *Sarkar* (Government) was not meeting the expenditure.

Receipt of a letter from Bharmal Gumashta of Mehisar, saying that he had taken Lal Man Naik into custody, and that he would soon be arriving with him.

*News, Bulletin, dated the 8th November, 1811(?)
(Sawai Malhar Rao Holkar Bahadur)*

Morning Session

Offering of *nazr* by Mir Fasihuddin, Mir Mardan Ali, Mirza Dhuan Beg, Nawab Yawar Beg Khan and Mir Mughal(?) Ali Khan. They were honoured with gifts and presents.

Noon Session

Paras Ram Dada submitted a request for the supply of match-locks etc., for the four new platoons which had recently been recruited. Mahipat Rao raised objections, but he was silenced by Bai Sahiba.

Bai Sahiba asked Balaram Seth to write to Khandu Pant, the Vakil, that until then the promise of offering a *nazr* to Shrimant Bahadur (for receiving a *khilat*) was being made in the hope of the recovery of the late Maharaja, but in the changed circumstances if such a *nazr* is offered it would be generally believed that a *khilat* (robe of honour confirming succession) had been obtained for Sawai Malhar Rao Bahadur by bribery. Therefore, the condition of offering a *nazr* should by no means be accepted. But if he in his own kindness grants a *khilat*, the *nazr* would be offered according to the usual custom and practice.

Receipt of an *arzi* from Mihrab Kamasdar informing that Jaggu Bapu was intending to march there. Jaggu Bapu was warned not to do it.

Letter from Raja Rao Zalim Singh saying that he had left his camp yesterday with the intention of attending the Court and encamped at Saket. But as...and the platoons of Sarkar which are near Bundi were creating trouble in his land, he was prevented from proceeding further. Accordingly Parasram Dada was directed not to interfere with his (Zalim Singh's) affairs. A letter of assurance was sent to Zalim Singh.

Afternoon Session

In the afternoon His Highness appeared in the Court. All the officers excepting Balam Seth were present. Dancing of prostitutes commenced Jaggu Bapu submitted that such of his Silahdars and platoon commanders as were in attendance were ready to offer *nazrs*. Mahaipat Rao said that the *nazr* of the Silahdars would be offered the following day; only the platoon commanders should be directed to attend.

News Bulletin, dated the 18th of November, 1812(?)
Sawai Malhar Rao Holkar Bahadur

Morning Session

It being the full moon of the Kartika, Bai Sahiba issued instructions that alms be distributed to Brahmans and food should be served to them.

Munshi Kishori Lal read out the *arzi* of Nawab Amir Khan received through Ranjit Rai, the Munshi of Ghafur Khan, in the hope of a settlement the entire army of Muhammad Shah Khan, as also his (Amir Khan's) own followers had been exposed to considerable depletion during the last two years and the remnant thereof was likely to go the same way; and that he was encamping near Kishangadh, and was waiting for instructions whether he should remain there, or commence hostilities. Bai Sahiba ordered that a reply to the *arzi* be despatched in consultation with Balam Seth.

Afternoon Session

Orders were issued that the stipulated cess be realised from the *ghosis* of the camp. Accordingly their Chaudhari presented himself. The demand was made on him. He submitted that he would get it realised provided a Sarkari Harkarah accompanied him.

Receipt of a letter from Zalim Singh complaining that his country was being plundered by Junsiwala (?) from one side and Jaggu Bapu from the other. Instructions were issued to both of them to desist from the same.

It was reported that the Paigah Kahska (?) had arrived with the intention of marching to the Deccan with a following of four hundred, that the *grasia* horsemen had waylaid the caravan, wounded some men and had carried away some pack animals; that the soldiers of the Paigah did not show any gallantry.

The newsletter of Jaipur was read out by Munshi Kishori Lal. It stated that Sanwal Das had written to Zalim Singh on behalf of Raja of Jaipur that he should bring about a reconciliation with Amir Khan.

Ranjit Rai, the Munshi of Ghafur Khan, submitted that the platoons in the service of Ghafur Khan had left Jaora to join the army of Amir Khan.

The Vakil of Bhopalwala represented that Hir Singh Kampuwala and Jaggu Bapu had defeated Wazir Muhammad Khan. This was followed by a letter from Arlekar Bapu (who was in the army of Jaggu Bapu) saying that Hir Singh lashed Wazir Muhammad Khan into Bhopal, and that during the skirmish Wazir Muhammad Khan's son and Paidar Khan Pindarah had been mortally wounded.

There was much discussion on the veracity or otherwise of these reports.

News Bulletin, dated the 19th November, 1812
Sawai Malhar Rao Holkar

Morning Session

Mir Chandar Shah Faqir submitted that he was sitting *dharnah* that day.

Thakur Si Modi represented that he had promised to give a sum of five thousand rupees as *nazranah* to Mahabai Sahiba on condition that Alampur would be assigned to him, and that she was pressing him for payment of the same. As he owed one lac to the soldiers, how was he to arrange for it? It was ordered that the *nazranah* of Mahabai Sahiba must be paid to her in cash, as promised. Upon this the aforesaid Modi replied that the State treasury held some money to his credit, and that the sum might be deducted from it. But Modi was ordered to pay it in cash to Mahabai Sahiba, as such adjustments were not possible.

Instructions were issued to the State officials to arrange for two lac rupees from their *parganas*. Balam Seth agreed to carry out the order.

Atal Pant Tantia was asked to explain why his soldiers were demanding their salary from the Government, when assignment for the same had been made on his *parganahs*. He was directed to pay it from his pocket, and to make an equivalent deduction from the (revenue of the) *parganas*.

Balam Seth was asked to arrange for a sum of five thousand rupees. He replied that he would give the same to Kasama Bakhsi(?)

Afternoon Session

Receipt of *kharita* from Wazir Muhammad Khan of Bhopal, recommending the release of Karim Khan Pindarah because he was their well-wisher. Upon this the Vakil of Rajah Zalim Singh submitted that he

should be asked to surrender the sum of three lac of rupees which was lying with him. Upon this the Munshi of Karim Khan Pindarah submitted that if the desire (for release) was sincere, arrangement for the required sum of money shall be made. He was told that his release was desired both in word and deed.

A letter was sent to Nawab Amir Khan, informing him that the copy of a letter from Khandu Pant Vakil indicating the impropriety of agreeing to the conferment of a *khilat* by the Peshwa without the concurrence of the English Company had been sent to him previously, and that no reply to it had till then been received. Now a copy of the *kharita* of Wazir Muhammad Khan Bhopalwala together with an account of the objections of Zalim Singh regarding the release of Karim Khan Pindarah was being enclosed. He should send well-considered replies to both.

Diwan Ganpat Rao and Arlekar Tantia returned from the mission on which they had been sent. They reported that Daulat Rao Sindhia Bahadur had nothing else but his own selfish designs.

News bulletin, dated the 20th November, 1812
Sawai Malhar Rao Holkar

Morning Session

Antu Bamrusi (?) and Bhojraj Phulkia were admitted to audience. Orders were issued that an assignment for five thousand rupees on the *parganah* of Manasah (?) be drawn up in their favour and be handed over to them. They represented that on an earlier occasion a similar assignment had been made on the same *parganah* in their favour but they could not collect even a single shell, how would they fare better now? They then added that the *Silahdars* who were with them were desirous that they should be sent for and honoured with gifts of betel-leaves, (and thereafter) be allowed to go away. As to their salary they had made a sacrifice of the same for the cause of the Sarkar. They would go out in search of employment elsewhere. Sympathetic words were spoken to them, and orders were issued for distribution of Re. 1 per head to the soldiers; later on arrangements will be made for 20 days.

It was reported that Chimna Bhao, Bakhshi Jeo Lal, and Dhan Singh Paigah Walah had arrived in the camp. Subsequently Chimna Bhao attended the court and represented his troubles.

Afternoon Session

Bakhshi Jeo Lal came to the court and gave an account of the activities of Jinsi (?) and of the army of Amir Khan.

A letter from Amir Khan was received. It reported that he had left Kishangadh and was encamping near Gadhi Lava.

News bulletin from Jaipur was received. It stated that Rao Chand Singh had sent troops to Tonk, realised a sum of rupees twenty thousand there which he distributed to his soldiers; and that at Hinduan the *thanah* (outpost) of Dundi Khan was in existence as before.

Bhati Khan Risaldar, an old servant (of Holkar), arrived with his followers, (leaving the) army of Sindhia Bahadur. After the audience, he offered a *nazr* of five rupees. He was directed to get the muster of his cavalry recorded. This was done by Balaram Seth himself in his camp.

A letter from Jaswant Rao Bahadur was received intimating that he was not prepared to enrol in his service the soldiers of (Holkar).

Dakhni Rai, a physician and hypnotist, arrived in response to summons. He was asked to prescribe some medicine. He did it.

News Bulletin, dated the 21st November, 1812
Sawai Malhar Rao Holkar

Morning Session

Jivan Ram, the Vakil of Raja Zalim Singh, delivered his constituent's letter. It reported that Jaggu Bapu having pitched his camp in Sanganeer was plundering that region. Balaram Seth held assignment on some villages in that region which were under his (Zalim Singh's) supervision. They were also being plundered and heads of cattle were also driven off by Jaggu Bapu. The Vakil was told that if his constituent was keen on securing the release of Karim Khan Pindarah, it was advisable for him to consult Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia Bahadur in the matter.

A reply was despatched to the effect that peremptory orders had been issued to Jaggu Bapu asking him to break-up his camp.

A *kharita* was received from Wazir Muhammad Khan. It stated that in sheer helplessness he had come to terms with the English (and in view thereof) he requested that Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia Bahadur be asked to direct Jaggu Bapu to march off from Jhatal, otherwise there was imminent danger of his humiliation and the extinction of the State of Bhopal. A letter to this effect was despatched to the aforesaid Maharaja.

After this, Sher Ali was directed to conduct Vakil Jivanram safely through the territory of Raja Zalim Singh. A robe of honour was offered to Jivanram (at the time of leave-taking), but he declined to accept it. A letter was sent to Anand Rao and Rajaram, the Karkuns of (?) directing them that they should despatch select troops and horsemen to the army of Amir Khan, and the remaining forces to the headquarters and that they should not delay in the matter.

A letter was received from Jaggu Bapu reporting that his troops and soldiers having broken away had left for the headquarters, and that they were out of his control. In reply, he was asked to join Amir Khan, and was informed that such of those as arrived at the headquarters would be censured.

Afternoon Session

The relatives of Diwan Ganpat Rao were led into audience. After talking for a while they were allowed to return to their camp.

Orders were issued to the effect that the Silahdars, who had separated themselves from Jaggu Bapu and were encamping at (?) should be provided with an assignment of 3,000 rupees on the same place, after they had paid their respects.

An assignment was made on *parganah* Dipalpur in lieu of the salary of Wahid Khan Risaldar.

Arrival of Chunni Lal, the *gumashta* of Thakurdas, the *Akhbarnavis* of the English. He brought a sealed letter for Balaram Seth which he handed over to him. It said that it was impossible to separate from Khayali Ram, and that whatever had been written by him (Balaram) about him (Thakurdas) to the latter (Khayali Ram) was correct.

News Bulletin, dated the 22nd November, 1812
Sawai Malhar Rao Holkar

Morning Session

Receipt of the *arzi* of Captain Roshan Beg from Mahsar saying that he had marched from that district and now intended to cross the Narbada. Receipt of a letter from Bapu Paigah saying that Captain Roshan Beg was a faithful servant of the *Sarkar*, and that he cared for none else except the orders of the *Sarkar*, that the words of interested parties should not be heeded, otherwise it would be difficult to manage the administration of that side.

Arrival of Mir Sayiduddin Risaldar. He requested instructions with regard to such horsemen of Bithi (?) Khan whose muster had not been recorded. It was ordered that the matter would be dealt with at convenience.

The Maharaja performed the (religious) rite of *Suraj Dan* and alms were distributed to Brahmans.

Afternoon Session

Ghafur Khan represented that he had been pressed by Nawab Amir Khan to submit that if adequate troops did not reach him he would be compelled

to return to the headquarters. Thereupon a *shuqqa* was despatched to Nawab Amir Khan informing him that Khush Hal Rai, the Bakshi of foot-soldiers, had been sent with a view to pressing Jaggu Bapu and (?) to join him.

Sadrudin Havildar represented that Thakur Si Modi was defaulting the *chandi*. The latter was sent for and asked to explain the reason thereof, particularly when an assignment for *chandi* had been made on the *ilaqa* of Karot. He replied that an assignment on any *ilaqa* in some other region should be made because he was unable to make realisation in that *ilaqa*. A *Shuqqa* was issued to Captain Roshan Beg that he should manage the affairs of the *ilaqa* on that side with care, and that he should send back the messenger who had been sent to summon him.

Ghafur Khan submitted that for the last three or four days Chander Shah *faqir* had been sitting *dharnah* at the *deorhi* because no arrangements for his expenses had been made on behalf of the *Sarkar* (Government). Upon this orders were issued to Bhagwan Singh, the Diwan of Malki Ram Kothari, that they should give a sum of rupees four hundred to Chander Shah. Thereupon Chander Shah raised the *dharnah* and left. Subehdar Ram Lal and Bhairon Singh having been sent for (they made their appearance) and they were directed to leave taking with them two pieces of field artillery.

News Bulletin, dated the 23rd November, 1812
Sawai Malhar Rao Holkar

Morning Session

A letter was received from Khandu Panth Vakil. It reported that Shrimant Peshwa Sahib Bahadur had thrown Pharkia into prison and had sent him to the Peshwar fort, and that Chimna Appa, brother of Peshwa Sahib Bahadur, and Man Kahsar Bhao would soon march with their armies to Khandesh.

Khush Hal Rai the Bakshi of foot-soldiers was sent for and given leave to go taking with him the Dasehra robe of honour for Jaggu Bapu.

A letter was received from Diwan Ganpat Rao. It stated that Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia Bahadur had been ill for some time, which had delayed his (Diwan's) departure. After the recovery of the Maharaj he would take his leave, having paid his respects, and would arrive at the court shortly.

Afternoon Session

The newsletter of Jaipur was placed. It reported that the Raja Bahadur with his army had pitched his camp in the fort of Borari (?) and had

established his entrenchment there. Nawab Amir Khan was encamping at Lawa (?). The commandant of Borari (?) had proposed to the Raja Bahadur that if he could arrange to have his *thanah* established there, he would pay him four lac of rupees. Rao Chand Singh was encamping near Madhopur.

The newsletter of the court of Maharaja Sindhia Bahadur reported that Diwan Ganpat Rao had written a letter separate from that of Arlekar Tantia to Holkar Bahadur (?). The letter fell in the hands of Arlekar Tantia. Its contents created strain between the two. Arlekar Tantia had suggested the name of some *mahajan* to the Maharaj. The aforesaid Maharaj did not accept that *mahajan* saying that he had no faith in Arlekar Tantia.

Ram Lal and Bhairon Singh were respectively presented with a *shamlah* and a *dastar* and they were directed to leave for Narana (?) with two field pieces.

Dakhni Rai Hakim came as desired. He administered some medicine to the Maharaja and then took his leave.

News Bulletin, dated the 24th November, 1812
Sawai Malhar Rao Holkar

Morning Session

Orders were issued that assignments for the salary of the army be made on territory in Khandesh. The Silahdars of Mama Gaikwar and Dakru Singh (?) demanded their weekly (or 20 days') allowance from Balaram Seth. He replied that assignments for the salary of the army had been made in Khandesh, and that whatever arrangements for meeting the expenditure were possible, were being made. Dakru Singh represented that his men had been going without food for two or four days. He asked for immediate settlement.

A letter from Raja Zalim Singh was received, reporting that Thakur Muhabbat Singh had died as laid down by his destiny and that his property had been sequestrated by Thakur Badli Singh of Sathghariwala, that the latter had thrown into prison the relatives of the deceased, and was demanding some money from them. If it were the pleasure of the Sarkar (Holkar), he (Zalim Singh) would place Harigadh Wala in the vacancy caused by late Muhabbat Singh. A reply was sent to the effect that he should do whatever he thought was proper.

Dhuan Beg represented that the balance of his salary had not yet been paid. Ummed Singh submitted that Thakur Si Modi was not paying *chandi* on various pretexts. The aforesaid Modi was sent for and was

told that he should never withhold payment of the *chandi* of Karim Khan Pindarah. After this consultations were held about march to Bhanpura.

Afternoon Session

Parasram represented that his servant had fled taking his son with him. Orders for searching them were issued. They were apprehended near Bhanpura. One piece of *shamla dastar* was presented to Dakhanni Rai Pandara and one each to the officers of the court.

Ranjit Rai, the Munshi of Ghafur Khan, submitted that twenty-five soldiers of the army of Amir Khan had presented themselves for enrolment; if approved their names might be recorded in the muster. He was told that there was no need of enlisting any more soldiers. Mir Badruddin, the Vakil of Bhopal, came to request for a reply to the *kharita*. He was asked to wait till the following day.

DHAR SUCCESSION, 1834

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In the pre-mutiny period the nature and extent of interference in the internal affairs of the Indian States by the Paramount Power depended mostly on the personality of the British Resident. Yet there was a well-marked tendency since 1818 to discourage the Resident from carrying his discretion too far and adopting lines of policy and modes of action without obtaining the prior approval of the Governor-General. With the extension of the scope of paramountcy and the lessening of dangers to British interests, the Governors-General exercised progressively greater control over the Residents and sought to keep their despotic tendencies in check. Gradually a definite code of political behaviour was formulated for the Residents to follow in respect of questions of succession in the protected States of India. The Governors-General were meticulously careful to retain with them the discretion of approving or disapproving an adoption made without their prior sanction. Hence, instances are not few when actions taken by the Residents independently, without the approval or prior permission of the Government, were disapproved and the displeasure of the Government was conveyed to them. Sometimes even explanations were demanded for hasty, premature and unauthorised actions and the Residents were asked to desist from their objectionable mode of official behaviour in future. However, the recommendations of the officer on the spot were always given due weight and importance and were not ordinarily ignored. In 1834, when a question of succession cropped up in the principality of Dhar, this trend of British policy towards the Indian States noticed after the establishment of British ascendancy in 1818 was clearly perceptible.

The growing strength and importance of the East India Company as the Paramount Power was recognised by most of the Indian States whose dependence on it, as the sole protecting power, had increased with the passage of time. The presence of a representative of the British Government at the installation ceremony and the grant of a *khilat* by him to the new ruler, as a mark of favour and in recognition of his right as a legitimate ruling prince, had become almost a well-established practice. Maharani Maina Bai, mother of the late Maharaja Ram Chandra Rao Puar of Dhar, in her letter to the Acting Resident, Captain Robinson, had requested his presence at the installation of her son as the new ruler to the *gaddi* in the following words: "The Honorable Company being masters of the country and

occupying the position of kings, it is requisite that a *khilat* of investiture should be conferred by them at the time of accession."¹

On the death of the ruler of Dhar, towards the end of 1833, without a son of his own and even without an adopted son, the *gaddi* became vacant, and the selection of a successor to that principality engaged the attention of Maina Bai and Unpurna Bai, the mother and the wife respectively of the late ruler. The two ladies of the royal household were allowed to select a boy from among the nearest kith and kin of the late Raja who could be acceptable to the chiefs and notables of the State and whose claims could not ordinarily be disputed by any rival claimant to the throne. This was strictly in accordance with the practice that prevailed in the past in the distinguished Maratha family of Puars in Central India. Several years before Dhar was taken under British protection in 1819, on the death of the posthumous son of Maharaja Anand Rao Puar in his infancy, his widow Maharani Maina Bai had adopted the late ruler, Ram Chandra Rao who was her sister's son, with the consent of the neighbouring chiefs. She was a very influential, talented and courageous lady. For full twenty years she had successfully foiled the intrigues of Sindhia and Holkar to destroy the State and had safeguarded the interests of her son against their continuous aggression. As Regent of her son and adopted son she had administered the State most efficiently. During the life-time of this remarkable lady, the Paramount Power chose to respect the age-old customary law of succession. The State being an old kingdom, bound by the treaty of subordinate co-operation, the idea of lapse remained un contemplated.

The boy, named Mulhar Rao, whom Maharani Unpurna Bai ultimately chose for adoption on the advice of her able mother-in-law, was between eleven and twelve years of age and was a near relation of the ruling family of Dhar.² He was then residing at Multhan, a small principality in Central India. From there he was brought to Dhar with the help of Captain Robinson who made all necessary arrangements and provided all facilities for the deputation from Dhar to proceed to Multhan, to establish contacts with the boy selected for adoption and succession, and to bring him to Dhar. The selection so made by the ladies of the Palace met with the concurrence of all who had any claims to be consulted on that occasion and was approved by all the parties concerned in the State. To the Acting Resident also the selection did not seem to be open to any objection from any quarter.³ Therefore, when he received an invitation from the widow of the late Raja to grace the installation ceremony by his presence on the 21st

1. Translation of a letter from Maina Bai to Captain Robinson, Acting Resident at Indore, enclosed in his communication to W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Governor-General, 24 March, 1834.

2. A letter from T. Robinson, Acting Resident at Indore to W.H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Governor-General, 24 March, 1834.

3. *Ibid.*

April, an auspicious date fixed by her, and to arrange for the presentation of a *khilat* to the adopted heir to the throne on behalf of the Paramount Power,⁴ he wrote to W. H. Macnaghten, the Secretary to the Governor-General, on the 24th March, 1834, for necessary instructions from the Governor-General on those points. No instructions were, however, received for a long time.

At least, in the absence of any instructions, John Bax, Resident at Indore, unhesitatingly decided to send a British representative to attend the installation ceremony, which could not be postponed as there was no other auspicious date in the near future. He deputed Captain Pettingall, the Political Officer at Bhopawar, to attend the function and watch the reactions. Instructions were given to him to make it distinctly understood to the royal court that his presence would be purely complimentary and should not be interpreted as a mark of sanction to the adoption by the British Government.⁵ Consequently, in his presence, Mulhar Rao was placed on the *gaddi* on the 21st April with the customary ceremonies under the name of Jaswant Rao Puar.⁶

When the matter was reported to the Governor-General and his permission was sought for the recognition of the title of the new ruler and for the presentation of a *khilat* to him, he consented to recognise Jaswant Rao Puar as the future ruler of the principality of Dhar as he had already been adopted and placed on the *gaddi* in the presence of Captain Pettingall and with the apparent concurrence of all the chiefs and parties in the State.⁷ He did not find any objection even to the presentation of a *khilat* to him in return for a *nazr* of equal value.⁸ However, to prevent any misapprehension he asked the Resident to ascertain the wishes and expectations of the authorities of Dhar as to the ceremonials to be observed on that occasion.⁹

While dealing with this issue of succession the conduct of the Resident was not allowed to go unnoticed. The Governor-General took a serious view of it and questioned his official conduct in taking a free hand in the proceedings at Dhar for which there was no sanction of the superior authority.¹⁰ He reprimanded the Resident for having acted prematurely in deputing Captain Pettingall to be present at the installation ceremony before that arrangement was formally approved by the Government of

4. A letter from Maina Bai to Captain Robinson.

5. A letter from John Bax to Captain Pettingall, 15 April, 1834, No. 8.

6. A letter from John Bax to W. H. Macnaghten, 22 April, 1834, No. 7.

7. A letter from C. E. Trevelyan, Deputy Secretary to Government to John Bax 15 May, 1834.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

India.¹¹ Admitting for a while that the presence of the Political Officer at the installation ceremony was not intended to serve any political purpose, he was not ready to believe that it was without its psychological effect. In fact he was convinced that the presence of a British Officer must have been regarded as a sign of British acquiescence in and support to the acts of adoption and succession. In these circumstances, he entertained grave doubts if the action of the Paramount Power to withhold sanction to adoption would ever be treated in the right spirit by those who had seen the presence of Captain Pettingall. He felt that the British Government had lost its discretionary power by the injudicious, indiscreet and hasty action of the Resident. Any decision of the Government contrary to the prevalent notion would give the appearance of inconsistency to its policy and bring discredit to its name. This would undoubtedly lower the prestige of the Paramount Power in the eyes of the people and jeopardise its position in the estimation of the chiefs.¹² In this way the action of the Resident was subjected to great criticism and he was asked to explain his conduct.

The Resident, who had never been censured before for a similar conduct, was surprised at the attitude of the Governor-General. Finding nothing unusual, wrong or objectionable in his ways, he explained the circumstances in which he had acted in the manner which was unnecessarily considered objectionable by the Supreme Government. He was at a loss to understand why no reply to the letter of the Acting Resident, written on the 24th March, was sent to him giving precise, exact and detailed instructions on the issue of succession at Dhar. It was only in the absence of any instructions that he had exercised his discretionary authority and had taken recourse to past precedents and analogous cases elsewhere for taking a decision to send a British representative to attend the installation ceremony, with every reason to suppose that the adoption, being free from any objection, would be recognised, as it was actually done later on.¹³ In support of his stand he cited a case in the State of Indore where the Acting Resident had acted similarly under almost similar circumstances on the 11th January, 1834 without any objection to it being raised and his proceedings being entirely approved by the Supreme Government in their reply of the 6th February. Stating the case in detail he assured the Governor-General that if the latter decided to act differently from what was presumed, his own conduct would not have involved the Government in any inconsistency as he had not gone beyond the scope of his authority and had not committed his Government to any policy that might place it in an embarrassing position. Captain Pettingall, whom he had deputed to attend the function, was there in a fact-finding mission. He was present there in his individual capacity as a visitor or

11. A letter from C. E. Trevelyan, Deputy Secretary to Government to John Bax, 15 May, 1834.

12. *Ibid.*

13. A letter from John Bax to C. E. Trevelyan, 3 June, 1834.

spectator and his participation had no other colour and character.¹⁴ He had not gone there as a representative of the Paramount Power nor was his presence ever intended to impart any sanction to the act of adoption and consequent succession. This was made clear to all in the State before Pettingall attended the installation ceremony. In this way, John Bax defended his conduct and explained the cause of the erroneous act imputed to him, without intending to impugn the judgement of the Supreme Government.¹⁵ Having received this explanation the Government apparently felt satisfied and did not proceed with the matter further. The controversial issue was thus closed and it was decided to confer a *khilat* of investiture on the new ruler in return for a *nazr* of equal value.

Meanwhile certain political developments in the State led to the postponement of all measures connected with the presentation of the *khilat* to the young Raja, Jaswant Rao Puar. Dissatisfied with Bapu Raghunath, an able, respected and experienced minister, who had induced the late ruler to accept British protection in 1819, Maharani Unpurna Bai, the young widow of the late Raja and the Regent and guardian of the adopted son, brought about his abrupt and capricious removal from his exalted office without consulting the British Resident, and without nominating any one else in his place, took over the internal management of the State in her own hands.¹⁶

John Bax looked upon this drastic administrative measure of the Maharani with great disfavour and misgivings. He thought it to be a clear warning of an apprehended turmoil in the State. Treating it to be conducive to disorder, he feared a possible competition for the *gaddi* and proposed to refrain from consulting the wishes and expectations of the Dhar authorities in respect of the presentation of *khilat* to the young Raja till tension in the State subsided and normal conditions prevailed.¹⁷ Anticipating some trouble, he did not want to embroil the Supreme Government in complications or do anything which might bind it to any fixed policy and place it in an awkward position. In the event of an outbreak of hostilities in the State he desired to keep the British Government free to take measures which might be in the best interests of the protecting power and the state of Dhar. That is why he considered it expedient to postpone the *khilat*-presentation ceremony. He felt that delay in the matter would be of positive good to the British Government and would not cause any inconvenience to any party.¹⁸ It would, on the other hand, induce the Maharani to take a cautious, reasonable and balanced view of the situation and to do nothing to earn the displeasure of the Paramount Power. The Supreme Government approved the recommendations of the Resident to suspend the presentation

¹⁴. *Ibid.*

¹⁵. A letter from John Bax to C. E. Trevelyan, 3 June, 1834.

¹⁶. *Ibid.*

¹⁷. *Ibid.*

¹⁸. *Ibid.*

of *khilat* to Jaswant Rao Puar so long as there was any prospect of a competition for the *gaddi* of that principality or fear of a breach of peace in the State.¹⁹

This was undoubtedly an erroneous view. Far from creating stability in the State it might cause confusion and breed trouble. It was quite likely to encourage rebellious tendencies and lead to a struggle for power between the Regent and the Minister. In this affair the British balance tilted in favour of the latter which was far from right. In the absence of a disputed succession, the British attitude should have been firm and not vacillating. Removal of a minister should not have been given so much prominence. The action of the Regent could have been dealt with separately. It had nothing to do with the *khilat*-presentation ceremony. Postponement of this ceremony was sure to give misgivings to the people. It was indiscreet, unnecessary and inexpedient. However, nothing untoward happened in the State and, when things settled down and normalcy prevailed, formal recognition was given to Jaswant Rao Puar as the ruler of Dhar.

¹⁹. A letter from C. E. Trevelyan to John Bax, 19 June, 1834; Extract from political letter from Fort William, 6 April, 1835.

THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIGO DISTURBANCES IN BENGAL

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The facts relating to the Indigo disturbances in Bengal in 1859-60 are quite well-known. The Indigo cultivators reacted violently against the oppressive system which forced them down to a wholly un-remunerative production. The main oppressors were the European Planters, and although a few Bengali Zemindars had also plantation interests, the Zemindars as a class were definitely not on the side of the Planters as against the hard-pressed ryots. The attitude of the Zemindars as a class in the dispute between the Planters and the cultivators is brought out clearly by the Manuscript Proceedings of the British Indian Association (Calcutta). Founded in 1851, this body, although not calling itself an exclusively Zemindars' Association, was composed almost wholly of men of this class and represented in the main the views of the landed aristocracy. As such, the official attitude of this organisation reflected the views of the Zemindar class. The Manuscript Proceedings of the British Indian Association, only partially preserved in the Association's Library, throw much valuable light on the attitude of the Zemindar class on the political, social and economic questions of the day. Thus a study of these records will be very useful in tracing the growth of public opinion in India in the latter part of the 19th century, particularly because the British Indian Association was the premier public organisation in this country, and the best organised and the most influential till the establishment of the Indian Association (1876) and the Indian National Congress (1885).

In the early stage of the Indigo disturbances the British Indian Association did not think it necessary to intervene. It was of the opinion that the dispute between the planters and ryots "as a natural struggle between capital and labour should seek its solution in the operation of economic laws." But as the situation rapidly deteriorated, the Association felt it necessary to urge the authorities to take necessary measures, not only for the immediate purpose of ending the disturbances by a temporary law, but also for finding a permanent solution by instituting a thorough and impartial enquiry into the relations between the planters and ryots. As the Managing Committee reported at the Monthly General Meeting of the Association held on the 13th June, 1860, "Circumstances of a grave nature indicating a disposition on the part of both the contending parties to come to extremes, if uninterfered by the Government or the Legislature,

having arisen, the Committee considered it their duty to recommend to the Government of Bengal the adoption of early action in the matter."

It was at its meeting on the 10th March, 1860 that the Managing Committee of the Association had decided to seek Governmental intervention in the dispute. On the motion of Baboo Kissory Chand Mitter, it was resolved "that a petition be addressed to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for a Commission of Enquiry into the cultivation of Indigo in Lower Bengal, with special reference to the low rates of remuneration and the system of advances connected therewith and for expediting the preparation of a penal legislation." (Ms. Progs.). The petition was drawn up and passed at the next meeting of the Managing Committee, held on the 21st March (Ms. Progs.). It is interesting to note here that at this time the Indigo Planters' Association sought the co-operation of the British Indian Association in suggesting a change in the Tenancy Law, more to the advantage of the Planters and Zemindars. Mr. A Forbes, Secretary of the Indigo Planters' Association, wrote to the Secretary of the British Indian Association "requesting the opinion of the Association as to the working of Act X of 1859 and suggesting the advantage on the part of both Societies in petitioning the legislature for its repeal" (Ms. Progs., 21st March, 1860). The British Indian Association, however, refused to support the move of the Indigo Planters' Association, obviously, because the repeal of Act X of 1859 would have taken away whatever legal safeguards the ryots had against the Planters.

The Association's diagnosis of the causes of the Indigo disturbances reveals sympathy for the ryots. "The efficient cause of this dispute was the unremunerative nature of Indigo cultivation and the dislike of the ryots to Indigo advances, which although always very great, became latterly excessively intensified on the prospect of rapid and unexpected increase of the price of labour and agricultural produce, and in consequence of grinding oppressions of the factory servants, ill-controlled by their European masters or superintendents" (Annual Report, 1860). In seeking Government intervention, the British Indian Association urged the adoption of a short-term as well as a long-term measure, the first in the shape of a temporary penal law to suppress disturbances, and the second in the shape of an impartial Commission of Enquiry to find a permanent solution. But it is worthwhile to notice that while the Zemindars were anxious to see the disturbances in the rural areas brought to an end by a temporary penal measure, they were entirely opposed to the type of law introduced in the Legislative Council in 1860 at the instigation of the European Planters. As the Annual Report of the Association for 1860 states, "The enactment of a temporary summary law of a penal nature (the Indigo Contracts Bill) to facilitate the fulfilment of existing contracts in the current season was earnestly demanded by the Indigo manufacturer with a view to help them in the impending difficulty, and the Lieutenant Governor, acquiescing in their request, moved the legislature to take the needful step, which was duly done. But the Bill

relating to this subject, which was introduced in the Council, was so one-sided in its bearing that the Committee took early occasion to draw its attention to the prominent deficiencies of the measure."

The British Indian Association considered the provisions of the Indigo Contracts Bill and at a meeting of the Managing Committee held on the 28th March, 1860 a petition was drawn up suggesting amendments to the Bill in the interest of the ryots (Ms. Progs.). In the petition the Association repudiated the justice of an *ex post facto* penal law. It then stressed the need of a provision rendering Indigo Planters amenable to punishment for false and malicious complaints against ryots. Regarding the drastic "Conspiracy Clause", the Association thought it to be "impracticable of fair and satisfactory working in course of a summary investigation." The Association also urged the need of granting appeals in certain cases against summary decisions by Magistrates. It finally recommended the insertion of "an explanatory clause barring the effect of decisions of contracts to be adjudged according to the proposed law upon future contentions thereon." Some of the suggestions were at first accepted by the Government, but the opposition of the European Planters proved too strong, and as the Annual Report (1860) states, "alterations were introduced at the later stages of the measure, not a little adding to its harshness towards the ryots." The petition also contained a suggestion about the procedure of work of the Commission of Enquiry, "that the Commissioners should not under any circumstances be authorised to hold proceedings without a quorum of at least three persons" (Ms. Progs. 28th March, 1860). It was intended to ensure an impartial enquiry and particularly to protect the interest of the ryots.

At the same meeting of the Managing Committee (28th March) it was also decided to publish a pamphlet containing selections from newspapers on Indigo cultivation, with particular reference to the causes of the disturbances. The cost of the pamphlet was Rs. 217-8-0 (Ms. Progs. 18th September, 1861). It is also interesting to note that at the meeting of the Managing Committee held on the 18th April, 1860, Rev. James Long, whose sympathy for the Indigo ryots was well-known, sought the financial help of the British Indian Association for printing a pamphlet on European colonisation in India, to which the Association readily agreed (Ms. Progs.). A Sub-Committee was appointed for the purpose, consisting of Rajendralal Mitra, Kissory Chand Mitra and Hurrish Chunder Mukherjee. Later, when Rev. James Long was tried and sentenced (1861) for his English translation of the Bengali drama "Nil Darpan", the British Indian Association expressed great concern over it. Without going into the merit of the publication, the Association condemned in particular "the barbarous law of Libel admitting of no plea of justification" under which Rev. Long was tried. "This defect in the Indian Law of Libel is much to be regretted and the Committee proposed to bring it to the notice of the Legislature for rectification." The Association, however, felt that "the agitation over the trial has produced a

good result, namely the realisation by the Government of the importance of acquiring a correct knowledge of the views and sentiments of the natives expressed through the Vernacular Press" (Annual Report, 1861).

It has been noticed that in March, 1860 the Association petitioned to the Government for the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to find a permanent settlement of the Indigo dispute. The suggestion was accepted by the Government, and immediately after the enactment of the summary law of 1860 an Indigo Commission was appointed. The Association felt happy about the composition of the Commission, consisting of two members of the Civil Service, a Missionary gentleman and two representatives of the British Indian Association and the Indigo Planters' Association. In May, 1860 the Government of Bengal requested the British Indian Association to select a gentleman as a member of the Indigo Commission, and the Association nominated Baboo Chandra Mohun Chatterjee for the purpose (Ms. Progs. 2nd and 9th May, 1860). The Association in its Report for 1860 expressed pleasure at the working of the Commission and the impartial nature of its findings, which fully justified the complaints of the ryots. The Commission "examined all classes of men, being in all 134 in number, competent both by knowledge and position to give evidence on the subject under investigation, viz., Planters, Ryots, Landholders, Missionaries, Covenanted and Uncovenanted servants of Government, and other independent witnesses. Their enquiry extended over a period of three and half months, which has resulted in the submission to the public of a mass of information of the highest importance, bearing on almost all subjects of Mofussil administration and Mofussil social economy. The conclusions at which the Commission arrived establish almost all the complaints urged by the ryots and their friends against the unprofitable nature of the cultivation, and the oppressive system of advances connected therewith, and as to the questions of facts adjudged, the Committee beg to add, the Commissioners were unanimous in the main. The report which they submitted is a calm, lucid, elaborate and well-digested State-Paper, and though the moderation of its tone has been mild to a fault, which has too in some instances detracted from the weight of the facts narrated, the unbiassed manner in which the facts have been reviewed in it, is the best guarantee of its leading to a sound conclusion of the subject in the arena of the Imperial Legislature."

The Association was also pleased with the attitude of the Government in the Indigo dispute. "The policy of the Government of Bengal, in regard to this subject, has been, the Committee have the satisfaction to state, generally characterised by conspicuous ability, great judgment and rare impartiality. The measures adopted with a view to ward off the administrative difficulty threatened by the untoward state of things were prompt and in the main successful, though not unattended in particular instances with great injustice and hardship to the parties concerned, on

account of the incompetency and abuse of power by certain Magisterial Officers. To this, however, the demeanour of the head of the Government presented a striking contrast by reason of his consistent impartiality, and nowhere is this spirit so markedly manifest as in his Minute on the Report of the Indigo Commission" (Report for 1860).

From these proceedings it will be clear that the sympathy of the British Indian Association was entirely with the ryots as against the European Planters. As a result of the Indigo Commission the position of the ryots greatly improved, but stray cases of oppression still persisted for a few years more. The Association, however, was concerned with the general question of justice in the relations between the Planters and ryots and did not want to intervene in individual cases. Thus when at the meeting of the 5th February, 1862 Kissory Chand Mitra drew the attention of the Association "to the hardship of the ryots in the Indigo districts and to the defective administration of justice in these districts", it was resolved that "the Association did not deem it necessary to interfere in the individual cases in which redress should be sought by the regular process of law" (Ms. Progs.). Later again, complaints of oppression were received from certain indigo ryots, but the Association did not think it necessary to intervene (Ms. Prog.). 28th February, and 5th March, 1862).

While not willing to take up individual cases, the Association was always vigilant over the general question of legal justice for the indigo ryots. Thus when in 1861 the Breach of Contract Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council, providing for criminal punishment of breaches of Agricultural Contracts, the Committee noted that "the measure was apparently in the interest of Agriculture and Commerce generally, but really in that of Indigo particularly." The Association sent a petition, vehemently opposing such a one-sided law. "With a knowledge of the relations subsisting between Indigo manufacturers and ryots which the late official enquiry disclosed it would be gross injustice to the latter to put them under the yoke of a Penal Contract Law. . . . and that in the face of the solemn pledge of the Government not to revive Act XI of 1861, the summary Indigo Contract Law. It involved a direct breach of faith with them". The Protestant Missionaries of Bengal also opposed the measure, and the Secretary of State for India disallowed the Bill.

In concluding the paper, it may be observed that the Association's solicitude for the indigo ryots was not an inspiration of the moment, it was rather a reflection of its general attitude. Thus, it may be noted from a petition of the British Indian Association to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, dated 20th September, 1856, how much the Zemindar class of Bengal sympathised with the ryots and sought the assistance of the Government in instituting a thorough enquiry into the causes of the distress of

the ryots. The Association was anxious for such an enquiry, particularly because it felt that it would reveal the principal cause of the misery of the ryots, namely the oppression of the Indigo Planters. At this time Christian Missionaries, because of their close contact with people in the rural areas, were the great champions of the ryots, and repeatedly urged Government intervention in their favour. In 1856 they sent a memorial to the Government for a Commission of Enquiry into the condition of the ryot population of Bengal. Immediately after, the British Indian Association also sent a petition supporting the memorial of the Christian Missionaries.

"Your petitioners have read with much interest a Memorial lately addressed to your Honor by a body of Christian Missionary clergymen, praying for a Commission of Enquiry into the causes that affect the condition of the population in the provinces under your Honor's government. That your petitioners have been intending and preparing the materials to address your Honor with an object precisely similar, and have with that view been making numerous enquiries, by the result of which your petitioners hoped to strengthen their prayer for a Commission of Enquiry. Your petitioners' intention, however, and efforts having been to some extent forestalled or anticipated by the Missionary Memorialists, your petitioners deem it their duty at once to unite their voices in support of the prayer of those intelligent and philanthropic gentlemen. Not that your petitioners acquiesce in all the conclusions arrived at by the Missionaries, but which your petitioners forbear now to criticise, inasmuch as your petitioners cordially agree in the vital importance and necessity for a searching, patient and unbiassed enquiry into the social evils of these provinces, viz., whether they be to any and what extent caused by the landed system, the planting interest, the mahajanee dealings, the fouzdarry and dewanny administration, also whether to any and what extent by the well-intended efforts and zeal of the professional Christian Missionaries".

This enquiry, so earnestly prayed for by the Missionaries and the British Indian Association, would perhaps have revealed the true causes of the distress of the ryots, and timely remedial measures might have averted the grave indigo disturbances of 1859-60. But unfortunately, the petitions were turned down by the Governments of Bengal and India as also by the Court of Directors.

AN AGITATION OVER SOME PRISON REGULATIONS, 1856 AND THE FARAIZIS

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The documents appended to this paper reveal¹ an interesting episode. It brings to light the stir that was caused in the Muslim community of Bengal, when a new regulation was introduced in the jail, requiring the convicts sentenced to labour to shave the "hair on the chin and face".

The interesting fact revealed by these letters is that the Faraizi sect—the counterpart of the Wahabis in Bengal took an active part in fomenting this agitation. This sect founded by Haji Shariatullah in 1804 gained in strength under his son, Mohammad Muhsin, better known as Dudu Miya. The Haji had aimed at purging Islam of the many Hindu practices and beliefs that had crept into it and restoring the faith to its original purity. The notable feature was the Jihadi (Crusading) attitude against the British occupation of the country which was declared to be *Dar-ul-Harb*, the implication being that it was the duty of the Muslim to reduce the country governed by the alien Christian power to *Dar-ul-Islam*. While this attitude of hostility to the British power remained a theoretical feature of the sectarian movement, its energies were mainly directed to combating the observances of Hindu rites and ceremonies by the Muslim masses, living in distant rural areas of Bengal, and enforcing specially the social habits and the styles of dress that marked them out from their Hindu neighbours. Hence the Faraizi opposition to trimming of the convicts, beards which was regarded by them as an infringement of the laws of their faith.

The facts are briefly as follows : On the 2nd October, 1856, F. J. Mowat, Inspector of Jails in the Lower Provinces, issued a circular letter to the Magistrates in charge of jails in different districts, directing them to shave the heads and faces of the Hindu labouring convicts, to shave only the heads of the Muslim prisoners and cut their beards with scissors (*Vide* letter No. 1). The Muslims regarded this order as undue interference with a practice which derived sanction from their faith. Hence the prisoners in the Mymensingh jail virtually threatened hunger strike, unless the order was revoked. C. E. Lance, the District Magistrate, had then gone away to Jamalpur, now the headquarter station of a sub-division, and unrest among the prisoners assuming formidable proportions, the local

¹ *Vide* Government of Bengal, Judicial Proceedings, 25th June, 1857.

Judge forthwith suspended the decree and informed the Secretary of the Bengal Government of the step taken by him.

Mr. C. Y. Buckland, Junior Secretary of the Government of Bengal, thereupon communicated to the Inspector of Jails the Lt.-Governor's instructions to proceed with more caution and circumspection in matters affecting the customs of the people.

The matter did not rest here. A society, *Anjuman-i-Islam*, had already been formed for the defence of Muslim interests. This new organisation pressed to the notice of the Inspector of Jails the impropriety of the measure which he had attempted to enforce in the following words :

"Wearing hair on the chin is by the Muhammedan law, a duty incumbent on all Muhammedans, a duty the disregard of which is visited by that law with punishment, both temporal and spiritual. No Muhammedan can contemplate without acute pain, the social or the spiritual consequences of throwing off the hair on the chin, whether it be under compulsion or not."

Maulavi Mazher Ahmad, the Secretary of the *Anjuman*, cited the authority of the scriptures in support of his stand that the shaving of the beard was forbidden by the law of Islam. (*Vide* letter No. 5). He had already represented that the measure was likely "to produce an amount of evil utterly beyond proportion to any benefit that may result from it to the health of the jail prisoners." (*Vide* letter No. 4).

Ultimately Mr. Mowat issued a fresh circular on the 8th May, 1857 countermanding the previous one of October, 1856 in which it was stated :

"The Hindus will retain the *Sikha* (long tuft of hair on the head), the beards of the prisoners will be trimmed to the extent, sanctioned by their respective religious observances which, in the case of the *Mohammadans*, is to the length of the closed fist of the individual." (*Vide* letter No. 7).

Letter No. 1

From :—F. J. Mowat,
Inspector of Jails,
Lower Provinces.

To :—C. Y. Buckland,
Junior Secy. to the Govt.
of Bengal.

Dated, the 8th January, 1857.

Ref. :—Correspondence on the order issued for the shaving of beards of the convicts in the jail.

ENCLOSURE :—Letter from C. E. Lance, Magistrate of Mymensingh to the Inspector of Jails, Lower Provinces. Mymensingh, the 15th December, 1856.

In accordance with your Circular No. 52 dated the 2nd of October I issued orders that among the labouring prisoners the heads and faces of the Hindus should be shaved, the heads of the Mussalmans shaved and their beards cut with scissors. On the 25th of October, the prisoners refused to take their meals until they were assured that the order would not be carried out. I was then absent at Jamalpur on special duty and the Judge, according to the procedure of the Jail, informed the convicts that the order was then and there suspended until further notice, and I received instructions from the Judge to stop the execution of the order. The matter was then referred to the Government and the Judge on receipt of answer of his reference wrote me the Roobecare (warrant), a copy of which is accompanying. From this it would be seen that the rule contained in the Circular No. 52 is now altogether in abeyance Should you think it necessary to instruct me I would recommend that as the Mussalman population in this State have a very strong objection even to the trimming of the beard, the rule be allowed to relate only to the hair on the heads of the prisoners. (Judicial Progs. 25th June, 1857, Vol. 341.)

Letter No. 2

From :—The Inspector of Jails.

To :—C. Y. Buckland,
Junior Secretary.

Camp, Patna, the 11th February, 1857.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 31st January, 1857 communicating the views of the Lt.-Governor of Bengal regarding the suspension of the execution of my Circular Order of the 2nd October in the Mymensingh Jail, directing me to institute further enquiries regarding the customs of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal respecting the trimming of their beards. with regard to the Circular Order which is the basis of this correspondence, I ascertained by personal enquiry in the N. W. Provinces where it originated as a measure of prison discipline that its introduction is accomplished without the semblance of dissatisfaction among a population saturated with prejudices and quite as prone as their co-religionists in Bengal to give violent expression to dissent, had they deemed it an infringement of the tenets of their faith. *The Ferazees of Eastern Bengal are a peculiar sect who have arisen within the last few years, and whose chief distinction, I apprehend, to be a more rigid observance of Islam than is practised by the*

great body of Muhammedans around them among whom it is well known that a number of Hindu practices have crept in that are at variance with the tenets of their faith as laid by their own authority on the subject and as practised in most Muhammedan countries.

In my visits to the Eastern Districts it is not likely that I can come in contact with any of their leaders. It would be desirable, therefore, that the local officers should themselves institute enquiries on the subject and become acquainted with the customs and peculiarities of this rapidly extending sect.

Ever since I assumed charge of my present office I have acted most carefully upon the spirit of the injunction urged upon by the Lt.-Governor and I have instituted local enquiry whenever a local custom has been pleaded in bar of any point of discipline. In no single instance have I yet found such pleas to be correct or well founded. I have, therefore, invariably overruled them, carefully explaining the appellant my reason for so doing. The chief examples that now occur to me are the refusal of the Gowalas (milkmen) in the Bihar Jail to be associated in messes on the plea that they cannot receive food even from the hand of one of their own family or caste; the objection made by the prisoners in two or three jails to wash their own clothes on the ground that a breach of caste was involved in it, the attempt of the sweepers in the Mymensingh Jail to sub-divide into several sections of the same class to escape some of the disagreeable functions peculiar to their order, the refusal of a Silk weaver at Burdwan to weave Gunny on a dignity plea and a host of mere dignity objections not based on religious grounds which the objectors generally waived good humouredly when I pointed out their fallacy.

Letter No. 3

From :—The Hony. Secy to
The Muhammedan Asscn.

To :—The Lt.-Governor of Bengal.

Dated, the 28th March, 1857.

The humble memorial of the members of the Unjomani Islamee
(Anjuman-i-Islam)

SHEWETH.

That your Memorialists were informed through communications from most districts, that Dr. F. J. Mowat, Inspector of Jails, Lower Provinces, had issued a circular directing Magistrates in charge of Jails to cause prisoners to be shaved of their beards.

That your Memorialists hardly need state that the shaving of the beards is most strictly prohibited by the religion of Islam. The Committee of the Muhammedan Association had, in remonstrance against to arbitrary an order addressed a letter to the said officer, but in reply he stated that without the sanction of the Government he is unable to communicate on the subject with this association.

Letter No. 4

Letter addressed by the Hony. Secy., the *Anjuman-i-Islam*, to F. J. Mowat, Inspector of Jails, Lower Provinces.

I am directed by the Committee of the *Anjuman-i-Islam* to solicit your favour of informing them whether there is any truth in the report now in extensive circulation to the effect that a circular has been issued from your office directing magistrates in charge of Jails in the Lower Provinces to cause prisoners to be *shaved of their hair on their chin and face*, and whether the instructions contained in the circular are still in force. The Committee do not presume to enter into the scientific merits of the question as to the effects of wearing hairs on the chin, face and lips upon the health of individuals. They would present the matter before you in another aspect.

Wearing hair on the chin is by the Muhammedans law a duty incumbent on all Muhammedans, a duty the disregard of which is visited by that law with punishment, both temporal and spiritual. No Muhammedan can contemplate without acute pain the social or the spiritual consequences of throwing off the hair on his chin, whether it be under compulsion or not. The majority of the Muhammedan prisoners, the Committee conceive, would prefer an extension of their imprisonment to bring discipline under notice, nor if one object of efficient prison management be the reformation of individual prisoners, does the measure appear to the Committee calculated to forward that object. A Muhammedan once subjected to the discipline referred to, must be demoralised to an extent unfitting him to rejoin his class in Society. On his return to the community he will inevitably be exposed to the pity of a few for the contempt of the generality of those whose opinions he was accustomed to respect. There are also, the Committee believe, specific objections to the circular as regards its operation upon the Hindu portion of the prisoners in the Bengal Jails. On the whole the Committee ventures to think that the measure is likely to produce an amount of evil utterly beyond proportion to any benefits that may result from it to the health of Jail prisoners.

(Sd.) Mohamed Mazher.

Letter No. 5

From :—The Hony. Secy. to

Anjuman-i-Islam.

To :—F. J. Mowat,

Inspector of Jails, Lower Provinces.

The Committee feel extremely thankful to you for the frankness with which you have entered into a discussion of the question which formed the subject of the reference but that they feel that in some points the sentiments of the Committee had not been perfectly understood. The Committee fully agree with you in the abstract proposition that any honest and well conducted member of the committee is interested in the proper punishment and prevention of crime, that all undue and misplaced sympathy with criminals is to be condemned. but the committee demur the claim of any executive authority to enhance the regours of imprisonment by rendering its attendant circumstances more painful than the law contemplated them to be. With regard to the sanitary bearing of this question, the committee never presumed to discuss them with you and only adverted to them with the purpose of stating that importance of sanitary consideration was inferior to the others which the committee were anxious to press upon your attention.

As respects the religious aspect of the question the committee did not expect to find their statements questioned by any foreigner, however well informed in Moslem law he may imagine himself to be. They now beg to draw your attention to the accompanying extract from *Asheatool Lumaut*, *Fattawa Darool Mukhtar*, *Mishkatool Musabeeh*, *Heidia*, *Nissabool Ihtesab*, *Fattawa Aulumgeer* and other works of established repute and authority among Muhammedans which will show that you are mistaken in thinking that shaving the head and chin are acts viewed as indifferent by the religious code of Islam.

Translation

The shaving of the beards that is to say, the hair growing on chin and about cheeks of men, is prohibited in the religion of Islam as unlawful; for the act is called *Maslah* (defacing) which is strictly prohibited in the religion. The fact will be perfectly understood by a perusal of the annexed quotation from the religious books of Islam, viz. *Asheatool Lumaut*, *Fattawa Darool Mukhtar*, *Mishkatool Musabeeh*, *Nissabool Ihtesab* and *Fattawa Aulumgeer* and others.

Letter No. 6

From :—C. Y. Buckland

To :—Maulavi Mohammad Mazher.

Darjeeling, the 25th April, 1857.

I am directed by the Lt.-Governor to state that the members of your Association have been in some degree misinformed in respect to the circular of the Inspector of Jails in the Lower Provinces which has formed the subject of your representation. There was never any intention of shaving the beards of Mussalmans or of any other convicts to whom such a process would be justly offensive. A misunderstanding did arise on the subject in a few districts and the Inspector took this occasion to explain further that the beards and moustaches of Mussalmans prisoners were not to be shaved but trimmed, the latter process being contrary to no Muhammedan law with which he was acquainted. In those districts also on which persons holding the tenets of the Ferazees are imprisoned, a still greater liberty was allowed in regard to their opinion on the subject of cutting their beards. These instructions were approved of by the Lt.-Governor and the Inspector was authorised to send copies of them to the several officers in charge of jails.

Letter No. 7

Circular letter² to Magistrates from the Inspector of Jails,*Darjeeling, the 8th May, 1857.*

Misapprehension having arisen as to the strict interpretation of the circular, dated 2nd October, 1856, I am directed to forward for your future guidance the following rule upon the subjects of shaving prisoners.

Rule : As a General practice it is desirable that every criminal prisoner who is sentenced to imprisonment with labour should have his head close shaved, and he subsequently be shaved in every fifteen days by prisoners set apart for that duty.

The Hindu will retain the *Sikha* (Shikha). The beards of all prisoners will be trimmed to the extent, sanctioned by their respective religious observances, which, in the case of Muhammedans, is to the length of the closed fist of the individual.

Magistrates are authorised to exempt from this rule all prisoners to whom they think such a proceeding would be justly offensive or degrading.

Sikhs and Coles are in all cases, exempted from this rule and Ferazees whenever confined are exempted from that portion of it which relates to the trimming of the beards of Mussalman convicts.

² Judicial Progs, 25th June, 1857, Vol. No. 341.

EVIDENCE OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS ON WILLIAM BENTINCK'S ADMINISTRATIVE IDEAS

V. N. DATTA

Narrator, Gazetteer Unit, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi.

Lord Ellenborough's letter of 19th May, 1829 which approved the 'whole spirit' of Bentinck's Government, symbolizes the prevailing Western desire for all-round reforms in India.¹ The strong feeling for reform in India is manifest in the letters of Astell, Peter Auber, R. Campbell and Lord Ashley.² Lord Ashley had urged Bentinck to 'confer upon the people of India every benefit, moral and political of which they were capable'. Amongst the subjects which were considered important for the welfare of the natives, education, social policy and employment of natives attracted much attention. Astell, the Chairman of the Company, wrote to Bentinck, 'Your Lordship will perceive from the Court's despatches how anxious we are to afford every reasonable facility to the education of the natives and to their employment in those offices under our Governments for which they may be qualified. It is a subject full of interest and importance and I anticipate your Lordship's entire concurrence in the views entertained by the Court.'³ A service manned entirely by Europeans was very expensive and 'nothing short of a diminution in the number of expensive European functionaries will effect a proper cure'.⁴

Bentinck's 'gradual advancement of natives to offices of labour and responsibility' was viewed by several with a certain degree of jealousy.⁵ Ellenborough in one of his letters to Bentinck had urged the latter to 'educate the natives for office and to encourage them by the possession of it',⁶ though he added the conditional clause that 'our march must be very cautious and circumspect'.⁷ But Bentinck was firmly convinced that 'native agency cherished and well paid is the sole mode by which our administration can be effectively improved'.⁸ He promoted 'R. Vencala

1. *Bentinck MSS.* Ellenborough to Bentinck, 19th May, 1829.

2. *Ibid.*; Astell to Bentinck, 4th October, 1830; Peter Auber to Bentinck, 11th April, 1829; R. Campbell to Bentinck, 27th May, 1830; Lord Ashley to Bentinck, 24th June, 1829.

3. *Ibid.* Astell, op. cit. See also Astell to Bentinck, 20th January, 1829.

4. *Bentinck MSS.* Peter Auber to Bentinck, 11th December, 1828.

5. *Ibid.* Major Benson to Bentinck, 13th June, 1834.

6. *Ibid.* Ellenborough to Bentinck, 23rd September, 1830.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.* Bentinck to Auber, 16th October, 1832. See also Bentinck to Metcalfe, Minute on Ellenborough's letter, 16th September, 1829.

Rou to the office of the Native Assistant to the Commissioner of Mysore', hoping that this would 'stimulate others to distinguish themselves.'⁹

In his letter of 19th May, 1829, Ellenborough considered the question of trade to be very subordinate. There was 'a great moral duty to perform to the people of India'. The British 'must, if possible, give them a good and permanent Government'.¹⁰ Bentinck passed on the 'benevolent and excellent sentiments' of Ellenborough's letter to Metcalfe and asked for a full communication of his sentiments which 'no man in India is better able to afford'.¹¹ It was in response to this that Metcalfe wrote his famous minute of 11th October, 1829. The minute was pessimistic and reflected Metcalfe's usual fears regarding the future of the British rule in India. Commenting on Metcalfe's remark that the British downfall in India would be sudden when it commenced, Bentinck added in the margin 'This is very possible'. Again when Metcalfe wrote that 'we are bound to give them the best Government in our power', Bentinck penned in his sloping hand 'excellent doctrine'.¹² Though both of them agreed on the necessity of good government, it was the question of employment of Indians which produced a difference of opinion. In his minute Metcalfe wrote, 'when native agency predominates, we shall be turned out of the country'. Bentinck added a marginal note to this statement. 'I cannot agree to this conclusion. If the civil and military power, as under the native Governments, were united in one and the same person, this remark might be just. We can only lose India by a general defection in our army'. In 1829 Metcalfe still had not outgrown his early fears. His friends used to smile at his repeated allusions to the sudden and rapid fall of empires.¹³ But Bentinck was 'no alarmist'.¹⁴ He could not allow himself to be 'haunted with imaginary dangers'. He asked 'where is our enemy?'¹⁵ He was confident that the British rule was 'more firmly fixed in India, than that of any sovereign from the time of the first Mohammedan invasion to the present moment. The same tranquility never reigned in India, nor had the

9. *Political consultations*, India. 25th July, 1834. (Range 193) Vol. 56. (I.O.R.)

10. Ellenborough reposed confidence in Bentinck in the early stages but when he saw Bentinck move too fast, he began to dub him as a fast innovator. In the Bentinck Papers, Ellenborough's letters are mainly concerned with (1) the moral condition of eighty million people (2) the relaxed tone of moral feeling in the civil and military service (3) the appreciation of Bentinck's government (4) the education of the natives (5) the Native Agency (6) disappearance of the race of just men and the relaxation of government both in England and India.

11. *Bentinck MSS.* Bentinck to Metcalfe, 16th September, 1829.

12. *Ibid.* Charles Metcalfe's Minute of 11th October, 1829 in reply to William Bentinck's letter on the subject of Lord Ellenborough's letter.

13. J. W. Kaye, *Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe*, pp. 5, 143.

14. *Bentinck MSS.* Bentinck to Salmond, 16th September 1832.

15. *Ibid.*

same prospect of desirable improvement dawned upon its numerous population'.¹⁶

When Bentinck reached India in 1828 he saw his way clear before him.¹⁷ He knew 'sufficiently of the geography and language' to make his way 'pretty well'. He had carried with him the support of the home authorities. Only when he entangled himself in too many controversial issues, was he dubbed as a 'wrong-headed man'.¹⁸ To Mrs. Arbuthnot he seemed a 'complete innovator'.¹⁹ Ellenborough, the Board of Control and the Court of Directors were angry with him.²⁰ Ravenshaw had warned him many a time against his disposition to 'proceed too fast with innovations', but he consistently worked for his ideals of government. The fundamental principles were more important to him than expediency.

Bentinck had met Mill at Mrs. Grote's and assured him that in reality Bentham would be the Governor-General of India. He enjoyed the confidence of Bentham. In his memorandum on Steam, he quoted Mill as his authority. He held the Reform Bill as a 'very good bill'.²¹ In his letter to Charles Grant, he wrote that Lord Gray's administration 'can have no more zealous and hearty well-wisher than myself'.²²

Bentinck was definitely a simple, though confirmed Westerner in his attitude towards India. Tradition never worried him. He was the apostle of utility. He did not bother about the morrow. Perhaps the storm would not gather in his own day. *Quid sit futurum iras, fuge querere*. 'Civilization alone interests me and I would rather see the improvement and happiness of America than all the rest of the world beyond the limits of Europe.'²³

He condemned Lord Hastings' Government as a 'Government of secretaries'²⁴, which implied that Lord Hastings had lacked initiative and had solely depended on his secretaries for the execution of his policy. But Bentinck did otherwise.²⁵ In his zeal, he never showed lack of prudence.

16. *Bentinck MSS.* Bentinck to Salmond, 16th September, 1832. Here he is at variance with Metcalfe. See Jacquement, *Letters from India*, p. 303.

17. *Bentinck MSS.* Bentinck to Marjoribanks, 14th August, 1828.

18. *Ellenborough Papers* (P.R.O. 30/9), 23rd June, 1829. The Duke of Wellington dubbed him as a wrong-headed man. See Boulger, *Bentinck*, p. 205. As quoted here, the expression used by Greville is 'not right-headed'.

19. *The Journals of Mrs. Arbuthnot*, London 1850, Vol. II, p. 292.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Bentinck MSS.* Bentinck to Metcalfe, 17th July, 1831.

22. *Ibid.* Bentinck to Charles Grant, 15th March, 1834.

23. *Ibid.* Bentinck to Metcalfe, (Undated letter).

24. *Ibid.* Bentinck to Auber, 6th May, 1830.

25. Alexander's *East India Magazine* (1835), Vol. 10. Sketch of the administration of Lord William Bentinck, p. 231.

He was conscious that the 'affairs of India are not to be understood in a moment. They are totally different from any with which the mind of a stranger can form any contrast, and in forming new systems of policy and legislation it will not do to go at a full gallop'.²⁶

He realized, like Metcalfe, that the Company's Government was a foreign Government that 'had no hold upon the attachment of the people'.²⁷ In the past, India had suffered heavily under foreign domination. Now she 'has become subject to a civilized, enlightened and Christian nation'.²⁸ He compared the British rule with the Muslim rule and concluded that 'our policy on the contrary has been the reverse of this—cold, selfish and unfeeling—the iron hand of power on the one side—monopoly and exclusion on the other'.²⁹ The bane of the British system, according to Bentinck, was that the civil administration was entirely in the hands of the foreigners. But the great blessing of the British rule was 'general peace and tranquility and the consequent capability of receiving the benefits of improved institutions and governments.'³⁰

The environment in India had brought about a change in Metcalfe's ideas, but Bentinck was an unspoiled English influence which did wonders to the reform movement in India. He stood for Western education, the triumph of reason over superstition, the native agency, the economy, unity, simplification and efficiency of the government. He was not the speculative thinker³¹ who brooded over the past, but a zealous reformer who concentrated in his personality the moving ideas of his age, and put them into practice with a reformer's burning desire for improvement. He shared the Utilitarian belief that the object of government was the welfare of the governed. He thought that the British rule in India was not only to provide a strong, stable and good government for the people of India but to plant there the Western civilization which should humanize the society and lead it towards progress. It is not surprising, therefore, that Alexander Duff, who had a great belief in the reformation of character and the utility of knowledge as a means for the expansion of intellect,

should pay an eloquent tribute to Bentinck. In his letter of 18th July 1835, Duff writes to Bentinck, 'To me it will be a theme of rejoicing while I live, that it was my happy lot to labour in Hindustan, under the administration of one, for whose personal and official character I do cherish the profoundest sense of admiration and respect—an administration in my humble and honest opinion, the foremost by far in the annals of British India'.³²

26. *Bentinck MSS.* Bentinck to Auber, 14th November, 1830.

27. *Ibid.* Memorandum on Steam (Undated). It is in his own hand-writing.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. John Bowering, *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, Vol. X., p. 576. It is remarked that Bentinck was not a 'very well-instructed man'. It is true that he was not a Macaulay who shut himself up with books, but he was aware of the current movements of reform, the utility of knowledge and the government of a vast country. He received his books from his booksellers in London. See *Bentinck MSS.* John Booth of London to Bentinck, 1820, 1829, 1830, 1834; T. F. Buxton to Bentinck, 22nd October, 1827.

32. *Bentinck MSS.* Duff to Bentinck, 18th July, 1835.
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A NOTE ON THREE GUN INSCRIPTIONS FROM POONA

G. H. KHARE

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Some two years ago an officer from the Poona Sub-Area Command rang my friend Shri N. V. Sovani, Assistant Director of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, and inquired if anybody could decipher some inscriptions on guns under the care of that Command. He was informed about me, and I was taken to the office of the Command and shown three cannon about the inscriptions on which I wish to write here.

In Poona camp area at the junction of the Elphinstone Road (running North-South) and the Moledina Street (running East-West) is formed a triangle with a railing in the centre of which has been erected a monument in memory of the departed Maratha soldiers in the first World War and in the three angles of which are three cannon with their muzzles directed towards the three points of the triangle and their bases running East-West. The first two guns are better carved with inscriptions than the third. The inscriptions on the first gun are incised while those on the remaining two are in relief.

In the North-West corner of the triangle is kept the smallest of the guns which measures 11' - 7" in length, is 3 tons and 8 cwts. in weight¹ and has a muzzle 5½" in diameter. It has six embellished bands between its two ends and in the intervening space between the 4th and the 5th and the 5th and the 6th bands are engraved two Persian inscriptions. The first tells us that the gun was the work of Muhammad 'Ali' Arab and the second gives the date of its manufacture as 1079 H. (1668-69 A.D.).

The second gun, in the North-East corner of the triangle, measures 11' - 7" in length, is 3 tons and 17 cwts. in weight and has a muzzle 6" in diameter. This gun has five embellished bands and 5 Persian inscriptions. The first informs that it required an iron ball of 12 Akbari *asar* in weight and gun-powder of 4 Akbari *asar*, I take the word *asar** to mean seers and Akbari seer was equal to about 57 *tolas*.² The ball, therefore, weighed 8 seers and the powder 2 2/3 seers of 80 *tolas* of the present day.

1. The details about the weights of the three guns are in English characters and therefore must have been incised by British military officers when the guns came into their possession.

* *Asar* is plural of *seer* (in Persian)

2. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 390; Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History, Supplement*, Vol. II, p. 371.

The second gives the name of Muhammad 'Ali' Arab³ as the manufacturer of the gun, the third intimates that Fath-Kusha was the name of the gun. The fourth gives the date of the gun as 1078 H. and the fifth cites the name of Aurangzeb with his titles as Abu-az-zafar Muhi-ud-din-Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Alamgir Bahadur Badshah Ghazi sanah 10 (*julus*). As 1078 H. lasted from 13-6-1667 to 31-5-1668 A.D. and the 10th *julus* year of Aurangzeb lasted from 15-2-1667 to 3-2-1668 A.D. it is evident that the gun was manufactured sometime between 13-6-1667 and 3-2-1668 A.D.

The third gun which faces the South is the biggest in weight and measures 15' - 1" in length, is 8 tons 17 cwts. and 3 qrs. in weight and has a muzzle 9½" in diameter. It has four bands. In between the first two there is a sixteen petalled lotus and between the second and the third there are two couchant lions, between the third and the fourth there is again a sixteen petalled lotus and five Persian *baits* or couplets and the fifth band which is near the muzzle is finely embellished. The first two couplets eulogize Narayanrao, the fifth Peshwa, in hyperbolic terms and give the name of the gun as Zafar Ara. The third and the fourth verses tell us that the Peshwa ordered Krishnarao Panse to cast the gun and it was cast as per order. The fifth verse gives the chronogram of the date of the gun as *zahi subhi chaman pairai nusratha* which works out to the number 1194 presumably of the Hijra year which corresponds to 1779-80 A.D. But here is a chronological anomaly. Narayanrao Peshwa died in 1773 A.D. and Krishnarao Panse passed away in 1777 A.D. It is, therefore, evident that some mistake has crept in the chronogram.

How did these three guns come together in Poona? The third was cast in Poona and being the property of the Peshwas, it is quite natural that it remained here. But the other two guns were most probably manufactured in the North. Either Aurangzeb brought them with him when he came to the Deccan on his protracted last campaign or the Marathas must have captured⁴ them in their Northern campaigns and brought them to Poona. There seems to be no other plausible explanation.

3. This very artisan figures in this very capacity on two guns from the Golconda fort which are bigger than these two in every respect and later in date; but they have practically the same type of details as those found on this 2nd gun (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1913-14, pp. 55-56).

4. Manucci in his *Storia do Mogor* (Vol. II, pp. 365-66) enumerates the names of 61 heavy guns of Aurangzeb throwing balls of 20 to 120 lbs. The late Hodivala's counting of these guns is incorrect (Hodivala, *ibid*), p. 372. Though neither these two guns nor the two at Golconda find their mention in the list, these four guns seem to be by no means unimportant ones.

REBELLION OF THE RAJA OF KHURDA AGAINST THE BRITISH

BHABANI CHARAN RAY

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The rebellion of the Raja of Khurda, which occurred soon after the British conquest of Orissa, had its origin in the Maratha period. During the administration of Shiv Bhatt Sathe, Narayan Deva, the zamindar of Kimedi and a descendant of the royal family of Orissa, had claimed the throne of Khurda and had invaded the country. The Raja of Khurda in his distress sought the help of the Marathas, which was granted on condition of a payment of one lakh of rupees. The Raja of Kimedi was driven out of Khurda, but the Raja of Khurda was unable to pay the money bargained for. He was forced to surrender to the Marathas four mahals including Lembai, Rahang, and Purusottam Chhattar (Puri) in which the temple of Jagannath is situated (*i.e.*, the country between the Daya, the Chilka Lake and the sea), together with the tribute of fourteen khandaits of the hills subject to his control.¹ The Raja was so angry at being deprived of the management of the temple of Jagannath, a privilege which he had long enjoyed, that he once tried to obtain 500 Telingas (Telugus) from the chief of Ganjam to assist him to invade Puri. It was only on a representation from Rajaram Pandit, the Maratha Governor of Orissa, to the Governor-General of Bengal that the chief of Ganjam was dissuaded from helping the Raja. Consequently this project was a failure.²

During the march of the British troops under Harcourt to occupy Orissa, negotiations were carried on with the Raja of Khurda to detach him from the Maratha interest. One lakh of rupees was offered to the Raja on condition that he should withdraw from the Marathas, afford a clear passage to and provide men and supplies for the British troops.³ The Raja's vakil agreed to this proposal but strongly represented that the restoration of the four mahals should be treated as an essential condition for the fulfilment of the agreement. But Harcourt did not accept this.⁴ Yet the Raja did not give up the hope that his representation might be considered at some future date.

1. A.B. Mahanty(ed.), *Madalpanji*, p. 79; Bengal Political Consultations, 4 December, 1759.
2. C.P.C. (Calendar of Persian Correspondence), Vol. V, No. 1224.
3. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, No. 1, Harcourt and Melville to Government, 1 October, 1804; Board's Collections, Vol. 318, 7244, p. 2, R. T. Turner, Acting Magistrate of Midnapur, to Government, 10 October, 1806.
4. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March, 1804, No.15, Melville to Government, 21 September, 1803.

The Raja gave the British some assistance and was willing to the extent of his means to afford men and supplies against the Marathas. But in consequence of the early reduction of the fort of Barabati, there arose no necessity for the British to demand all the help promised by him. By this time Rs. 50,000 out of the promised lakh had been paid to him.⁵

The Raja's Diwan Jai Rajaguru proceeded to Cuttack in March, 1804, attended by 2,000 armed men. He had an audience with Harcourt when he submitted a petition requesting the restoration of the four mahals and urging payment of the balance of the stipulated amount. He further desired the reduction of the annual peshcash to the British, which had already been reduced to ten per cent. In regard to the money demanded, the British agreed to pay a further Rs. 20,000, the balance to be paid at some future date. Regarding the second claim Harcourt observed that "not a span of land could be given up." He also rejected the request for a further reduction in the peshcash.⁶

Rajaguru returned from Cuttack and said, according to the Raja's subsequent account, "I at first warned you from forming an alliance with the commander of the Company's Troops and from affording him a safe passage".⁷ He further added that Harcourt was not only unwilling to give up the mahals but also had intentions of taking from the Raja whatever hereditary country remained in his possession.⁸

The Raja was chagrined at the news of Harcourt's attitude. He, therefore, assumed a hostile attitude towards the British Government. That Government had prepared agreements defining in liberal terms its relations with the tributary Rajas. These agreements were readily accepted and

5. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, No. 1, Harcourt and Melville to Government, 1 October, 1804.
6. *Ibid.* Board's Collections, Vol. 318, 7244, p. 4, Turner to Government, 10 October, 1806.
7. Such statements from Rajaguru appear quite credible; Harcourt in many of his letters to the Government has put the blame on Rajaguru for hostilities between the Raja and the British Government. In one of them he said, "It appears the Raja himself is not inimical to us but his Dewan is extremely so and he controls everybody and everything at Khurda." (*Vide Add*, MSS. 13610, p. 102, Harcourt to Shawe, 23 October, 1804); also *vide* Bengal Board of Revenue Proceedings, February 1809, No. 1, Buller to Government, 12 February, 1809. The subsequent events confirm our belief. Rajaguru was hanged for abetting rebellion (*Vide* Madalapanji, p.82). When the Raja was in imprisonment, he filed a petition pleading his innocence and holding the Rajaguru responsible for the rebellion. Consequently he was released (*Vide* Board's Collections Vol, 318, 7244, p.31, no date).
8. Board's Collections, Vol. 318, 7244, p.4, Turner to Government 10 October 1806.

signed by all except the Raja of Khurda. The Raja made delays on various pretexts. Consequently the Commissioners at Cuttack sent one of their principal native officers to explain to the Raja the nature of the terms proposed. He was also instructed to warn him of the impropriety of his conduct and of the danger of its continuance.⁹

The Raja appeared to be submissive but nevertheless delayed signing the agreement for nine weeks. At this the Commissioners at Cuttack ordered their messenger "to quit the Khurda Durbar within eight and forty hours after the receipt of their orders in the event of the Raja continuing to withhold his signature and the acceptance of the terms proposed." Thereupon the Raja accepted the agreement and affixed his seal to it but while delivering it he observed (according to a report from the Commissioner of Cuttack) arrogantly and impertinently that "he made peace with the English."¹⁰

Moreover with a view to seizing the four mahals from the British, he sought the help of the Raja of Berar and carried on a correspondence with him. Some letters indicative of this intrigue were intercepted by British officers. In one of them Antaji Naik (an officer of the Nagpur Government stationed at Raipur) wrote to Raghuj Bhonsla, "I have come from Ryepur to Khurda and seen the Raja, he desires me to hire 1,000 horse and foot of which he say he will defray the expense and write to your Highness requesting you to give Raghunath Boxy a dress of horse and send him thither with some troops and guns. The Raja and I have found out the lucky hour, we have circulated a report that Raghunath Boxy marched from Nagpur which has inclined the Mulkee Zamindars (tributary Rajas) to join."¹¹ The existence of an intrigue was confirmed by the zamindar of Raigarh and by Elphinstone, the Resident at Nagpur. However the Raja of Khurda could not get any help.¹²

Further, the Raja increased his establishment of troops and appointed some Maratha sardars. He also improved the internal defence of the country by repairing roads and stationing troops at Dompura and Banpur; 200 guards stationed at the gate of Khurda were reinforced by an additional

9. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, No. 1, Harcourt and Melville to Government, 1 October, 1804.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, Nos. 12-13, Elphinstone to Harcourt and Melville, 20 November, 1804.

12. Add. MSS. 13610, p. 64, Harcourt to Shawe, 19 Sept., 1804; Add. MSS. 13610, p. 82, Harcourt to Shawe, 6 October, 1804; Add. MSS. 13610, p. 114, Harcourt to Shawe, 1 November, 1804; Add. MSS. 13610, p. 126, Harcourt to Shawe, 7 November, 1804.

300 guards and two pieces of cannon. The Raja often went to the hills in search of a place of security to which he could resort in time of need.¹³

Again, the Raja requested the other tributary chiefs to unite in a common cause with him against the British. Sambhu Bharati, an influential gosain (religious mendicant) who was displeased with the new British revenue system was engaged by the Raja for this purpose.¹⁴ The Rajas of Kujang and Kanika readily accepted such invitation. The latter was in fact more hostile to the British than the former.¹⁵

In the month of March, 1804 the British had made engagements with the Raja of Kanika for the purchase of all the salt made in his territories and he had agreed to construct golas at convenient places. A gumashta had, therefore, been appointed to take charge of the golas; he was also supplied with some money for the purchase of salt. But now the Raja suddenly seized all the workmen employed in constructing golas and plundered the money from the gumashta. In July, 1804 when the attendance of the Raja was required at the Cuttack town he defied the order, though other tributaries presented themselves with readiness. When he fell into arrears with a considerable part of his revenue, chaprasis were sent to him with commissioner's badges to demand payment but they were turned out of his territory. He collected a large body of armed men who were placed under the control of a Maratha sardar who was a well-known enemy to the British Government.¹⁶

Lastly the Raja of Khurda withdrew his wakil from Cuttack and thus, in the opinion of the British, set a bad example before the other tributaries.¹⁷

Such hostile proceedings were detected by Harcourt soon after the fall of the fort of Barabati. He attempted to bring the Raja to his senses by conciliatory measures but without success. He observed, "Our moderation has been construed into weakness, our silence into ignorance and our endeavour to conciliate into apprehension and fear."¹⁸ He was afraid that the Raja of Khurda's example might be followed by other tributary chiefs. "Everything tends, I think, to increase the necessity of making an example

13. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, Nos. 20-22, Harcourt to Government, 21 October, 1804; Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 29 November, 1804, No. 164; Government to Elphinstone, 13 November, 1804; Add. MSS. 13610, p. 91, Harcourt to Shawe, 10 October 1804; Add. MSS. 13610, pp. 125, 127, Harcourt to Shawe, 7 November, 1804.

14. Add. MSS. 13610, pp. 80-81, Harcourt to Shawe, 6 Oct., 1804.

15. Add. MSS. 13610, pp. 129-30, Harcourt to Shawe, 7 Nov., 1804.

16. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, Nos. 12-13; Elphinstone to Harcourt and Melville, 20 November, 1804.

17. Add. MSS. 13610, pp. 131-32, Harcourt to Shawe, 7 November, 1804.

18. Add. MSS. 13610, p. 81, Harcourt to Shawe, 6 October, 1804.

of that fellow (the Raja of Khurda)."¹⁹ Again he wrote, "I do think the Raja of Khurda must be exterminated. It is my intention to demand the immediate dismissal of his troops and destruction of his barriers; that he should give up his correspondence with any persons dissatisfied with the British Government."²⁰

But Wellesley was not prepared to consent readily to this proposal. Indeed his schemes for the extension of British authority in India had already been opposed by the Court of Directors. Again, when in June, 1804 war was declared against Holkar the Court of Directors condemned Wellesley's policy more vehemently than before. Thus criticism from home perhaps dissuaded Wellesley from pursuing any further military measures. M. Shawe, private secretary to Wellesley, wrote to Harcourt, "Lord Wellesley desires me to inform you that he has had quite enough of war and is very unwilling to engage in fresh operation of a military nature."²¹

Another reason for Wellesley's unwillingness to use force against the Raja of Khurda at that moment was that the war with the Maratha confederates was not yet over. He had received information that Holkar's agents were attempting to excite an alarm among the petty chieftains dependent on the British Government by spreading the idea that it was the secret aim of the British to deprive them of their powers and to reduce them gradually to the condition of the zamindars subject to the Company. Wellesley feared that any operations against the Raja of Khurda at that moment might give an air of probability to these rumours.²²

Wellesley, therefore, told Harcourt to try to bring the Raja to his senses without using force. He added that if force had to be used it would be best to wait until Holkar had been defeated.²³

Accordingly as a precautionary measure against the tributary chiefs uniting in the cause of the Raja of Khurda, Harcourt imprisoned Sambhu Bharati who carried messages on behalf of the Raja of Khurda from one tributary State to another.²⁴

Secondly, he wanted to demand the removal from office of Rajaguru, who was at the root of Raja's hostility against the British, and to explain to the Raja the various points concerning which the British felt suspicious

19. Add. MSS. 13610, p. 74, Harcourt to Shawe, 3 October, 1804.

20. Add. MSS. 13610, pp. 66-67, Harcourt to Shawe, 1 October, 1804.

21. Add. MSS. 13610, p. 139, Shawe to Harcourt, 7 November, 1804.

22. Add. MSS. 13608, pp. 142-43, Government to Harcourt, 11 November, 1804.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Add. MSS. 13610, p. 81, Harcourt to Shawe, 6 October, 1804.

of him. For this purpose, Captain Blunt was selected and empowered to adjust differences.²⁵

A messenger was sent in advance to request the Raja to receive Blunt. The Raja agreed and behaved with every appearance of submission. But on the following day Rajaguru informed the messenger that the Raja had changed his mind and that Blunt could not come to Khurda. As the messenger insisted on the necessity of compliance, after a long discussion Rajaguru yielded to the extent of saying that he would explain the matter to the Raja and obtain a letter from him. Thus the messenger was detained for fourteen days, at the end of which he was told that should he attempt to stay any longer at Khurda it might be dangerous for him.²⁶ He, therefore, left Khurda for Cuttack, but on the borders of Raja's territory he found that several harkaras going to Khurda with letters urging the Raja to receive Blunt had been detained by the Raja's guards. One of these letters had been seized and opened. They could procure supplies only with great difficulty.²⁷ From there the messenger made an attempt to induce the Raja by letter to acquiesce in the British demand. But as this proved of no avail, he returned to Cuttack.²⁸

Thus negotiations were broken off. By this time the war between the British and the Maratha confederates was over and Harcourt had already made preparations to curb the power of the Raja. Before he took any action the Raja had already imposed restraints on communications with his territory by placing a guard on the banks of the river Mahanadi, who attempted to seize all property coming down to Cuttack, declaring that "the Raja's orders were that nothing was to pass belonging to English sardars at this place."²⁹ The Raja also sent a party of about 250 cavalry and about 900 Barkandazes, who entered the disputed mahals and plundered them.³⁰ They also disarmed a small detachment in the service of the Company. After that they posted themselves in and near the village of Delang.³¹

25. Add. MSS. 13610, p. 102, Harcourt to Shawe, 23 October, 1804; *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations*, 2 May, 1805, No. 445, Harcourt to Elphinstone, 9 November, 1804; Add. MSS. 13610, p. 90, Harcourt to Shawe, 10 October, 1804.

26. *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations*, 2 May, 1805, No. 445, Harcourt to Elphinstone, 9 November, 1804; Add. MSS. 13610, p. 128, Harcourt to Shawe, 7 November, 1804.

27. Add. MSS. 13610, p. 128, Harcourt to Shawe, 7 November, 1804.

28. *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations*, 2 May, 1805, No. 445, Harcourt to Elphinstone, 9 November, 1804.

29. *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations*, 2 May, 1805, No. 446, Harcourt to Elphinstone, 16 November, 1804; Add. MSS. 13610, p. 120, Harcourt to Shawe, 5 November, 1804.

30. *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations*, 4 April, 1805, No. 27, Hickland to Harcourt, 19 November, 1804.

31. *Board's Collections*, Vol. 318, 7244, p. 5, Turner to Government, 10 October, 1806; Add. MSS. 13610, p. 150, Harcourt to Elphinstone, 16 November, 1804.

Captain Hickland³² who was posted at Pipli soon marched with a party of 120 sepoys and a six pounder at two O'clock in the morning of 22nd November, 1804 and reached Delang at 5 O'clock. Soon he made a sudden attack and routed the Raja's force. In the attack which was made on the garh near the village, the Raja's force lost upward of 100 men, while the loss on the side of the British consisted of one lashkar killed, together with one hawaladar, one drummer and six sepoys wounded.³³

While Hickland was returning to Pipli about 50 horse kept on hovering in his flank on the way, wounded two sepoys and one of the Europeans. Then they set fire to some villages nearby. In consequence of the firing by Hickland's flanking parties three of the Raja's men were killed. As he was occasionally harassed by the Raja's men, Hickland took post at Patpur and was ultimately successful in scaring them away.³⁴

A force under Harcourt now moved from Cuttack, on which the Raja's soldiers who were plundering in the Mughalbandi retreated and took shelter in the fort of Khurda.³⁵

After reaching the fort of Khurda Harcourt reconnoitred the thick bamboo jungles and hedge surrounding the fort within 500 yards of the gate. He sent a detachment under Captain Storey in the direction of Gangapara, the way towards which was reported to have been barricaded by bamboos. When Storey was about 500 yards from the barricade, two sentries posted there gave the alarm. When the British detachment came nearer, the sentries opened fire and then gave way. After the possession of the barricade was secured, a strong party was sent to get intelligence of Hickland but it was not able to reach him; the detachment then returned to Khurda.³⁶

In response to a proclamation issued by Harcourt stating that whoever promoted the British interests would be suitably rewarded, Shaikh 'Wyo' Muhammad, a native of Cuttack, offered his services with a contingent. He was placed in the charge of a piece of artillery and was directed to reduce the fort of Banpur, which he did. He also captured four of the Raja's brothers and one son.³⁷

32. John Hickland, Captain, 5th Bengal Native Infantry.

33. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, No. 27, Hickland to Harcourt, 29 November, 1804; Add. MSS. 13610, pp. 156-57, Hickland to Harcourt, 20 November, 1804.

34. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, No. 27, Harcourt to Captain Armstrong, Encl., 20 November, 1804.

35. Add. MSS. 13610, p. 154, Harcourt to Shawe, 21 November, 1804; Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, No. 32, Harcourt to Armstrong, 7 December, 1804.

36. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, No. 31, Storey to Harcourt, 2 December, 1804.

37. Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations, L. P., 31 October, 1815, No. 18, Impey to Government, Encl., 21 Oct., 1815.

Meanwhile a twelve pounder battery and two flanking batteries, one of two howitzers and the other of four six pounders, were constructed against the walls of the fort. They were completed on 4th December, 1804 and opened fire at day-break on the following day. At ten O'clock in the morning a practicable breach was made near the principal entrance of the outer fort. Major Fletcher was directed to assault the place with about 120 men of a Madras European regiment and two flank companies of 2nd Battalion 7th Bengal native infantry together with a six pounder and a proportion of artillery men and gun lashkars.³⁸

The main party was covered on its right by two flank companies of the 9th Madras native infantry under Hickland and one from the 9th Madras native infantry. These covering parties were told to assist the party under the command of Fletcher. When the outer fort had been carried the inner fort was plainly visible. Soon Fletcher was provided with a ladder, with which he succeeded in climbing the wall followed by his party.³⁹

When the British troops were busy entering the outer works, the Raja escaped together with the Diwan and the other principal sardars.⁴⁰ He then made for the jungle from where he sent a wakil with a request for an audience with Harcourt. But the wakil was made a prisoner. Then the Raja sent his Diwan for the same purpose but he was also made a prisoner. After this he sent a servant of the Company. When he returned from Harcourt and was encouraging the Raja, a small detachment seized the Raja in the jungle 30 miles from Khurda on the night of 3rd January, 1805, and sent him a prisoner to Cuttack.⁴¹

After settling affairs at Khurda, Harcourt sent a detachment to Nayagarh to capture Antaji and Kannoji, who were chiefly implicated in the intrigue between the Raja of Khurda and the Raja of Nagpur.⁴² Then he proceeded directly to go up the sea coast by Golra, Marichpur, Harishpur and Bishenpur, Kujang and Kanika in order to deal with those who had sympathised with the rebellion and to establish order in those parts of the country.⁴³

38. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, No. 32, Harcourt to Armstrong, 7 December, 1804.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Add. MSS. 13610, p. 174, Harcourt to Shawe, 5 December, 1804.

41. Board's Collections, Vol. 318, 7244, p. 6, Turner to Government, 10 October, 1806; Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, No. 40, Harcourt to Government, 4 January, 1805.

42. *Ibid.*

43. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 2 May, 1805, No. 448, Harcourt to Government, 29 January, 1805.

The Rajas of Marichpur and Bishenpur had promised to join hands with the Raja of Khurda against the British; the former in particular had driven away many raiyats owing allegiance to the Company from the frontier villages; he also had gone to the extent of sending parties to raise contributions in some of the Mughalbandi villages and ignored the orders of the Commissioners that he should pay tribute. On the arrival of Harcourt's army in the neighbourhood of their territories they soon submitted.⁴⁴

The Raja of Kujang looked to the Raja of Khurda as his immediate superior. He had, therefore, made some preparations together with the Raja of Kanika, but the fall of the Raja of Khurda deterred him. When Harcourt's forces reached his territory in the middle of February, 1805, he did not provide them with the grain which they required. As soon as Harcourt crossed the river Mahanadi he took to flight. His elder brother was thereupon seated on the throne on the following conditions :—

First, "that all arrangements made in the Mughalbandi territories with regard to the salt manufactured therein should be considered as extending over Kujang territories as far as they might be deemed applicable thereto by the British Government. Secondly the Raja should account to the British Government or authorities at Cuttack for all property found from the wrecks of the vessels on the sea coast of his territory". Thirdly, he should obey all orders he might receive from the British Government in the capacity of a chief of a 'tributary estate'. Lastly the family of the Raja who took to flight should be taken care of and provided with a suitable maintenance.⁴⁵

The Raja of Kanika, who was a very active supporter of the Raja of Khurda, had already shown a hostile attitude to the British at the time of the rebellion. Although a British detachment was stationed near his territory, perhaps with a view to frighten him, he drove away the raiyats and other inhabitants from the British frontier, and prevented them from collecting their crops. He imposed considerable restrictions on the passage of the vessels up the river, and threatened to put the crews to death. He assembled parties on the frontier of the Mughalbandi for the purpose of invading it. When a British officer went on duty to a port in the Raja's country he was surrounded by an armed force. When the inhabitants of the villages offered him trifling supplies they were carried off and put in confinement. Therefore, Harcourt had sent a detachment towards Kendrapara village in the Mughalbandi to

44. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 2 May, 1805, No. 448, Harcourt to Government, 29 January, 1805.

45. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 2 May, 1805, No. 450, Harcourt to Government, 17 February, 1805.

prevent any predatory incursions from the Raja of Kanika. By the time the detachment reached Kendrapara the Raja of Kanika had heard of the British success at Khurda. He, therefore, abandoned his attempts to seize a British vessel, and disbanded several hundred of his armed peons.⁴⁶ In view of the Raja's misconduct, Harcourt imprisoned him and sent him to Balasore. From there he was later removed to the fort of Midnapur. His country was entrusted to the charge of the Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack.⁴⁷

The Raja of Kanika was subsequently released from confinement and restored to his estate on paying the same annual tribute as before. Even this principle was not applied in the case of the Raja of Khurda when he was freed from imprisonment. When the question of restoring him to his estate arose, he was asked to engage for his estate at a higher assessment, which he refused. The Commissioners at Cuttack desired to make an example of him and believed that such a measure would subdue the rebellious spirit of the tributary Rajas. Harcourt wrote to the Government: "I conceive that such manifestation of our justice and moderation coupled with the example that has been made of the rebellious Raja of Khurda will effectually prevent the occurrence of those difficulties we have already experienced."⁴⁸

But the policy which was calculated to prevent trouble from the tributary chiefs ultimately led to a rebellion, twelve years later, from that part of the country which changed hands from the Raja of Khurda to the British.⁴⁹

46. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805, No. 36, Harcourt to Government, 22 December, 1804; Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, 1805 No. 39, Harcourt to Government, 30 December, 1804.

47. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 16 May, 1805, No. 405, Government to Harcourt, 16 May, 1805.

48. Add. MSS. 13610, p. 193, Harcourt to Shawe, 24 December, 1804.

49. Bengal Revenue Consultations, 17 July, 1818, No. 15, Ewer to Government, 13 May, 1818. (The rebellion of 1817 originated from Khurda).

**BRITISH INDIAN GOVERNMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS TO JOHN
WILLIAM ROBERTS ON THE EVE OF HIS SECOND MISSION
TO THE KING OF COCHIN-CHINA, 1804**

SRI KRISHNA SAXENA

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An attempt to establish an intercourse with Cochin-China was made in 1804, under the Government of the Marquis of Wellesley. David Lance, who was selected in April 1803 by the Court of Directors to lead a mission from England, having failed to discharge his commission, had transferred¹ it to John William Roberts, a supercargo at Canton. On reaching Turan Bay, the latter was informed that the King was away on a military expedition in the Tonkin region. Roberts, therefore, considered it useless to remain at Turan Bay and resolved² to proceed to Calcutta with the intention of returning the next session duly equipped with instructions from the Supreme Government. Arriving in Calcutta on 1st February, 1804, he addressed letters to the Governor-General containing some suggestions relative to the mode of his return to Cochin-China and seeking instructions pertaining to the object of his mission. These letters together with the one conveying the instructions of the Governor-General-in-Council are reproduced hereunder :

Roberts' letters to the Governor-General.

(1)

"In consequence of the intimation I have had the honour to receive from Major Shawe, of your Excellency's wish to afford every assistance that may be required to secure the object of my voyage, I take the liberty of submitting for your Excellency's approval, such measures as I conceive most expedient to be adopted, to promote the views of the Hon'ble Company in the mission on which I have had the honor to be deputed.

Your Lordship will so readily decide on the necessary additions to the instructions with which I am already honored for securing the successful accomplishment of my voyage that on that subject I shall be silent.

The point to which I am particularly anxious at present to draw your Excellency's attention is deciding on the mode of return to Cochin-China, as an early conveyance will be necessary in consequence of the assurances

1. For details please see my paper "British Mission to the King of Cochin-China, 1803" I.H.R.C. Proceedings Volume XXXIII, Part II.
2. *Ibid.* For reasons pertaining to Roberts' resolution to proceed to Calcutta instead of awaiting the return of the king to his capital.

I have given to that effect, and also to secure an arrival in China during the regular season, and by that means an early communication of the event of the mission to the Honorable the Court of Directors.

The mode I would propose, should it meet your Lordship's approbation, as that least expensive to the Honorable Company, and at the same time that would effect every purpose without incurring the danger of that jealousy, which greater preparations might excite, is to proceed on a ship belonging to this port destined for China which for such consideration as your Lordship should think proper to allow might be engaged to sail from this at an early period and after remaining the required time in Cochin-China would continue her voyage and reach her destined port in the regular season.

I have also to offer for your Lordship's consideration the propriety of adding to the presents. I already have in charge for His Majesty of Cochin-China such articles from hence as it may be supposed will be acceptable and as presents are not provided of any other description, whether it will not be necessary to carry some few articles to be presented to the officers of Government and such men as may on any occasion be serviceable.

As circumstances may render it expedient to remain a considerable time in Cochin-China I beg to submit to your Excellency the propriety of returning with such establishment of servants etc. as will afford the means of a residence should it be found necessary and at the same time under any circumstances enable me to appear in a manner suitable to the situation I shall have the honor to hold.

*Chouringhee 9th February, 1804."*³

(2)

"Permit me to assure your Excellency, that it was with the utmost satisfaction I received through Major Shawe, your Excellency's approval of the proceedings I had the honor to submit, with my address of the 9th ultimo; and in obedience to the further directions then communicated to me, I now take the liberty of stating as explicitly as possible, such further observations as it occurs to me your Excellency may wish to be made acquainted with, respecting the object of my mission.

I consider the views of the Honorable the Court of Directors, in the mission they have thought proper to depute to the Court of the King of Cochin-China, to consist in forming a commercial connection with that Government on terms of mutual advantage, and either by means of the influence such connexion would afford, or by any other practicable means, prevent our enemies gaining a footing in that country, that might be detrimental to their interests.

3. N.A.I. Foreign and Political Deptt. (Secret), 14 June 1804, No. 14.

The coast of Cochin-China presents a chain of such excellent harbours, affording facility for repairing and refitting vessels, that were our enemies in possession of them on the west, as they probably will the Ports of Luconia on the Eastern side of the China Seas, our trade with China would be carried on in time of war with imminent danger. To prevent such a footing, therefore, from being obtained, becomes essential to the preservation of a trade of the greatest importance to the English nation; whilst an intercourse of a commercial nature with the dominions of the King of Cochin-China, affords every prospect in a short period of becoming highly advantageous and profitable.

His Majesty the King of Cochin-China received from individuals⁴ of the French nation, many important services both personal, and pecuniary as well as great promises of assistance from the old monarchical government itself.⁵ Some of the French clergy now about the court, have followed the King through every reverse of fortune and he has several French officers at this moment in his service. Under these circumstances it might be supposed His Majesty's partiality for our inveterate enemy would prove an obstacle to the happy termination of the present mission, provided their influence was exerted against us, but this, the occurrences of late years induce me to believe, will not be the case.

The revolution in France effectually prevented the promised aid being given to the King at a period when it was most required, which being followed by the murder of their unfortunate Monarch, whom the King of Cochin-China had every reason [to consider], and I am led to believe did consider, as his friend and protector, has tended to alienate his goodwill from that nation; and in proportion as he considered the war entered into by England, as avenging the cause of his lamented protector, and espousing that of all regular Governments, so much did the British character rise in his estimation. In proof of this fact, all English vessels now visiting the ports of Cochin-China, are exempted from every description of port charges and duties, and His Majesty has clearly manifested the favourable sentiments he entertains towards our country, by expressing on several occasions, the strongest desire to enter into a commercial intercourse with the British Government.

As the French clergy and officers already mentioned are the only Europeans resident in Cochin-China, His Majesty I presume could only have received account of the transactions in Europe through them.

4. Conspicuous among whom were Pigneau de Behaim (who was in fact the King's Prime Minister); Col. Victor Olivier and Lebrun (disciplined the troops) Puymane (built fortifications); J. M. Dayot, Vannier, J. B. Chaignean, and de Forcant (commanded the navy).

5. For details please see my paper "The British and Cochin-China A Hundred and Fifty Years Ago", *I.H.R.C. Proceedings*, Volume XXX, Part II.

Admitting this to be the case, it is but justice to suppose the above indulgences have been effected by the representations of the Frenchmen in his service still attached to the cause of royalty, and from the clergy in general, who in their commendations must have felt the additional tie of gratitude for the liberal protection afforded their persecuted brethren by the English nation; although I am not disposed to be sanguine in the expectation of very friendly assistance from any of the French nation. Under these circumstances, candor requires the supposition, that if they may not be found powerful friends, they will not be active enemies.

The present, therefore, from every information I have been able to collect, appears a favourable period for negotiation. The King cannot have had occasion to alter his opinion of the English character, and as the renewal of hostilities will deprive the French residents of any immediate prospect of a commercial establishment by their own nation, it may be worthy consideration whether the powerful motive of self-interest will not operate in favour of the proposed arrangement, as the French missionaries in particular, whose primary object is the propagation of the Christian religion, must no doubt experience considerable benefit from whatever cause adds to the prosperity of the Country or stability to the Government, since it will give security to their persons, and facility to the object of their pursuit.

The situation of the King is so very materially changed within these last few years, that it becomes scarcely possible to form any well-grounded opinion on the means by which the objects the Honorable Company have in view may be most effectually accomplished.

Obtaining the grant of an island or tract of land, on the coast of his dominions, capable of affording protection to our trade and shipping appears to be considered by the instructions with which I am honored as the most desirable, and I am of opinion every effort should be used to accomplish this point, because it would afford every advantage that could possibly be desired.

Should the King not feel himself secure in the possession of his dominions, he will I conceive readily admit of an establishment, on consideration of powerful support in return. On the other hand if Monsieur Vanier's representation be correct, no assistance in the way of an alliance will be deemed necessary; consequently His Majesty's acquiescence may be questioned. In the event of his being sufficiently powerful to protect the persons and property of foreigners trading with his dominions, the proposed settlement will be in a commercial point of view less necessary, at least until the extent of the trade can be more clearly ascertained. The advantages however in other respects are so obvious, and so great, that

I cannot but consider its acquirement will worthy the attempt, though perhaps it will be considered imprudent, at an early stage of the connexion to press the demand, as until the King is made sensible of the importance of a friendly intercourse with the Honorable Company, his assent must be considered doubtful, and from exciting a degree of jealousy and distrust, may prevent other advantages being obtained.

As a probable circumstance to influence a compliance with the proposed demand, it is to be considered that although the King may feel perfect reliance from his own abilities, with the dread which his success and acknowledged talents have spread throughout his dominions, of keeping them in subjection during his life, their descending peaceably to his posterity must be considered extremely uncertain. Such reflections may not however occupy the mind of an ambitious man, flushed with conquest and confident in the valor and attachment of a victorious army.

I will not occupy more of your Lordship's time with mere speculative opinions on the means of success; your Lordship will readily decide on such as are practicable and most conducive to the interests of the Honorable Company. Should every offer to establish on fair and equitable terms such connexion with the Government of Cochin-China, as will afford reasonable ground to hope for the accomplishment of the Honorable Company's views be rejected either through the influence of any persons inimical to English nation, or from any other cause, it may I conceive be deemed proper to inform the King that the Honorable Company never can permit their enemies to obtain such establishment in his country as will be injurious to their interests, and which must interrupt the friendship and goodwill at present subsisting between their respective Governments.

The instructions I have had the honor to receive, copies of which have been transmitted to your Lordship, appear on most subjects to afford full and clear directions for the Government of my conduct. It remains however with your Lordship to decide, should military aid be required, the propriety of a compliance with such request, as also the extent and manner of the assistance being afforded.

It is also for your Excellency's consideration, should supply of arms or military stores be desired (as is highly probable they will), the possibility of complying with the wishes of the King, in the former case [*sic*]. Should your Excellency approve of aid being afforded, it may be thought advisable, to avoid alarming the fears of the Chinese, that stipulations for its not being under any circumstances employed by the King of Cochin-China offensively against that Empire should be made as public as possible.

As saltpetre is an article much in demand, and during the period that exportation is prohibited from this country, difficulty must be found in procuring the necessary supply, I beg to submit to your Excellency the propriety of granting the Cochin-Chinese Government such annual quantity as may be required. Unless some advantage can be offered not to be derived from any other quarter the Hon'ble Company will have little claim to expect exclusive privileges, and in the event of military assistance not being necessary such advantage can only consist in articles of merchandise.

The trade between the Honorable Company's dominions and Cochin-China will I apprehend be very limited, few articles will be in demand except piece goods in small quantities, principally those manufactured on the Coast of Coromandel. The few observations I have in my power to make on the trade from Europe to that country have been conveyed to your Excellency by the copy of my address to the Honorable the Secret Committee, which I had the honor to transmit on the 9th ultimo; to that I beg leave to refer your Excellency for every information I am able to offer on the subject.

When in possession of your Excellency's sentiments on the subjects I have the honor to offer for consideration, in this and by my former letter, with such further instructions as to your Lordship may appear requisite, I conceive, my powers to enter into any engagements with the Government of Cochin-China, that promise advantage to the Hon'ble Company, will be complete, and the necessary preparations may be made for my departure which I think should be in such time as will enable me to arrive in that country in the month of June. I am induced to mention this period as it will allow the ship on which I proceed to remain some time and still reach her destined port in the regular season. Should circumstances require a longer stay in Cochin-China than at present I have reason to suppose necessary, the ship might proceed to China and either return after delivering her cargo or some other vessel be sent as should be deemed most expedient by the Committee at Canton.

*

*Dacca 7th March, 1804.*⁶

Reply to Roberts' above letters.

"2. By command of His Excellency in Council I have now the honor of communicate to you His Excellency's observations on the subject of the intercourse and connexion proposed to be established between the British Government and the state of Cochin-China, together with such instructions as His Excellency in Council deems it necessary to issue for the regulation of your conduct, in addition to those of the Honorable the Secret Committee addressed to Mr. Lance, a copy of which was enclosed in a despatch from the Honorable Committee to the Governor-General-in-Council under dated the 23rd of April 1803.

6. N.A.I. Foreign and Political Department (Secret), 14 June, 1804, No. 15.

3. I am directed however previously to inform you that your proceedings at Cochin-China appear to His Excellency in Council to have been extremely judicious and discreet and that the causes which you assigned for proceeding to Bengal instead of awaiting the return of the King of Cochin-China to his Capital or of repairing to His Majesty's Court, are entirely satisfactory to His Excellency in Council.

4. The objects of the Mission to the Court of Cochin-China are stated by the Honorable Committee to be the establishment of an amicable connection and a commercial intercourse with the state of Cochin-China and the permanent exclusion of the power of France from that country.

5. The Governor-General-in-Council is of opinion that the latter object is more important than the former in the degree in which it is more desirable to provide for the security of our commercial interests in China, than to extend the branches of our commerce in that quarter of the world.

6. This also appears to have been the sentiment of the Honorable Committee whose instructions direct that the first of the two objects described in the preceding paragraph be made, if practicable, subservient to the second.

7. It appears from the diary of your proceedings in Cochin-China and from the information contained in your address to the Governor-General-in-Council of the 7th of March, that some of the French clergy reside in Cochin-China and are in the confidence of the King, and that some of the principal offices of His Majesty's Government are held by Frenchmen.

8. His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council has directed his especial attention to the course of argument contained in your letter of the 7th of March, tending to infer an opinion that the subjects of France residing in Cochin-China and possessing influence and power at the Court of His Majesty, are favourably inclined to the British interests and would readily promote the accomplishment of the objects of your Mission to that Court. His Excellency in Council apprehends that it may prove a dangerous policy to depend upon any supposed disposition of the French in Cochin-China or to resort to their agency for the accomplishment of the object of the Secret Committee.

9. The aversion of those persons to the present system of Government in France and their attachment to the monarchy do not necessarily involve either a desire to obstruct the general aggrandizement of the power and supremacy of their nation, especially in remote foreign countries, or a disposition to promote the interests of the British Government by a sacrifice of the national interests of France.

10. The ambition of the monarchy was directed with more systematic policy and with more wisdom and energy to the injury of the British interests in the East, than has yet been manifested by France since the period of the Revolution. The cause of monarchy in France therefore is not necessarily the cause of Great Britain in India. Those of the French nation who desire the subversion of the existing system of Government in France cannot be supposed to desire a diminution of the national power of France abroad or to have abandoned that general sentiment of attachment to the power and honor of their country which disposes the native subjects of an established state to exult in the triumph and to participate in the degradation of their country.

11. It cannot therefore be confidently expected that the subjects of France residing and exercising power in the dominions of the King of Cochin-China, would cordially employ their influence and exertions in promoting an arrangement in favour of the British Government prejudicial to the views and interest of the French nation. It may rather be supposed that those persons will endeavour to frustrate both our political and commercial views in Cochin-China. The private interests, and the local and temporary views of the French now resident in Cochin-China may however render their services useful to you under proper precautions. I am directed with these observations to suggest to you the inexpediency of rendering any of those persons the channel of confidential negotiation with the King of Cochin-China, if you should be enabled either to communicate personally with His Majesty, or to employ agents of another description for the purposes of negotiation.

12. If the disposition of the King of Cochin-China towards the British Government be as favourable as it has been represented to be, his ready consent to the establishment of a commercial connection with the Company may reasonably be expected.

13. It may also be expected that His Majesty will be induced to consent to the conclusion of engagements with the British Government of a commercial and political nature on principles of reciprocal benefit, and the following are the general terms of a political nature which in the judgement of His Excellency in Council would promote the accomplishment of the objects in the contemplation of the Honorable Committee.

1st. A stipulation for the permanence of friendship between the two states.

2ndly. The free use of the ports of Cochin-China to all British ships for the purposes of commerce or of obtaining supplies of provisions and of repairing eventual damages.

3rdly. The grant of an island or of a tract of land on the coast of Cochin-China in perpetual sovereignty to the Honorable Company.

4thly. A stipulation on the part of His Majesty never to permit a French establishment within his dominions for any real or ostensible purpose whatever.

5thly. The Honorable Company to engage to supply His Majesty with arms and military stores at the amount of their actual cost to any practicable extent, provided that such arms and military stores be not at any time required by His Majesty for the purpose of prosecuting hostilities against the Emperor of China or against any other state or country in alliance or friendship with the Company.

6thly. A provision for the annual supply of a specified quantity of saltpetre from India to Cochin-China under the reservation stated in article 5th.

14. The stipulations of a commercial nature which should form a part of the proposed engagements with the King of Cochin-China must depend in a great degree on the further information which you may acquire in Cochin-China with respect to the demand and the products of that country and the instructions of the Honorable Committee added to your own just comprehension of that subject preclude the necessity of any suggestions on that branch of the proposed arrangement.

15. The preceding stipulations involve the utmost extent of concessions which under actual circumstances the King of Cochin-China can be expected to grant.

16. You will however be regulated, in proposing them, by the information which you will acquire on your arrival at Cochin-China with regard to the disposition of the King and the situation of His Majesty's affairs. His Excellency in Council entirely concurs in the justice of the observations contained in your letter of the 7th of March on the subject of obtaining a grant of an island or a tract of territory in Cochin-China, and His Excellency in Council desires that you will be guided in soliciting that concession or in abstaining from such a request by the consideration stated in your letter of the 7th of March.

17. The Governor-General-in-Council is of opinion that every effort should be employed to obtain His Majesty's consent to the proposed stipulation for the exclusion of the French, and with that view that it will be proper that you should confirm in the mind of His Majesty the just sentiments which His Majesty appears to entertain with regard to the nature and operation of those licentious principles which have long influenced the councils of France, and you should explain to His Majesty in the most impressive

manner the dangers to which the independence of His Majesty's dominions will be exposed by permitting the French Government to establish its authority or influence in any degree within His Majesty's territories.

18. In this point of your negotiation the supposed disposition and prejudices of the French now residing in Cochin-China may prove serviceable to the progress of your views. The French now residing in Cochin-China will probably concur in your representation of the evils which have been occasioned by the operation of those principles on which the existing Government of France is founded. And if the King of Cochin-China be endowed with the capacity which he is supposed to possess, it will not be difficult to satisfy His Majesty that the restoration of monarchy in France cannot reasonably be expected within any period of time or under any circumstances which should render the admission of a French establishment in Cochin-China a safe or prudent measure for the interests of the monarch of that country. Whatever may be the policy of admitting a British establishment in Cochin-China, the King of that country cannot reasonably expect to derive any advantage from the admission of a French establishment proportionate to the evident peril of such an arrangement.

19. If the King should refuse to accede to the proposed stipulations for the exclusion of the French, it will be proper that you should apprise His Majesty in distinct terms, that if His Majesty by granting to the French an establishment within his dominions or by any other concessions shall afford to that nation any additional facilities in the prosecution of hostilities against the British Government or against the empire of China, His Majesty will be considered to be an ally of France and to have placed himself in the condition of a public enemy to the British Government.²

20. If the King should be averse to the conclusion of engagements in the manner proposed, His Majesty may still be induced to consent to the

7. It may not, however, be uninteresting to reproduce the following extract which has been struck off in the draft instructions under reference. Presumably the outbreak of war in April 1804 with Jaswantrao Holkar after the termination of hostilities against the other Maratha chiefs deterred the author of the subsidiary system from extending it to Cochin-China.—“If the king should be solicitous for the permanent or temporary aid of a detachment of British troops, the Governor-General-in-Council will be disposed to furnish a detachment for the service of His Majesty provided—

1st—that you should find it impracticable without that concession on our part to obtain His Majesty's consent to the proposed engagements.

2nd—that His Majesty shall assent to every stipulation which you may propose under these instructions.

3rd—that the British Auxiliary Force be never employed against the State of China or against any other state in alliance with the Hon'ble Company.

The Auxiliary Force to be furnished for the service of the King must not exceed ()”.

commercial arrangements suggested by the Honorable Secret Committee, and the establishment of such arrangements may ultimately be rendered subservient to the attainment of the political objects of the proposed connexion with Cochin-China. Every object however both of a commercial and a political nature, would manifestly be facilitated by the residence of an Agent on the part of the Honorable Company in Cochin-China. His Excellency in Council, therefore deems it proper to recommend this object to your most particular attention. It will be proper under any circumstances that you should endeavour to ascertain the disposition of His Majesty on the subject of admitting the permanent residence of a representative of the Honorable Company, at His Majesty's Court; if His Majesty should be disposed to receive a British officer in that capacity, you will transmit to His Excellency in Council the earliest practicable intimation of His Majesty's consent to that arrangement, and if His Majesty's disposition on this point should appear to be favourable, the Governor-General-in-Council desires that you will remain in Cochin-China, and that you will act in the capacity of Resident in Cochin-China on the part of the Company until you shall receive further advices from the Governor-General-in-Council.

21. In all your proceedings under these instructions you will carefully attend to the cautions contained in the instructions of the Honorable the Secret Committee on the subject of adopting any measures calculated to alarm the jealousy of the Chinese Government, and the Governor-General-in-Council authorises you to deviate from the preceding instructions by limiting or otherwise modifying the terms of the proposed engagement, if such deviation should appear to you to be advisable, with a view to the principle of caution prescribed by the Honorable Committee.

22. By a communication contained in your diary of proceedings it appeared to be probable that the King of Cochin-China would be involved in a war with the Chinese. If at the period of your arrival at Cochin-China the King should actually be at war with the Chinese or should have proceeded to any acts of a nature to produce a rupture between the two states, the Governor-General-in-Council is of opinion that you should communicate with the Select Committee of supracargoes and obtain the benefit of its opinion previously to the commencement of any negotiation with the Court of Cochin-China.

23. Under such circumstances it might perhaps be most advisable that you should proceed in the first instance to Macao and should communicate personally with the supracargoes previously to the commencement of any negotiation in Cochin-China.

24. With a view to enable the Select Committee to suppress any emotion of jealousy or apprehension which might be excited in the minds of the Chinese by any erroneous information with regard to the nature and design of the proposed connexion between the Honorable Company and the state

of Cochin-China, it will be advisable that you should forward to the Select Committee of supracargoes a copy of these instructions at the earliest practicable period of time, and that you should transmit to the Committee by every opportunity the most ample information of your proceedings, and negotiations in Cochin-China, and the Governor-General-in-Council expects that you will attend to any suggestions which you may receive from the Committee on all questions connected with the objects of this letter and of your mission.

25. The Governor-General-in-Council has taken into consideration the suggestion contained in your letter of the 9th of February, on the subject of adding to the presents with which you are already charged for the King of Cochin-China, and of providing for the officers of Government and other persons in Cochin-China.

26. The Governor-General-in-Council deems it highly expedient that you should be furnished with presents⁸ for His Majesty to be delivered in the name of the Governor-General, and also with such articles as may enable you occasionally to make presents to the officers of Government and to other persons in Cochin-China whose situation or services may render such donations advisable; you will accordingly be pleased to transmit to me a list⁹ of such articles as you may deem necessary for the purposes above described, to be submitted to the approbation of His Excellency the Governor-General.

27. You will be furnished by the Persian Secretary with a letter to the King of Cochin-China, which His Excellency the Governor-General has deemed it proper to address to His Majesty on this occasion.

28. I am further directed to desire that you will furnish me, for the consideration of His Excellency in Council, with a list of such an establishment¹⁰ of servants and equipments as may appear to be suitable to the situation to which you are appointed.

29. Captain Mackintosh having privately offered to Government his ship the *General De Caen*, now the *Page*, for the conveyance of the Embassy to Cochin-China, the Governor-General-in-Council has resolved to accept that offer, and has issued orders to the Marine Board to adjust with Captain Mackintosh the terms of the employment of that ship in proposed service.¹¹

Fort William, 17th May, 1804.

N. B. EDMONSTONE,
Secretary to Government¹²

8. The Government at Fort William also furnished Roberts with two brass six pounder field pieces with field carriages and a proportion of ammunition and stores for delivery to the King on behalf of the Governor-General. N.A.I. Foreign and Political Department (Secret), 14 June, 1804, No. 16B.

9. Lists furnished by Roberts *vide* N.A.I. Foreign and Political Department (Political), 7 June, 1804, Nos. 32—35 and the same were approved by the Board.

10. An escort of one havildar, one naik and twelve sepoys were detailed for the mission. N.A.I. Foreign and Political Department (Secret), 14 June, 1804, No. 16 B.

11. N.A.I. Foreign and Political Department (Secret), 14 June, 1804, No. 16.

CAPTAIN THOMAS FORREST IN RHIO

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Thomas Forrest, an English officer holding the rank of Captain in the East India Company's navy, had acquired reputation by his services in the eastern seas and had accompanied Alexander Dalrymple to Balambangan on the Sulu Seas about thirteen miles to the north of Borneo. In 1774, he started from Balambangan in a small vessel of ten tons, the crew consisting chiefly of Malays, on an exploring voyage to New Guinea and reached the harbour of Dory in its north. Meanwhile the English settlement at Balambangan was destroyed by the Sulus. After visiting Borneo, Sumatra, and Calcutta in succession, Forest returned to England in 1776.

The next phase of the activities of Captain Forrest came towards the close of the American War when Warren Hastings saw what appeared to him an opportunity to carry into effect his unfulfilled desire for securing a strategic outpost on the eastern seas within striking distance of Calcutta and Madras, which would link up the trade of the Company's Indian settlements with the Far East, provide a safe harbour for merchant vessels and ships of war, and keep an eye on the activities of privateers on the Indian Seas and the narrow straits of the archipelago. In a situation of insecure and threatened existence, when Britain was tied up in the war with her American Colonies, and France and Holland had come in against her, Hastings was not prepared to embarrass the Government with costly and adventurous schemes. Moreover, he himself as Governor-General, was not only seriously hampered by the trenchant opposition of Philip Francis and his satellites who overruled him at every step, but found himself in troublesome situations resulting from the disregard of Calcutta's orders by the Governors of Bombay and Madras. By 1781, however, he found himself sufficiently relieved of his troubles and anxieties to consider the project of establishing a strategic outpost in the eastern seas seriously. Any such attempt was, however, bound to encounter resistance from the Dutch who had established their own sphere of influence in this region. It is true that they had been badly worsted in the war but they were still formidable in the East Indies and in their efforts to preserve their jealously guarded interests in the archipelago would not hesitate to harass the English or even exclude them entirely from the trade of the region. Indeed, not long ago, letters from Batavia to the Kings of Salengore and Rhio had asked the two Indonesian princes in an authoritative tone to stop trade relations with the English¹. This Dutch

opposition must be countered if the British wanted to establish a solid footing, and from time to time remedies were suggested and considered. As recently as 1780, Capt. Francis Light into whose hands the Dutch letters above referred to had fallen had, on coming to Bengal in 1780, suggested a settlement on the island of Junk Salang, which might become a spear-head for striking at the tentacles of the Dutch octopus, since Bencoolen had failed as a commercial establishment and a strategic outpost or as a centre from which to govern enemy movements in the archipelago. The island, though "not so well-situated for an eastern trade, lying, as it does far to the northward as to endanger the loss of the passage of the Company's ships bound from Madras to China is more secure and less affected by the Dutch and their regulations and operations."² Again, in September 1780, Captain James Scott submitted to George Ramsay "a graphical, nautical, and natural account of a fine Bay" which he named Scott's Bay lying behind Penang, near old Quedah, in the northern mouth of the straits of Malacca.³ The Bay was "central and conveniently situated in the direct passage of the passing vessels and is unconnected with the Dutch." It had "a fine natural harbour, capable of defence, sheltered from all winds, large and commodious, of easy and safe ingress and egress in all seasons, and with an open and expeditious communication with India."⁴ The place was capable of being developed into a marine harbour, a second Bombay more central in its situation, or used occasionally as a place of refreshment and refitment at a very small expense and was "much preferable to that cursed hold Trincomalee."⁵ A copy of the letter was left by Scott with Thomas Braham for the perusal of Sir Edward Hughes. The question of a settlement on the western fringe of the archipelago was not entirely overlooked in England by Hillsborough, the President of the Board of Trade and Plantations. Hillsborough laid before George III for his consideration proposals from the Court of Directors for a settlement at Achin "in order to preclude Europeans from obtaining a residence there", and simultaneous small settlement on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands "where ship timber, of which Acheen is deficient is procurable in great abundance. . . . the harbours of the Nicobars are also safe, capable of receiving ships of any magnitude."⁶ The Bengal Government was, accordingly, advised in 1781 to make attempts for a settlement at Achin. Thus, the question was in the forefront and was engaging the attention of the authorities both in England and India about the year 1781.⁷ So when a proposal was made to the

2. Scott to Macpherson, 28 October, 1785, Straits, Vol. II; Factory Records, Price to Macpherson, 23 February, 1786, Straits, Vol. II Factory Records.

3. James Scott to George Ramsay, September, 1780; 29 April, 1781, Straits, Vol. I, Factory Records.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. Sullivan and James and to Hillsborough, 16 November, 1781, Home Misc. No. 155, East India Series (No. 63).

7. Second Report from the Select Committee, Appendix No. 68, para 7, p.34.

1. Light to Cornwallis, 18 June, 1787, Strait Vol. II, Factory Records.

Bengal Government by Captain Forrest, soon after his return from England, to undertake a survey of the Andaman Islands, that Govt. agreed to accept his services and engaged a small vessel, the *Esther* Brig, which he had purchased for the purpose.⁸ Captain Forrest was to leave Bengal in May 1783, but he actually left on 14 June, 1783, "a very improper time for such a destination."⁹ Moreover, the intention of this voyage was a survey of the Andaman Islands, but Captain Forrest "made the Preparies, went to the northward of Nacondam, and on July 1, 1783, saw the Island Torres on the Coast of Tenasserim."¹⁰ Forrest surveyed the Mergui archipelago and the adjacent coasts on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. His observations on the several islands were presented with "his most respectful compliments to Mr. Wheler," and stand as a valuable guide to geographers and navigators.¹¹ Forrest dwelt on the superior advantages and the unrivalled geographical situation of the chain of islands that stretch for nearly one hundred miles from the Olive Island to the Southernmost extremity of St. Matthew. He pointed out the defects not only of the Negrais and Pegu but of the Coromandel coast which "affords no harbour and is a free port for all the world."¹² There was, indeed, among these islands, plenty to select from "for a stronghold close to a harbour for shipping."¹³ After rejecting Hastings Bay, which is "landlocked", and King Island (near Mergui), which "is not in the tract of shipping being to the eastward a good way and a *cul-de-sac* into the bargain" and "in the vicinity of the power of the continent," Forrest selected the island of St. Matthew and hoisted the British flag there.¹⁴ On his return to Calcutta, Forrest communicated to the supreme government on 15 April, 1784, an offer from the King of Rhio "to appropriate a part of his dominions to the Company for an English settlement."¹⁵ The King and his nephew, the Prince of Salengore, had been "much irritated" with the Dutch for their "damaging war" against Rhio with a view "to prevent our having connexion with a prince, the most formidable in these parts."¹⁶ The King of Rhio sought the protection of the English. Forrest felt that a military settlement in the domain of the King "would not be agreeable to him; it would lower him in the eyes of the world";¹⁷ but "a small factory guarded by twelve peons, having influence in making peace, would put our national character in a conspicuous point of view."¹⁸ The King was, as a matter of fact,

8. Bengal to Court of Directors, 23 October, 1783.

9. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, Vol. I, Ch. II, p. 46.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Bengal General Consultations, 2 July, 1784.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. Bengal General Consultations, 15 April, 1784, Straits, Vol. I

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

seeking the military support of the English against the Dutch, but his dignity led him simply to ask for "the presence and moral support of the English", and he offered them land for factory settlements and trade facilities.

The advantages of Rhio as a possible place for the establishment of a British port had been advocated as early as 1769 by Capt. Francis Light. We come across a letter dated 1 February of that year from Captain Francis Light to Andrew Ross giving an account of Rhio and the nature of its trade and speaking of the convenience of founding an English settlement on Pulo Byang (the island of Bintang), at the extreme south of Malacca and to south-east of Singapore, the usual residence of the King of Rhio.¹⁹ Rhio was, indeed, a place of considerable commercial activity. It was so well-situated and so convenient for trade that it was then looked upon "as the Key to the straits of Malacca." It was an important port of call and "proes from Borneo, Bally, Java and all the eastern islands, likewise from Siam, Cambodia, Tissimpo, Quinum and Cochin-China" assembled there for exchange of merchandise.²⁰ From Rhio, the trading vessels went round to the west coast of Sumatra to obtain benjamin and other articles of commerce.²¹ The products of the island were "tin plenty, bettel nut, wax, raw dammer, sago, poonspay of any size or length, . . . gold and dollars at times plenty and spices. . . ." ²² Bintang, too, was a well-cultivated island, and produced large quantities of pepper; but its most important article of commerce was gambier or "terra Japonica."²³ It became "a place of considerable trade particularly frequented by the English, which occasions the Dutch to look on this port as their rival."²⁴

The English merchant vessels bound for the Spice Islands and the Far East, in following hitherto the route through either the Malacca or the Sunda Strait, were placed between Scylla and Charybdis. The Malacca Strait was usually avoided because of its dangerous position between the States of Malay pirates and the powerful Achin on Sumatra; on the other hand, the English were easy victims of Dutch raids in their voyages through the Sunda Strait. Captain Light felt that an English settlement on the island of Bintang would lead to a definite control over the straits of Malacca, save the English from chances of frequent Dutch attacks, shorten the route of the China-bound vessels, and help to develop friendly relations with Achin and the Malayan States. It might become the nucleus of a future empire with a strong naval base ever watchful of Dutch movements.²⁵

19. Factory Records, Straits, I.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

Captain Francis Light thus dreamt in 1769 what was achieved fifty years later by Sir Stanford Raffles in acquiring Singapore for the English. Light was thus, in a way, the precursor of Raffles. It was not possible for the supreme government to accept the offers of the King of Rhio at the time because of the growing complication in Indian and international developments. But now when the offer was renewed to Captain Forrest, the supreme government received his friendly gesture with "the highest satisfaction being so very conformable to our intentions."²⁶ Apart from "reciprocal benefits and services that must inevitably be the result of that alliance,"²⁷ and friendship which originates from such laudable motives, the acceptance of the offer was considered to be "productive of considerable advantages by forming a secure market for the disposal of the opium in Bengal, and perhaps by opening sources of commerce with the natives hitherto unknown, as well as affording refreshment and assistance to our ships trading to the eastward or on their passage to China, and be attended with a very inconsiderable expense."²⁸ Indeed, both from commercial and political aspects, the advantages of an English settlement there were immense. Tin and pepper purchased at Rhio and Bintang might be sent to China to buy the tea investment there, and Bengal would thus be relieved of its drainage of silver. Bintang did not produce any rice; "opium and rice from Bengal, painted goods from the Coromandel Coast, cotton and stick lac from Surat" might be offered in return for Bintang pepper and gambier "for a good price to an estimated amount of two lacks."²⁹ The growth of an extensive and profitable exchange trade, "might in a few years hurt Batavia; it will certainly bring the China trade to it."³⁰

The Governor-General-in-Council resolved "that Captain Forrest be directed to hold himself in readiness to proceed to Rhio immediately,"³¹ with "a letter and small presents for the King—opium 2 chests, silver, muslin 2 pieces, scarlet cloth 2 pieces, heavy taffatys 20 pieces, mulmuls 10 pieces, cassoes 10 pieces."³² Forrest was "to take possession of the ground which the king might allot for the purpose of an English factory and after obtaining a grant of it to the Company to erect the British flag and endeavour to gain the confidence of the natives and open a free intercourse of trade not only with the inhabitants of Rhio but of all the neighbouring islands."³³ No military assistance was promised to the King, simply "the assistance of the English name and their power and influence in all parts of

26. Governor-General-in-Council to the King of Rhio, 15 April, 1784, Straits, Vol. I.

27. *Ibid.*

28. General letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors, 28 August, 1784, The French in India (Factory Records), 1772—97, Vol. 6.

29. Straits, Vol. I.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Bengal General Consultations, 5 May, 1784.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Instructions for Captain Forrest, Bengal General Consultations, 31 May, 1784.

India from which he may derive permanent security to himself and his dominions."³⁴ Incidentally, Forrest was authorised to enter into treaty with any of the Malay princes for the purchase of a settlement.³⁵ Forrest sailed for Rhio on the *Esther Brig* taking with him a small investment of opium, piece goods, and such articles "as were likely to find a good market."³⁶ The objects of Forrest's mission to Rhio were, however, not fulfilled. The Dutch had been viewing with disfavour the growing English trade with Rhio, since 1779, in tin, pepper, and gold for the China market, articles which they considered as their monopoly, and "the sensible decrease in their duties at Malacca." At the conclusion of the war in 1783, the Dutch sent a peremptory note to the Kings of Rhio and Salengore "to suffer no English ships to trade at their ports, but to oblige all the proes with tin and pepper to go to Batavia."³⁷ The refusal of the Indonesian princes to comply with the Dutch commands, and their provocative and almost insulting reply that "if the Dutch had authority they must enforce the commands", forced the Dutch to take the offensive and blockade the port of Rhio with "a large force of about twenty vessels."³⁸ But it was only with the arrival of reinforcements from Holland that the strong Malayan resistance was overcome. Towards July 1784, the Malay forces in Malacca were taken by surprise and the siege of Malacca was raised. The King of Salengore fled to Pahang and his territory was handed over to the King of Siak, who was an ally of the Dutch.³⁹ Rhio, too, was soon reduced and fortified with a strong garrison. Two large Dutch vessels and several smaller ones were stationed off the port, "to prevent any English vessel from entering."⁴⁰ Captains of such English vessels as were in the neighbourhood were forced by the Dutch Governor of Malacca to make written declarations that they would not supply provisions and stores to any Malay prince.⁴¹

Thus ended a significant phase in the English attempt to secure political and commercial influence and a foothold in the vicinity of the Straits of Malacca. The Dutch conflict with Rhio and Salengore passed well into the regime of Macpherson who was not willing to interfere and break "the peace now subsisting between all the great Kings of Europe."⁴² Towards the end of July, 1786, both princes were forced to accept treaties on Dutch terms, and the Rhio and Salengore trade was thus lost to the English.

34. Instructions for Captain Forrest—Bengal General Consultations, 31 May, 1784.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. Light to Andrew Ross, 10 April, 1784, Straits, Vol. I.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Light to Macpherson, 15 February, 1786, Straits, Vol. II.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Bengal Public Consultations, 31 May, 1784; 10 February, 1785, Straits, Vol. II, 2 March, 1786.

42. Macpherson to Rhio, Sep. Progs, Re. Penang, Bengal Public Consultations, 6 April, 1786.

MAADAN-UL-INSHA, A RARE COLLECTION OF LETTERS

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Mulatafa, the practice of compiling models of composition for the benefit of young learners, was once very common, especially in the 18th century. These compositions usually consisted of letters which were generally in ornate and hyperbolic epistolary style. The contents of such collections, when closely scrutinised and carefully sifted, yield plenty of materials of historical value. Sometimes one finds incorporated in them copies of diplomatic correspondence and official letters and also Farmans, Nishans, etc. sent by, and addressed to personages of very high stations, including nobles, princes and kings. As the original records are unfortunately lost, the copies of such documents made and preserved for their elegant style and literary excellence or other attractions by the compilers of 'Inshas' (belles-lettres) are sometimes of great help to students of history and culture. Such is the case with a rare and autographic Persian manuscript named Maadan-ul-Insha, compiled in 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.) by one Ram Sethi Chiranjivadas, who does not say anything about himself except that from the very beginning of his career he was fond of the society of wise and learned men and noted Munshis and was interested in collecting elegant pieces of prose literature displaying the inventive genius and power of diction of the writers, and that he decided, at the age of 52, to put these together for the sake of the seekers of artistic compositions.

The manuscript before us which was brought for sale to the Patna University Library is unbound and in a damaged condition with portions eaten by worms or even torn off. It comprises 1871 folios with 15 lines to a page and has an addendum, also in the author's own handwriting but with a thicker pen, giving rather a florid account, after the model of Abul Fazl, of an explosion that occurred due to the negligence of the Government's agents in the "Topkhana" or artillery stores of Nawab Alivardi Mahabat Jung, the Deputy Governor of Bihar, which created a great havoc, damaged and destroyed many buildings with their goods and made men run helter-skelter towards the Ganges and beyond the eastern walls of the city of Azimabad (Patna). One should not infer from this eye-witness account of the occurrence that the writer was a Bihari; his rather uncomplimentary² reference to the people of Patna points otherwise. But he was in close touch with, or interested in, the affairs that mattered in current and past

1. Lacunae 6—9, 32—37, 110—112, 152—156, 177—184: 26 ff.

2. Subuk maghzan-i-tunuk mizaj, khalif-ul-aqlan-khurafat imtizajan-i-baldah-i-Azimabad (the hot-headed stupid and nonsensical people of the city of Azimabad).

politics of the eastern provinces during the 17th and 18th centuries. The compilation contains many letters which must have been copied from the original letters themselves addressed to such personages³ as Prince Md. Azam, Prince Azimush Shan, Daud Khan Quraishi, his nephew Shamsheer Khan, Md. Saleh, Fidai Khan, Tarbiat Khan, Azam Khan Koka, Shaishta Khan, his son Buzurg Umed Khan, Ibrahim Khan, his son Zabardast Khan Husain Ali Khan (Kingmaker), his sister's son Ghairat Khan, Musavi Khan (Mirza Muiz Fitrat), Diwan of Patna, Mir Md. Hadi, Naib-Diwan of Azimush Shan, etc. There are also letters addressed to, written by, or relating to, saintly and scholarly personages of Bihar.

The manuscript opens with a letter of condolence and congratulation from Shah Abbas I to Jahangir, sent through Kamaluddin Yadgar Ali. The taunting letter of Shah Abbas II to Aurangzeb has been noticed by Sir J. N. Sarkar but not the longer and more spirited reply (6 pages) sent from India. Of the 12 'Farmans' of Aurangzeb in the manuscript, two written in the margin of the manuscript are addressed to Shah Alam—one accusing him of partiality for the Golconda ruler and the other reprimanding him for flaunting a yellow turban and a red vest at the age of 56. The "Farman" to his 'teacher', Mulla Shaikh Mohan Bihari,⁴ "the essence of all perfections", incidentally informing him of the grant of a robe and his former post to his brother's son, Shaikh Abul Maali, cannot but attract our attention. That to Tarbiat Khan, dated Ziqad 2, 1069, is concerned with the 'Khutba' and the new 'Sikka'. The correspondence between the Emperor and his rebellious son, Prince Akbar, which comes next has already been utilized and translated by Sir J. N. Sarkar. In the next Farman which bears a copy of endorsement by the Emperor, in his own hands, the services of Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khan and his sons in regard to the affairs of Islamabad Chatgam, Baramati and the 'Maghs' have been commended and the suggestion of Zabardast Khan, the recipient of the Farman, for being replaced by Azam Khan Koka in Bengal has been accepted. Azam Khan Koka, transferred from Malwa to Bengal, with an increase in his Mansab to 6,000, has been directed in the next Farman to safeguard the interests of the people entrusted to his care, suppress heresy and oppression by the strong of the weak, set the finances in order with the help of the Diwan, economise expenses, and do his duties in regard to the frontier regions of Chatgam, Assam and Orissa. Ibrahim Khan, the recipient of the next Farman, received an increase in his Mansab and was directed to proceed towards Jahangirnagar leaving Bihar in charge of Fidai Khan who was ordered to suppress the refractory Chiefs of the province. The following Farman to

3. See *Maasir ul Umara*, Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* and the writer's paper entitled "Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb," published in three instalments in *Journals of the Bihar Research Society* for the connection of these personages with Bihar and Bengal.

4. Noticed by the 18th century scholar, Azad Bilgrami in *Sar-i-Azd*. see *Tazkira-i-Ulma-i-Hind*.

Mukhtar Khan informs him of the Emperor's arrival at Ahmednagar (13th November, 1683), of the orders issued to Prince Md. Azam to stay for a while at Gulshanabad (Nasik) and then march in pursuit of his fugitive brother, Muhammad Akbar, capture or kill him, or at any rate prevent him from escaping by land or sea. He was to provide the prince with Rs. 2,80,000 in case that amount had not already been realized from Surat. The next Farman to Zabardast Khan commends his services against the seditious chiefs of Bengal, rewards him with an addition to his rank and with a title of Ganj Ali Khan and directs him to finish the affairs of the rebels⁵ before the arrival of Prince Azimush Shan. An endorsement in the Emperor's own hand expresses his pleasure at the recovery of Makhshudabad. The next three Farmans to Buzurg Umed Khan deal largely with the affairs of Bijapur and Golconda. The first refers to the services of Shah Alam and Muhammad Azam, to the "stupid promise-breaker", Abul Hasan, the 'dupe of his Brahmin minister (Madanna)' and his brother (Akanna) who were deservedly killed, to the deputation of Prince Muhammad Azam to Malwa, and the success of the latter's Diwan (Rai Mulukchand) in killing Pahar Singh Gaur who held a Jagir worth karors of 'Dam' but had usurped the 'Tuyuls' of other Mansabdars, had killed Anirudh and plundered his property and instigated his son to kill Purdil Khan,⁶ the Faujdar of Dhamuni. The second says that being rebuked last year Abul Hasan had asked for and had been graciously granted pardon; but he broke his pledges, failed to pay his dues for the year, and sent reinforcements to Sikandar Bijapuri. Consequently the imperial forces marched from Sholapur, and conquered Hyderabad on Sunday, 26 Rabi II. This was followed by the conquest of the fort and the kingdom of Golconda. The third refers to the mischievous activities of the Bijapuris, the siege of Bijapur, blockade of all roads from Orissa, and submission of Sikandar a day before Monday. 4th Ziqad, fixed for the final assault on his stronghold.

Also written in the margin are two Farmans to the Governors of Bihar. Daud Khan and Hasan Ali Khan. The first acknowledges the letters of Daud Khan Quraishi and accepts his recommendation for sanctioning reinforcements and provisions for Mankali Khan Faujdar, Jagirdar and Qiladar of Palamoon, who had been assisted by the writer's (Daud Khan's) brother, Tatar, and Abdul Majid, son of Md. Shafi, and for granting the petitioner (Daud Khan) an assignment on the revenue of that region in lieu of salary so that he might suppress all the refractory chiefs of that side. He (Daud Khan) and his brother were granted increase in their ranks. The 80 lakh Dams of Palamoon were sanctioned to meet the soldiers' demands. Daud Khan was also informed that a Farman was issued to Mankali Khan to deliver the charge of the fort of Palamoon to the addressee (Daud Khan) and proceed to his old Jagir in Saran Sarkar. The addressee was permitted

5. Vide *Riyaz-us-Salatin* for details. See also *History of Bengal*, II (ed. Sir. J. N. Sarkar).

6. Not noticed elsewhere.

to put his brother's nephew, or any one else in charge of Palamoon region and was directed to resume the task of reducing the forts of other Zamin-dars. The Parganahs of Shahr, Behra, Chirkanwan in Gaya which had been formerly assigned as Tankwah to Tahawwar Khan were granted to the addressee as his Jagir and the Parganahs of Kalyanpur, Surajgarh and Sarai Hamid which had been granted to him were allotted to that Khan. The Parganah of Manpur and others held by Tahawwar Khan were to be retained by him. The last of this series of Farmans is addressed to Shamshir Khan Quraishi, appointing him to the Government of Bihar, with an increase in his rank of 2,000, 1,500 Doaspa and also 50 Lakh Dams in cash and a robe of honour as a reward for his services in punishing Dhir,⁷ the disturber, and reducing his fort of Baraanwan (Shahabad Dt.). Like his uncle, Daud Khan Quraishi, the addressee was directed to overthrow the refractory chiefs and mischief-mongers of the province and do the needful in promoting the welfare of the subjects, being just in transactions, and to enforce the prohibitive regulations.

There is not much of importance for us in the two royal Farmans of Farrukhsiyar, one to Ghairat Khan, Deputy Governor of Bihar, informing him of his victory over Jahandar Shah and the latter's capture, and the other to the saintly Ghulam Haidar acknowledging the effects of his 'Chilla' and 'Saifi' prayer on the victory achieved and accepting his request about Islam Khan Mashhadi. The letters from Dara, Azimush Shan, and some other princes also do not contain much of importance. Though not devoid of references to current political affairs, we cannot, for lack of space, consider them. There are also 'Hasbul Hukms'; one with the seal of Amir-ul-umara Asad Khan to Fidai Khan and its reply deal with the campaigns in Karnatik, the fall of Jinji, and the capture of Rama's four wives, three sons and two daughters, and another with the seal of Qazi-ul-Quzzat Md. Raza to Qazi Yar Md. of the reign of Rafi-ul-Darajat enumerates the duties, judicial and others, which he was to perform according to the royal orders. We may leave out the 'Ariza' of Ghaziuddin Firuz Jung to Prince Azimush Shan and also the letter of Md. Badi to the former relating to that Nawab's Jagir in Parganah Biswank in Bihar and the letter of Amir-ul-umara Samsamud Daula Khan-i-Dauran to Muhammad Irfan about the accounts of his Jagir in the Parganahs of Palech and Malda in Bihar. But we cannot ignore the 'Nishan' of Prince Azam to Fidai Khan which says that Sayyid Muhammad Amin of Parganah Masuda (Masaurhi) had entered 83,000 in the register for 1,001 Fasli, the year when the said Parganah was given in Jagir to Prince Md. Muizuddin. The Zamindars, in collusion with the agents of the said prince, had managed to reduce the amount to 56,000 on paper, and, therefore Mir Ziauddin Hussain, the Diwan, had been deputed to investigate the affairs and he deserved every help.

7. A very interesting figure whose life and activities deserve a detailed consideration. Vide *Tarikh-i-Ujjania*, Vol. II, on Oudh and also contemporary works. L19MofEdu.—14

We may pass by the numerous letters which relate to the Sufi saints, scholars and well-known poets and literati, but we cannot leave unnoticed the unpublished letters which throw fresh light on past history, specially of Bihar. The letter, with dates, of Hussain Ali Khan to Farrukhsiyar containing his version of the events leading to his victory over Daud Khan Panni, who was puffed up with pride because of the large rally of Afghan and Marhatta allies, talked of himself as a second Sher Shah, and refused to abide by the imperial mandate unless it was confirmed by his (Delhi) agent Lonkaran, is different from and larger (4 pages) than that quoted by Sheodas⁸ of Lucknow. Nizam-ul-Mulk's letter to Vazir Qamaruddin Khan about his victory over Mubarizul-Mulk⁹ at Shaker Kheda has also not been noticed anywhere. The younger king-maker gives to one Khan Chand an account of his fight with, and victory over, Jahandar Shah, and says that Chinglich Khan, Md. Amin Khan, and Lutfullah Khan Sadiq went over to the victor.

More important and interesting but yet unpublished is a long (4 pages) and bitter letter of Mahabat Khan Lahrasp,¹⁰ son of Khan-i-Khanan (Mahabat Khan) who was sent for the 4th time to govern Afghanistan but was soon recalled for his alleged inaction against the exultant Afghans led by Khush Hal Khan. It was Mahabat Khan's neglect to chastise the Afghans and his secret understanding with them which had been so disastrous to Shujaat Khan in 1674. He wrote from Kabul that the affairs of the empire were topsy-turvy and in utter confusion because "the falcons have been put in chains and sparrows are being flown up. Those who were the pillars of the time and centres of affairs are considered untrustworthy and are deprived of authority. The whole direction of affairs has devolved on hypocritical Darveshes and vain empty-headed scholars who waste their knowledge of the other world in serving as courtiers of the king... the country is desolated, the soldiers are dispirited, the ryots are ruined, the vassal subjects are unhappy and are crying for help and the oppressors are out for mischief. The principal affairs of the Diwani rest on the Qazis and the Qazis are given to bribery... Asad Khan, a mere stripling has been made the Grand Vazir... None of the administrators in the Presence is anxious to go to the root of things... They have taken a vow that sound advice should not reach your high and sacred self..." Referring to Sivaji, "a mere Bijapuri servant", he says that after the failure of Shaista Khan the experienced Mirza Raja was sent against him at the writer's suggestion and he brought him to the court. "The treatment meted out by your majesty's officials to him has had no parallel in Iran and Turan." His insurrection

8. *Iqbalnama-i-Farrukhsiyar*—Rampur and Patna manuscripts.

9. Irvine has given the gist of the long letter of the Nizam to Muhammad Shah.

10. See *Maasir ul Umara* for his life and also Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III. (The late Sir J. N. Sarkar referred to this letter but has not given its contents in details).

gained momentum because "none of the imperial princes or high stationed chief like Saadullah Khan and Ali Mardan Khan was available for service..." As regards Raadandaz Khan he wrote, "As some beggary people (Satnami) were sent by him to the other world he was exalted with the title of Shujaat Khan and sent against the Afghans... He was killed owing to his own stupidity and for disregarding the advice of the Maharaja (Jaswant Singh). What if the 'Paji' (mean fellow) was killed? He had been only one of the Mirdah of the Barqandazes (Chief of matchlockmen). But for the 500 of his fellow brethren whom the Maharaja sent in time, no part of the army could have escaped annihilation. About the Afghans he says, "So long as there is no disagreement and split amongst them, no expedition can be successful against them. By making arrangements with them one can in course of time bring about their overthrow." "Your majesty orders that the Afghans should be annihilated in the speediest time possible. Are they "Sharbet" or morsels of food to be pushed down the throat or a ball to be tossed and carried off by polo sticks? Raja Birbal sent by Firdaus Ashyani (Akbar) at the head of 50,000 fierce warriors disappeared in these mountainous regions and many like Lashkar Khan and others exerted their utmost and caused the destruction of many armies without any tangible result. What does your majesty think of the Afghans? Are they irrational animals who will leave the reins of authority absolutely to us?" Finally he suggests that he should be deputed elsewhere, that the emperor should personally visit and stay in the region for two years, or depute either Fidai Khan or Shahamat Khan against the Afghans. Diler Khan was on no account to be sent and as for the deputation of a prince like Muhammad Sultan he dared not open his lips.

As regards the affairs of Bihar, something has already been said above. In reply to a letter of Musavi Khan,¹¹ the Diwan of Bihar (folio 89a), saying that having become sick of the opposition of some people ever since his appointment to this province he had thought of retiring from service but the receipt of a fresh imperial mandate had held him back and he hoped on meeting him to get an acquittal of the blame laid upon himself, Buzurg Ummad Khan, the Governor, wrote (folio 78a) that "having heard of the noble qualities and excellent manners of that rare one of the age" he was anxious to enjoy his company and welcomed his decision to reach Patna on Sunday, 2 Rabi II. "As the affairs of the Khalsa Sharfa are in utter confusion I trust that you would put your best efforts to set them in order. If God wills, very shortly, after setting my mind at rest by making arrangements of the affairs of the Shahabad Sarkar, I shall return and we shall meet each other. I shall try to give you all the help that you require in

11. The author of *Maasir ul Umara* has given an interesting account of a clash between the Governor and the Diwan, both so closely related to the Emperor. *Manuscript*—Muhammad Ali Tamanna has given some very interesting letters of Musavi Khan to Saif Khan, the Governor of Allahabad.

discharging the duties entrusted to you. Your arrival and stay there before the coming of the clerks of the court are advisable and proper." A long letter written earlier by Shaikh Muhibullah, the Tabrizi Munshi, contains some chronograms which yield 1,061¹² as the date of the coming of Jafar Khan, the Governor of Shahjahan, to Bihar, and 1,063 the year of the completion of the historic garden Bagh-i-Jafar Khan of Patna. The letter of Mulla Md. Azim dilates on the elegance and beauty of some of the buildings and markets at Patna such as those of Madrasa-i-Saif Khan¹³ with its water basin, fountains, gardens, 'Katra', arched gate-ways, and embankment on the Ganges and of Katra-i-Shaista Khani which was situated in the middle of the market town and was full of the choicest pieces of clothes and goods.

Some of the letters throw light on the religious conditions of the times. We shall consider only two here. The saintly Shaikh Fathullah Darwesh of Parganah Maner, when asked by a Murid as to why he had refused an imperial grant of Madad-i-Maash, justifies himself by quoting verses of the Quran. Fidai Khan, the Governor, in a letter to Siadat Khan, the Sadr-us-Sudur, informs the latter of a bitter enmity and clash between "Shaikh Wajihuddin, the Sajjada Nashin of his holiness Shaikh Sharfuddin, Yahya Maneri" and Shaikh Munawwar, the grandson of the brother of the famous Mulla Mohan Bihari. Large crowds had gathered on the side of each and having entrenched themselves against each other had opened the fight with arrows and muskets and blocked the roads and streets to the inconvenience of the public. Many had to evacuate their families from the place and several had come to the writer with their complaints. With a view to settling the quarrels, first Mir Abdur Rahim and then Md. Safi, the Mansabdars were sent there. But as they proved unsuccessful Khwaja Ibadullah was deputed to the task and he removed the lines of entrenchment, ended the disturbances, and established peace and concord. The Khwaja was a learned, capable, and useful person and deserved the attention of the addressee.

More important than all these is the letter of Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan, Deputy Governor of Bihar, to Prince Azimush Shan. It gives new information about his successful expedition against the notorious and ever restless Ujjainia Chief, Kuar Dhir. He refers to his previous reports about the activities of the mischievous man who had been eventually turned out of his possessions. Being puffed up with pride owing to the large number of his ultimately dispersed followers he had come out of his fort and in an engagement that took place on 9th Ramazan about 900 of his villainous

12. "Jabr-birun shud ze shahr-i-Patna-o-mulk-i-Bihar." Jafar Khan came to Bihar on 1 Rabi I, 1061 (16 January, 1651) and returned to Court on Safar 1064 or 6 January, 1654.

13. Peter Mundy has also praised these buildings. Saif Khan, the husband of the sister of Mumtaz Mahal, ruled in Bihar from 23 Moharram, 1038 or 12 September, 1628 to 15 Ziqad, 1041 or 4 May, 1632.

horde had been either killed or wounded. As they had received a thorough chastisement on the said date they shut themselves within the fort and kept the fight daily with guns and cannon and many men on the writer's side suffered casualties. The assault on his stronghold was delayed till the rains which had produced great mud and slime had abated a little. About 900 or 1,000 archers and matchlockmen with equipments of war had been appointed on all sides to blockade the besieged ones and cut off all provisions to them and the writer, at the head of his force, kept up the round of the fort from morning till evening and appointed axe-cutters to cut down the jungle. He was on the look out for an opportunity to smash the enemies. The dispersed ones who came out of the fort were killed. After 10 to 15 days when the mud had dried up, on Monday, the 15th of the month, having arranged his forces, the writer fixed up the following day for the final assault. As the vanquished chief had lost his nerves and his wicked followers were in a highly distressed condition, they could not maintain their stand and fled towards the west into thorny jungles spread over 5 or 6 Kos. The fort was captured and two pieces of cannon named Fath-o-Nusrat and Dhawanit-Hunkar which had fallen in the hands of the accursed ones at Arrah were seized. Immediately after capturing the fort 4,000 horses and an equal number of foot-soldiers, led by Sayyid Umar and others, were sent in pursuit of the fugitives. As soon as they penetrated into the jungle, there was a fight with the wretched ones and many of them were put to the sword. Some camels and ponies were seized. The writer was determined to pursue the vanquished one till he was killed or captured. Such a large force had been gathered round him by the enemy that great exertions had to be put in for repelling and overthrowing him. All the seditious people of Bihar Subah and of the Sarkars of Ghazipur, Sikandarpur, and Kharid (Ballia Dist. U.P.) had made common cause with him and were in league with Muatasam Khan and had created such a disturbance as was difficult to be suppressed. But by the auspicious good fortune of the addressee the work had been done.¹⁴

In conclusion one feels tempted to notice very briefly the correspondence between an Irani scholar and Mirza Kamran, an Irani immigrant¹⁵, who had finally settled in India. Replying to a one page letter of the former, taking him to task for making India his home and forgetting all about the special features and amenities of Isfahan, Mazandran and Farrukhabad and the peace and plenty that prevailed under the benign regime of Shah Safi, the Mirza wrote in his six page letter about the waters of the Jamuna,

14. Wilson in *Annals of Bengal* and Sheodas Luckhnawi in his work on Farrukhsiyar and also author of *Ibrat Nama* refer to Husain Ali's expedition but do not give this information.

15. Many Irani poets and scholars of the 17th century have compared India favourably with their own home land. Kausari, Salim, Shakebi Isfahani, have left interesting verses; earlier the famous Amir Khusraw in his *Mathnavi Nuh Sepahr*, has extolled the superiority of India as compared with many other countries, particularly Iran.

the architectural monuments and gardens, specially the Bagh Jahan Ara, Bagh-i-Nur Afshan, and about the temperate and salubrious climate, gardens, natural springs, fruits and flowers of Kashmir. Referring to the remark about dress, costume and furniture the Mirza dilates on the superiority of the things he found in India. He felt immensely relieved in discarding the twenty yard piece of 'mindil', the eight yard long Kashani girdle, the Jama and Qabacha of Persia and accepting the lighter Indian 'Cheerah' (turban), Gujrati 'Kamarband', and the single sheeted sleeved Dodami. His quick-moving legs were no longer imprisoned in 'Chaqsur', the red hose, and he felt pleasure in putting on the Broach Shalwar or trousers. As for their fine texture and embroidery if the manufacturers of Kashan and other places saw the Indian things they would hang their heads in shame. One pair of Kashmir shawl on his shoulders was quite enough for him. He could not find words to praise the simplicity and utility of 'Charpoy', the Indian 'Musnad' (cushion), 'Sozni' (carpet), the fragrant 'Khas Khana', perfumes like 'Argaja' and the very pleasant 'Miswak', Pan (betel leaves), 'Missi' and 'Jibbhi' which were so useful in keeping the mouth and teeth clean. He refers to the superiority of the Sikka rupee of Shah Jahan and felt grateful for the monthly cash allowance which relieved him of the anxiety involved in waiting for the whole year to get something either in cash or in kind. He pours forth his eulogium on the grand Indian monarch Shah Jahan, who was so just and benevolent. Finally he recalls how since the time of Akbar there has been a continuous flow of scholarly people to India. Just as Hakim Abul Fath patronised such people in the time of Akbar, Nawab Jafar Khan played the same role in the time of Shah Jahan. He was not prepared to accept that Iran was 'Maktab-Khana-i-Hind' (School of India) and he appealed to the addressee to be fair and just in assessing the comparative value of things and men in Iran and Hindustan.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN BENGAL

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In an unpublished note in the papers of Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville, and Chairman and President of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India from 1792 to 1801, we find a statement which strikes the imagination of any jaded reader: "Bengal cotton is the finest in the world" [letter from Mr. Thomas Brown of Cheapside (in London), Wholesale Draper, to Dundas, 28-2-1787]¹. In the same note, Mr. Brown remarked with the benefit of his experience in the wholesale textile business in Britain and contacts in France, that with regard to East India cotton "a certain quantity equal to the manufacture of fine goods only, say Muslin &c. will always sell high if a considerable quantity more than the value must be reduced to common cotton as they will only answer that purpose"; the gist of this rather obscure statement seems to be that the market for high-priced muslins could remain stable only if coarser varieties were either taken or forced off the market, since the latter had declined as a source of profit to the tradesmen of Western Europe.

These remarks point to the existence of inequalities in scale within the Indian cotton industry during the latter part of the late 18th century. This has been comparatively neglected by Indian economic historians in the twentieth century, who are nevertheless becoming increasingly aware of the importance of cotton, both as a staple of commerce, and as an industry, yielding at best a subsistence rate of profit to the primary producers. The fact is that apart from fine cotton cloths, there was a demand for other cotton textiles. The decay of the latter had an effect as disastrous as the more-documented decay of the former. If we accept this conclusion, it might be interesting to estimate the extension of the impact of this decline on the people whose lives were bound up with the various types of cotton industry in Bengal.

The account which is printed, the writer believes, for the first time, in this paper was forwarded on 19 February, 1792 by Mr. Thomas Brown, the wholesale draper quoted above, to Sir Thomas Baring, a leading British financier and stockholder in the Government interest of the East India Company, for the information of Dundas, who was then the Indian "expert"

1. *Melville Papers* (in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, and also in micro-film in the National Archives of India) Ms. 1064, f. 12.

in the Board of Control, during the Chairmanship of William Wyndham Grenville, later Lord Grenville. Dundas at this period was collecting information on Indian cotton from private sources as representations regarding tariffs on cotton had started coming to the Board of Control from Lancashire and Lancashire cotton manufacturers. (cf. App. I). Brown mentioned that he received the account appended here from his son and in the covering letter to Baring stated that his son's name was "Joseph Thomas Brown, the Company's Superintendent of Piece Goods at Calcutta." The account itself is dated 19 August, 1791. It is written in a similar, though not identical hand and there is no reason to doubt the veracity of its testimony. The language is often involved, and the spelling occasionally unconventional, but the account bears the stamp of being written by a commercially minded man. It will be found in the original script in Ms. 1064, ff. 71—79 of the Melville Papers in the National Library of Scotland at Edinburgh, and also in microfilms in the National Archives of India. It is printed as copied in Edinburgh, with the exception of a few repetitious sentences².

"Information.... relative to the Culture of Cotton as managed in the Jungul Barry Districts. As also when produced, the mode of preparing it to be spun into thread, and also when spun to be wove into cloth, with the cost &c., &c.

Muster (of cotton seeds)..... are from the Aurung³ where the finest Jungul Cloths are manufactured.

.....This kind of Cotton is produce from an Annual⁴ plant growing in height from two to three feet and the cotton is called Sooter Kaposs in distinction from that produced from a taller plant which continues to produce cotton for two or three years called Boga Kaposs⁵. However, little of this last is produced in the district; what is, grows near the hills and can only be used for coarse cloths, or the Doreas⁶ (stripes) for doreas, but even for this purpose, the Cotton from the Upper Provinces is used, except for the superfine.

In respect to the culture of the Sooter Kaposs, about the middle of November, when the waters are sufficiently taken off, the people begin to prepare their ground for Cotton, which must be of a light sandy nature and

2. Noted in the text and occasionally paraphrased.

3. Aurang or Arang was the primitive factory or workshop where cottage products were distributed from before the incoming of industrial capitalism.

4. Annual.

5. Kaposs or *Karpasa* is the classical Sanskrit name by which Cotton was known in India and to the Greeks. cf. modern Bengali Kapash = cotton as distinct from Suta. (Soot) = yarn or thread.

6. cf. modern Bengali word meaning any striped pattern.

therefore are chosen most commonly on the Banks of Rivers or tanks/Ponds which are dug and the Earth that is taken out forms the Bank all round. (Reasons—elevation of earth from rest, and....conveniency of watering the plants should the season prove too dry, though this is seldom the case; on the contrary, too much Rain frequently happens, and either Rain very violent or Hail which frequently is the case in the month of March and April prove very destructive to the Cotton plants. In November, the land being well ploughed and cleaned from all weeds, the cotton seed is then planted in furrows, about eighteen inches asunder, and in these furrows, the cotton seed is planted, three or four seeds in each hole about the distance of six inches, one from another. In the course of seven or eight days, the plants begin to make their appearance, but in those places where they do not, a second planting of seeds is made. From the time of its flowering, great care and attention is required to keep it free from weeds also to stir and raise up the earth around its Roots (to nourish plants and destroy worms in roots)....—but the people are rather careful, the plant does not grow to [o] tall, which in moist seasons it is apt to, and thereby proves less productive. About the middle or latter end of March, the plant begins to flower, and in the course of the month of April the flower is succeeded by a Pod from which in a few days the Cotton makes its appearance and about twelve or fifteen days afterwards it is ready to be taken from the plant, however, the plant is sometimes flowering and producing cotton for a month or more after this, though that which is produced is not of so good or so fine a quality as first gathered—....it is (then) exposed a few days to the Sun, and then carefully put into a dry, airy place, though some for fear of oil or grease getting into it, as also to preserve the seeds that may drop from it, keep it in Earthen Pots well covered.

As the Cultivation is profitable to the Riot (farmer) so those lands that are proper for its growth are always assessed at a higher rate than any other.

It is rather difficult to ascertain the produce from any given quantity of seed, however, it is generally computed as follows, viz., on a piece of ground, 90 Coids⁷ (1 cubit 18 inches) by 75 which is a measure of land, and called in the Dacca Province, one Packee. On this, in the manner before-mentioned they plant three seers (1 S. = 2 lb. averdu) of seeds, which yields them about two maunds of seed and cotton together, the proportion of which are in 3 seer weight of cotton as gathered from the plant, there will be about 2 s. 4c. (16 chittacks = 1 seer) of seed and 12ch. of cotton. This with the seeds etc., as taken from the plants especially after it has been kept a short time by which it will become more valuable (it will spin

7. The basis of all linear systems is the cubit—degraded into the Bengal revenue term "coid"—or measure of the human forearm; cf. *Census of India*, 1951, volume VI, part IC, p. 169, footnote 39; so the Coid roughly equal to the Bengali linear measure "hath" or hand.

into finer and better thread) is generally sold (a rupee value 2/2) from 6 to 8 Rs. per maund at 80 sr. wt. [sic] to the maund, and the cost of cultivating it is as follows, 3 seer of seed which at the rate of 5 seer per Rupee is 9 as. 8, but this price is merely nominal, as the Riot has generally more seed than he can use, and either throws it away or gives it to his cows, so that it is only a time of scarcity that it is purchased, when the price stated is generally the average, and I have frequently known indigo seed in Calcutta to sell for 8 annas, and at other times 30 Rs. per maund, Labour selling etc., Rs. 7. 9 as. 6 p. and ground rent 8 annas from which you can form an idea of the profit to the Cultivator. The Labour Cost etc. of preparing this kind of cotton in a state for spinning into fine thread makes it come at a very high rate to the Manufacturer.

As this is generally performed by women, who first prepare the cotton and then spin it into thread, tho few of them make it their sole Occupation, applying, as their freedom from domestic concerns will admit of, which is more during the rainy season than at any other time of the year, at this time, we will say a woman will purchase 10 seer of cotton with the seeds &c, tho few of them are capable of purchasing near that quantity. To clean this, she first begins by separating and unravelling it with her hands, after having done this for some time, until the seeds and Grosser Parts are excluded, she then applies the Jaw Bone of a large fish with the teeth in it, which in a moderate degree operates like a comb or card upon the cotton, when this done, the cotton is exposed to a gentle heat by placing it under earthen pots with a fire in them made of chaff, that the heat may not be so great, this by drying it a little and giving it for a short time a greater degree of firmness than it naturally possesses allows the remaining the seed parts etc., to be separated more easily by the hand but after this is done a little it is then operated upon with a machine, made by fixing two or three wires upon a sounding piece of wood, something like a harp, this separates and unravels it much more than before it is then brought to that state similar to the muster I send you as cotton when cleaned from the seeds, but to have it in a state proper for spinning requires a further application of time and labour, and this chiefly by the hands. It is then rolled up in the manner of the muster, I send you, as in a state for spinning, but the quantity that will remain after these operations will be according to general calculations not more than 12 chittacks so that exclusive of the weight of seeds, there is a waste or loss of about 2/3rds of cotton; and one woman by pretty constant application will require from three to four months to perform it in, and if she gets one Rupee per mensem for her labour, she thinks herself moderately well paid. By this, we may calculate the price of cotton as in a state for spinning nearly as follows, viz., the price of 10 seer first purchased allowing they get something for the seeds at 6 Rs. per maund will be 1—8, the woman's labour 4 month's 4 Rupees, so that the 12 chittacks will cost 5 Rs. 8 as. or for one seer 6—14 which is reckoning at the lowest rate possible, I believe.

In regard to spinning this cotton into thread, with the expense etc., thread proper for the super fine or fine superfine Jungle Cloth, the spinners are hardly capable of spinning at any other time of the year than the rainy season, when the air is moderately cool and moist. The cold season is to [o] cold for them to apply their fingers to twist the thread properly and the hot season is to [o] dry. If they attempt it at that time, the cotton dries and the thread is continually breaking so that they are able to spin for a short time in the morning and evening, but during the rainy season, they can apply to it almost any time of the day. . . . the cotton twists much better and they are able to spin the thread more even.

From a roll of cotton like what I send you, the spinner spins the thread twisting it with her thumb and finger, and as she spins, she winds it upon a spindle which is placed in some water close by her. For the very finest thread the spinner chooses to have a pan of clear water placed opposite to her between which and herself she draws and spins the thread as this tends to assist the sight and enables her to spin the thread finer. . . . It is reckoned a good spinner may spin of thread on a medium for superfine cloth about the weight of one sickee or a four anna silver piece in a day; or about 2 chittacks (3 oz. 12 drs.) in one month, and for this month's labour, if she receives 1 Re. 4 as. she thinks herself pretty well paid, so that in spinning a seer of Cotton, prepared as before stated, and to cost 6—14 a woman's labour would be about 10 Rupees, but this seer of cotton will not yield one seer of thread, as there is always some waste or loss in spinning. By adverting to this, you will observe a seer of thread actually costs 18 Rs. But when a manufacturer purchases this thread, he finds notwithstanding it was all spun by one person, and from one preparation of Cotton, yet will consist of three or four Letters, as different circumstances to the spinner will occasion during the long time of spinning it, so that he is obliged to sort it very carefully, ere he can apply any part of it to his webbs, and that is the reason why to purchase thread for super fine cloth only, the weaver will be obliged to pay from 20 to 25 Rupees per seer and even then it will consist of one or two letters.

The great difficulty the manufacturers have to encounter in the manufacture of their finest cloths is the poverty of themselves and those who spin the thread for the spinner from being poor can never purchase much cotton at one time, buy small quantities, spin it into thread and sell it as soon as they can. The weaver being also poor is scarce able to manufacture any fine cloth without being assisted with advances, and when he has received them, he cannot go to anyone place and purchase as much thread as he wants, all of one finess [sic], but is obliged either to take his quantity from one person consisting of 3 or 4 degrees of finess or purchase very small quantities at different places and then with all his care from so many spinners, he cannot have it all of one letter, and this is the cause of there

being so frequently so many degrees of finess in the different folds of one piece of cloth, especially in the weft of it. It is true, artfull weavers will sometimes make this on purpose, when he thinks his cloth will not be much examined, but in general, the first is the cause. It is very well when a weaver or manufacturer possesses some little capital as having three or four looms, and his credit such that he receives at once advances for as many pieces of cloth, he that can purchase thread sufficient to go on with his work to each web, though they should be all of one kind, he will hardly attempt to make them all of one letter, but of different and accordingly he sorts his thread.....

As to weaving this thread into cloth with the manufacturers charges &c., it is scarce possible to learn [*sic*] them all in one piece of fine cloth, for in laying down the warp of one piece of super fine Jungle Tanjib 4 by 2, it requires the labour and attention of 2 men for sometime to lay it down properly and when this is done, to select the proper thread for the weft, which they most commonly endeavour to have somewhat finer than that of the warp (and time needed to do this)... When the weaver has finished the cloth, he delivers it to the Gomastah or pyker thro' whom the advances are made to the weaver etc. preventing the merchants' advances etc. from falling into Ballance by delivering a piece of cloth inferior at Muster he must be paid, which they commonly are, at the rate of 3 Rs. 4 as. p. cent tho' some of them get more, this of course falls into the price of cloth to the merchant, who, when he has received it and the price adjusted, send it to ~~be~~ what is called half-washed. It is then brought home and delivered to the workmen called Refugurs⁸ to chuny⁹ or to take out any knots or short pieces of thread that may have fallen and be worked into the cloth with the woof. This done which commonly requires one workman for two or three days, it is sent to be properly washed and cleansed, after which the Gold head and Jungle flower are put upon it by the Ruffugurs who are paid agreeable to the numbers of Gold threads they draw through it, after this, it is carefully rolled upon a long round stick and suffered to remain in this manner for a night or two, it is then taken off this roller and folded up, the people being careful (ought to be), to make all the edges straight and even, when this is done it is laid upon a thick board and chanked or beat with heavy round shells until the thread lay smooth and even and have in some degree received a gloss, the piece of cloth is then said to be finished and these last operations of washing, bleaching, gold heading etc., upon a piece of Tanjib Jungle superfine generally cost the merchant about 3 Rupees, after which he has nothing to do, but assort it with others he may have and send it to us for sale.

8. Menders or sewers; Ripu or *Ruffu* meaning to mend or sew; also might mean embroiderers.

9. *Chunao* is Hindustani for selection.

Now, Sir, having brought the piece of Jungle Tanjib to Calcutta, I have only to consign it to you, and therefore to your charge I commit it with liberty to trace it till it returns a Bill of Exchange to this country Calcutta."

No notes are appended to this text, beyond occasional Indian expressions which have been explained in brackets; individual readers will be able to draw their own conclusions from the account. An attempt will, however, be made to raise a few questions with regard to the type of production described in the text.

Firstly, with regard to the actual location of production. This is called "the Jungle Barry districts", "Barry" being the Anglicised spelling of "Bari" which is the exact Bengali synonym for the Muslim word "Mahal". Now Mahal in everyday use means house; but it was also used in the later Mughal period in Bengal as a specific territory in which revenue was collected. A large tract of territory in the westernmost part of Bengal, comprising the Western parganas of Midnapur in the centre, the Western parganas of Bankura in the north and a few parganas of Chota Nagpur and Mayurbhanj in the south was known throughout the eighteenth century as the Jungle Mahal districts, the word districts being used by the English in the sense of regions. It is definite that cotton grew at this time in central and southern Midnapur, for instance, in the village of Mohanpur in Boorachour Pargana in Jellasore Sarkar.¹⁰ This cotton was grown on levee lands; north-west of it stretches the Midnapur Piedmont rising to the Jhargram Plateau, and the Cossye-Subarnarekha river system flows through this area, affording soil suitable for the type of cultivation mentioned in the text.¹¹

On the other hand, there is a region to the north-east of Dacca in East Bengal, known as Bhawal Pargana. This region stretches from the plains to the uplands of Mymensingh which is known as Madhupurer Garh. The area has been built by the Brahmaputra river, which used to flow to the east of the Madhupur ridge, but now skirts it to the west. Levees can therefore be found in the plains of Bhawal, and it was here that the finest cotton was grown for the production of Dacca muslins. There is a subdivision of Bhawal, still known as Capassia,¹² which Taylor, the historian of the cotton industry in Dacca, believes was the centre of cotton production in Dacca. He mentions a village called "Jungle Baree Dumroy which was in the Capassia area; "They weave the plain muslins in Dacca, Dumroy,

10. This information was given to the writer by Dr. S. Chakravarti of the Deptt. of Geography, Presidency College, Calcutta, who has mentioned it in his thesis on "Land Use in Midnapur" submitted for the D. Phil. degree of London University.

11. Webs of levees on or near the banks of rivers are particularly suited for the cultivation of finer varieties of cotton; witness the development of the cotton industry in Louisiana or Nilotic Egypt. Similar levees exist in West Bengal at the junction of the Bhagirathi and the Dwarkeswar and Mayurakshi rivers near Murshidabad, where also cotton was grown.

12. The area where *Kapasa* or cotton was grown.

Teethbaldee, Junglebaree and Sunargong¹³." It is quite likely that cotton grown near Junglebaree, which was a flourishing town in the seventeenth century—it still has remains of a fort built in the time of Isa Khan the Bhuiyan or landlord of Bhati—would be known to English factors as cotton from the Junglebaree districts.

The text mentions a tall plant known as Boga Kaposs, which "grown near the hills and can only be used for coarse cloths¹⁴." The location referred to was in the neighbourhood of hills where trapsoil could be found, most probably deposited by cut-off rivers; but levee land must have also abounded in the region, as the Sooter Kaposs which produced yarn and cloth known as Superfine Jungle Tanjib was not grown near the hills. We know that Boga cotton was grown in Birbhum and also the Mymensingh-Cachar region in 1790. It could very probably have been grown in the Jhargram uplands.

So the location seems to have been either the Junglebaree "ilaqa" or district in Bhawal, or the western and southern portion of Midnapur. At the end of the text, the Superintendent of Piece Goods in Calcutta talks, figuratively of course, of "having brought the piece of Jungle Tanjib to Calcutta." If the production had been near Dacca, it seems probable that its transport through either Dacca or its environs would have been mentioned in Brown's meticulous account. The fact that Midnapur produced less cotton for yarn than Dacca in either 1787 or 1862 need not mean that indigenous yarn was not being spun into cloth there in 1787 in a period when export of cotton yarn had just been discouraged from Bengal to Great Britain;¹⁵ in fact, the production of yarn for local consumption could have begun recently in Midnapur, since production for export was being discouraged in Dacca; and this might have led to production of cloth. At any rate, this much is certain that the account deals with an area primarily of local supply and demand for yarn, which was being linked by economic circumstances with the Company's market for cloth.

To come to a second point, the account that is available in the 4th paragraph of the text, of the actual process of cultivation is much more

33. J. G. Taylor, *Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca* (Calcutta, 1840), p. 175.

14. The writer has been informed by Dr. S. Chakravarti that Boga is a Bengali dialect expression meaning trapped or "trapp" hence the term—"Bagchar" or sand bank soil near a "trapped" or "oxbow" lake of a meandering river in a region nearer the hills than where levees are formed. Such soil was found in southern and western Midnapur and in southern Mymensingh.

15. J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal* (London, 1927), p. 253. "It does not appear that the export of cotton yarn was stopped in the interest of the cotton weavers." The prohibition of export by the Company was probably a measure of conciliation to Irish exporters of yarn, after the Irish constitutional crisis of 1785.

detailed than the account of cultivation of fine cotton in Taylor's work;¹⁶ there is an equally good one in Medicott's *Cotton Handbook*¹⁷ but this refers to coarse upland cotton grown in the hills east of Tippera, and would perhaps be useful to understand how Boga cotton was grown anywhere in India.

An interesting point to note with regard to revenue policy in the period of early British rule in India is the 5th paragraph; "As the Cultivation of Cotton is profitable to the Riot (*Raiyat* or peasant) so those lands that are prepared for its growth are always assessed at a higher rate than any others." The British revenue authorities were being even more severe than the Mughals, of whose policy with regard to the imposition of differential rates of demand on each crop, there are evidences in the economic history of the Deccan.¹⁸ The high rate imposed by the East India Company could hardly have been an encouragement to the cultivators. It is, however, possible that these rates had also been levied by the Bengal Nawabs.

The rest of the account can be divided into two parts. The first deals with the processes of spinning the yarn. The detailed account should be of use to historians of technological change in India. It is similar to that given by Taylor of handloom manufacture as practised by the Bhawal weavers in the 1830s, and might well be applicable to handloom weaving in Bengal in general in that period. An attempt has been made in the account to estimate the cost of production. It might be interesting for a research worker experienced in the use of figures to try and systematically estimate the cost of production of cotton through the stage of primary production to the stage when the merchant made a profit on the prepared cloth known as Jungle Tanjib. It might also be possible to estimate the profit which was made by the different types of labour employed in the processes of production. It seems that the differential rate of revenue assessment did not have as severe an impact on the profits of the cultivator as the cost of the handloom manufacture on the spinners, who seem often to have been indigent widows,¹⁹ though our text only mentions women. This is the significance of two statements in the text; The Labour Cost etc. of preparing this kind of cotton in a state for Spinning make it come at a very rate to the Manufacturer As this is performed by Women, ... tho' few of them make it their sole occupation, applying as their freedom from domestic concerns will admit of, which is more during the rainy season, than at any

16. J. G. Taylor, *op. cit.* pp. 165—75.

17. J. G. Medicott, *Cotton Handbook for Bengal* (Calcutta, 1862), pp. 114—16.

18. W. S. Moreland, *Agrarian Systems in Muslim India* (Allahabad, 1929, New Ed.), p. 185. "The system of sharing now introduced (in the Deccan in 1652) was that which I have described in Chapter I as "differential", that is to say, the share claimed was not uniform for all crops, but differed with circumstances.... high-grade crops were charged at varying rates from 1/4th downwards to 1/9th according to the cost of production."

19. *Midnapur District Records* (Calcutta, 1914), Volume 1, p. 227; J. Taylor, *op. cit.* p. 167, for Dacca.

other time of the year." Also "the great difficulty that the manufacturers have to encounter in the manufacture of their finest cloths is the poverty of themselves and those who spin the thread, . . ." etc. "There were many people concerned with the operation spinning and weaving from spinners to those known as Ruffugars or Ripugars (sewers) and poverty must have been a lag which all had to put up with." It is interesting that the account ends on a note of financial profit for the East India Company and for the wholesale dealer of Cheapside. "Now Sir, having brought the piece of Jungle Tanjib to Calcutta, I have only to assign it to you, and therefore to your charge I commit it with liberty to trace it until it returns a Bill of Exchange to this country Calcutta."

Here we have the closing of the "vicious circle" of exploitation. The cotton trade with England was ultimately a source of wealth to the Company. In the process of this trade, even the native dealers—*dadni* or advance contracting merchants, etc.—were impoverished while the indigenous primary producers went to the wall. Once the springs of the Industry dried up in Bengal, the cultivator found it impossible to grow cotton as a cash crop, and faced with the competition of mill-made goods, either relapsed back to a subsistence economy or forsook agriculture, or in a few cases turned to more profitable crops like silk or jute or indigo, where he again came up against the controls of monopoly.

APPENDIX I.

On p. 3 of Ms. 1064 of the Melville Papers, there is a set of "Mr. Dundas' queries to Mr. Richardson, Accountant-General to the East India Company as to Cotton" dated February, 1787 which is transcribed below.

- "1. What quantity of cotton wool have the Company ever brought from India?
2. From what places in India has this ever been bought?
3. What is the price in India?
4. What is the selling price on importation?
5. What is the utmost value of cotton goods sold at the India sales?
6. What is the profit to the Company?
7. What quantity of cotton goods sold for consumption and what for exportation?
8. Has the sale of Indian muslins been decreasing of late years? I mean for home consumption.
9. The weight and size of a package of cotton from India?"

These queries list most of the problems facing the Indian cotton trade at the time. They may be compared with the "Government order calling for the submission of information under the heads indicated below required by the Hon'ble, the Court of Directors" which is paraphrased in the

Alphabetical Index of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue from January to June, 1789 (Calcutta, 1889), p. XX under the heading 'Miscellaneous'. This reads "Board reported to Government that they have sent particular injunctions to the several Collectors and Resident at Benares to furnish the required information before the first of June, 1789.

1. As to the sort, quantities, qualities, uses and prices of produce in each district, its exports and imports in cotton, whence the imports come, to what extent, and their qualities, uses and prices.

2. The name of the renters of lands, the probable gain in rearing the article, the disadvantages, if any, under which the culture of it, and the method of sowing it, labor and the means of removing them, particularly in respect to such cotton as yielded thread for fine cloths.

3. The manner in which the thread is produced, whether imported or spun in the district; if spun there, whether by people who make spinning a professed trade or apply incidentally [*sic*] to it. The different sorts of thread produced, described as accurately as can be done in writing. The quantity of thread of each sort, yielding by a given quantity of [cotton] and the less of greater different sorts of cotton distinguished, the quantity of thread which a spinner can produce in a month, the usual gain which the spinners earn in a month, the prices for which the different sorts of thread are usually sold in the market. If thread is imported, its sorts, quantity, prices and use; if exported, the quantity, sorts and value."

It is interesting to note that the motives of both these sets of questions are the same, that is, to probe the state of cotton industry in Bengal, and perhaps test its resilience in times of stress, and the comparative cost of the industry with that in England (*cf.* figures and data in Melville Ms. 1064, f. 3, *passim*). The second set of queries, that is from the Court of Directors was perhaps inspired by the first; but they may have been parallel queries, one from the East India mercantile capitalist and the other from the Cabinet under pressure from the new industrialists.

Replies were received to the Board of Revenue's queries from Birbhum, Behar, Burdwan, Calcutta, Dinajpur, Jessore, Midnapur, Murshidabad, Nuddea, Purnea, Rajshahi, Ramghar, Rangamati, Rangpur, Salt District or Hidgelee, Sylhet, Tirhoot and 24-parganas. These may be read in the (West Bengal Secretariat Record Room) Board of Revenue Proceedings, 15th June, Nos. 62—96. The present writer has seen two of these reports which have been printed—one by the Rev. W. K. Firminger in the *Dinajpur District Records* (Calcutta 1914), Vol. I, pp. 226—29; and the other by R. Guha in the *West Bengal District Records Burdwan Letters Issued 1788—1800*, pp. 19—23. A sample survey seems to show that the information in these replies, though worthy of collection, is not as integrated as the account transcribed in the text, from the point of view of the cultivation and cottage industry of cotton.

NOTES ON THE 17TH CENTURY RECORDS OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

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The 17th century records of the English East India Company, made familiar by the excellent calendars of Foster and Fawcett, are recognised as one of the chief sources of information for Indian history in that period. Their Dutch counterpart, at least comparable to the English records both in quantity and quality as source material, is still but dimly known to the scholar and researcher in the field of Indian history. Foster, in his prefaces to the "English Factories in India", drew liberally upon this source; Moreland and Dr. Brij Narain made occasional use of the Dutch records in their writings on Indian economic history. Besides them, only a few Dutch scholars—notable among whom are Dr. Terpstra and Mrs. Meilink-Roelofs,—have studied for purposes of research portions of the vast accumulation, the bulk of which still remains unexplored from the view-point of Indian history.

The language problem and the comparative inaccessibility of the Dutch Company records relating to India partly explain why they have been so little used. No lists or calendars of these records are yet available in print. The records form part of the Dutch colonial archives stored in the Algemeen Rijksarchief at the Hague, a place researchers would not generally visit as a part of their normal academic programme—a disadvantage which was absent in the case of records stored in the great centres of learning like London or Paris. Then 17th Century Dutch, as written by the often not too-educated servants of the Company, becomes comprehensible only with long familiarity. This is also true, though not quite to the same extent, of the palaeography of the period. While the foreign scholars have thus been prevented from taking any sustained or effective interest in these records, the Dutch, very understandably, have used them mainly for the study of their own colonial history, for India was but a side-interest in their eastern venture. The fact that India was only a side-interest to the Dutch Company has, however, created an incorrect impression regarding the value of the Dutch records as source materials for Indian history: they are believed to be of merely secondary importance from this point of view. This belief is erroneous for more than one reason. The verifiable facts regarding the Dutch records disprove it conclusively. Moreover, it is based on an inadequate appreciation of the importance of Dutch trade in India in the context of Asian economic history as well as the history of mercantile capitalism.

Dutch commerce with Asia owed its origin chiefly to the need for securing spices for the European market. But in the spice markets of the East Indies, there was hardly any demand for any product of Europe excepting precious metals, coined or in bullion. Mercantilist theories and limited supply inhibited the export of this particular commodity from Europe beyond a certain extent. The wherewithal for the purchase of spices had, therefore, to be sought elsewhere. The Dutch discovered quite early in their eastern career that there was a practically unlimited demand for Indian textiles in all Asian markets and hence decided to invest the bulk of their cash capital in Indian textiles which soon became more or less their chief medium of exchange in the Archipelago and elsewhere. This was followed up by a thorough-going study of market conditions in most parts of Asia geared to the central purpose of securing Indian textiles in steadily increasing quantities. As a result, by the middle of the 17th century we find the Dutch engaged in almost every branch of inter-Asian trade and investing the bulk of their profits in Indian textiles wherewith they secured their spices for Europe. The chief features of this intricate pattern are first, the import into India of Chinese gold, Japanese silver and copper, Siamese and Malayan tin, Persian silk etc., and secondly, the export of Indian cloth to all Asian markets, particularly the spice-growing islands of the South-East. One notable consequence of the development was a change in the basic motives of the Company's eastern trade. For, her inter-Asian trade was now comparable in importance to the import of spices into Europe, the original purpose of their eastern venture. In this trade, Indian textiles occupied a pivotal position. Moreover, in the list of Dutch imports into Europe, Indian cloth, indigo, diamond and a number of less important commodities increasingly occupied a significant position and the Dutch factories scattered along the coast line of India or situated near the famous inland emporiums became vantage points in their strategy of oriental commerce. The importance of the vast quantity of records produced by or in connection with these factories becomes understandable in the light of this fact.

The factories in India were organised into a number of "Directorates" and "Governments". The latter name was normally applied to regions forming parts of Dutch territorial possessions, only the Coromandel factories being made an exception to this rule in view of their great commercial importance. Each unit had its Director or Governor, assisted by a council of senior factors, residing at the chief factory (*hoofdkantoor*). The subordinate factories also had their councils headed by the Chief Factor. The Governments and directorates were subject to the control of the Governor-General-in-Council with his headquarters first at Bantam and later, from 1619, at Batavia. There was also a certain amount of direct though occasional contact between the Governments, Directorates and even the subordinate factories on the one hand and the Company's Court of

Directors known as the *Heeren XVII* or Honourable 17 and the *Kamers* or Chambers based on the eleven provinces of Holland whom they represented on the other.

The mutual correspondence between these various units and authorities of the Dutch Company constitute the bulk of the Company's archives for the 17th century. Minutes of proceedings of councils, bills of lading, memoirs of Governors and Directors,—all such multifarious materials appear as enclosures to letters. This point needs emphasizing as in later periods the accounts and certain other papers constitute a distinct part of the records, separate from the correspondence. So far as materials relating to the Indian factories in the 17th century are concerned the only records which do not form part of the correspondence are the *Dagh-Register* or journal kept at Batavia which provides a day to day report of events in various parts of Asia based on the minutes of the Batavia Council and the letters received by the Governor-General. This journal forms part of the Indonesian archives.

The 17th century records of the Dutch East India Company are mostly written on large folios and except for the records prior to 1614 which are kept in bundles, nearly all bound into volumes. In many cases, the 17th century binding has stood the test of time very well. Each volume or bundle has a contemporary list of its contents, generally accompanied by a modern transcript of the same. Consolidated hand-lists, which are copies of the original lists, are also available. The volumes and bundles in each series are arranged chronologically.

As source-material for Indian history, perhaps the most important series is the one known as *Overgekomen Brieven* (Letters Received) which begins in 1607. It contains original letters from the Governor-General and Council of the Indies to the authorities in Holland with which were enclosed as annexures copies of letters from the subordinate Governments, Directorates and factories, to the authorities at Batavia (earlier at Bantam) and in Holland. At times the original letters to Batavia appear as enclosures, and letters from the factories etc., to the *Heeren XVII* and the provincial Chambers in Holland are also bound with the relevant volume. The enclosures include copies of memoranda and reports on particular subjects, resolutions taken by the Councils of the subordinate bodies, extracts from invoices, account-books and journals (*dagh-register*) kept by the Company's employees on important occasions. Copies of letters written from the subordinate to the chief factories were also sent as enclosures, whenever considered sufficiently important. Copies of letters from the headquarters in Java to the subordinate units up to 1620 are bound with the volumes of *Overgekomen Brieven* and so are the copies of Resolutions of the Governor-General-in-Council up to 1636, for these were sent to Holland as enclosures

to the letters from Governor-General. From 1661, the letters received in Batavia from the subordinate bodies were constituted into a separate series known as *Inkomend Briefboek* (Incoming Letter-book), in order to cope with the phenomenal increase in the volume of correspondence.

A considerable proportion of the records included in the two series mentioned above originated from or relate to the Dutch factories in India. Every year a dozen or more letters from each of the chief factories in India—Pulicat and later Negapatam on the Coromandel coast, Surat in Western India, Chinsura in Bengal etc.,—kept the authorities at Batavia and in Amsterdam informed of the state of Dutch activities in India. Besides, the letters from the subordinate factories to the higher authorities in Asia and Europe, written at fairly regular intervals, provide detailed first-hand information regarding Dutch activities even in regions far inland—their trade, their relations with various Indian powers and European nations trading in the East and even their social life. This voluminous correspondence contain detailed accounts not only of events or developments which were of immediate interest to the Dutch but also of the economic and political conditions in the regions where the factories were situated. Particularly valuable as source material for the economic and political history of these regions are the *Memories* left by the Dutch Governors and Presidents for the guidance of their successors. Materials comparable in nature to the *memories* are the *Remonstranties* written by factors giving a detailed account of some particular regions or subjects at the order of higher authorities. Pelsaert's *Remonstrantie*, familiar to students of Mughal history in the translation by Moreland and Geyl, is only one of numerous similar accounts available among the Dutch Company records. Then there are the *Corte Verhaelen* (short accounts), prepared at Batavia on the basis of letters received from the subordinate bodies, which provide in narrative form the account of some important developments in a particular region. Some of the *Corte Verhaelen* run into hundred or more folio pages. From time to time, orders issued from Batavia required the subordinate Governments, Directorates and factories to keep journals (*dagh-registers*) of their activities. Though this does not appear to have been done regularly at any place, occasional extracts from journals enclosed with letters to Batavia are to be found among the two series under discussion. Similar extracts from the minutes of councils are also available. Summary accounts of the Company's activities in the *Generale Missiven*, one or more of which were written every year by the Governor-General-in-Council to the *Heeren XVII*, give a comprehensive picture, region by region, of the Company's affairs throughout the East. A substantial portion of nearly each such letter deals with matters of Indian interest. Though generally dependable, the *Generale Missiven* occasionally make mistakes in matters of detail and need to be carefully checked in the light of information available in the letters from the subordinate units.

The *Bataviaasch Uitgaand Briefboek* (Batavia's outgoing letter-book) is another series containing very important materials of Indian interest. It consists of letters, instructions, letters of appointment etc., from Batavia to the subordinate Governments and Directorates. These provide an excellent commentary on the Dutch activities in India and a clear picture of the evolution of the Company's policy, particularly with regard to its European and Asian competitors. They also contain valuable data concerning the markets for Indian wares in various parts of Asia as also in Europe. The *Instructies* (instructions) supply information regarding the Company's administrative organisation and its gradual evolution, pay of officers, biographical details etc. Written by persons who were evidently educated—at times by the Councillors or even the Governor-General himself,—the outgoing letters generally reveal a clear and comprehensive grasp of all problems at issue which they analyse with rare perspicacity. The personalities of individual Governors-General break through the set forms of official correspondence and thus add to them an unexpected charm. In these letters, the bulk of which are notable for their dignity of style and concise presentation of facts and arguments,—the currents and cross-currents of Asian economic history come vividly to life, as the factors which determine the course of trade are consciously analysed. Much of this economic analysis, though coloured by mercantilist notions, would be acceptable even to-day, because it is based on sound empirical foundations.

The series entitled *Resolutien van Gouverneur-Generaal en Raden* (Resolutions of Governor-General and Council) contains the resolutions of the Council of the Indies. The resolutions relating to India, though not very numerous, are valuable for ascertaining chronological details and the study of Batavia's policy, discussed extensively in the outgoing letters.

The letters, instructions etc., from the authorities in Holland are contained in the series known as *Copieboek van brieven, instructies en andere papieren van de XVII en de Kamer Amsterdam aan de regeringen van Indie en de Kaap* (copy-book of letters, instructions and other papers of the XVII and the Amsterdam Chamber addressed to the Governments of the Indies and the Cape). It includes letters to the Governments and Directorates in India, but these are very brief and rather limited in number. The policy with regard to India and the state of demand for Indian wares in Europe are explained in greater detail in the letters to Batavia. Incidentally, these letters throw light on the frequently unrealistic attitude of the *Heeren XVII* who often insisted that policies in the East should conform to Holland's relations with various nations in Europe and were inclined to be uncompromising with regard to Asian competitors. Besides, their knowledge and understanding of Asian affairs appear to have been limited. The only important data for Indian history contained in this series are those relating to the demand for Indian wares in Europe.

The series comprising the proceedings of the *Heeren XVII* is known as *Resolutien genomen op de ordinari en extra-ordinari vergaderingen van Heeren XVII* (Resolutions adopted at the ordinary and extraordinary meetings of the Honourable XVII). The proceedings contain information about prices of Indian wares in Europe, annual requirements for such wares in the European market and occasionally policy decisions regarding the factories in India. The volumes in this series unlike the rest, do not contain any full list of contents and there is only an out-dated and very incomplete index. The state of preservation is also comparatively poor.

Besides these series of records, there is a remarkable collection of maps in the Hague archives known as *Verzameling (Buitenlandse) Kaarten* (Collection of Foreign Maps) which includes detailed charts and maps of different parts of India. Some of these go back to the early 17th century.

It is difficult to give any exact figures for the quantity of Dutch records relating to India. It is, however, certain that the documents relating to India in the 17th century included in the two most important series,—*Overgekomen Papieren* and *Inkomend Briefboek*—cover some two hundred thousand folio pages. The documents in the various other series will easily come to several thousand folio pages. Of this vast quantity only a fragment has been published in "*Jan Pieterszoon Coen : Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indie*", an eight volume publication which includes all documents relating to Coen's activities in Asia and the period of his Governor-Generalship. The bulk of the *Batavia Dag-Register* has also been printed. The Dutch Government has further undertaken a scheme to publish selections from the *Generale Missiven* but this publication is not expected to be in any sense exhaustive or comprehensive.

In conclusion, I would refer very briefly to certain types of information available in these records. First, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that these records are the best available source of information for India's overseas trade in the seventeenth century. The picture we get is of an enormous increase in Indian participation in this trade towards the latter half of the 17th century. Indian ships sailed as far as the Philippines in this period and Indian competition constituted a serious challenge to European trade in Burma, Siam and Malay. Princes, nobles and even the emperor Aurangzeb himself participated in this expanding trade. About the internal economy of the country also the Dutch records are a singularly rich source of information. Market conditions, sales and production organisation, agricultural and mineral products, currency, tariff policy etc., are all discussed in great detail. Nor are the Dutch archives negligible as a source of information for Indian political history. For the history of Bengal in the 17th century, they probably constitute the most exhaustive source of information.

The prolonged death pangs of the Vijayanagar Empire, and the subsequent wars over her erstwhile domains, the history of the Golconda Kingdom, the careers of Mir Jumla and Shahji, commercial and military conflicts between various European nations—many such obscure yet important aspects of seventeenth century history are lighted up by the meticulous narratives of Dutch factors. In short, a band of researchers working on this vast accumulation of records will be able not merely to fill up various lacunae but even to reinterpret many facets of our history and perhaps to solve some basic problems regarding the nature of Indian economy.

