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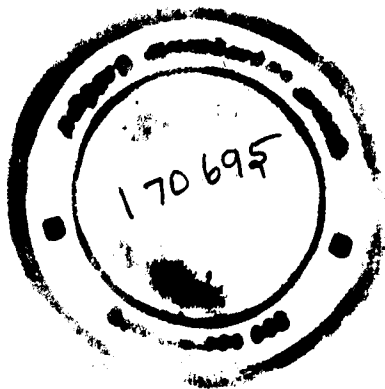
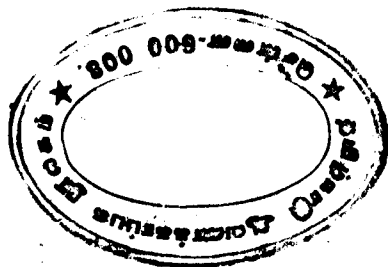
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LADAKH'S RELATIONS WITH INDIA—AN HISTORICAL STUDY

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Ladakh, a remote province of Jammu & Kashmir State, is now an integral part of the Indian Union. At the time when doubts are being created by some regarding the relations of the Jammu & Kashmir State with India, it may be worth while to study the views of the rulers of Ladakh regarding the nature of their relations with our country more than a century ago. This information has been culled out of the large mass of material available in the old records of the English East India Company relating to the kingdoms of Ladakh, Baltistan and Tibet. The channel of information was the accredited agents of the Company as well as a large number of European travellers who happened to visit the above-mentioned Himalayan Kingdoms from time to time. The documents, which I am going to place before the readers in this article, were forwarded by one William Moorcroft who was in Ladakh from 1820 to 1822 during his tour of Ladakh, Kashmir, Peshawar, Kabul, Bokhara, etc. The details found in them are not available in the two volumes dealing with the travels of William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, which were published in 1837 under the authority of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

It is stated in the preface to the above volumes that William Moorcroft, who was then the Superintendent of the Military Stud of the East India Company's Government of India, had taken up the above tour without the approbation of the authorities and that his sole aim in going to the above-mentioned countries was to study the breed of the horses of Balkh and Bokhara, which he wanted to introduce in the Cavalry of the Company's forces. But while pursuing his above object, Moorcroft was also interested in the study of the geographical data of the above countries, possibilities of extending the commercial relations between these countries and the East India Company's territories in India and finally introducing, if possible, the political supremacy of the British over them. We are here concerned only with the last named object of William Moorcroft, in pursuance of which he forwarded certain papers which reveal the efforts made by Ladakh through the centuries to remain linked up with India rather than with any of the surrounding states. The history of the case is briefly this:

In 1819 Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Punjab, conquered Kashmir. The next object of the Maharaja was to extend his sway over

the principality of Ladakh on the plea that Ladakh had always paid tribute to those who ruled over Kashmir. But the ruler of Ladakh did not like to be ruled by the Maharaja of Lahore. It was at this time that William Moorcroft reached Leh, the capital of Ladakh, and met the Raja and his Chief Minister. Moorcroft's interest in the integration of Ladakh with India was aroused when he was told that the Emperor of Russia was already exploring the possibilities of extending his influence over those regions and that for this purpose he had sent his agent, one Aga Mehdi Rafael, to visit Ladakh etc. Aga Mehdi, it is supposed, was also the bearer of a letter addressed by his Emperor to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Left to decide whether he should submit to the Emperor of Russia or to the Maharaja of the Punjab, the Raja of Ladakh sought to save himself from either by seeking the protection of the Government of India. It was for this purpose that he made an appeal through William Moorcroft to the Governor General of India in the form of a memorial,¹ a copy of which along with copies of the *farmans* of the Mughal Emperors is enclosed herewith. A close study of these documents reveals very interesting facts about the relationship which has existed between Ladakh and India from the 17th century onwards.

Firstly, Ladakh sought the protection of India during the time of the Mughal rulers in order to save herself from the incursions of the Kalmaks. The Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, readily accepted the offer and sent help to Ladakh against the Kalmaks. This happened in the eighth year of the reign of Aurangzeb i.e., in 1664-65 A. D. (*vide* enclosure 4 A).

Secondly, Ladakh always maintained political relations with India through the province of Kashmir. It is to be noted that at the time of the invasion of Ladakh by the Kalmaks, the ruler of Ladakh had approached the Mughal Emperor of India through Saif Khan, the then Subahdar of Kashmir. The Emperor's acceptance of the ruler's overtures was also conveyed to the ruler of Ladakh through the same channel.

Thirdly, apart from the political relationship which existed between Kashmir and Ladakh, the two provinces have always been interdependent for their commercial needs. Most of the raw shawl-wool required by the shawl manufacturers of Kashmir came from Ladakh, besides other necessities of day-to-day life. Actually one of the reasons which led Maharaja Ranjit Singh to conquer Ladakh in 1834 was that Ladakh had started diverting the supply of raw wool from Kashmir to India.²

Fourthly, in spite of the age-old relationship of Ladakh with India,

1. National Archives of India, English translations of Persian Letters Received, Jany.—June, 1822, Vol. 70.

2. Please see also my article "Relations of the Lahore Darbar with China". *Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings*, Vol. XXX, Part II, pp. 1—8.

the people of Ladakh always preferred to maintain their local autonomy as far as possible. This is amply borne out by the terms on which the ruler of Ladakh wanted to seek the protection of the Government of India through the agency of William Moorcroft.³

Fifthly, the documents incidentally throw light on the interest shown by certain European powers like Russia and England in the strategic areas of Ladakh and Kashmir since the beginning of the 19th century.

Are we, therefore, not respecting the age-old views of not only the people of Ladakh, but also of the people of Jammu & Kashmir State as a whole, by giving to that State a special place in the Indian Union? It is from this point of view that the documents cited are of special significance both to the students of Indian history and to all those who may be concerned with the administration of Ladakh.

Enclosure 1

Memorial of the Raja and Kaloon of Ludagh to the Most Noble the Governor General in Council. Dated Leh, July 30th, 1821.

.....(usual style of address to a Sovereign Power).

To make known my request to so enlightened and all discerning a Power is (perhaps) unnecessary, but proceeding upon the adage "ask of us that we may grant" I venture to avail myself of the present opportunity of submitting a statement of my wishes humbly hoping that it will meet with a gracious and favourable reception.

From the earliest period of time the ancestors of this most devoted of servants (the Raja) have governed the Principality of Ludagh in regular succession. The people of Cashmeer have ever kept up an intercourse with the Country for traffic in shawl-wool.

At the time that the Kalmaks overran Ludagh and usurped the possession of it, my ancestors with the advice of the Cashmeerees with whom they were on intimate terms, and considering that Cashmeer was the nearest of the Soobuhs subject to the Mooghul Empire in Hindoostan, represented the state of their affairs through the Nazim of the Province to the Emperor Alumgeer Aurangzeb, judging that this would be the means of obtaining their object, and recovering what was lost. (In return) they were honored by the Royal favor, and distinguished by the grant of a jageer, a munsub and a Title besides. Such effectual aid moreover was afforded that they were enabled entirely to expel the tribe of villai-

3. Draft engagement enclosed with the memorial.

nous Kalmaks and to recover complete possession of the principality of Ludagh on the old footing.

From that period out of gratitude for so signal a benefit my predecessors always maintained a dependence on and communication with the Imperial Government through the channel of the Nazim of the Soobeh of Kashmere. Their humble tenders of submission were on all occasions well received and obtained for them fresh marks of the Royal favour and approbation.

At length in process of time the territories of Hindoostan came into possession of Uhmud Shah, Doorii-Dooran [*sic*]; and an alliance having taken place between that Monarch and the house of Tymoor, the two dynasties became one. The Dooranee King gave back the empire of Hindoostan nearly as before, into the hands of the Timoorian Dynasty; but some Soobuhs such as Lahour, Cashmeer etc. he annexed to his own dominions. In consequence of this new arrangement of Boundaries, the letters sent from the Chiefs of the principality of Ludagh came to be forwarded to the Dooranee monarch through the Nazim of Soobuh Cashmeer instead of as before the Emperors of Hindoostan. Matters continued thus till the present period; when about 2 years ago the Sikh nation who were formerly subjects of the Dooranee State, took possession of Cashmeer.

Now the allegiance of my family was due either to the House of Tymoor or to the Dooranee Monarchy. The Nazim of the Soobuh of Cashmeer was merely the medium of our correspondence and to him we owed no homage whatever. Subjection to a power which is nothing (or to people who are nobody) is a source of degradation and many anxious thoughts had occupied my mind on this subject.

The usual vent afforded to the people of this territory for the trade in wool being thro' Cashmeer, we have hitherto maintained an intimate connection with the Governor of that Province. The power of the Dooranee State has sunk into insignificance as is well known. What might be the state of affairs in Hindoostan I was quite ignorant as the people of Ludagh held no communication with that country.

In the midst of these anxious reflections and whilst quite irresolute what course to pursue our good fortune has conducted Mr. Moorcroft into the Country on some Commercial speculations. We have now learnt the fact of the widely extended dominion of and the Paramount authority exercised by the British Nation in India. We accordingly made known to Mr. Moorcroft the state of our feelings and Circumstances. That Gentleman stated in reply that he had come into this Country solely for

Commercial purposes, and had no authority to interfere in any political matters.

We have therefore submitted this dutiful address to your Lordship in Council, along with Copies of certain "Furmans" from the Emperors of Hindoostan thro' the medium of Mr. Moorcroft, who will himself also make your Lordship acquainted in detail with the affairs of this Country and our hopes and wishes by a communication from himself.

I venture to hope that as the Supreme Authority over the Provinces of Hindoostan is now in the hands of the British Government, that Government will conformably with the practice of the former Emperors of India condescend to take under its protection the principality of Ludagh and that the tender of allegiance and submission being accepted I may be honored by a gracious and consolatory answer to this address from the Governor General in Council.

What remains to be said? "I am obedient to your illustrious commands".

(Raja's Seal)
(red)

(Kaloon's Seal)
(black)

Enclosure 2

Draft of Engagement proposed to be made with the Raja and Kaloon of Ludagh submitted by Mr. Moorcroft in Persian, for consideration of the Most Noble the Governor General in Council dated Leh, July 30th, 1821.

Proposed Engagement with the Eminent and right worthy Akibut Muhmood Khan, Raja of Ludagh and the trusty and Faithful servant, Chuhwan Tundih, the Kaloon, drawn up for their satisfaction conformably to the address submitted by them to the British Government praying to be received amongst the number of states enjoying its protection.

Art. I. The territory of Ludagh shall ever remain under the protection and guardianship of the British Government.

Art. II. The Officers of the British Government shall at no time make any demands on Revenue from the principality of Ludagh.

Art. III. The Raja of Ludagh and the Kaloon shall always conduct the Government of the Country of Ludagh in their own way; and the Officers of the British Government shall abstain from all interference whatever in its internal administration,

Art. IV. In disputes on matters of trifling importance the Raja and Kaloon shall adjust them after their own way. Should an affair of great importance however occur affecting the very existence of the state of Ludagh assistance shall be afforded by the British Government upon application for the same being submitted. Should any necessity arise in sending a Military force, the Charges for the same shall not be defrayed by the Ladagh Chiefs; but they will do their best to furnish whatever supplies may be requisite on the march of the troops due compensation for the same being made by the British Authorities.

Art. V. The above articles shall ever be in force and perpetually binding upon the British Government so long as the Rajah of Ludagh and the Kaloon evince a good disposition towards that Government and a general desire to promote its interests.

Enclosure 3

Original Letter from the Raja and Kaloon of Ludagh to Mr. Moorcroft (In Tibutee and Persian) received by him on 30th July, 1821.

To the worthy Mr. William Moorcroft &ca. &ca. It is represented as follows:

You have been pleased to visit this Country. We have become intimate friends and we have entered into Engagements for the establishment of a Commercial intercourse between the British and the people of Ludagh.

You must now apprise His Lordship in Council of the actual state of affairs in this quarter in a letter from Yourself; in order that we may obtain the accomplishment of our wishes from the Government.

L. S.
(Raja's Seal)

L. S.
(Kaloon's Seal)

Enclosure 4

Substance of Copies of Firmans from the Emperors Arungzeb (Alumgeer) and Mahmood Shah to the Rajas of Ludagh.

(A) *From the Emperor Alumgeer to Raja Deldun Mumjul in the 8th year of His Majesty's reign.*

His Majesty, having learnt from Syf Khan, Nazim of the Soobuh of Cashmeer, that Raja Dildun Mumjul from attachment to the Moghul Court, has tendered his allegiance and submission in token of which he is ready to cause the Khootboh to be read and the imperial Coin to be

struck in this Country of (little) Tibbut, and will also erect a Musjood (for the Mooslims) and fulfil other engagements made with the Khan, herewith invests the Raja with the Khilats of the Tibbut Raj, let the Raja in question considering this as a special mark of favor, continue to evince the utmost fidelity that he may thereby entitle himself to a continuance of the royal favor.

(Signed) Jafeer Khan
Minister

(B) *From the Emperor Alumgeer to Raja Deldun Mumjul in the 9th year of His Majesty's reign.*

His Majesty acknowledges receipt of the Raja's address expressive of his devotion to the Moghul Court and his agreement to evince the same by the acts and tokens above mentioned which had also been communicated by Syf Khan as a mark of favor in consequence thereof a Khilaut and dagger set with precious stones are conferred on the Raja. It is expected that in return for so distinguished an honor, the Raja will exhibit the utmost attachment to the Moghul Government and thereby entitle himself to continuance of the Royal favor &ca.

(Signed) Jafeer Khan
Minister

(C) *From Moohummud Shah to Raja Akibut Muhmood Khan in the 16th year of His Majesty's reign.*

Having been apprised of the Raja's constant fidelity and attachment to the Moghul Court, His Majesty is pleased to honor him with a gift of Khilut and Dagger. In gratitude for this mark of distinction, the Raja is expected to continue firm in his obedience and submission to the Imperial Government, a line of conduct which cannot fail of redounding to his advantage.

(Signed) Kum'orddeen Khan
Minister

(D) *From the Emperor Alumgeer to Raja Nurmiya Numjul in the 39th year of His Majesty's reign.*

Having been apprised of the death of Raja Akibut Muhmood Khan grandfather of Raja Nurmiya Numjul His Majesty is pleased to confer on the latter a Khilat, together with a Munsub of 1,000 and 1,500 horse, 500 of them double mounted. For this being duly grateful let the Raja so exert himself in the management of the country under his administration in such manner as effectually to prevent the turbulent Kalmaks

from making incursions into those parts during the Winter. Moreover let him keep the inhabitants of his Raj happy and content with his Government; and further use his most strenuous exertions for the propagation and extension of the Moslim religion which conduct will be for his advantage, both here and thereafter.

(Signed) Usud Khan
Minister

MAULAVI ALI KARIM, A SCHOLAR-SOLDIER OF BIHAR DURING THE MOVEMENT OF 1857-59

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The towering personality of Kunwar Singh overshadows to some extent the careers and activities of a large number of his compatriots and associates in the movement of 1857-59. Maulavi Ali Karim, Pir Ali Khan, Harkishen Singh, Waris Ali and Jodhur Singh are among those half-forgotten fighters whose exploits have yet to be studied thoroughly. Each one of them served in his own manner and within his own sphere the common cause and it is only by piecing together their individual, and often isolated, efforts that the complete picture of the rising in Bihar can be gleaned.

An attempt has been made here to study some aspects of the life and career of Maulavi Ali Karim on the basis of contemporary English and Persian records as well as oral traditions collected from his descendants and relatives.

He¹ was the scion of a respectable and wealthy zamindar family of Doomri, a village between the Poonpoo and Masauhri railway stations on the Patna-Gaya line. His father was Muhammad Ali, a leading legal practitioner of Calcutta, who was a man of saintly virtues. He died at Calcutta and was buried at Bhowanipore where his tomb is still an object of veneration. Ali Karim was a great scholar and linguist. Besides having a thorough knowledge of Arabic and Persian he was well grounded in Sanskrit, and also acquainted with the science of Astronomy². He was married to a member of the famous Balkhi family of Fatwa in Patna District.

The political career of Ali Karim can be divided into two distinct phases: the first relating to his activities inside Bihar prior to the Patna rising of 3 July 1857, and the second dealing with his activities outside Bihar, following his escape to Gorakhpur.

1. This brief biographical outline of Ali Karim's early life has been supplied to me by Lady Anise Imam, the widow of late Sir Ali Imam, one of the makers of modern Bihar. She is the grand-daughter of Ali Karim's son.
2. Another member of the family informed me that a *Bayaz* or collection of Ali Karim's verses and writings was extant in the family till very recent times. Much information could have been gained from it regarding his personal life and academic pursuits.

We should first consider the first phase of his life. Prior to the outbreak of 25 July at Dinapore, there were three prominent groups working independently, but with the knowledge of each other, for the great Rising. The Lucknow group was represented by Pir Ali Khan, a native of Lucknow who had come over to Patna a few months before the outbreak, and Mehdi Ali, the patrol *Darogha* of Patna city and a prominent nobleman of Lucknow with easy access to the ex-ruler. Ali Karim, who worked in collaboration with Waris Ali, a Police Jamadar of Tirhut and native of Delhi, and was said to be connected with the royal family, represented the Imperial group. Finally, there was the local Wahabi group, whose aims and objects were a little wider than, and different from, those of the other two groups.

Ali Karim first came into political prominence for his part in organising the rising of 3 July 1857. The various administrative, social and educational reforms introduced by the East India Company were found to interfere with the religion and customary life of the people, and the public mind was greatly agitated by them. The different nationalist groups were anxious to canalise on constructive lines the widespread discontent among the people and help to bring about a concerted rising against the British rule. To focus public attention on the subject, they wanted to bring together all the rules, regulations and orders of the Government which in any way interfered with the religious beliefs and social life of the people. In this connection, Pir Ali Khan, the chief architect of the 3 July rising, was instructed³ by his compatriot, Masihu'z Zaman, to contact Maulavi Ali Karim, whose knowledge of the subject was well-known. Masihu'z Zaman wrote about Ali Karim as follows: "I am told that in knowledge of law and regulation there is not a second person to Ali Kareem. A friend desires a copy of all the regulations injurious to the Mohammadan religion, for instance those relating to forcing the prisoners to eat [*sic*] or referring to any enquiry from Government about the Corn Factories of all the places, or taking of arms from all people or those preventing circumcision or detrimental to the seclusion of women or ordering the Hindoos to give their widows in marriage or others like these of a nature which will tend to the extermination of Mohammedanism in future. At any rate as many as you can procure yourself will be highly acceptable, or if you cannot obtain all yourself you will be able to get them through him; and by being known to men like him, there is no doubt that after a short time, it will be productive of general advantage to us."

All Karim's activities came to the notice of the Government following the sudden arrest of his collaborator, Waris Ali, on 23 June 1857.

3. Judicial proceedings of the Govt. of Bengal, dated 3 February 1859, No. 1. Letter from Masihu'z Zaman to Pir Ali Khan, dated 12 December 1855.

allegedly for attempting to fly from his duty and writing a seditious letter. Waris Ali came under suspicion because he made several unsuccessful attempts to secure leave with permission to go outside his station when affairs were at a critical juncture and it was also noticed that he had abundance of money at his disposal. He was suspected of being a spy working for the Delhi group⁴, and was arrested by Mr. Robertson, Assistant to the Magistrate of Tirhut. Waris Ali was sent the same day to Major Holmes at Segowlee. Major Holmes, feeling the grounds of his arrest insufficient, sent him on to the General Lloyd⁵ at Dinapore, who in his turn passed him on to Mr. Taylor, Commissioner of Patna Division⁶. He was eventually tried by a Commission presided over by Mr. Taylor on 6 July and sentenced to death. Mr. Taylor in his judgment observed. "In his possession were found numerous letters from Ali Kareem.....and after an attentive perusal we have no doubt whatever in our mind that although occasionally disguised in obscure and metaphorical language they indicate the existence of a conspiracy against the State....."

Most of the letters found in the possession of Waris Ali were from Ali Karim addressed to him. Although written, of necessity, in a vague and allegorical style, the letters reveal clearly the exact nature of the proposed rising, as will be evident from the following extracts: "The pillao⁷ of my imagination is now almost cooked. It will be ready soon. Then I will call you and feed you upon it. On every account you should be ready. Several friends from different places have collected here to eat and cook the pillao, and shortly I also will go to some place to cook the pillao of my imagination. At this place (Patna) day and night are spent in caring for the pillao of our imagination."^{7a} Then, again, he wrote on 25 May 1857, "Just now preparations are being made with regard to our intended trade. Several Gumashtas came from the western provinces and obtained orders and commodities of trade and several Gumashtas have gone from this place to the western provinces, and in a short time all the Gumashtas will collect the articles of commerce in one secure place and some of the principal men of the western provinces who are also partners in this trade will assemble there and inspect the commodities and make arrangements for their despatch into every country.....By the grace of God new prospects of profits in the trade are day by day providentially opening up. The partners in the trade are collecting from all sides on their own accord. and many wealthy men

4. *Ibid.* Letter from Mr. H. Richardson, Magistrate of Tirhut, to Commissioner of Patna, dated 23 June 1857.

5. *Vide* Holmes's note, dated 25 June 1857, to General Lloyd.

6. *Vide* General Lloyd's note, dated 27 June 1857, to W. Taylor.

7. *Pillao* or *pulow* is a richly seasoned meat and rice preparation.

7a. Letter dated 29 April 1857.

and several men on capital have sent messages requesting to be admitted to the partnership and have become partners, and the commodities of trade are arriving in abundance. It now only remains to heap up all the articles of trade in one place and we have obtained a secure place for collecting these things where there is no fear of evil designing men or thieves." The repeated emphasis on contact with the western provinces gives an inkling of Ali Karim's subsequent plans and of his collaboration with Musharraf Khan of Gorakhpur. It is evident from these letters that the conspiracy was well-planned and its ramifications went deep and wide, and that Ali Karim played a prominent role in it. As a matter of fact according to the testimony⁸ of Imamu'd Din, an associate of Pir Ali, Ali Karim was selected to be the ruler of Bihar, in the event of the success of the rising. Owing, however, to the premature arrest of Waris Ali and the flight of Ali Karim from Bihar, Muhammad Qasim Shere⁹ of the village Mohsinpur, Patna District, was selected as a substitute.

Following the arrest of Waris Ali and the seizure of his correspondence, steps were taken to arrest Ali Karim.¹⁰ Ali Karim was at this time at his village home at Doomri. The Commissioner directed the Magistrate, Mr. Louis, and Dewan Maula Bux, to proceed to Doomri immediately and arrest him. The Magistrate, however, was informed by his *Nazir* that Ali Karim's house was fortified and was full of armed retainers, and that resistance would probably be offered. The doors of his house, the *Nazir* reported, were all blocked with brick-work and the parapet was also being strengthened. An escort of 50 Sikhs of Captain Rattray's Corps was arranged, and finally Mr. Louis and Captain Rattray proceeded to Doomri to effect the arrest. They were informed there that Ali Karim had left a little earlier on an elephant. Mr. Louis pursued Ali Karim in an *ekka*, but could not catch him. The Commissioner suspected the *Nazir* of complicity with the rebel and had him taken into custody. Information was also received from Hidayat Ali Khan, the Subedar of the Sikh Corps, that three troopers had aided and abetted Ali Karim's escape.

Following the escape of Ali Karim from Doomri, a trooper by name Amir Ali Khan was despatched, with a message for his apprehension, to the Magistrate of Gaya. While carrying the message the trooper himself came across Ali Karim's party about 12 miles from Doomri where he had halted owing to illness. The trooper, it was alleged, recognised Ali Karim and his friends but failed to apprehend them. On the contrary

8. Letter from Commissioner, Patna, to Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 635, dated 21 July 1857.

9. He was the brother of Mahbub Shere, grandfather of Mr. S. Absan Shere, Curator, Patna Museum.

10. Letter from Commissioner, Patna, to Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 414, dated 29 June 1857.

he is said to have tipped Ali Karim and helped him to escape. The Government had Amir Ali Khan arrested, and brought, along with the three others accused of the same offence, to trial. While Amir Ali Khan was found guilty and sentenced to death on 22 July 1857, the others were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for terms varying from 7 to 10 years.¹¹ These episodes clearly indicate the popularity of Ali Karim and the support he received from Government servants.

Ali Karim having thus escaped, the Government offered a reward of Rs. 2,000 for information leading to his arrest. Later the question of his trial in absentia was taken up, and enquiries were also started regarding his properties. The papers relating to the enquiries are available and they contain full information on the subject. Ali Karim's estates were extensive and spread over a number of districts. The enquiry dragged on from July 1857 to March 1858. Finally Mr. Hope, the Magistrate of Patna, committed the case for trial under Act XIV of 1857, on a charge of conspiracy and rebellion against the state, and Mr. R. J. Scot, Sessions Judge and Commissioner appointed under the above Act, delivered his judgment on 24 March 1858. He observed, "Ali Kareem was engaged in treasonable correspondence with Waris Ali. The letters that passed between Ali Kareem and Waris Ali were written in dark and ambiguous style, and not only did he evade pursuit..... but there is every reason to believe (from the evidence of witnesses transmitted by the Deputy Magistrate, Sewan) that he went to Gorakhpur and joined the party of Musharraf Khan, then waging open war against the State. I adjudge the forfeiture of the property, both real and personal, of Ali Kareem under Section II, Act XIV of 1857." In confiscating Ali Karim's properties, the Government's attitude was harsh and inconsiderate, and a number of his genuine transactions were set aside. For instance the 5½ annas share of Talooqa Barhouna Perg, Pillich, transferred by Ali Karim to his mother Musammat Badlan for Rs. 50,000/- was invalidated and the property seized.

Coming back to the career of Ali Karim after his exit from Doomri, his journey through Bihar, with the police in search of him everywhere, is full of thrilling incidents. During his escape Ali Karim is said to have used various disguises. Once he remained in hiding for a few months in a temple at Banaras, disguised as a priest, and on this occasion his knowledge of Sanskrit proved to be of great assistance to him. He is also said to have met Kunwar Singh¹² during the period when he was still in Bihar trying to escape from the province. He finally went to Gorakhpur, joined Musharraf Khan's forces and waged war openly against the English.

11. Letter from Commissioner, Patna, to Secretary, Government of Bengal, No 661, dated 23 July 1857.

12. Hall, *Two months in Arrah*.

With this commences a second and distinct phase of Ali Karim's activities, and we have to depend for information on this phase of his life on the scattered references to his activities in the reports of the Divisional Commissioner of Patna and Magistrates of Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, etc. In December 1857, we hear of Ali Karim's presence with Musharraf Khan in Gorakhpur, and of his activities on the Saran-Gorakhpur¹³ frontier. A combined force of some 2,000 sepoys under Harkishen Singh and Ali Karim¹⁴ had assembled at Bunny Ghat (Burhuj?) on the Gogra. The plan of the rebels was to cross the Gogra and march to Ghazipore and then again crossing the Ganges enter Shahabad. Shahabad was at the time in a defenceless state. Mr. Wake, the Magistrate of Shahabad, had only 100 Sikhs at Arrah and a surprise enemy landing would have put him in a dangerous predicament with no route to escape except to the south. Military and police intelligence in the district was so disorganised and paralysed that, in the words of the Divisional Commissioner, "the rebels would probably be the first to announce their own approach". In view of the threat from the forces of Ali Karim and Harkishen Singh, certain defence measures were taken. The gunboat *Patna* with 15 Sikhs and a Havildar was sent to Buxar with orders to Lieut. Batt there to place 2 guns with enough men on board her and to cruise off to Bhojpur to intercept the threatened move, and the *Charles Allen* with 50 men of the 82nd Foot was also despatched for the same purpose. Col. Rowcroft was detailed to guard the Sewan frontier. Shortly after this, information¹⁵ was received from Mr. Macdonell, the Assistant Opium Agent, that a party of Sikhs, numbering 50 had been surprised by the enemy at Gothree and obliged to retreat, leaving about 100 pounds of ammunition.

The Chapra people on receipt of this news at once jumped to the conclusion that the Government troops had been defeated by the forces of Ali Karim and Harkishen Singh and that the latter were marching either to seize Chapra or to re-enter Shahabad. The enemy's object appeared to be to crush Col. Rowcroft before the arrival of Jung Bahadur's reinforcing column, and Col. Rowcroft was advised to look round for some strong position which he could hold, if pressed, until the time of Jung Bahadur's arrival. Col. Rowcroft wanted to fall back on Sewan, but as this was considered unsafe he entrenched himself behind a small river awaiting Jung Bahadur's arrival. The crisis from the point of the Government passed with the arrival of Jung Bahadur. The rebels appealed to the sense of national honour of Jung Bahadur and tried to persuade him to join their ranks. Muhammad Husain wrote to him

professing friendship and expressing his conviction that he could not seriously intend to ally himself with the killers of Brahmins and slayers of cows. He also conveyed to him the permission of the King to retain Saran and any other British province he chose to have. Ali Karim was clearly at the back of this move. He was with Muhammad Husain at this time and his contact with the Imperial Court had already been established, and in fact, he represented the Imperial group at Patna in the rising of 3 July 1857. The plan of winning over Jung Bahadur did not, however, succeed and the district of Gorakhpur was cleared of the anti-Government forces largely with the aid of the Gurkhas.

All this was towards the end of 1857. By the middle of the next year we find that Ali Karim had turned to the west. The Commissioner of Patna made the following report¹⁶ regarding the activities of Ali Karim at this time:—"Ali Kareem I learn on good authority is at Kirtangurh [*sic*] about 8 miles above Tandah¹⁷. He has been in regular correspondence with Amar Singh, who lately wrote to him that he had been successful in harassing our troops very much, and begged him to come over with as many men as he could collect. He (Ali Karim) applied to Mehdi Ali (Muhammad Husain) for troops, but was told that they were all required at present to attack Man Singh. The Magistrate has promised to keep me informed of the movement of this man." The military background of this report is as follows:—Following the death of Kunwar Singh in April 1858, his younger brother Amar Singh was, at this time, carrying on a guerrilla campaign all over Shahabad and the contiguous districts of eastern U. P. General Luggard, who was in charge of the Company's forces at this end, was unable to curb Amar Singh, and he finally resigned on the plea of old age and ill-health. The weakness of the Government forces in Shahabad could have been fully exploited if Ali Karim could have sent a few thousand men to help Amar Singh. But, all the resources of Muhammad Husain, whom Ali Karim approached for help, were directed against Man Singh, Taluqdar of Fyzabad, who had declared in favour of the British and was being besieged in his fortress of Sahabganj.

Towards the end of the movement, Ali Karim is said to have escaped to Bhopal and taken shelter there. The Begam of Bhopal interceded with the Government on his behalf and he was granted amnesty. He returned to Patna and settled there. He purchased a new house at Mohalla Sangi Masjid in the Patna city, which is still in the possession of his descendants. He now lies buried at Doomri, his birth place.

13. Letter from Commissioner, Patna, to Secretary, Government of Bengal, dated 12 November 1857.

14. Do. dated 24 December 1857.

15. Do. dated 14 December 1857.

16. Letter from Commissioner, Patna, to Secretary, Government of Bengal, dated 1 June 1858. Also see Foreign Consultations, Nos. 139-40, dated 27 August 1858.

17. Tandah lies on the road from Fyzabad to Azamgarh, 37 miles east of the former.

RUQQA'AT-I-HASAN

HASAN ASKARI

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A new and perhaps the most important source of information for Sir J. N. Sarkar's valuable paper entitled "Orissa in the Seventeenth Century"¹ was the collection of correspondence of Maulana Abul Hasan, Secretary to the Government of Orissa (1655-67), the only copy of which was found by that doyen of Indian historians in the Rampur Library. While looking into some of the newly-acquired mss. of the Oriental Public Library, Patna, the present writer came across a very old and incomplete copy of this ms., Ruqqa'at-i-Hasan. The first 33 folios, and perhaps an equal number at the end, are unfortunately missing, or were misplaced by the original owner. There are altogether 80 letters, 'Arzdashts', 'Parwanahs' etc., spread over 95 folios and there are 15 lines to a page. The paper and the ink give the impression that the ms. belongs to the early 18th century. It is written by a practised and experienced scribe in cursive 'shikasta' style, so usual at that time.

Though much of the important material available in the present copy has been already utilized by the great historian, and he has given many relevant extracts from the letters missing in the Patna ms., yet a careful scrutiny of the latter reveals matters which have not been touched upon by him but have their own importance and are well worth one's attention. These were left out by the great historian but one would like to mention not only the grants of rent-free lands to saintly and scholarly personages but also how they were of use to the society by helping in running Madrasas, giving training and education in theology and also arts and crafts to poor students, and meeting the requirements of indigent people, particularly strangers and way-farers and helpless orphans "for the sake of God". In the Patna ms. there is no reference to the 'Farman' about temple destruction, which is found in the Rampur ms., but the demolition and destruction of 'Awatan' and 'Masakin' (abodes and habitations) of the rebels has been mentioned and we find much which shows the anxiety of the authorities to allow "those who followed the path of submission and obedience and payment of Government revenue to remain at ease in their homes" (*amakin*), to promote the welfare of the people, to give justice to them, to abolish some nefarious practices,² and to

restore peace and order and good government by taking effective measures against the refractory and recalcitrant chiefs and rulers and embezzlers and corrupt officials. The working of Dak Chaukis between Cuttack and Akbar-nagar (Rajmahal) and Jahangirnagar (Dacca), the plying of a "royal ship" (Jahaz-i-Sarkar), laden with commodities, between Porbandar and Baleshwar Bandar and its being wrecked by a heavy gale near Sikakol, and of other ships bringing ivory and elephants from Seelan (Ceylon) to Machilibandar, the receipt of the imperial Farman that "in administering justice and redressing the grievances of the oppressed there should be no delay even for a moment so that the common people should get prompt justice on the spot and have no need to proceed to the imperial court for the removal of injustice", and the "establishment of the Police posts or 'Thanas' and of the Darul Adalat (Court of justice) with Qazi, Mufti and Mir Adls" deserve consideration. These and some other matters, largely of cultural interest, have not been noticed nor have the names of the writers and the addressees been given. For a student of a detailed history of Orissa in the early years of Aurangzeb's reign Ruqqa'at-i-Hasan is a very valuable guide and the information available in it about the duties and the policy and mutual relation of the provincial chiefs, revenue practices, campaigns for reconquest and restoration of Mughal rule, and some other aspects of administration is not to be met with elsewhere. As the ms. is rare and there is need of some further endeavours to draw upon this source material of history, a brief notice of the present copy, even though mutilated, is perhaps justified.

There are 6 Arzdashts to the emperor, some very long and giving a detailed account of the happenings in the province, sent by Sayyid Mahmud Nusairi³, entitled Khan-i-Dauran, a 'Panjhazari' noble, who had been transferred from Allahabad to Orissa in the 2nd year of Aurangzeb's reign (1659) and died there after a successful regime of about 7 years in 1077 A. H. or 1666-7 A. D. Besides, we have as many as 13 important letters which he wrote to Mukhlis Khan Gurdezi.⁴ The latter was sent, also in the 2nd year of the reign, along with Nawab Mir Jumla, to Bengal, and in the following year was given a Jagir in Kahalgaon and Bhagalpur and placed in charge of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal). Qutbul Mulk, the ruler of Golconda, his Vizir, Mirza Muhammad Arif Quli, his Faujdar of the border district of Sikakol (Chicacol), Haidar Khan, and the Orissan envoy, Abdul Ghani, sent to negotiate for and realize the arrear and current shares of the Mughals on Golconda revenue, received as many as 10 letters. There are letters to such important Mughal grandees as Mir Jumla Khan-i-Khanan (1) Amir-ul-Umra Shaista Khan (2) Jumlat-

1. See the Chapter in Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*.

2. Prince Muhammad Shuja had already issued a peremptory command forbidding the castration of children and their sale as eunuchs. Aurangzeb's General Order (1668) forbade the wicked practice throughout the Empire. Khan-i-Dauran refers to the prevalence of the evil in Bengal but not in Orissa.

3. For short biographical notes of this and other great nobles who figure in the present collection, *Maasir-ul-Umara* may be consulted. Now an English translation of the whole work is available.

4. Not to be confused with his namesake, a former Governor of Bihar.

ul-Mulk Wazir Jafar Khan (3) the Imperial Chancellor, Raja Raghunath Diwan (4), the Imperial Lord Chamberlain or Mir Saman, Iftikhar Khan (3), Mirza Raja Jai Singh (1), 'Bakhshiul Mulk' Asad Khan (1), Abid (Qulich) Khan, the Sadrus-Sudur (2), Lashkhar Khan, the Subahdar of Patna (1), and Saif Khan or Safiuddin Mahmud the Subahdar of Kashmir (1). Other addressees were Peer Khan Niazi⁵, Faujdar of Talmal, Kakar Khan⁶, Faujdar of Naraingarh, Mautamid Khan of Jaunpur, Khwaja Inayatullah Khan, Khwaja Alauddin Naqshbandi, Diler Khan, Askar Khan, and Mir Ismail Diwan. There are many letters addressed to Miyan Muhammad Sayeed, son of the Naqshbandi saint, Miyan Shaikh Sarhindi, and his sons and relations. The letter to Raja Mukund Dev⁷ of Khurda and those to Shaikh Farid, entitled Ikhlas Khan (when Governor of Patna, Bihar), and Ihtisham Khan, formerly an auxiliary of Khan-i-Dauran in Allahabad, whom he preceded as Governor of Orissa for a short while and the letter of Mirza Jan Beg to Miyan Muhammad Jan, a Diwan of Orissa, as also the Proclamation and Parwanahs issued, deserve special mention.

It is not possible in a short paper like this to consider the contents of all the letters found in the present copy, nor is it necessary, for some are of a private character and the essential features of many of them have already seen the light of day. The ground already covered need not be traversed. It is worth-while, however, to notice some of those not taken up at all and also note the difference, if any, between what has been published and what is found in the letters before us. For example, we have been told in the paper referred to above that the Faujdar of Katak secured the release of Gopinath Patnaik and other captives of Ihtisham Khan causing some annoyance to Khan-i-Dauran. The relevant extract of a letter to the ex-Governor, Ihtisham Khan, by the then incumbent, Khan-i-Dauran, is as follows:—"I wrote to you before this about Gopinath Patnaik, brother of Bharat Patnaik⁸, the Peshkar of Raja Mukund Dev, and the Zamindars of Padamgarh and the Zamindars of other 'forts' who were charged and imprisoned and with whose exis-

5. He is the second addressee in the present collection. The letter is important for the instructions that it contains regarding the action to be taken against the refractory Zamindars, realization of revenue, and the despatch of Raja Nilkunth Deo to meet the Governor.
6. This letter also deserves notice for among other things it tells us of the action taken against, and expulsion of, the Zamindars of Markhar etc.
7. A very conciliatory letter reminding the addressee of the loyalty and attachment of his ancestors to the government which made them so great among their fellow people and asking him to see the writer.
8. A letter to Abdul Ghani which gives detailed accounts of the campaign and conquest by Khan-i-Dauran refers to a Bharat and his brother in connection with the Khurda affairs.

tence (Wujud) are bound the realization of the Peshkash dues and the execution of many of the royal affairs, relating to the other side of the Katjuri. In the meanwhile, it has transpired from the Arzdasht of Bahadur Khan, the Faujdar of Katak and its environs, that you are after (Sudad) them. As the country belongs to the Emperor and those people have been the source of much trouble and mischief, disturbances are likely to happen if they are set free. On the other hand, we may have to face troubles if the matter reaches the court in the event of the Government dues not being realized. Now that Mirza Ibrahim Bakhshi, appointed Diwan from the court, has sent his agent to you, the said Patnaik and other captive Zamindars may be delivered over to him or you may bring them with yourself. If either of the alternatives be not acceptable, you may keep them enchained and imprisoned and enjoin upon the sentinels to keep close watch over them and show no slackness even for a moment. There should be no thought of liberating these mischief-makers who persist in their seditious activities". There is also a reference in this letter to Parmanand, the Zamindar of Bhadrak which was in the fief (Tuyul) of the writer. He had been placed under arrest by the addressee who was requested to enjoin upon the 'Administrators of affairs' to keep him with them. The friendly and harmonious relation subsisting between the writer and the addressee demanded that the talks of the selfish opportunists should be given no credence for besides the loss to the Sarkar they might affect the interests of both.

The following letter to Ihtisham Khan also deserves notice, for besides other things it tells us about the conquest of Hijili, an important emporium and one of the chief sea-ports of lower Bengal, situated in Contai sub-division of Midnapur district. Prince Shuja had separated Hijili from Orissa and appointed a separate Governor for it. Sir J. N. Sarkar writes that Khan-i-Dauran, after entering Midnapur on the 26th September, 1660, wanted to "finish the Hijili business first", but he had to put off the idea and went direct to Jaleshwar. He refers to the capture of Hijili and its rebellious Zamindar, Bahadur, evidently by Khan-i-Dauran, at a subsequent date which is not given. But we actually find the latter congratulating his predecessor, Ihtisham Khan, for his achievements and expressing his joyful appreciation of the "suitable devices, and plans" and his "becoming exertions" which had resulted in the capture of "Na Bahadur" with his family. This rebel Zamindar of Hijili was the nephew of the famous Masnad-i-Ali Taj Khan and the son and successor of Sikandar. He served under the Subahdar of Orissa and paid tribute to him. Prince Shuja called upon him to pay an enhanced amount and on his procrastination had him arrested and put in prison at Dacca by his deputy in Orissa, Mirza Jan Beg. During the confusion caused by the fratricidal wars among the sons of Shah Jahan, Bahadur managed to escape and recovered his Zamindari in 1659.

About 2 years after that Ihtisham Khan⁹, the virtual Deputy-Governor of Dacca, Bengal, during the absence of Mir Jumla, then engaged in his Assam campaign, conquered Hijili and made Bahadur his captive. Unfortunately this letter of Khan-i-Dauran to Ihtisham Khan which tells us of the conquest of Hijili by the latter is undated.

This letter also throws further light on the mutual relation of two Mughal dignitaries serving in different spheres. It says that Damodar the 'Shiqdar'¹⁰ of Parganah Amarsi¹¹ which was in the Jagir of the writer (Khan-i-Dauran) had written to him that the 'Karori'¹² of Parganah Jalamukha had violently interfered with Bhimsenpur¹³, Bhadai etc., three villages of the said Parganah. He should be enjoined upon to desist from meddling with the affairs of the ryots there. Again the writer's brother, Sayyid Abdun Nabi, had written to him that the Diwan of Hijili wanted to sequester to the 'Khalsa' the whole proceeds of the Parganahs of Agrachaur, Kakrachaur¹⁴(?) and Birkul (?), which were assigned to him for the payment of his salary after showing off his 12,000 rupees. As the addressee's "well wisher" (i.e. Khan-i-Dauran) had assignments on those Parganahs, their incorporation with Hijili would disturb the rules of Jagir and, therefore, the Diwan should be directed to leave matters as they were and desist from meddling in the affairs of the said Parganahs. About the delivery of the "royal cannon"¹⁵ which the addressee's people objected to hand over to Malik Beg without fresh Parwanahs, the latter had been directed before the receipt of the addressee's letter to send the cannon with the addressee's agent, Jan Muhammad. Lastly, with regard to the elephants, those which the writer had acquired were meant as Peshkash for the court and he had no desire to keep them with himself. If the addressee wanted to purchase selected ones among them, that could be done by his men with the help of the *Mutasaddis* (clerks). The writer would also direct the 'Darogah' to charge them suitable prices.

Ihtisham Khan's proclamation at the outset of his less than one year's Governorship of Orissa (November 1659-September 1660) about the

9. On 18 Rabi I, 1072, Mir Jumla left Ihtisham Khan and Mukhlis Khan in charge of Jahangir Nagar and Rajmahal respectively (*Alamgir Nama-Kujhwa ms.*)

10. An officer appointed to collect the revenue from certain divisions of land.

11. See Midnapur (Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*) for the fiscal units of Amarsi, Agrachaur, Birkul, Jalamukha etc.

12. A tax gatherer or overseer of Revenue Department.

13. Could not be identified.

14. Not located.

15. The very first letter in the incomplete ms. before us refers to "an inventory of the footmen in charge of the royal artillery, deputed to the Thanas of Maidnipur and Naraingarh being handed over to Muhammad Quli",

reading of the 'Khutba' and the issuing of new coins from the mint was dated Rabi II, year I, 1070 (21 Dec. 1659). But earlier, on 9th Rabi I, year I (14 Nov. 1659) he had issued the Parwanah from his camp at 'Maidnipur' calling upon all the Mansabdars, Zamindars, Chaudhuries, Qanungoes etc. to meet him at Naraingarh, a village 22 miles south of Midnapur. The Qanungoes were particularly enjoined upon to present themselves with the 'Gomashtas' who were men of understanding and trust, along with the papers, records and Dastural Amal (statistical accounts). The new Governor referred in it to the power he had been invested with and the duties and responsibilities that he had to discharge. These in short were the ordering of all affairs (Ratq-o-fatq); contracting and expanding (Qabz-o-bast) i.e., confiscating and granting; untying and binding (Hall-o-aqd) i.e. breaking and making engagements; favouring the well-wishers of the State; taking care of, and supporting all service men, and uprooting the mischief-makers and the refractory people; winning the heart of the ryots; comforting and gaining the good will of God's creatures; and rebuilding cities and populating townships and villages etc.

The present incomplete collection contains many other new things. Among the letters not listed or referred to above are two by Miyan Muhammad Jan, a former Diwan of Orissa province, who, according to Sir J.N. Sarkar, was appointed by Khan-i-Dauran as his land agent or steward in 1661. One of these letters, addressed to "Imarat-Martabat" (Exalted Amir) Mirza Jan Beg "when, owing to bad relations with Mirza Siraj¹⁶, he had to proceed to Akbarnagar (Rajmahal)" is important for it gives new facts and refers to a new and perhaps stop-gap Subahdar of Orissa. Addressing the "Nawab of exalted rank" who had been sent by Prince Muhammad Shuja, according to the historian Waris, to administer Orissa on his behalf the writer (Miyan Muhammad Jan) says that having been honoured with his appointment as the Diwan of Orissa he set out hoping to meet the addressee (Mirza Jan Beg). But when he reached Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) he learnt that the addressee was in Jahangirnagar (Dacca). When he arrived in the province, he found, before he could take up his job, that "that young man who was the Subahdar, having had never the experience of such a responsible office, had conducted some business in such an improper manner as would not bear repetition orally or in writing". "When I, the sincere well wisher of yours, wanted to set myself to my task he refused to allow me to do the appointed duty and whatever he did he did at his own sweet will". This state of things continued till, in reply to the petition of the writer, orders were communicated to him

16. This name occurs in the title of the letter given in rubric. We do not know of any man of the name who even temporarily held charge of Orissa. The "Young Subahdar" in the text of the letter remains unnamed.

that the office of the Diwan had been bestowed in his own right on this writer and he (the young Governor), acting according to the command, should so arrange things that the lands involving balance of accounts (Pay-baqi) and the tenures in perpetuity (Muqarrari) which had been confiscated for the Khalisa be made over to the fief-holders (Tiyuldars) in payment of their salaries. But the Subahdar did not inform the writer so that he might prepare the records. As the writer was liable to be questioned regarding the transactions and "this young man who does not understand business" (Jawan-i-na muamila fahm) did not allow the writer any opportunity to make the momentous affairs clear and manifest, he was compelled to proceed towards the court so that the true state of things might be laid bare there. As the writer considered the addressee as the kind appreciator of his merits, he had ventured to trouble him with this letter. It was hoped that he would write a commendatory letter to the court so that the affairs of the Subah might be set in proper order and some good might also accrue to the writer. A way of relieving the writer from his troubles and anxieties could be found if the addressee came himself to the province or permitted him to see him at the gate of the Garhi (Teliagarhi) so that there might be an end to his grief and distractions. There is no hint that such a letter occurs in the Rampur ms., but it is the fourth in the incomplete ms. before us here.

That there was a widespread rumour¹⁷ about the dismissal of Khan-i-Dauran, at the end of his five years' rule in the province, which caused many a refractory people to raise their heads and a Farman had to be issued contradicting it is clear from a letter which he wrote to the Wazir Jafar Khan. "Whatever I did during these five years for restoring order in, and adjusting and settling the affairs of, the province which owing to inaction had fallen into anarchy and confusion, and the exertions I put in for warning, punishing, over-throwing and destroying the habitually contumacious, mischievous and rebellious zamindars who had gathered abundant forces and were bent on seditious activities and even open fights and struggles enabled me, by the good fortunes of H. M. Alamgir Badshah, to make a clean sweep of these obstinately disobedient and finally condemned wretches. And during the whole of this time I never needed or wanted outside aid and assistance. I kept a force of my own numbering between ten and fifteen thousand, according to regulation (Zabita), and with this I accomplished the work. I was over-

burdened with heavy expenses. That contingent has not yet been disbanded, but, on the other hand, has been deputed to various police stations for the service of the king. Last year, despite the subjection of the Parganahs of this province to heavy floods which caused a heavy loss of revenue, I spent a large amount in paying the salaries of that body of people. This year some three months back the vanquished miserable ones, on hearing the rumour which spread throughout the province and was on the lips of everybody, big or small, about my removal from office again raised their heads and having sought the aid and assistance from one another began to commit disturbances and became so bold in their refractoriness that they began to stretch out their hands to the 'Thanadars.' Now that the sacred letter and 'Hasbul Hukm' contradicting the false rumour had dispelled the suspicions of change and transfer, I deem it a duty incumbent on me to start for chastising those ill-natured perverse people as soon as the water of the rivers subsides and the roads become dry and open. After annihilating those wicked and short-sighted ones who ravaged, plundered and destroyed villages, I would realise befitting amounts for 'Peshkash' to the Sarkar. But for this I shall have to organize afresh a suitable force with the help of which I hope within a very short time to accomplish the task. This is the reason why I am troubling you with a request that you will kindly lay before His Majesty, at a suitable time, the account of the state of affairs and see that he may be pleased to postpone the payment of instalment of dues, so that being at ease and composed in mind I should make arrangements for the payment of the people of the contingent kept under regulation and I may not have to bother myself about salaries and equipments of the newly recruited men. What I mean is only a postponement of the instalments in view of the intended engagements".

We do not know if this letter finds a place in Rampur manuscript, for Sir J. N. Sarkar does not refer to it. Apart from what was published by Sir J. N. Sarkar about the financial affairs of Orissa during the period under review, there are references in some letters in the present incomplete ms. to revenue practices, and attempts to defraud¹⁸ the Government of its dues and interference from above, due to the influence wielded in the court by the guilty persons. The page limit of this paper will allow only a mere reference to a few cases not noticed by Sir J. N. Sarkar. One is that of Muhammad Shafi, Bakhshi of the Subah, in whom such important personages as Wazir Jafar Khan and the premier noble, Shaista Khan,

17. Though able and energetic, loyal and faithful, Khan-i-Dauran who belonged to the Naqshabandi order of Sufis was not liked by many influential persons in the Centre. He was frank and straightforward but not wanting in courtesy and decorum of the time. He obliged many by accepting their recommendations and himself recommended the case of honest and able people for mansabs and appointments. These included Shyam Dass, Nihal Chand and others.

18. There are some references in the English Factory Records also to the disorder prevailing in Orissa after Mir Jumla's death. The Balasore factors wrote on 28 April 1663 that the "Governors in this part on account of the long absence and distance of Nawab Mir Jumla had been so insolent and uncontrollable in their exactions that they had very much impaired the trade here". They would have wished Mir Jumla to live to remedy the situation.

appear to have been interested to a certain extent. A report had been submitted by Khan-i-Dauran regarding the misappropriation of Government money by the said Bakhshi on the death of Muhammad Tahir Diwan. Inayatullah Khan and Muhammad Taqi Diwan were sent to enquire into the affairs. In another case Rai Kunwar Singh, Diwan of Allahabad, wrote, according to orders, to the Governor of Orissa to send a capable agent to explain, in the presence of the Chaudhuries and ryots, the collections made by his men from the *Tiyul* Mahals of Bahadur Khan and others. The comments made in his letter to Jafar Khan by Khan-i-Dauran about the Diwan being subordinate to the Governor, about the Diwan's giving preference to his pleasures or whims above everything else and the non-cooperating attitude of the Chaudhuries and the ryots, and the strong stand that he made by his statements, backed by papers and records, about the actual realization for the three seasons (Fasls) which he sent with the *Peshkash* of elephants, are well worth one's attention. As desired by Kunwar Singh, the Diwan of Allahabad, Rashikdas was sent to enquire into the matter but the latter died on his way at Sasaram in Bihar. In one of the letters to Iftikhar Khan, the Governor expressed his disgust at the habitual embezzlers and deceivers who were in league with certain relations in the court and caused coloured reports to be made to the highest authority to draw a curtain over their own misdeeds. He sometimes felt inclined to withdraw his hands from imperial transactions of the province which were in a highly disordered and confused condition. As he could not tolerate the loss of the state revenue he thought it his duty to send information and submit his own reports.

In a long letter to Raja Raghunath, the Imperial Diwan, after referring to the affairs of Krishna Bhanj, the Zamindar of Hariharpur, who, during the period of anarchy, had extended his hands of oppression and devastation over the creatures of God over a tract of about 50 Kos from Mandasor to Bhadrak and had eventually paid the penalty for his evil deeds by his death, Khan-i-Dauran says, "For the last three years I have been engaged in the regulation and restoration of the affairs of this province and in suppressing and overthrowing the accursed rebels. The settlement of such far-flung province cannot be accomplished without a force of at least 4 to 5 thousand troops. The Parganahs of the Jagirs of this province, which, according to the rolls of Khan-i-Khanan, have been made 'Tan' (cash pay) would not yield enough to suffice for more than 4 months." He hoped that the addressee would lay before His Majesty the disproportion between the incomes from the Jagir and the essential expenditures and plead for the grant to the writer of the Parganahs which had always been in the Jagir of the previous Subahdars.

The letters to Mukhlis Khan, besides giving accounts from time to time of the various campaigns and conquests of Khan-i-Dauran no-

ticed by Sir J. N. Sarkar, furnish us with some additional points here and there of comparatively minor importance. But one would like to mention the procedure mentioned of conveying the royal revenues of Orissa from Cuttack to Makhsudabad (later Murshidabad), the Faujdar whereof was to send the same under proper convoys with the treasures of Bengal to the Imperial Exchequer. It is interesting to find Mukhlis Khan sending for the choicest mango fruits and melons from Orissa and Khan-i-Dauran receiving the seeds of coffee plants (Qahwa bun) through him from Bengal. The Dak Chaukis between 'Maidnipur', 'Akbaragar' and 'Jahangiragar' were very helpful in this respect. For lack of space we have only to draw the readers' attention to other letters and also to some variations in reading such as "Pir Khan" for "Sher Khan," "Do Sanduq-i-Chhati" (two boxes of parasols) for "two caskets of chani", "Gul-i-Muzaffar" for "gul moosfr" etc. The letter to Sarhindi Naqshbandi¹⁹ saints and references to the architectural²⁰ interest of the Governor of Orissa may be of interest to many.

19. In a letter to Miyan Shaikh Muhammad Sayeed Sarhindi, Khan-i-Dauran gives an account of the circumstances which led to his coming from Allahabad to Orissa, and the action he had to take against Raja Krishna Bhanj and others for restoring the Province to order and ascribes his successes to the grace of God, good auspices of the Emperor and the blessings of the addressee.

20. To Muatamid Khan, the Governor, (Khan-i-Dauran) writes about the purchase of land near the holy 'Maqbira' and promises to send him the plan of the building (Naqshe-i-imarat) He seeks permission of the descendants to repair the mausoleum of the great Sarhindi Chief which was reported to be in a bad condition.

**A PAGE FROM THE ACCOUNT BOOK OF
NAWAB MUBARIZU'D-DAULAH**

BANARSI PRASAD

Professor of History, Allahabad University, Allahabad

Nawab Saadat Ali Khan of Oudh (1798-1814) had a numerous progeny of which three deserve mention: his immediate successor Ghaziu'd-Din Haidar (1814-27); the latter's second brother Shamsu'd-Daulah Ahmad Ali Khan, and his third brother Nasiru'd-Daulah Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan (1837-42). Ghaziu'd-Din Haidar was married to the famous Padshah Begam, daughter of Mubshiru'd-Daulah, a well-known astronomer of Delhi who was of Iranian origin and had migrated to and settled in Lucknow. But soon after his marriage, Ghaziu'd-Din Haidar was attracted by Subh Daulat, a maid-servant of his lawfully wedded wife, and by her was born, in 1803, Mirza Nasiru'd-Din Haidar *alias* Mirza Ali (1827-37), much to the annoyance of his grandfather. According to the commonly accepted view, Mirza Nasiru'd-Din Haidar was childless, though there is also evidence in support of the contention that Munna Jan was his son. After the death of Nasiru'd-Din Haidar an attempt was made to seat Munna Jan on the throne but it ended in smoke, and Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan, the eldest of the surviving sons of Saadat Ali Khan, was proclaimed Nawab.

It appears that Saadat Ali Khan favoured his second son more than the others and permitted him to exercise a large measure of control in the supervision of the government, which privilege created in his mind hopes of succession to the throne. But when, on the death of Saadat Ali Khan, in conformity with the principle of primogeniture, Ghaziu'd-Din Haidar was proclaimed Nawab, Shamsu'd-Daulah suffered bitter disappointment and smarted under a sense of frustration. However, the Nawab Vazir offered to continue him in the post which he had held in the previous reign, and to confirm the honours and privileges which he had enjoyed, and Lord Hastings tried to persuade him to accept the same. But Shamsu'd-Daulah rejected all overtures for conciliation. He made up his mind to leave Lucknow, and very much like his father decided to settle in Banaras. On his arrival there he was warmly welcomed by the notables and the public. He demanded a pension of Rs. 25,000/- per month which his father used to receive while a prince, but he was granted only Rs. 17,500/- per month.

A few years after his settlement at Banaras Shamsu'd-Daulah went to Patna where he celebrated the marriage of his daughter. On his return from

there relations between him and the Resident Augustus Brooks became strained and Shamsu'd-Daulah thought of migrating to Calcutta, but Munshi Ghulam Qadir Khan reconciled the two and the Nawab for the time being gave up the idea. He, however, sent repeated requests to the Governor General seeking permission to visit Karbala; and when at length he received it, he set out for Calcutta. His journey was a triumphal procession. At every military station a salute of eleven guns was fired in his honour. At Calcutta he was duly received by the Governor General to whom he presented his sons Nazimu'd-Daulah, Aminu'd-Daulah, Iqbalu'd-Daulah and Mubarizu'd-Daulah. Meanwhile the Nawab Vazir had represented to the Governor General the extreme impropriety of permitting Shamsu'd-Daulah to visit the holy places, particularly because he was contemplating to migrate from India to settle in a foreign land; and requested that he should be persuaded to return to Banaras.

Accordingly, the Governor General suggested to Shamsu'd-Daulah the desirability of sending one of his servants to visit the holy places on his behalf, pointing out to him that if he left India the Company might not be able to extend the requisite protection to him in a foreign land or to safeguard his interests there. A polite hint was given to him to return to Banaras. When Shamsu'd-Daulah acquainted his wife Hazrat Begam and her brother with the turn the situation had taken, they were much perplexed. They protested that they had spent a large sum of money in the fond hope that they would be able to earn religious credit by performing a pilgrimage to holy places, but now they were being deprived of that advantage, and even the opportunity of a pleasant stay in Calcutta was being denied to them. To escape this predicament they secured the help of a military doctor who certified that Shamsu'd-Daulah was unfit to undertake a long journey without running a serious risk to his health. Upon this the Governor General permitted him to stay in Calcutta.

But misfortune lay in store for him. His eldest son Nazimu'd-Daulah fell headlong into a life of debauchery, speedily lost his health and within a few months succumbed to death. His doting father could not survive the shock and died soon. The latter's brother-in-law Mirza Abbas followed suit. The bereavements, coming as they did in quick succession, depressed the Begam, and she returned to Banaras with her surviving sons, where she began to live peacefully. But Nasiru'd-Din Haidar after his accession invited her to return to Lucknow, where she arrived with her sons. Here trouble for her brewed up soon. The Nawab Vazir asked her to surrender to him her property in Banaras, and resume her former residence in Lucknow. To this the Begam would not agree, and in sheer disgust she returned to Banaras, where after her death (which occurred soon) her sons divided her property among them.

After his mother's death at Banaras, Mubarizu'd-Daulah came to Lucknow, where he purchased a bungalow near that of General Martin on the canal bank. He fell in bad company and wasted some money, but good sense soon had the better of him and he reformed himself. He discontinued all social contacts, except his occasional formal calls on the Resident. He narrowly escaped the turmoil which occurred on the eve of the accession of Nasiru'd-Daulah Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan. On its conclusion, he left for Calcutta from where he went on a pilgrimage to the holy places. On the return journey he disembarked at Bombay where he died. This was followed by litigation among his wives. Property worth several lacs was attached by the court. The following inventory is very likely one of the many which were normally maintained in the houses of great nobles.

The details have a two-fold importance: in the first place, they enable us to form some idea of the household requirements of a noble; and secondly, the prices of commodities, particularly of cloth used for wearing apparel, are an interesting study not only from the economic point of view, but also with regard to the type of clothes worn, the material used in their making, and their making charges etc. Finally, this inventory throws light on the system of account-keeping, how every item was entered carefully and minutely, and how the totals were given at the top instead of at the bottom, as is the present practice.

**Account of His Highness Nawab Mubarizu'd-Daulah Bahadur beginning from various dates
and ending with the 5th *Zilqad* 1250 A. H. = 5th March 1835 A. D.**

Rs. 14,990-3-3

According to the preceding account up to the end of *Shaban* 1250 A. H. (December 1834 A.D.)
Rs. 2,129-3-6

Pashmina (Soft woollen cloth) Rs. 1,568/-
Doshala Two pieces Rs. 325/-
Doshala (of gold colour) with border One piece
Rs. 175/-
Doshala (white) with border One piece Rs. 150/-
Doshala (embroidered and of pomegranate colour)
Rs. 300/-
Shali quilts ready made Two pieces Rs. 193/-
Shali Kerchiefs Six pieces Rs. 440/-
Bodice One Rs. 85/-
Pomegranate Flower (a kind of cloth) One piece
Rs. 3/-
English Kerchiefs 4 pieces at different rates
Rs. 325/-
Rust-coloured One Rs. 108/-
Rose-coloured One Rs. 72/-
Pomegranate Flower Two Rs. 145/-
One = Rs. 73/-
One = Rs. 72/-
Shali Belts Four Rs. 60/-
Doshalas for Khil'at Two pieces Rs. 250/-

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Banat (Broad cloth) Rs. 254/15/6
Coarse Broad cloth 49 Dira (yards) + 14 at various
rates Rs. 132/4/6
Red-coloured 20 Dira @ Rs. 2/11/6 per Dira
Rs. 54/6/-
Blue-coloured 29 Dira + 14 @ various rates
Rs. 77/14/6
From State Wardrobe 18 Dira + 12 @
Rs. 2/6 per Dira Rs. 44/8/6
Purchased from market 11 Dira + 2 @
Rs. 3/- per Dira Rs. 33/6/-
Firm Broad cloth purple colour 4 Dira + 8 @
Rs. 6/12/- per Dira Rs. 30/6/-
Embroidered broad cloth rust-coloured One
piece Rs. 35/-
Tusi embroidered broad cloth (Chicken Banat Tusi)
One piece Rs. 57/5/-
Broad cloth Tusi 2 Dira @ Rs. 6/- per Dira Rs. 12/-
Qalanderih (Silk cloth) 3 Dira + 8 @ Rs. -/10/-
per Dira Rs. 2/3/-
Silk Cloth (Gran') for border 1 Dira + 10 @
Rs. 3/- per Dira Rs. 4/14/-

One for Mir Md. Husain Rs. 200/-
 One for Nain Sukh Rai Rs. 50/-
Velvet 40 Dira at various rates Rs. 119/-
 Cotton Velvet 30 Dira rust colour and rose colour
 15 Dira each at Rs. 2/4/- per Dira Rs. 67/8/-
 Kashani Velvet of blue colour 2 Dira at Rs. 9/12/-
 per Dira Rs. 19, 8/-
 Cotton Velvet with floral designs and of pomegranate
 colour 8 Dira @ Rs. 4/- per Dira Rs. 32/-

Embroidered cloth or border 12 Dira + 8 @
 Rs. 2/8/- per Dira Rs. 31/4/-
 Gold handle Rs. 5/-
 Tailor Rs. 2/-

Miscellaneous cloth Rs. 187/4/-

British Satin of green colour 3 Dira + 14 @ Rs. 3/-
 per Dira Rs. 11/10 -
 (Italian) Silk cloth and Kimkhab border with pendant
 Rs. 71/7/-

Silk cloth (Grant) 5 Dira + 11 @ Rs. 3/- per
 Dira Rs. 17/1/-
 Kimkhab border 21 Dira + 12 @ Rs. 2/8/- per
 Dira 54/6/-

English Chintz One piece of 5 Dira Rs. 12/10/-
 Coarse cloth (Adhotar) Three pieces @ Rs. 1/4/- per
 piece Rs. 3/12/-

Flannel 2 Dira Rs. 2/8/-

Silk (Abresham) Rs. 3/8/-

Nainsukh and Gunti Three pieces at different rates
 Rs. 43/8/-

Nainsukh and Gunti Two pieces Rs. 35/8/-

Nainsukh One piece Rs. 18/-

Gunti One piece Rs. 17/8/-

Coarse Nainsukh One piece Rs. 8/-

Yellow Darai Akbarabadi 5 Dira @ Rs. -/12/- per Dira
 Rs. 3/12/-

Plated buttons one thousand @ Rs. 1/8 per hundred
 Rs. 15/-

Silver thread 32 Dira = 5 tola + 9 masha at Rs. 1/8/-
 per tola Rs. 8/10/-

Kimkhab border 4 Dira + 6 @ Rs. 2, 8/- per Dira
 Rs. 10/15/-

From the 1st of *Ramazan* 1250 A.H. to 5th *Zilqad* = 1 Jan. 1835 - 5 March 1835 A.D.

Rs. 12,860/15/9

Cash Rs. 11,355/12/-

Ruqqa Rs. 200/-
 As per demand of Munshi Sahib Rs. 110/-
 For disbursing the salary of inferior staff Rs. 6,000/-
 Ruqqa Rs. 5,000/-
 Ruqqa Rs. 1,000/-
 For purchasing a horse Rs. 170/-
 For purchasing (Banwar ?) Rs. 12/-
 For constructing the wall of courtyard Rs. 100/-

Idul-fitr Rs. 50/-

Ruqqa Rs. 200/-

Ruqqa Rs. 100/-

Ruqqa Rs. 100/-

2 Muhars Ashrafi Muhammed Shahi & Lucknow
 Rs. 32/12/-

Gujarmal, the cloth merchant Rs. 4,444/-

Ruqqa Rs. 392/-

Ruqqa Rs. 4,052/-

Handed over to horseman on the 3rd *Zilqad* Rs. 37/-

Cloth and other articles as per details given below :

Cotton cloth

Long cloth One piece Rs. 19/5/-

Dacca Muslin One piece Rs. 11/6/-

Chicken One piece Rs. 32/-

Chira (cloth of variegated colours) for Chubdar
 Rs. 3/8/-

Pashmina (Woollen cloth)

Shali Kerchiefs 2 pieces Rs. 120/-

Pomegranate colour Rs. 60/-

English white colour Rs. 60/-

Shali Kerchief of pomegranate colour One
 Rs. 40/-

Chira One Rs. 2/8/-

Jhuta One piece Re. 1/-

Belt Rs 5/-

Nainsukh $\frac{1}{2}$ piece Rs. 4/-

Dyeing charges Re. 1/-

Expense on Mughal Kulah Rs. 63/15/-

Kashani Velvet for Kulah One Dira Rs. 12/- per Dira Rs. 12/-

Making charges of two brocade Kulahs Rs. 51/15/-

Sultani Broad cloth 2 Dira @ Rs. 6/4/- per Dira Rs. 12/8/-

Cloth for Chapkan, dry fruits etc. as per following details:

Handles for Chapkan 5 at various prices Rs. 13/-

One piece Rs. 2/8/-

Four pieces Rs. 10/8/-

2 golden @ Rs. 2/12/- each Rs. 5/8/-

2 silver @ Rs. 2/8/- each Rs. 5/-

Kimkhab Border + 11 @ Rs. 2/8/- per Dira Rs. 1/11/-

Foreign fruits Rs. 91/4/-

Foreign pomegranates One maund @ Rs. 1/4/- per seer Rs. 50/-

Almonds 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ seer @ Re. 1/- per seer Rs. 17/8/-

Pistachio nuts 15 seers @ Rs. 1/4/- per seer Rs. 18/12/-

Currants 10 seers @ -/8/- per seer Rs. 5/-

Gold Brocade 25 Dira + 6 = 6 tola, 6 masha Rs. 9/14/-

Silver 20 Dira + 6 = 5 tola, 6 masha @ Rs. 1/8/- per tola Rs. 8/4/-

Gold 5 Dira = 1 tola Rs. 1/10/-

Silver thread 10 tolas @ Rs. 1/6/- per tola Rs. 13/12/-

Stars and brocade thread Rs. 10/13/-

Thread 1 tola 7 masha @ Rs. 1/6/- per tola Rs. 2/3/-

Stars 6 tolas @ Rs. 1/7/- per tola Rs. 8/10/-

Making charges of silver belt and liveries of peons 10 pieces Rs. 62/8/6

Kashani Velvet + 12 at various rates Rs. 8/8/-

Pomegranate flower Velvet + 4 @ Rs. 12 per Dira Rs. 3/-

Black Velvet + 8 @ Rs. 11/- per Dira Rs. 5/8/-

Kashani Velvet One Dira Rs. 12/-

Cotton Velvet One Dira Rs. 2/4/-

Coarse cloth -/4/-

Tailoring charges Rs. 2/8/-

Brocade Rs. 34/15/-

16 tola, 5 masha @ Rs. 1/8/- per tola Rs. 24/10/-

Making charges of brocade @ -/10/- per tola Rs. 10/5/-

Preparations for Basant:

Jamawar for Achkan Rs. 435/-

Yellow Jamawar Rs. 325/-

Kimkhab border 25 Dira + 8 @ Rs. 3/8/- per Dira Rs. 89/4/-

Ermine Silk (Grant) 4 Dira + 4 @ Rs. 3/- per Dira Rs. 12/12/-

Nainsukh One piece Rs. 8/-

Brocaded Mughal Kulah of pale velvet Rs. 24/13/-

One Basanti Kerchief Rs. 38/13/6

Yellow (?) for lining One Dira + 10 @ Rs. 10/- per Dira Rs. 16/4/-

Border 6 Dira + 4 @ Rs. 1/6/- per Dira Rs. 8/9/6

Floral dyes Four pièces Rs. 10/-

Labour charges of Shawl-maker Rs. 4/-

Yellow broad cloth 2 Dira @ Rs. 3/8/- per Dira Rs. 7/-

Necklace & amulets for horse Rs. 253/2/-

Silver necklace Rs. 59/10/-

Silver Ganda Rs. 193/8/-

Brocaded Saddle Cover Rs. 89/12/-

Yellow Velvet 3 Dira + 10 @ Rs. 3/- per Dira Rs. 10/14/-

Golden thread 7 Dira + 12 (Saddle cover 6 Dira + 8. With Government 1 Dira + 4) @ 100 Dira per rupee Rs. 1/9/-

Repairs to Rath and feeding charges for oxen at Allahabad Rs. 74/4/-

Silver badges 10 Rs. 42/2/-

Labour charges for goldsmith Rs. 5/4/-

Broad cloth etc. Rs. 15/2/6

Broad cloth + 13 @ Rs. 6/4/- per Dira
Rs. 5/1/-

Gold thread ord. 35 Dira Rs. 5/13/6

Cotton 17 Dira Rs. -/10/-

Diba 3 Dira + 8 Rs. -/6/-

Diba Rs. 2/-

Labour charges Rs. 1/4/-

Silver Rs. 53/-

Labour charges @ -/2/- Rs. 6/10/-

Silver Rs. 172/-

Tatpatti Rs. 2/-

? Rs. 21/8/-

Jhalar (Border) 2 Dira @ Rs. 6/8/- per Dira
Rs. 13/-

Yellow Adhotar -/4/-

Food for oxen for journey to and from Allahabad
handed over to the charioteer Rs. 28/-

Repairs to Rath Rs. 46/4/-

? Rs. 5/-

Wheels Rs. 4/-

? Rs. 10/8/-

Cotton Cord Rs. 2/-

Red Broad cloth 3 Dira + 8 @ Rs. 3/- per
Dira Rs. 10/8/-

Blue Tafta One Dira Re. 1/-

Red Cover cloth 6 pieces @ Rs. 1/6/- per
piece Rs. 8/4/-

Garha 4 pieces @ Rs. 1/4/- per piece Rs. 5/-

Making charges for 2 yellow Shimlas (a kind of cap)
Rs. 22/15/9

? -/12/-

Jhalar Two Dastars -/14/-

Cloth for livery 2 Thans Rs. 2/8/-

? Re. 1/-/-

Tailoring charges -/4/-

Brocade stuff 27 tolas, 8 masha @ Rs. 1/8/- per tola
Rs. 41/8/-

Labour charges Rs. 20/10/-

Labour charges for brocade work @ -/10/- per
tola Rs. 17/8/-

Flowered cloth -/8/-

Trimming -/6/-

1/4 Than (?) -/4/-

? Rs. 2/-/-

Charges for livery of Chaprasis Rs. 25/-

10 turbans Rs. 12/8/-

Turbans @ -/12/- per piece Rs. 7/8/-

Dyeing charges @ -/8/- Rs. 5/-

10 Waist-bands Rs. 12/8/-

10 Waist-bands @ -/12/- Rs. 7/8/-

Dyeing charges @ -/8/- Rs. 5/-

? -/2/-

Patta Rs. 14/11/9

Labour charges -/8/-

? Rs. 1/8/-

? Re. 1/-/-

Broad cloth and freize of Kimkhab for the making of
Qananj Rs. 15/2/6

Broad cloth + 10 @ Rs. 7/4/- per Dira Rs. 4/8/6

Freize of Kimkhab 4 Dira + 4 @ Rs. 2/8/- per
Dira Rs. 10/10/-

Kali One Than Rs. 1/4/-

BRITISH ATTITUDE TO MUGHAL FIRMANs

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A few unpublished documents available in the National Archives of India throw considerable light on the British attitude to the firmans granted by the Mughals to foreigners. The Portuguese at Surat enjoyed certain privileges under a firman granted to them in 1714, by which goods carried in Portuguese vessels and owned by Portuguese merchants were placed on the same favoured footing, in respect of Customs duties, as those of the Muhammadan subjects of the Mughal Empire, the rate fixed being only 2½ per cent. For over a century and a half, the British Indian authorities did not interfere with these privileges as the average annual value of the foreign trade at Surat was negligible. However, in 1869, the British authorities took action to counteract the abuses of the privileges granted to the Portuguese.

The views of the Government of India not only on this specific question of the Surat privileges, but also on the general question of the validity and applicability of the treaties, engagements and agreements of earlier Indian powers are contained in a letter, dated 6 April, 1821, to the Government of Bombay. They were clearly of the view that the acts of the former Indian powers were binding upon them only to the extent of their own views of the expediency of such acts and only in so far as they were consistent with their policy. They also held the view that the Mughal firmans had neither any moral nor any political force. Moreover, such firmans were by their very nature revocable, as they were granted at the will and pleasure of the Sovereign. They also felt that long continuance and recognition of the privileges could not alter the nature of the grant or convert a matter of favour into a matter of right.

The relevant extracts from the letter are reproduced below¹ :—

"8. The terms of the firmans are sufficiently clear, and the question with regard to them is whether the acts of the former Government are so binding on its successors as to preclude the latter from withdrawing those privileges entirely or in part according to their own views of expediency. The affirmative of this proposition will scarcely be maintained to the extent to which it is contended for by the Dutch and French Agents. It would apparently be a political absurdity to regard the British Government as irrevocably bound by the acts of an authority now

extinct, and the admission of such an obligation would lead to consequences which are sufficient to show the fallacy of the assumption.

9. It has already been remarked that the Dutch appear to have been early sensible of the weakness of this ground and to have applied for fresh grants from every succeeding monarch, from Jehangeer to Mahomed Shah, about whose time the local Governors of Surat appear finally to have shaken off all appearance of subjection to Delhi.

10. As a matter of policy the case is different, and we have viewed and may continue to recognize the acts of the Moghul and other Governments which have preceded us as a wholesome rule for deciding on certain rights and privileges of various classes of our subjects. His Lordship in Council does not imagine, however, that the British Government was under any moral or political obligation to do so, and the examples of the Native Governments which intervened between the Moghul Power and ours show that as far as the practice of the country is concerned, the acts of one Government were not necessarily regarded as binding on another.

11. Among European nations possessing territory or factories in India the conditions of the Mogul grants have been taken as the rule for defining their relative rights and privileges; but that His Lordship in Council apprehends is a matter of voluntary compact, expressed or implied, among themselves, and the force of the Mogul grants in these days would appear to be derived exclusively from the recognition of them by the several powers whose interests are in question. Whatever privileges they gave, however, were in the case of the French and Dutch destroyed by the capture of their settlements and factories, and unless revived by the treaties of peace either directly or by fair implication, they are, it is conceived, become wholly extinct.

12. Now the stipulations by which their possessions and factories are restored to the Dutch and French are quite silent as to the conditions on which they are to be held, except as to the prohibition to fortify or to maintain troops. These last conditions are inapplicable to mere factories, and apply evidently to their more important possessions such as Pondicherry, Chinsura, etc., which do not come within the scope of the present argument.

13. His Lordship in Council conceives then that, strictly speaking, the simple restitution of these factories confers no privileges, but such as are inherent in establishments of that character all over the world, and which certainly imply neither exemption from duties nor the possession of any sovereign authority, fiscal, judicial, or political."

1. N. A. I, Foreign Department, Secret Consultations, November 1878, Nos. 136-6g,

The British attitude was also clearly stated in a draft letter prepared by the British Minister in 1877 at Lisbon for transmission to the Portuguese authorities. Since the draft was also approved by the Secretary of State for India, the observations contained therein are certainly authoritative.

The relevant portion of the draft is given below²:—

“For the Firman, under which the Portuguese have for so many generations enjoyed custom house privileges at Surat, is not an isolated instrument, but belongs to a large class of similar instruments granted in ancient times by the absolute rulers in India, not only to foreign nations but to native people and corporations, and even to individuals. It was of the essence of such Firman to be revocable and given at the will and pleasure of the sovereign. The wording of the very instrument under which the Portuguese Factory held their privileges establishes this character beyond the reach of controversy, and excludes any idea of contract obligations such as those contended for in Your Excellency's Note to Jervoise, and for which no proofs have been adduced in Baron Sant Armas' historical notes. The 'world-obeyed order' conveying the grant is 'benignantly issued' in reply to a 'petition' from the wearers of the cross, and 'because the Portuguese are true merchants eager in showing their submission and worthy of favour and hope from the goodness and benignity of the Great Moghul'. But independent of this redaction which is *mutatis mutandis* the same as that in which all Firman privileges were granted, whether to us, or the Dutch, or the French, all of which were considered revocable, and therefore, renewed whenever the opportunity offered itself, the idea of the Oriental Sovereign divesting himself of his sovereign prerogatives in favour of third parties, and creating rights against himself other than such as might be created by bilateral Treaty obligations is one not only foreign, but in patent contradiction to the oriental notion of sovereignty. The public law of an oriental State if such a term can be used in connection with an oriental policy, consists in the *nutus et patientia* of the ruler. It is the pride and glory of the British administration in India that it has established and is establishing in lieu of these arbitrary and revocable privileges solid and immutable frame work of an abiding public law, but if in the pursuit of this vast project it were to find itself under an obligation of giving compensation for every obsolete privilege of a revocable nature which stood in its way, however great the abuses to which it might have grown, the strain might very possibly become one which no budget could stand.”

2. Ibid.

LETTERS ABOUT THE MUTINY OF 1857 IN MADHYA BHARAT

Y. BHARGAVA

Secretary to the Government of Madhya Bharat, Department of Education and Local Self-Government, Gwalior

In the year 1954 a group of research workers of the Southern Division, History of Freedom Movement, Indore, Madhya Bharat, while tracing out old and rare books in the library of the Foreign Office of the merged Holkar State, noticed a small bundle of torn papers hidden in the lowest shelf of an old almirah containing some books covered with layers of dust. One of the bundles was found to contain some confidential letters and reports, written in the Modi script of the Marathi language to the Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar II by certain persons during 1857-59 A. D. The existence of these letters convinced the research workers that there must be a regular secret correspondence about the Mutiny between the Holkar State authorities and the district officials as well as others. Numerous letters and reports concerning the Mutiny must have been exchanged individually as well as officially and the bundle of papers mentioned above formed only a link in this long correspondence. Consequently they made a vigorous search to trace out these letters and reports in the Government records at the Gopal Mandir and the Shiva-Vilas Palace, Indore, and other places in the districts. Though in the initial stages of their search they were greatly handicapped and often disappointed, ultimately their efforts brought to light heaps of letters and reports in the Modi script about the outbreak and progress of the Mutiny in Malwa. The Education Department, Government of Madhya Bharat, made special arrangements under the Divisional Office, History of Freedom Movement, Indore, to sort out and classify these Modi letters and translate them into Marathi and English. More than a thousand of such letters have been sorted out, read and translated and the work is still in progress.

The most important series of letters among these is a bundle of 160 letters from “the Indore Barnishi” written by Shri Rao Ramchandra Rao Bhau, the then officiating Minister of the Holkar State, to various subordinate officers of Indore State districts as well as Indore city which witnessed a violent outbreak of the Mutiny and anti-British activity on 1 July 1857. These letters contain orders, instructions and inquiries. They also include a series of letters written to Shri Ganpat Sitaram, the then Indore Durbar Vakil posted at the British Residency, Indore. All these letters explain the Holkar's policy concerning the British as well as other affairs and indicate the Holkar Durbar's attitude

towards Saadat Khan, the well-known ring-leader of the Indore Mutiny, the attack and loot of the Indore Residency, etc.

Next in importance is the *Dincharya* or Journal of Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar II consisting of 234 pages. It contains a day-to-day account of the Indore Mutiny and the activities of the Holkar Durbar from 1 July to 31 August, 1857—the period of intense activity of the mutineers in Malwa. Besides this *Dincharya*, there is another systematic account of the Mutiny at Indore in great detail in chronological order from 1 July to 8 July, 1857. It is called the *Rojnumcha*.

Then there are eighty-two letters written by Shri Ganesh Ramchandra (Gogate), the Holkar's Vakil posted at Mhow, the British military station, to Shri Rao Ramchandra Rao Bhau Sahib, the then officiating Minister of Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar II. They chiefly deal with the condition of Mhow, details about the movements of the British forces, the nature of help the Maharaja Holkar offered to the British, the Maharaja's real attitude towards the British, his keen desire to take advantage of the absence of the British forces for obtaining and collecting arms and ammunition, his concern over the return of Hamilton, the then Resident at Indore for Central India, etc.

Next to these letters in importance is a bundle of about fifty letters written in English by the British military officials posted at Mhow, particularly Majors Hungerford and Elliot. These letters indicate that the Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar II was busy in cultivating personal relations with the British officers at Mhow for safeguarding his own interest and helping individual Britishers rather than protecting and promoting the British cause and suppressing the Mutiny.

After the outbreak of the Mutiny in Indore the insurgents remained in the city for some days and then marched towards Delhi after joining hands with other mutineers. Twenty letters from Tarana, despatched by Shri Ramakant Bapuji, the then *Mamaledar* of Tarana, and sixteen letters sent by Shri Shivachand Kothari, the then *Suba* (Collector) of the Rampura-Bhanpura District of the Holkar State including a few letters from Bandah Ali, a military officer of the Holkar, give a vivid account of the insurgents. They not only describe the general conditions of the districts, but throw light on the movements of the mutineers, their number, condition, discipline, and food supplies, the race and qualities of the enlisted sepoys, the activities of Taty Tope, and measures taken for protecting the districts from the impending danger, etc. But more important than these facts, is the attitude of the Maharaja Holkar towards the mutineers as indicated in some of these letters.

Mutiny broke out at Dhar, forty miles away from Indore. It was

the seat of the Dhar State. The strong rebel force occupied the fort and the capital and contacted the mutineers at other places. They attacked, looted and destroyed the Bhopawar Residency near Amzera, a few miles away from Dhar. There are fifteen letters written by Shri Ganpat Sitaram, Indore Durbar's Vakil at Mhow, addressed to Rao Ramchandra Rao Bhau. The Vakil accompanied the British force which marched to Dhar to capture it and drive out the mutineers. Consequently these letters deal with the movements of the British force towards Dhar, their attack on Dhar, the siege and capture of the fortress, escape of the insurgents, loot and plunder of Dhar by the British soldiers, impressions of Shri Ganpat Sitaram about the Mutiny at Dhar, etc. These letters together with some others from the Indore Barnishi mentioned above throw light on the attitude of the Maharaja Holkar towards Dhar.

Mahidpur was a very important military station of the British in 1857. It was also a strategic town and the district capital of the Holkars with a strong fortress having a natural defence of river water on two sides. It was the scene of a decisive battle between the Holkar and the British in the second decade of the nineteenth century. The Residency of Mahidpur witnessed a violent outburst of the Mutiny. The explosive condition at Mahidpur preceding the Mutiny, the outburst of the Mutiny itself and after-events are very well described in about fifty letters despatched to Holkar's Minister at Indore by Gangadhar Mukund, Holkar's Vakil posted at the Mahidpur Residency. Incidentally these letters, some of which were answered from Indore, throw light on the unfavourable attitude of the Maharaja Holkar towards the British. Besides this, a general picture of the economic and social conditions of the Mahidpur region is also provided by these letters.

Mandasor, the oldest town in Western Madhya Bharat, contributed its own valuable share to the Mutiny. It was at Mandasor that Prince Firuz Shah established his independent authority in 1857, invited other native princes to join hands with him to uproot the British power, collected 20,000 men under his banner and waged battles with the British forces. About half a dozen letters from Mandasor written by Vaman Rao Anna, Sindhia's Vakil, and Narayan Rao Babuji, Sindhia's *Suba* at Mandasor, sent to Indore authorities, describe the advent of Firuz Shah, his capture of Mandasor, various activities of the insurgents in Mandasor and its vicinity.

There are about ten letters written by Mr. Canning, Deputy Bheel Agent at Manpur. These letters narrate the anti-British activities of Bhima Naik, a strong leader of the aborigines in Southern Madhya Bharat, who raised the standard of revolt against the British during the Mutiny period, the British attitude towards Holkar about the Bhumia Chiefs, the activi

ties, movements, and conditions of the mutineers at Satyaghat, Akbarpur, and Kukshi, the British forces and their movements, etc.

The Nimar region in southern Madhya Bharat was also the scene of the activities of the mutineers. There are seven letters from Khargone, the main town of Nimar. They were written to the Indore Durbar by Hari Trimbak and Bakshi Khuman Singh, Holkar's Vakil at Mandleshwar, the British military station in Nimar. These letters include a copy of the letter written by Tatya Tope to the *Mamaledar* at Khargone asking him to provide food supplies and encampment for Tatya's force. All these letters deal with the movements of the mutineers, local conditions and activities of Tatya Tope after he crossed the Narmada and fought the battle of a Rajpur (Barwni).

Besides Khargone there were other important strategic towns in the Nimar region, namely Sendhawa and Bijagarh. About twenty letters were written by Khat Singh Thakur, Subedar of the Sarkar (District) Bijagarh, describing the activities of the Bhils, the way they helped the mutineers, the Holkar's feelings towards the British, the *Vilayatees*, etc.

There are five letters written by the authorities at Chandwad in Maharashtra about a rumour that the Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar had participated in the Mutiny and sent his trusted official Bakshi Khuman Singh to raise a large army.

Then, there are four letters from the Nawab of Jaora to Holkar's Minister at Indore describing the general condition of Jaora, the brisk activities of the mutineers, measures adopted for the protection of Jaora, etc. The brother of the Nawab of Jaora joined hands with the mutineers against the British. Two more letters were discovered which indicate that Tatya Tope and the rebel-forces were helped by the Bhils and the villagers.

Besides the above-mentioned letters, there are seven letters in the form of proclamations and circulars, the most noteworthy being the proclamations of Colonel Durand, the then British Resident at Indore, and the Nana Sahib Peshwa.

The letters referred to above do not exhaust the list; more letters are being traced out, translated and added to the list, and thus the work still continues. To sum up, these letters, rich in numerous interesting details and anecdotes, provide the following information:—

1. The Mutiny of 1857 broke out at various places in Southern Madhya Bharat. It was preceded by restlessness and anti-British feeling among the sepoys. They derived inspiration from others.

2. There were scenes of violence, loot, plunder, massacre and regular battles. Sometimes there was good planning and organisation on the part of the mutineers. They captured and held certain strategic places for days together.

3. At one time the British power was completely wiped out in Southern Madhya Bharat. Only a few Englishmen were left at Mhow and Neemuch and they too were in precarious situation, besieged by the hostile elements.

4. H.H. the Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar, to further his own cause, exploited the ill-feeling and strained relations between Hungerford, Commandant, Mhow Artillery, and Durand, the then officiating Resident at Indore and between Hamilton the then permanent Resident at Indore and Durand. Occasionally, the district officials also throw in their lot with the mutineers.

5. Sometimes the people sympathized with and helped the mutineers by providing them with money, food supplies and labour.

6. It seems that the activities of the British forces in their attempts to suppress the insurgents were predatory.

7. The aim of the leaders of the mutineers was not to molest or loot the villages and towns, but their activities were directed against the British.

LORD CURZON AND THE INDIAN PRINCES, 1899—1901*

SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYA

Education Officer, University Grants Commission, New Delhi

The private letters addressed in 1899-1901 by Lord Curzon, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to Lord George Hamilton, the then Secretary of State for India, throw some light on the position and conduct of some of the ruling princes of India in relation to the Viceroy and the Government of India.

Immediately on his arrival in India, Curzon was delighted to spend a week, in January 1899, in exchanging formal and informal visits with a large number of native chiefs and noblemen who had gathered in Calcutta to bid good-bye to Lord Elgin, his predecessor in office, and to welcome him as the new Viceroy of India. Prominent among them were the Maharajas of Gwalior¹, Kashmir², Patiala³, and Benares⁴ and several Nawabs including the Nawab of Rampur⁵. By far the most interesting and capable of the chiefs was the Sindhia who struck the new Viceroy as "a very bright young fellow of high character and remarkable intelligence." He was anxious to visit England to pay his respects to Queen Victoria. In view of the fact that the Sindhia's absence from the state would be for a short period, Curzon thought it proper to encourage him in the matter, though the Viceroy did not like that the prince should be away from his state for a longer period to undertake a tour of the continent of Europe at that stage.

Curzon, in fact, did not like the idea of the Indian princes being away from their states and spending the time in foreign countries. In a speech at Gwalior in November 1899 he laid stress on the responsibility of the ruling chiefs to their states and to the people over whom they ruled. His conception of a ruling prince of India was that of a benevolent ruler who must be "the servant as well as the master of the people". His figure should not merely be known on the polo ground, or on the race

course, or in the European Hotel. His real work, his princely duty lay, according to Curzon, among his own people⁶.

Curzon's idea of the place of the princes in the Indian administrative system and their responsibility to the people was clearly stated in the correspondence that passed between the Viceroy and Maharaja Nripendra Narayan of Cooch Behar early in 1899. While forwarding the correspondence to the Secretary of State for India, Curzon wrote to Hamilton that he refused permission to the Maharaja to go to England on general grounds without disputing the particular pleas put forward by the prince for going to England. Even when in India, the ruler of Cooch Behar did not, Curzon alleged, spend sufficient time in his own state, engaging himself most of the time in shooting expeditions in neighbouring districts⁷. Curzon wrote a rather strong letter pointing out the grounds of his objection to the Maharaja undertaking the proposed tour. This letter to the Maharaja⁸ which was forwarded to the Secretary of State shows how Curzon's mind was working in the matter. The ideas expressed here were later crystallized in a formal document published in the Gazette of India on 25 August 1900 where it was declared that "the repeated absences from India of Native Chiefs should be regarded as a dereliction, and not as a discharge, of public duty".

The correspondence that passed between Curzon and the Maharaja of Cooch Behar shows the earliest reaction of Curzon's mind on a subject which affected not merely the personal convenience of the rulers but the economic condition and morale of the people of the state.

The two letters that were exchanged between Maharaja Nripendra Narayan of Cooch Behar and Lord Curzon, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, are, therefore, fully quoted to illustrate the ideas of Curzon which were later formulated in a policy regulating the permission to ruling princes to go abroad.⁹

From

H. H. Maharaja of Cooch Behar, G. C. I. E.

To

His Excellency

The Lord Curzon of Kedleston, G. M. S. I., etc.

Woodlands,

February 1st, 1899

My dear Lord Curzon,

I am sorry to have to trouble Your Excellency at this time on a

*This article is based on letters of Lord Curzon addressed to Lord George Hamilton. They are preserved in the India Office (now, Commonwealth Relations Office), Whitehall, London, under the series Private Correspondence, India. Part II, Vols. XIII-XIX.

1. Sindia Madhava Rao II of Gwalior.

2. Maharaja Pratap Singh.

3. Maharaja Rajindra Singh.

4. Maharaja Prabhunaryan Singh.

5. Nawab Hamid Ali Khan.

6. Speech at Gwalior 29 November, 1899, quoted by Ronaldshay in *The life of Lord Curzon*, Vol. II, pp. 89-90.

7. Letter, 9 February 1899.

8. Letter, 8 February 1899.

9. Supplement to the Gazette of India, 25 August 1900.

purely personal matter, but its urgency must be my excuse. For very private and confidential reasons it is absolutely necessary for me to return to Europe for a short time next April; and I am now writing to you direct on the subject as my time is limited, trusting that you will accept my word and accord the necessary sanction.

Although it would have suited my plans better to have stayed in England a little longer to attend to the business, I have returned in order to exercise a personal supervision over the preparation of my state budget. When this is concluded, there is nothing really of any importance to detain me in Cooch Behar. In any case I should not prolong my stay there beyond May, as I always proceed at that time of the year either to Darjeeling or some other hill station.

As I am writing on this subject, I should like to submit to Your Excellency the following proposal for your kind consideration. To make my point clear I should like to explain how I spend my time when in India. I usually proceed to Cooch Behar in February of each year to prepare the budget and transact other state business. About the end of May, when the heat becomes excessive, I remove generally to Darjeeling, returning direct to Calcutta in November, where I stay until February, when I return to Cooch Behar.

Some time ago I had a correspondence with Lord George Hamilton on the subject of visiting Europe. I understood him to say that when any objections were raised they were on two grounds: firstly, my financial position; and, secondly, the necessity of my spending a certain portion of time in my own state.

As regards the first, I can show you that it is satisfactory; and as regards the second, if my proposal, which briefly, [*sic*] that I may be permitted to proceed to England each year instead of Darjeeling is sanctioned, I shall, in that case, proceed each year, on my return in November, or beginning of December, direct to Cooch Behar, thus spending five months of the year there instead of three months and a half only that I have hitherto been accustomed to spend there.

I ask for Your Excellency's favourable consideration of this proposal on three grounds: First, that my income goes further in England than it does here; second, the opinions of two of the best London doctors that I am to avoid hot weather in a tropical climate, specially in India; and, third, the education of my boys. If Your Excellency desires it, I can send you letters from the doctors referred to.

As regards the education of my sons, the eldest, who has just left Eton, goes to Oxford in September next; the second, who is now in Eng-

land, goes to Eton in September, where he will be followed next year by my third boy, and a little later, by my youngest son. I shall, therefore, have three of my sons in England next year. Although I have every confidence in the guardianship under which they are placed in England, I think you will agree with me that it is only natural that I should desire to exercise some personal control over their up-bringing during the most critical period of their lives. I have, I think, already shown that this can be done, not only without undue absence from my duties in India, but that, under the proposal I am now submitting to you, I shall spend very nearly double the time I have hitherto spent in Cooch Behar.

I must apologise to Your Excellency for the great length of this letter, but I feel sure that you will forgive me, considering its importance as regards myself.

I am leaving for Cooch Behar on Saturday; but, should you desire to question me on any point raised in this letter, I need hardly say how much I am at your Excellency's disposal.

I remain,
Your Excellency's sincerely,
(Sd.) Nripendra N. Bhup.

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From

W. R. Lawrence, Esq., C. I. E.,
Private Secretary to the Viceroy

To

H. H. The Maharaja of Cooch Behar, G. C. I. E.

Government House,
Calcutta,
February 8th, 1899.

My Dear Maharaja,

The Viceroy has received your letter of February 1st, in which you ask for permission to return to Europe in April next, and, further, for permission to spend a portion each year, amounting to seven or eight months, in England.

The grounds on which your Highness has asked for favourable consideration of this proposal are the greater economy of living in England, the state of your health, and the education of your sons at English Schools.

The Viceroy must observe, to start with, that your application should have been addressed primarily, as has been on previous occasions, to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in whose province your state lies.

The Viceroy has, however, given the fullest personal consideration to your Highness's request; and if he is compelled to refuse it, his decision has not been arrived at without a careful examination of the previous incidents of the case, or without a desire to show the fullest measure of courtesy to yourself. The grounds of his refusal are that the particular reasons advanced by you are insufficient, in his opinion, to outweigh the much broader considerations which should regulate the residence and movements of a Native Prince and his relations to the state.

In the Viceroy's opinion the first duty of an Indian Prince is towards his own people and his own state; and the exalted position and security which he enjoys, and which are in the main assured to him by the sanction and authority of the Imperial power, impose upon him responsibility which the smaller considerations of personal convenience, or comfort of living, or proximity to his sons, or even health, cannot be permitted to supersede.

The Viceroy regards it as a dereliction of public duty that an Indian Prince should be constantly absent from his state. His duty and his interests lie not in London, but among his own people. The fact that the finances of his state are ably administered in his absence by officials lent for that purpose by the Government of India does not absolve the Prince from the obligations of constant presence in, or in the neighbourhood of his state, and does not make absenteeism the more excusable.

The Viceroy regrets to say that unfavourable comment has already been excited in many quarters by Your Highness's repeated absence in Europe. An immunity conceded to one Prince cannot logically be denied to another, and the Viceroy cannot, therefore, acquiesce in the continuance of a practice which has not sufficient justification in itself, and which, as a precedent, involves a serious innovation.

He has instructed me, therefore, to tell you that he is unable to accede to your application either to return to England this spring, or to reside in England during a portion of each year. He feels certain that Your Highness can find in your own country and state the opportunities of useful employment and recreation which you desire; and that your many English friends and well wishers will not be the less attracted to you if, though they see you less frequently, they realise that the fact

is due to your proper appreciation of the responsibilities of your high station.

Believe me,
My Dear Maharaja,
Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Walter Lawrence,
Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Writing to the Secretary of State a week later, Curzon complained that Cooch Behar had returned no answer to his letter.¹⁰ But he took the trouble of finding out the real cause of Cooch Behar's anxiety to go to London, which, he found, had nothing to do with the ostensible purpose of his visit.

Curzon seemed to have a particular dislike for Maharaja Nripendra Narayan of Cooch Behar. During the war in South Africa certain Indian princes offered their services to fight for the British Crown in the war. Queen Victoria in two telegrams addressed to the Viceroy¹¹ pointed out that participation by the princes in the war would have the good effect of emphasizing imperial unity and she herself suggested on the advice of Lord Roberts who was in command in South Africa that Sir Pratap Singh¹² of Jodhpur and the Maharaja of Cooch Behar¹³ might be on the staff of the South African command. Curzon, however, did not like the idea. In a letter to the Secretary of State, Curzon wrote that the Queen's desire to see the Indian princes in the war in South Africa was quite intelligible, but it was, nevertheless purely sentimental.¹⁴

To the Queen, Curzon sent a telegram saying that the Home Government were averse to the employment of any Indian princes or troops in South Africa, and that the Government of India concurred with them in view of the famine that was then raging in India, which demanded the services of chiefs in their own states. Among the princes who had offered their services in the war, Sindhia, in the opinion of the Viceroy was much the best. But the loss to Gwalior by his absence or death would be "incomparably greater than the gain to the imperial cause by service in war."

Curzon, however, thought it better not to send any reply to the Queen's telegram suggesting that Sir Pratap Singh of Jodhpur and the Maharaja of Cooch Behar might be enrolled in the staff of Lord Roberts.¹⁵

10. Letter, 10 February 1899.

11. Telegrams dated 9 and 11 February 1900.

12. Uncle of the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

13. Maharaja Nripendra Narayan.

14. Letter, 15 February 1900.

15. Letter to Lord George Hamilton, 25 February 1900.

As regards Sir Pratap Singh, he wrote to the Secretary of State that this gentleman was wanted to look after the famine in his own state of Jodhpur in which he was, after the Maharaja, the leading personage and where he was doing most useful work. Moreover, as he had broken his leg a short time ago, he was not fitted for the arduous labour of a long campaign. But Curzon was very outspoken in his antagonism to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar joining the South African army. "Cooch Behar is the last man whom I would select for the special privilege of going", he wrote to the Secretary of State. Curzon further reminded Hamilton that months ago the Viceroy, under instructions from the Secretary of State, had refused the offer of Cooch Behar to join the armed forces in South Africa, "which was the first that the Government had received".

Sivaji Rao, the Holkar of Indore, caused the Viceroy not a little worry. He adopted obstructive tactics on certain points and was not at all anxious to have a certificate of good conduct from the Viceroy. Though Curzon was inclined to think of the Holkar as "a man obviously *non compos mentis*," he was at a loss to determine how to deal with one who by his ingenuous methods defeated many of the plans of the Viceroy to settle his personal affairs.

Curzon had a better opinion of the Gaikwar¹⁶ who appeared to be more amenable to the Viceroy's wishes. As the Gaikwar wanted to go to Europe on a short visit, the Viceroy took a house for him at Simla and placed it at the disposal of the prince. He requested the prince by a telegram to come over to Simla so that necessary advice might be given him before he actually undertook the journey. The Gaikwar accepted the invitation of the Viceroy. Curzon was pleased with the behaviour of the prince and wrote to Hamilton, "I am sure that such acts of attention are not thrown away".¹⁷

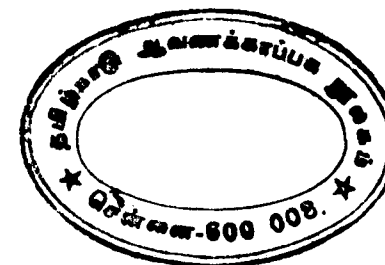
The Nizam of Hyderabad¹⁸ could not in the least impress the Viceroy during their first meeting. Curzon had his first formal conversation with the Nizam in a public darbar in December 1899. But in a state dinner that followed, the Nizam sat next to the Viceroy, who had thus opportunities of observing the character and intelligence of the foremost ruling chief in India. He formed a very poor opinion about either and used rather strong language about him in his letter to the Secretary of State.

Curzon received reports that the Nizam was immensely elated at the attention paid to him and the civility shown to him by the Viceroy in Calcutta. He thought that it might be necessary to take the Nizam

"down a peg or two" when he got him in the private audience chamber for some personal talks. But about one thing Curzon was quite clear. "It was wholly useless talking to him about any intricate problems of state. He would be quite incapable of understanding the Berar question and would probably go into a fit, if it was raised". Curzon, however, tried to impress on the Nizam the simplest obligations of his position which related to reasonable economy in his private expenditure, loyal support of his minister and some interest in the education of his son.¹⁹

In his letter to the Secretary of State, dated 28 December 1899, Curzon wrote that his plan in dealing with the ruling chiefs was first to win their confidence as far as possible and then to speak to them with firmness. He was, however, convinced that not much could ever be done with Hyderabad so long as the then Nizam was upon the throne. Nevertheless, Curzon considered it important that he should be well disposed towards the Government rather than the reverse, that he should "look upon the Viceroy as his friend, even if his mentor", and that there should exist between them the bond of personal contact and acquaintance.

Curzon had, on the whole, a poor opinion of the Indian princes. The cordial reception given by Queen Victoria to the Raja of Kapurthala²⁰ during the latter's visit to Balmoral was strongly resented by him. He considered it hopeless to endeavour to take a strong line in India about "the members of the princely class", if at the same time they received encouragement and compliments from the Queen in Great Britain. Curzon was afraid that every Indian prince, whatever his character and personality, was invested with "a sort of halo in Her Majesty's eyes", and so strong were her sentimental feelings upon the matter that the Viceroy dared not say anything about it in writing to her.²¹



16. Sayaji Rao III.

17. Letter, 7 June 1899.

18. Mir Mahbub Ali Khan.

19. Letter, 28 December 1899.

20. Jagatjit Singh.

21. Letter, 28 November 1900.

THE CYCLONE OF 1864

G. N. CHANDRA

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The very destructive hurricane, which visited Calcutta and the neighbouring districts on 5 October 1864, had its origin at some point¹ at sea in the latitude of Kyouk Phyo (19° north) and about 100 miles west of the Arracan Coast. Moving from that point first towards the west and then towards the north the gale struck the coast of Bengal about the Balasore Roads and Hijli, where it raged with great violence during the night of the 4th October; and then the centre of the storm travelled in a northerly direction with a slight eastward inclination along the right bank of the Hooghly at a pace varying from 8 to 26 miles an hour. The full violence of the storm was felt at Calcutta from 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. on the 5th October and about 7 hours later at Krishnagar. It crossed the Ganges between Rampur Boalia and Pabna, sweeping over the whole length of Bogra District, and then taking a recurvature to the east at 25° north it became expended in the Garo Hills.

The hurricane was destructive in two ways: by the violence of the wind there was wide-spread destruction of houses and trees; but very much more disastrous in its effect was the storm wave, which the gale brought up from the Bay of Bengal and drove in front of it along the river Hooghly, rising in some places to a height of 30 ft. for a distance of several miles on either side, sweeping over the strongest embankments, flooding the crops with salt water and carrying away entire villages on its way. In Calcutta, Hooghly, Burdwan, Nadia, Rajshahi and Bogra the gale was the principal agent of destruction, as the storm wave spent its force within 20 miles of Calcutta after carrying on devastation to a distance of some 8 miles inland. Had the embankments below the river been of sufficient size and strength to keep the storm wave within their boundaries the result would have been infinitely more disastrous to Calcutta than it was. From the report dated 17 October 1864 of the Commissioner of Police of Calcutta it is found that in the city proper 70 persons were killed and 13 wounded and 37 houses and 1322 huts were destroyed, while in the suburbs 32 were killed and 3 wounded and 65 houses and 39376 huts destroyed. There were 195 vessels within the limits of the port of Calcutta on that day. Up to 1 o'clock they had to contend against the violence of the storm, but when the wave came on, one vessel after another drove from her moorings and swept on, fouling others in her

course, and getting massed in hopeless and inextricable confusion they were driven in heaps on the opposite shore. 145 vessels were thus driven ashore and 10 got sunk. In all 36 vessels were lost and 136 damaged. There was a considerable loss of salt on the ships and country boats. At least 2,02,082 maunds were thrown away by 26 ships. 22,169 maunds were lost from 67 unpassed wrecked boats and 18382 maunds from 47 passed sunken boats. Two *golhas* in Hatkhola were swept clear of their contents (427 maunds) during the rise in the river, bringing the total loss of salt there to 4,09,78 maunds.

The Civil Station of Hooghly² suffered severely owing to the buildings being for the most part very old. 112 persons were killed as a result of house collapse. In Howrah District much devastation was caused by the storm wave at Shampore and Ulberie Police Station and by the storm at other places in the district. 1978 persons were killed, 12,762 heads of cattle lost and 316 houses and 150158 huts destroyed, and property worth Rs. 60,49,831 was lost. The southern and eastern portions of Midnapore District were exposed to the full violence of the storm wave. On the southern face of the sea dyke it was only 4½ ft. high, but as it approached Rasulpore its height increased. At Gunput it was 11 ft. 6 inches. and at Dowlatpore 30 ft. 3 inches. The loss of life from Rasulpore to Kukrahati was very great. The Southern³ and Western portions of 24 Parganas were worst affected by the storm wave; commencing at Saugor Island it swept over the embankments, destroying huts and villages within the distance of 8 miles from the river, still it reached Archipur. The destruction was more complete in Saugor Island than at any other place visited by the storm wave; the few human beings that escaped by climbing up trees or by floating on the roofs of their houses were swept to the mainland and carried many miles away. The police returns give the total loss of life as 12,000. The magnitude of suffering to which the survivors were exposed after the disaster was very great. For several days it was impossible for them to obtain food, and in some places they were known to be eating a kind of grass. For 3 or 4 days there was no means of sending relief from Calcutta. At a few places the stores of rice merchants who refused to distribute or sell their grain were plundered. Diamond Harbour Sub-Division was worst affected by the storm wave which was 11 ft. high there. The Superintendent of Police, who visited the station on 12th October, reported that within 6 miles of Diamond Harbour it was impossible to go 50 yards on the road without seeing a human body; these being the corpses of individuals who were overtaken by the storm and the flood on the road. What the loss of life must have been in the villages can easily be imagined. In some villages all houses had been swept away along with their inmates. The sufferings of the people

2. Bengal General Proceedings, Nos. 94-96, A., November 1864

3. Bengal Judicial Proceedings, No. 17 B., November 1864

1. Bengal General Proceedings, Nos. 63-64, A., December 1864

THE CYCLONE OF 1864

G. N. CHANDRA

Keeper of Records, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta

The very destructive hurricane, which visited Calcutta and the neighbouring districts on 5 October 1864, had its origin at some point¹ at sea in the latitude of Kyook Phyoo (19° north) and about 100 miles west of the Arracan Coast. Moving from that point first towards the west and then towards the north the gale struck the coast of Bengal about the Balasore Roads and Hijli, where it raged with great violence during the night of the 4th October; and then the centre of the storm travelled in a northerly direction with a slight eastward inclination along the right bank of the Hooghly at a pace varying from 8 to 26 miles an hour. The full violence of the storm was felt at Calcutta from 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. on the 5th October and about 7 hours later at Krishnagar. It crossed the Ganges between Rampur Boalia and Pabna, sweeping over the whole length of Bogra District, and then taking a recurvature to the east at 25° north it became expended in the Garo Hills.

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course, and getting massed in hopeless and inextricable confusion they were driven in heaps on the opposite shore. 145 vessels were thus driven ashore and 10 got sunk. In all 36 vessels were lost and 136 damaged. There was a considerable loss of salt on the ships and country boats. At least 2,02,082 maunds were thrown away by 26 ships. 22,169 maunds were lost from 67 unpassed wrecked boats and 18382 maunds from 47 passed sunken boats. Two *golhas* in Hatkhola were swept clear of their contents (427 maunds) during the rise in the river, bringing the total loss of salt there to 4,09,78 maunds.

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were much aggravated by the want of fresh water. The same inundation which was so destructive to life and property rendered all the fresh water for about 15 miles inward, blackish and unfit to drink.

The local officers took prompt measures to alleviate the distress caused by the storm wave as far as it lay in their power. The District Magistrate of 24 Parganas lost no time in sending out food for the starving population and in providing for the disposal of the dead bodies as also for the removal of the carcasses of animals and other substances likely to cause injury to public health. He obtained from the Government an advance of Rs. 5,000 and had supplies of rice rushed to the affected area. Steps were at the same time taken for the clearance of tanks and drains and for the baling out of tanks filled with salt water. A systematic plan was chalked-out for the regular supply of food and water to the distressed villages and a scheme was drawn up for digging fresh water tanks with a view to relieve want of water and to give employment to the people. Such extra police as was required for the maintenance of order for the protection of property and for properly carrying out the relief measures was also sanctioned. Similar measures were adopted in Midnapore and Howrah Districts. The Lieutenant Governor further directed that measures should be taken for immediately employing the whole of population which might be in want of work and food, in repairing the embankments in the 24 Parganas, Hijli and Midnapore on ordinary wages, but without adhering at the commencement to the strict exaction of work to be done for the day's wages, and that all people including women and children asking for work should be employed in this manner. On the evening of the 5th October, as soon as abatement of the gale rendered communication possible, the *Celerity* and the *Koladyne* were kept in readiness to start next morning, one to render aid to distressed vessels and the other in search of the *Sir William Peel* with her flats having on board the 12th native infantry proceeding to Bootan. On the 7th the people of Mayapore were given money to purchase rice and the *Celerity* returned having spent all her provisions in the relief of urgent distress on the banks of the river. On the 8th the *Lady Elgin* was despatched to assist in cruising about the Sandheads and Balasore Roads in search of pilot and light vessels, wrecked ships and vessels in distress. On the 9th the *Celerity* was sent again with provisions and water to the Sandheads and False Point, and having returned on the 14th she was despatched once more on the 18th with provisions and water to make more extensive search for the distressed people and vessels. On the 9th two Row Boats were also sent to Kedgiri with provisions and water. The *Salween* was stranded there. The Lieutenant Governor directed that the entire sea coast should be examined as also the creeks in the Sunderbans as far as possible. The Master Attendant was authorised to incur any expenditure that might be necessary for continuing these expeditions for saving life and for rendering assistance to vessels in difficulty.

It was soon found that the relief which should be given by Government was necessarily inadequate for the vast population which was in distress. This insufficiency was promptly met by organised efforts of the people. A public meeting was held in which a large subscription was guaranteed. The movement was originated by Mr. Walter Brett and most nobly supplemented by the prompt and spontaneous liberality of the Parsee Community of Bombay. The Committee of Relief which was formed boarded the *Bombay* on the 14th and left depots of stores wherever they were most needed and returned to Calcutta on the 18th. Another Government steamer the *Teesta* was placed at the Committee's disposal and sent down with fresh supplies. Mr. D. J. McNeile was appointed as Joint Magistrate in 24 Parganas and Midnapore, placed in charge of supplies and entrusted with the work of directing relief operations there. And the District Magistrates were instructed to make the public establishments available for applying in the most efficient manner the money subscribed by the public. On 9th November the *Teesta* left again with fresh stores, but the country on the eastern side of the river was found gradually reviving, *hats* being held and the people resuming their occupations. The distribution of food *gratis* to able-bodied men was discontinued there, but the quantity served out to women and children was doubled so that they might take away enough for two meals at once. The people of Saugor and those on the western side of the river had to be fed by charity for some time more. The subscription to the Relief Fund amounted to nearly 3 lacs of rupees.

The crews of the vessels destroyed by the Cyclone and of those which became unseaworthy were housed in the Sailors' Home for the time being, and occupation was found for a number of them in Her Majesty's Service under the Rear Admiral at Bombay.

To guard against a return of the disaster which occurred to the shipping during the storm the construction of Wet Docks was recommended, as also the completion of the requirements at Port Canning with a view to divert a portion of the shipping to Mutlah, and the use of screw moorings in place of the ordinary moorings. A new rule was added to the Port Rules—that from 30th September till after the new moon of November no ship in the port should have top-gallant yards or top-gallant masts aloft and that they should in addition strike top-sail yard and top masts when required to do so.

The level of the storm wave was recorded in stone tablets at Mayapore on the left hand side of the doorway of the Magazine Godown, at Diamond Harbour on the west face of the Deputy Magistrate's Cutchery, at Mud Point on the outer face of the side work of the Signal House, and at Saugor Light House on the outer slope of the enclosing embankment.⁴

THE FIRST CASE OF HARTAL IN BRITISH INDIA

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Hartal as a mode of popular demonstration against the government is well-known in modern India, but its exact origin is shrouded in obscurity. Recently when I inspected the District Records of the Uttar Pradesh Government I chanced to notice among Banaras records a very interesting reference to a *hartal* as a public demonstration resorted to on 24 August 1790 by the merchants and citizens of Banaras. It is clear that this is perhaps the first known case of *hartal* resorted to by the people against the government in the British period.

It appears from the records that this *hartal* was a protest against the regulations issued by the Government for the enforcement of better sanitation in the city. As these regulations adversely affected the lower classes they indulged in demonstration and rioting. The angry rioters compelled the merchants to close their shops and stop all business. The *hartal*, however, was short-lived and the shops were opened after a few hours in the afternoon through the efforts of the Magistrate, Ali Ibrahim Khan.

The description as given in the records is as follows:—

"This day from the morning till about 4 in the after-noon a vast multitude of the lower classes of the Natives assembled in the outskirts of the Town, with a view of procuring a repeal of the late Regulations for keeping the Town clean, by having public necessities. Having previously concerted their plan, they had given notice to all the trades people and shop keepers (many of whom did indeed make part of their body) to shut up their shops and effect what is known in this country under the name of *Hartal* or a complete stoppage to business of every kind; threatening to plunder and rob those who should dare to act otherwise. In several parts of the Town, however, thro' the vigilance of the Magistrate (Ali Ibrahim Khan) and with the residents' aid (shops) opened by noon; and altho' the rioters occasionally threatened they committed no serious mischief, but kept for the most part in one large body which was altogether unarmed and amounted according to the best computation to the number of several thousands; till on some intercourse taking place between them and the residents, 2 or 3 of their head-men at length made their appearance and presented the following petition."¹

1. Banaras Records, 24 August 1790, Page 451

INDIGO RYOTS' STATEMENT AT CHAMPARAN IN 1917

K. K. DATTA

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European indigo planters in north Bihar carried on indigo cultivation under two systems, (a) *Zerai* and (b) *Assamiwar*. Under the *Zerai* system they managed cultivation of indigo under their direct management using their own ploughs and bullocks. They had to engage the tenants to work for them and also impressed their ploughs. Such tenants were entirely ill-paid for their labour and so naturally remained discontented. According to the *Assamiwar* system, the factory-chiefs got indigo lands cultivated by the tenants. The most prevalent method under this system was known as *Tinkathia*. The other methods were *Khushki* and *Kurtauli*. The *Kurtauli* method, though not extensively prevalent in Champaran, was highly prejudicial to the interests of the ryots. About it the Commissioner of Patna observed in 1885, "The *Kurtauli* lease is a new institution dating from a very few years back.....There is growing up in our midst and in spite of our efforts at beneficent legislation a system under which the ryot mortgages his entire holding and the very site of his house for a period probably extending beyond his own life time, redemption being contingent on the repayment of a loan; the ryot to use the common expression, is selling himself body and soul into the hopeless servitude".¹ In the *Khushki* method, rather uncommon in Champaran, agreements were executed by ryots who were not tenants of factory.

Under the *Tinkathia* method, widely prevalent in Champaran, a tenant had to cultivate indigo on three *Kathas* per *Bigha* of his holding or the factory lands during a long period (20 years, 25 years or even 30 years) and was formally entitled to get a price for it, according to the *Sattas* or written agreements between him and the factory. It was calculated to promote the maximum interest of the planters but on the other hand entailed enormous hardships on the tenants in various ways. Coercion on them for converting their lands into indigo-producing fields, extortion of forced labour from them under all kinds of threat, extremely meagre payment and sometimes even no payment to them, exactions of heavy fines for failure to grow indigo for any reason whatsoever, were some of the notorious features of this oppressive and grinding system. Their occasional protests and cries for protection against the harsh treatment of the planters mingled with the air.

1. Quoted in Dr. Rajendra Prasad's *Satyagraha in Champaran*, p. 14.

Groaning under intolerable tyranny of the indigo planters, the ryots of Champaran sought relief in different quarters. They at last selected the right path and Providence gave them the right man, Mahatma Gandhi, for their deliverance. They placed the question before the Indian National Congress at its session at Lucknow in December 1916. Here a resolution to the following effect, moved by Bihar's veteran patriot, Babu Brajkishore Prasad, was unanimously passed:

"The Congress most respectfully urges upon the Government the desirability of appointing a mixed Committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the causes of the agrarian trouble and the strained relations between the indigo tenants and the European Planters in North Bihar and to suggest remedies therefor".

At this time the Bihar delegates, particularly Shri Rajkumar Shukla, a fearless peasant-leader of Champaran, requested Mahatma Gandhi to visit Champaran to witness the miseries of the people there. In response to this request Mahatma Gandhi came to Bihar in April 1917. During his enquiry into the conditions of the indigo ryots in north Bihar, Mahatma Gandhi recorded statements of many of them belonging to different villages of that area with the assistance of his co-workers there, like Dr Rajendra Prasad, Dr Anugraha Narain Sinha, Shri Sambhu Saran Varma, Shri Ramnavami Prasad, Shri Vindhyavasini Prasad and some others.

Authentic typewritten copies of these statements, bound in five volumes, were found by me in the Library of the Bihar Vidyapith, attached to the Sadaqat Ashram, Patna. These are full of detailed information of much importance for getting a correct picture of the miserable conditions under which the Champaran indigo ryots had to spend their woeful days under the oppressions of the indigo planters. All of these will be shortly edited. I have selected here just a few ones out of these valuable documents.

I

Motihari
27.4.17.

"Statement of Ramugrah Kuer son of Lal Behari Kuer aged about 35 years resident of Berua, Pargana Bhatrara—Dist—Mozafferpur.

Tetaria factory.

I had taken *zarpeshgi* of land in this district in village Mainarur which belongs to the Bettiah Raj but which is in lease with the factory at Tataria. I was asked by the Saheb to give tawan for exemption from indigo but I did not do so. I did not grow indigo and for that the saheb

forcibly realised damage from me at the rate of Rs. 16/- per bigha. The kothi used to claim 8 maunds as damages per bigha and as price of that realised Rs. 16/- per bigha. The Kothi then induced the mortgager to surrender his lands and after that factory had dispossessed me. This statement relates to one bigha of land. I had another *zarpeshgi* of 9 bighas and odd. In respect of that the saheb had indigo sown on about 1½ bighas after ploughing my kheshari crop which was standing on the land. My plough is taken by the kothi. I am paid nothing as its hire. We pay 4 annas as hire for a plough for half day. The saheb keeps the plough engaged for the whole day and pays 2 pice or 3 pice a day. After the plough has worked for 10 or 12 days then we are paid something which comes to about 2 or 3 pice a day. Labourers from the village are paid 1 pice or 2 pice a day for the whole day, they have to carry them food for themselves from home. We give 2 seers grain to a labour for a whole day or 3 seers grain and a full meal at noon. My buffalo and its calf were taken by the factory to the pound of which the factory has a lease and I had to pay Rs. 4/- for getting them released. They had been taken as I had not grown indigo. We are abused, insulted and beaten when we do anything against the order of the kothi. If we grow indigo this year we get deductions from our rent in the next year following. If we default in making payment of rent, we have to pay interest. We are paid generally at the rate of Rs. 10/- per bigha for indigo, as the crop is generally declared to be of the second class, when it is of the first class. Really second class crop is declared to be bijmar for which we are allowed only Rs. 3/- per bigha. This compensation is paid after deducting costs of tanki and other costs. The costs of cultivation and preparing the lands for the indigo from Katik to Phagun comes to more than Rs. 10/- a bigha."

Sd/- Rajendra Prasad.

II

"Ramsurat Rai son of Dhanraj Rai aged about 32 years resident of Belwa Madho:—Jalaha Kothi.

I have a holding of 7 bighas odd. In 1319 I was required to pay Rs. 58/- as tawan. I had no money to pay. The kothi amlas said that they would not permit me to sow my goera land in which I was going to sow rabbi. This happened in Katik of 1320. As I was unable to pay I could not sow rabbi and with my brother Ramlochan Rai I fled away to Bengal. When we both brothers fled away then the Sipahis took our old father to the kothi. Our father wrote to us that he was being troubled by the kothi. From there I sent Rs. 58/- in various instalments, Rs. 10/- in Aghan, Rs. 20/- in Baisakh, Rs. 14/- in Jeth, Rs. 5/- in Aghan of the following year and Rs. 9/- in the Baisakh of the following year.

In 1320 there was no rabbi as I was not permitted to sow it. During our absence our father was detained in the kothi. My father is now dead. He was very much molested by the kothi—but I do not know the details as I was not here. Although I have already paid up Rs. 58/- the amlas say that Rs. 9/- is still due from me. I have called to grow indigo again this year which I have done from fear of persecution and molestation.

Sd/- Rajendra Prasad"
8.5.17

III

"Ghajan Sah Teli son of Mangroo Sah aged about 50 years resident of Belwa Madho:—Jalaha Factory.

I had to pay Rs. 45/- as tawan. As I had no money I executed a handnote for it. I paid the money of the handnote in various instalments. The last instalment I paid by selling my bullock for Rs. 18/- to a Nonia of Sampore. I do not know his name. In 1323 the Saheb told me to take settlement of IB IIc additional land as its tenant Bhawan Jolaha had abandoned it. For that I was required to pay Rs. 34/- as Salami. Although I was not anxious to take the land but I was required to pay this sum of Rs. 34/- I do not know if it was Salami or tawan. As I had no money to pay I executed a handnote for Rs. 34/-. I paid Rs. 2/- last year plus Rs. 11/- this year but I am told it has been credited towards interest and the principal is still due.

Left thumb impression of Bhajan Sah
Complains about trees.
Sd/- Rajendra Prasad"
8. 7. 17.

IV

"Shampur village under Jalaha concern. Lachmi Sukal, son of Sukhram Sukul of Shampur, thana Gobindgunj under Jalaha kothi.

In 1317, I had 10 kathas of land of Urid. The manager got it removed and fined me Rs. 30/- for not having grown indigo. I had to pay it by selling a buffalo. Indigo was then sown but nothing was given to me for it.

When Sharah beshi was demanded I refused. 3 buffaloes were then taken to the pound. When I went to release them I was detained in kothi and made to sign Sharah beshi agreement by force. Then I applied to the Magistrate. Mr. Rowland Chandra went on enquiry but he did not

ask for any statement from us. On recording the evidence of the factory he allowed the application to be filed. I did not pay the enhanced rate but paid the usual dues for which I got no receipt. I remitted rent for 1321, by money order, which was refused. Then another case under section 107 was instituted in which we were acquitted. Another criminal charge was brought against us in which we were fined Rs. 20/- each. Our cattle are not allowed to graze in the parti lands. Our Ploughs are taken away and kept in factory service to the great loss to our own cultivation. Civil actions against us have been brought for enhanced rents. We are not allowed to cut the trees on our thicca land. We are being subjected to other harassments. Peons have been deputed to watch our movements. Dhobi, barbar etc. are not allowed to work for us.

Sd/- Anugraha Narain Sinha.

Sd/- Lachmi Sukul".

V

Bettiah
6-5-17

Sirkahia Kothia.

"I, Rangi Tewari son of Biraj Tewari aged 50 years, resident of village Barwa Sheikh thana Shikarpur under Sirkahia kothi.

In 1316, I was sentenced to 11 months' imprisonment. I was caught hold of one day and challaned to court for no fault of mine. I was released with the other people who were similarly imprisoned at the instance of Mr. Gourlay. In the meantime, two bighas of my sugarcane were taken away by the kothi. The kothi also got indigo planted in 15 kathas of land. In kartick saheb asked me to plant indigo and sugar but I refused. He then ordered his men to impound my cattle wherever they might be found and realise at the rate of Rs. 1/- per head. Two cattle have been impounded and two rupees realised in Chait last. My labourers have been taken away from my Brit land made to reside in kothi land. No receipt has been granted for 4 years. The saheb is demanding finger print on some paper which I have refused to give. This is the reason why no receipt is being given.

T. I. of Rangi Tewari.

Sd/- Anugraha Narain Sinha"
6-5-17.

VI

"Statement of Ramji Nagar son of Roshan Nagar aged 50 years,

resident of Madhubani thana Motihari a Chokidar of the village under Dhekaha kothi a branch of Pipra:—

I was forced to execute sarah beshi agreement. The whole village refused to pay rent at the enhanced rent and I also did not pay. Thereupon the kothi wanted to take away my cattle but the factory people failed to do so as they did not venture to go to my doors. Next they came to my Khalihan (threshing floor). When I was at Motihari Thana they caught hold of my brother and the saheb set his dogs on him and threatened with trampling him down under the feet of his horse. Not satisfied with this he asked the peon to set fire to paddy bojhas in the Khalihan and after the people of village had collected in the Khalihan the saheb's men put out the fire and threw away the bojhas in the fields. Being thus persecuted, my brother borrowed money from a money lender and paid off the rent. He was then released. When we wanted to go down my brother was taken to the kothi and was entertained with chura and Dahi and warned not to go to the police otherwise we shall be totally ruined.

Sd/- Anugrah Narayan Sinha"
23-4-17.

VII

"I. Hareshar Ahir, son of Doma Ahir, age 50 years, resident of Bharwalia, thana Gobindgunj, under the Gahiri concern state as follows :—

I have two holdings one being 1 bigha, 15 kathas and the other that stands in my brother's name, being 3 bighas 18 kathas in area. Indigo had to be planted by me for the factory every year up to 1319 on the Tinkathia system. The factory stopped the cultivation of indigo and demanded enhanced rate of rent in 1319. Being a poor man and finding that bigger men of my village had been made to execute Sharah Beshi agreement, I could not afford to oppose the will of the factory. When I was taken to the factory I told the Saheb that the increased amount would press on me heavily as the original rent was already heavy. The Saheb asked his men to remove me and to make me grow indigo. My land was measured for this purpose, but when most men of the village had executed agreement for Sharah beshi, the gumashta sahdeo Ray, and Latan Dusadh the Gorait asked me to do it, or I would be beaten and my cattle would be impounded. Finding no way out of it, I executed agreement for Shara Beshi. The rent of both the holdings has been enhanced from about Rs. 23-3-0 to Rs. 31-1-0. For 1323 I have paid the entire dues, for 1324, the major portion of the rent.

T. I. of Hareshar Ahir

Sd/- S. S. Varma."

VIII

Motihari

27.4.1917.

"Statement of Dharichhan Rai son of Ramsaran Rai aged about 32 years resident of Mauza Bariaria, Tola Indargachi, Pargana Majhawa, district Champaran thana Gobindganj.

Jalaha factory.

In 1318 the kothi desired us to execute sharah beshi agreement. We made an application (Pai darkhast) to the Magistrate that we did not want to execute such agreements but nothing happened. Pressure was put on the tenants in whose names their holdings stood were compelled to surrender them and the holdings were entered in the names of other members of the family and the newly entered tenants were made to execute sharah beshi forcibly at the rate of Rs. 1-6-0 per bigha. The tenants in whose names the holdings originally stood deposited the original rent in court. Then we were threatened with ruin and we were forced to pay sharah beshi. When the survey was being made, the survey authorities set aside the sharah beshi. We were then called upon to pay Rs. 55/- to Rs. 60/- per bigha as tawan. We again applied to the Magistrate in 1323 that we were being pressed to pay tawan. But nothing happened and we had to pay tawan. Now in 1324 we have been called upon to grow indigo again although there is no satta now and although we have paid tawan. We have refused to do so. The kothi began to put various kinds of pressure on us. We made an application to the Magistrate. But nothing happened. The manager became very angry with us and fined the villagers Rs. 50/-. A list was made of the persons who had to pay among themselves the sum of Rs. 50/- and the list was filed by us along with a criminal complaint against the amlas of the factory stating that the fine was going to be realised from us. The Inspector of Police held investigation but nothing came out of it. The kothi with a view to harassing us has begun digging up gairmazrui lands with the result that there is no room for egress and ingress of our cattle etc. We have always enjoyed the timber of our tree but now the factory claims half and its half share has been recorded in survey. Although the survey set aside the new settlements after surrender by the old tenants the kothi grant receipts even in the names of the new tenants and does not recognise the old tenants. Our ploughs with bullocks and ploughmen are taken away when we require them most urgently, no matter wherever it may be situated. Each tenant has to give in Begari 5 ploughs in average. The kothi must take plough at any time. It takes ploughs at any time it likes, no matter if the field of the tenants is spoiled. Those who do not cultivate indigo are put to severe troubles. Some of them

are implicated in criminal cases in which the factory Manager himself becomes a witness with the result that the tenants are convicted. Out of fear they at once come to the clutches of the factory and they have to do whatever it likes them to do.

Sd/- Ramnavami Prasad".

FIRST UNIFORM CURRENCY FOR INDIA

DAYAL DASS

Archivist, National Archives of India, New Delhi

Till the first quarter of the nineteenth century there existed in India various currencies which were simultaneously in circulation in different parts of the country, each having a different standard and value, and bearing a different device. Thus there were Sicca rupees, Sonat rupees, Farruckabad rupees, Arcot rupees, Madras rupees and Bombay rupees, and the computation of their respective values involved considerable difficulty. It also resulted in great inconvenience in business transactions, both Government as well as private, and was thus a great stumbling block in the way of the commercial prosperity of India.

The imperative need for some reform of the Indian currency which might put an end to the existing confusion and facilitate the transaction of business was greatly felt. As early as 1773, Warren Hastings had tried to tackle this knotty problem, but he "bungled in his attempts to solve it". It was not till the time of Lord William Bentinck that some concrete steps were taken in this direction, and Bentinck ordered the immediate introduction of a uniform currency through out the British territory in India.¹ But his sudden and premature departure from India left this important and arduous task to his successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe.

The Calcutta Mint Committee submitted² for the consideration of the Governor General in Council various devices for the proposed new coin including one bearing the replica of the head of the King of England, and recommended its adoption as they considered the facial image to be much more difficult of imitation than lion or any other similar device. The Governor General in Council, therefore, resolved to give preference to this device for the general coin, and decided to take immediate measures for establishing the new coin as the general currency of all the Presidencies.³ It was also thought that by giving the coin an impression of the likeness of the reigning sovereign of the British empire it might be possible to aid its circulation as a general colonial currency in the East, and asserting by the same act the British supremacy in India itself⁴. The reverse of the coin was to bear the words "East India Company" together with the nominal value of the coin in English, Persian and Nagri, and the

1. Fin. Mint Cons., 25 November 1834, Nos. 1-3; and 12 January 1835, Nos. 1-4

2. Fin. Mint Cons., 8 April 1835, Nos. 1-4

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Finl. Mint Letters to Court*, No. 10 of 1835, dated 8 April 1835

ornamental devices of a lotus flower and myrtle wreath. The engraving of the specimen was executed by an Indian workman employed at the Calcutta Mint, but the Court of Directors were requested kindly to furnish matrix dies of the same device by English engravers, which might serve as a model to the Indian workmen employed in preparing dies for the new coinage⁵.

It had also been decided by the Governor General in Council that the change in the silver coinage was to be followed up by a corresponding change in the gold and copper currency of British India, as soon as the reports and suggestions of the Calcutta Mint Committee in this respect were received⁶.

In pursuance of the above decisions for the introduction of a uniform currency for the whole of British India, the Governor General in Council in their letter⁷ dated 24 June 1835, forwarded to the Court of Directors the draft of an Act proposed to be passed by them on the subject of the new Silver and Gold coinage of British India. The proposed Act was considered necessary to legalise the issue of the new coins and to regulate their weight, standard and device, and in respect to the new Rupee to fix the rate at which it was to be paid and received in discharge of sums calculated in any of the then existing legal currencies. It was deemed essential to provide for all these matters by a legislative enactment; but in regard to all other questions relating to the coining of money and the establishment or removal of mints, it was considered desirable that their direction be vested in the Governor General of India in Council in his executive capacity, and a separate Section to this effect was, therefore, introduced in the draft of the proposed Act⁸.

The main provisions of the Act were as follows :—

“I. Be it enacted, that from the First day of September 1835, the undermentioned Silver Coins only shall be coined at the Mints within the territories of the East India Company—A Rupee, to be denominated the Company’s Rupee a Half Rupee—a Quarter Rupee—and a Double Rupee; and the weight of the said Rupee shall be 180 Grains Troy, and the standard shall be as follows :—

$\frac{11}{12}$ or 165 Grains of pure Silver.

$\frac{1}{12}$ or 15 Grains of Alloy,

5. *Ibid.* paras 10-11

6. *Ibid.* para 8

7. Fin. Mint Letters to Court, No. 17 of 1835, dated 24 June 1835

8. *Ibid.* para 3

and the other coins shall be of proportionate weight and of the same standard.

- II. And be it enacted, that these coins shall bear on the obverse the head and the name of the reigning Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and on the reverse the designation of the Coin in English and Persian, and the words “East India Company” in English with such embellishment as shall, from time to time, be ordered by the Governor General in Council.
- III. And be it enacted, that the Company’s Rupee, Half Rupee, and Double Rupee, shall be a legal tender in satisfaction of all engagements, provided the Coin shall not have lost more than two per cent in weight, and provided it shall not have been clipped, or filed, or have been defaced otherwise than by use.
- IV. And be it enacted, that the said Rupee shall be received as equivalent to the Bombay, Madras, Furruckabad and Sonat Rupees and to Fifteen-sixteenths of the Calcutta Sicca Rupee; and the Half and Double Rupee respectively, shall be received as equivalent to the Half and Double of the above mentioned Bombay, Madras, Furruckabad and Sonat Rupees, and to the Half and Double of Fifteen-sixteenths of the Calcutta Sicca Rupee.
- V. And be it enacted, that the Company’s Quarter Rupee shall be a legal tender only in payment of the fraction of a Rupee.
- VI. Provided, that if in any contract for the payment of Calcutta Sicca Rupees it shall have been specially stipulated that if payment be made in the Territories of the Madras, Bombay, or Agra Presidency, it shall be made in the Rupee now current in those Presidencies respectively, at a different rate from that above provided with reference to the Calcutta Sicca rupee, the contract shall be satisfied by payment within those Presidencies of Company’s Rupee of the amount of Furruckabad, Madras, or Bombay Rupees so especially stipulated :— Provided also, that if payment of the Principal or Interest of the Public Debt be made for the convenience of Creditors at any Public Treasury other than as stipulated in the Notes and Engagement of the Government, it shall be competent to the Government to make such payments at the same exchange as heretofore.

VII. And be it enacted, that the undermentioned Gold Coins only shall henceforth be coined at the Mints within the Territories of the East India Company.

First: A Gold Mohur or Fifteen Rupee Piece of the weight of 180 Grains Troy, and of the following Standard, viz.

$\frac{11}{12}$ or 165 Grains of pure Gold.

$\frac{1}{12}$ or 15 Grains of Alloy.

Second: A Five Rupee Piece equal to a Third of a Gold Mohur.

Third: A Ten Rupee Piece equal to Two-thirds of a Gold Mohur.

Fourth: A Thirty Rupee Piece or Double Gold Mohur and the three last mentioned Coins shall be of the same standard as the Gold Mohur and of Proportionate weight.

VIII. And be it enacted, that these Gold Coins shall bear on the obverse the head and name of the reigning Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and on the reverse the designation of the Coin in English and Persian, and the words "East India Company" in English, with such embellishment as shall from time to time be ordered by the Governor General in Council, which shall always be different from that of the Silver Coinage.

IX. And be it enacted, that no Gold Coin shall henceforward be a legal tender of payment in any of the Territories of the East India Company.

X. And be it enacted, that it shall be competent to the Governor General in Council in his Executive capacity, to direct the coining and issuing of all Coins authorised by this Act; to prescribe the devices and inscriptions of the copper Coins issued from the Mints in the said Territories, and to establish, regulate, and abolish Mints, any Law hitherto in force to the contrary notwithstanding."

The draft of the Act was read in the Council of India for the first time on 29 June, 1835⁹, and was finally passed by the Governor General of India in Council on 17 August 1835, as Act XVII of 1835¹⁰.

9. Home, Judl. (Civil) Progs, 29 June 1835, No. 3.

10. *The Acts of the Supreme Government of India*, from 1834-99, Vol. I, (W, Thacker & Co. Calcutta, 1842).

As regards the copper currency, some difficulty was anticipated in the beginning in introducing an entirely new copper coin for the whole of British India, due to the heavy expense involved in withdrawing the existing copper coins and substituting them by the new coin¹¹. The two main copper coins then in circulation were the "Trisooli pice" and the "Calcutta pice". It was, therefore, necessary to protect the new coin by a device the skill of which would have precluded its imitation at the Indian mints as well as by clandestine fabricators in the British territory itself. Hence the Governor General in Council decided¹² to adopt an English device for the new copper coin. However, the general introduction of the new copper currency was not immediately contemplated. It was intended that the "Calcutta pice" should be supplied to Treasuries in the provinces so long as stores of that coin were available, and in the meantime the Mint Committee was requested to furnish specimens of an English device for the new copper currency¹³.

Subsequently, however, the Governor General in Council thought¹⁴ that the temporary inconveniences attendant in Bengal on the transition from the general circulation of the Sicca and other rupees to that of the new or Company's Rupee would be lessened by providing as quickly as possible a copper currency to circulate at par with the latter, that is at the rate of 64 pice to the Company's Rupee. It was also felt that such a measure was much desired by the mercantile community in British India, and was necessary for the protection of the people, especially those belonging to the lower classes, against loss in their transactions in copper coins.

In order to legalise the circulation of the new copper coin, a legislative enactment (Act XXI of 1835) was passed by the Government of India. The draft of this Act was originally prepared in the Financial Department, and was taken into consideration by the Governor General in Council at their meeting in the Legislative Department, dated 7 December 1835¹⁵. It was decided in that meeting that with effect from 20 December 1835, the following copper coins only were to be issued from any Mint within the Presidency of Bengal¹⁶:—

I—A Pice weighing 100 grains Troy.

II—A Double Pice weighing 200 grains Troy.

III—A Pie or one-twelfth of an Anna weighing 33½ grains Troy.

11. Fin. Mint Cons. 20 May 1835, Nos. 1-6

12. Fin. Mint Cons, 1 July 1835, No. 1

13. Fin. Mint Letters to Court. No. 2 of 1836, dated 27 January 1836, para 6

14. Fin. Mint Cons., 2 December 1835, Nos. 1-2

15. Leg. Letters to Court, No. 4 of 1836 dated 29 February 1836, para 14

16. Leg. Cons., 7 December 1835, Nos. 17-20

The above coins were to have such devices as were fixed by Governor General in Council, in accordance with the provisions of Section 10 of Act XVII of 1835 (Act regarding the uniform Silver and Gold currency for the whole of British India). The new piece was declared to be a legal tender for 1/64 of the Company's Rupee, the double piece for 1/32 of the Company's Rupee and the pie for 1/192 of the Company's Rupee. It was at the same time provided that after 20 December 1835, no copper coin, in any part of the territories of the East India Company was to be legal tender, except for fractions of a rupee¹⁷.

Thus Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeded in introducing a uniform currency in the whole of British India a measure calculated to increase the commercial prosperity of the country by facilitating transactions, and removed once for all the existing confusion due to the use of multiple currencies or the circulation of coins having different standards, denominations and values. It also helped in making Government disbursements, and Metcalfe even directed that all salaries, allowances and pensions payable to the servants of the East India Company, were to be audited in the new currency established under Act XVII of 1835¹⁸. For this purpose he fixed the rate of exchange from the Sicca rupee to the Company's rupee at 4½ per cent, i. e. 100 Sicca rupees were to be considered as equivalent to 104 1/2 Company's rupees¹⁹. As the Company's rupee became more popular and the other rupees were gradually withdrawn from circulation, Metcalfe ordered that all Government accounts at the different Presidencies were to be kept in the Company's rupees²⁰, and thus completed the change-over to the new uniform currency.

But strangely enough this measure, full of wisdom and farsightedness as it was, did not find favour with the Court of Directors²¹. They apprehended that the prevailing confusion due to the existence of different currencies in India would become worse still by the addition of one more and an entirely new currency. But their anger was mainly directed against "a change so extensive and important having been determined upon" merely in anticipation of their approval and without waiting for their formal orders. However, the Court of Directors intimated to the Governor General of India in Council that "We are aware of the inconvenience and confusion which would now result from the abandonment or suspension of the plan which you have thus prematurely and unadvisedly determined to adopt. We shall not therefore at present direct any depar-

ture from it though we cannot but entertain the apprehension that the course you have pursued.....may yet involve your Government in very serious embarrassment, while the alteration of the currency in which your Accounts are stated will unquestionably occasion great inconvenience and confusion²²."

Whether the fears expressed by the Court of Directors were well founded or not will be best illustrated by the results of this important reform introduced by Sir Charles Metcalfe, and this alone should be the criterion for judging Metcalfe's wisdom, farsightedness and administrative ability in taking this important step. It may be pointed out that the system of uniform currency, and even the denominations of most of the coins introduced by Sir Charles Metcalfe in India about one hundred and twenty years back, are in vogue even today. A reform which has stood the test of a century and a quarter should not only be above all condemnation, but deserves our hearty praise and appreciation.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Fin. Gen. Letters to Court, No. 26 B of 1835, dated 9 September 1835.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Fin. Cons. 10 February 1836 No 1

21. Fin. Genl. Letters from Court, No. 9 of 1836, dated 27 July 1836; and No. 13 of 1836 dated 12 October, 1836

22. Fin. Genl. Letters from Court, No. 9 of 1836, dated 27 July 1836, Para 5.

AN INSTANCE OF ORGANISED NO-TAX CAMPAIGN AND HARTAL DURING THE EARLY BRITISH REGIME IN ORISSA

SUSHIL CHANDRA DE
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Organised agitation against payment of taxes and observing *hartals* as a mark of protest against government decisions became popular during the national struggle for freedom in the 20th century. But there had been cases, though isolated of similar agitation by people in different parts of India even during the early British rule. The details of many such cases remain yet buried in the Archives waiting to be brought to light by research scholars. In Orissa, two such instances took place in the second decade of the 19th century, once on the occasion of the imposition of a House Tax in 1810 and again when a Chawkidari Tax was imposed in 1814. In both the cases people of the town of Cuttack organised stiff resistance against the imposition of these obnoxious taxes, and the authorities had to yield to the people in the end.

Both the incidents have been briefly noticed in Toynbee's *Orissa*. But while the details of the agitation of the people of Cuttack against the imposition of the House Tax are not available fortunately all the details of the agitation against the Chawkidari Tax are among the records preserved in the Orissa State Archives and the Board of Revenue. Since the agitation may be said to be the forerunner of the no-tax campaigns and *hartals* organised by the Congress later and constitutes one of the earliest organised political agitations against the British authority, it is desirable that the full details of it should be known and receive proper appreciation.

Chawkidari Tax was imposed on the inhabitants of the Cuttack town by Regulation XIII of 1813 and Regulation III of 1814. Mr. Ainslie was appointed Acting Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack, on 8 August 1814. He took five weeks' time to study the situation in the town prior to the enforcement of the provisions of the Regulations mentioned above. On 15 September, 1814, he 'delivered sunnuds to all the *Mohulladars* who expressed willingness and intention to receive them and to other persons of whose characters' he had 'received un-exceptionable information'. The *Mohulladars* or Collectors of tax for the various wards of the town tried to collect the assessed amount, but very little was collected between the 15th and the 18th September, 1814. A rumour was afloat that every house in the town would be assessed at the uniform rate of annas four each. To counteract this rumour the Magistrate informed the people by

beat of drum that people would be assessed according to their means, and nothing would be demanded of poorer classes.

On 18 September 1814, a crowd of about 150-200 people followed the Magistrate while he was proceeding to the Commissioner's quarters in Lalbagh at 3 P. M. The people protested against the system of sending *chawkidars* to their houses for collection of taxes. The Magistrate asked them to present their grievances individually to him in the usual way in the court. The people then dispersed.

The Magistrate in his letter to the Chief Secretary justified the conduct of the tax-collectors in sending *chawkidars* to collect the tax and remarked, "I conceive that if the *choukeydar* of the *mahulla* had been directed not to molest or remain with the complainants *Mahulladars* would have had no other means of obtaining the payment of the sum assessed on each House Holder except the sale of House Holder's property. The consequences would have been the sale of the property of innumerable individuals and purchases being few". He further opined that unless the Magistrate supported the tax-collector in his attempt to collect taxes for the first time it would be almost impossible for the tax-collector to realise the assessed amounts, and no respectable man would come forward to accept the post of a Tax-Collector.

On 19 September 1814, about four hundred people came to the Court, and the Magistrate on enquiry from two persons learnt that people regarded the tax as obnoxious and that they were unwilling to pay their quota. Referring to the behaviour of the people assembled the Magistrate says, "I did not at the time perceive anything in the conduct of the multitude to lead me to suppose that they had entered into any regular combined plan to resist the enforcement of the Regulations above cited. I was not aware then of the resistance evinced by the Inhabitants of the Town of Cuttack when Reg. XV of 1810 regarding the tax on Houses was attempted to be enforced. The same principle now deceits them which was in that Instance the rule of their conduct. Whilst pursuing the same tumultuous conduct which they have now adopted an order was received from the Government rescinding the Resolution just quoted. Their ignorance led them to draw an inference which has undoubtedly induced them to pursue so long in their unlawful combination. They ascribed the repeal of that Regulation to their clamour and disobedience instead of to the lenity and wisdom of the Government."

From the above quotation it is clear that when House-tax was imposed in Cuttack under Regulation XV of 1810, the people of the town offered stiff resistance to its operation, in consequence of which the Government was bound to repeal the Regulation.

On 20 September the Magistrate learnt that all the shops in the principal bazar had been closed. So he summoned thirty shopkeepers to attend his court on the next day. Some poorer people approached him at about 4 P. M. and presented a petition with the request to forward it to the Government. He refused to accept their petition unless they paid their quota first. He asked them to go back and resume their respective duties.

On 21 September 1814, thirty principal inhabitants met the Magistrate and informed him that they were afraid of the common people, so they could not pay their quotas. They expressed their willingness to pay Rs. 100/- each to meet the Chawkidari expenses and requested the Magistrate not to assess the common people. The Magistrate did not agree to the proposal; he wanted them to pay their dues, thus setting an example of obedience. He wished them not to pay in excess or to delay in payment.

From the request of the rich people to the Magistrate it is evident that other people had warned them against not co-operating with all in the matter of resisting realisation of the obnoxious tax. The rich were thus placed in a critical position between two contending parties, the Government and the people in general. They tried to avoid the crisis by taking upon themselves the whole burden of the tax, but they failed in that. The Magistrate, of course, gave them assurances of protection of their property and person. So they ultimately thought it wise to comply with the Government order rather than with the peoples mandate, as would be evident from the facts stated hereinafter.

On the same day a crowd assembled in the court compound shouting, "The *Mahajans* must not be assessed". The Magistrate thought that some *Mahajans* had instigated the people to behave that way.

On 22 September, the *Darogha* informed that the *Mahajans* had paid their quota but the shops were closed.

On 23 September, people began to assemble under the trees on the bank of the river Mahanadi. The Magistrate was informed that they wanted to leave the town and go into the interior.

On 24 and 25 September, there was no assemblage of people under trees on account of incessant rains.

On 26 and 27 September, the people assembled in greater numbers on the bank of the river; instead of showing any intention of crossing it, they pitched tent and began to erect 'chopper buildings'. They also prevented entrance of grains into the town. They compelled the

merchants of different commodities to take oath to obey the 'Prohibition.'

The Magistrate repeatedly sent the *Darogha* of the town with some respectable *Mahajans* to impress upon the people that 'their combination was illegal', and that he did not want to take coercive measures. But these persuasions were unavailing; the people wished the Magistrate to declare that he would not collect the tax from any person other than those who had already paid.

This was a clever move on the part of the people to single out those who had thought it wise to obey the Government rather than to side with the people. However, it is needless to say that the Magistrate did not accept their proposal.

On 28 September, the Magistrate issued warrants for the arrest of the ring-leaders who, however, managed to go underground. The Magistrate informed the people by beat of drums that poor persons would not be assessed and that collection had already been made in the principal bazars. There was, however, no assembly of people on the bank of the river.

On 29 September, the Magistrate was informed that people had again assembled on the bank of the river. He ordered the police to disperse the mob next morning and arrest their leaders and bring away their tents after ascertaining whom they belonged to.

On 30 morning, the Magistrate ordered the *Darogha* to ask the people to disperse. As the people again demanded a declaration of the Magistrate that they would be exempted from assessment, the Magistrate ordered the *barqandazes* at 9 a. m. to execute the orders issued to them yesterday. But they were unable to do anything and asked permission to use their swords and spears.

But they found themselves helpless even to do anything with their weapons. They were surrounded and overpowered. The Magistrate in this connection remarks, "I ascribe the unsuccess which they encountered entirely to the *Barqandazes* being natives of the same country as those whom they had been directed to disperse."

On receipt of this information the Magistrate recalled the *barqandazes* excepting four who were left with the people to watch their proceedings. At 5 p. m. he proclaimed that the meeting of the people was unauthorised and illegal, and warned them that if they did not disperse by the next morning he would be obliged to take military help. He also addressed a letter to the Officer Commanding at Cuttack seeking military help to disperse the crowd on the morning of 1 October 1814, if it still persisted in remaining on the bank of the river.

In the morning of 1 October 1814, the Magistrate again approached the people and requested them to disperse, but the people were adamant. 'At 6 O'clock the Troops appeared in sight but instead of running away', as the Magistrate expected, 'they appeared determined to remain'. The military dispersed the crowd. Only one person was wounded in the eye.

On 2 October 1814 the Magistrate went round the town and found all shops open. Thereafter he did not receive any report of opposition, and collection went on satisfactorily.¹

The Magistrate in his letter dated 5 October 1814 informed the Chief Secretary that there had been no further opposition; collection was progressing well and that he would soon complete all the arrangements required in the Regulation.²

The Magistrate reported to the Chief Secretary on 20 October 1814 the details of the arrangement made by him in terms of the Resolution referred to above. He reduced the number of wards from 17 to 6 by re-grouping some smaller wards under a principal ward. He further assured the Chief Secretary that he had taken all precautions for the safety of the people in the secluded areas and also of the pilgrims.³

The Magistrate in his letter of 22 November 1814 to the Chief Secretary gave the details of the different wards, the number of houses in each and the number of the *chawkidars* appointed in each area. The total number houses in the town amounted to 6391 for which 55 *chawkidars* were appointed on a pay of Rs. 3/- P. M.⁴ each.

The facts stated above are very interesting in the sense that they provide every detail of one of the earliest instances of people offering passive but determined resistance against imposition on them of a tax, which they considered obnoxious and unnecessary. It is also interesting to note how the Magistrate behaved in dispersing the crowd which he declared unauthorised and illegal. The Magistrate's dealings with the people, it must be admitted, was not characterised by rashness or impatience, which some Magistrates, a century later, exhibited in many instances while dealing with the passive agitation organised by the Congress. The Magistrate, in this case, determined though he was to enforce the operation of the Regulations tried to persuade the people to disperse

1. Letter of M. Ainslie to G. Doudeswell, Chief Secretary, dated 2 October 1814; and Letter of M. Ainslie to Col. R. B. Gregory, dated 30 September 1814; Ms. Volume No. 34 (Orissa State Archives), pp. 106-19

2. *Ibid.* pp. 120-21

3. *Ibid.* pp. 131-36

4. *Ibid.* pp. 151-58

by peaceful means for a week and then resorted to coercive measures after due warning. The closure of shops for days together as a mark of protest is another interesting point to be noted in this case. In the 20th century *hartal* was resorted to by the people as a mark of protest against any decision of the Government they considered unjust, but in very few cases it was of such long duration as in the instance under discussion. Further, the people were organised in such a peaceful way that not a single act of violence was committed by them.

It may be noted here that the people won in the long run. Mr. Turnbull, Magistrate, Cuttack, in his letter dated 5 August 1818 to R. Ker, Commissioner, while proposing the abolition of the tax remarked, "With reference to the abuses which have heretofore prevailed to great annoyance of the people without adequate benefit to the quiet and peaceable state of this town and to the known poverty of the inhabitants, I am induced to submit for your consideration the proposition of abolishing the system in this district"⁵

The Commissioner while forwarding the proposal of the Magistrate to the Government with the recommendation for the suspension, if not abolition, of the tax remarked, "It is vain to tell the people that the object of the regulations is to ensure their safety..... nor can they be convinced of the necessity of an establishment to ensure their safety from dangers, which they do not fear, and which do not and never did exist to an extent to create alarm."⁶

The tax was abolished on the recommendation of the Commissioner in that year.

5. Ms. Volume (Orissa State Archives), No. 45.

6. Robert Ker to W. B. Bayley. dated 18 August 1818, Ms. Volume (Board of Revenue), No. 18-A.

HENRY WELLESLEY IN THE CEDED PROVINCE OF AWADH, 1801-1803

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The key-note of Lord Wellesley's Indian policy was the destruction of "the French State now formed on the bank of the Yamuna"¹ as he called Perron's viceroyalty of northern India nominally, under the Sindhia. It was dubbed by Wellesley as "an independent French State on the most vulnerable part of the Company's frontier".² On coming to India, Lord Wellesley extinguished the power of Tipu Sultan in Mysore and put down the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Marathas were thus left without any prospective allies. He also decided to create a belt of British territory on the southern and western flanks of the Awadh State, "so as to intercept any Maratha invasion from the Sindhia's part of Hindustan".³ At the same time, this belt was to serve the purpose of a spring-board to penetrate into the French State of M. Perron, as the Governor-General's aim was "to establish beyond the possibility of future opposition the political and military superiority of the English throughout India."⁴

Under the threat of deposition, the Governor-General forced Nawab Saadat Ali Khan of Awadh to sign a treaty with the English East India Company, on 10 November 1801,⁵ and thereby secured the occupation and administration of the present districts of Gorakhpur, Deoria, Basti and Azamgarh in the east, the districts of Allahabad, Fatehpur, Kanpur and Etawa in the south and the districts of Mainpuri, Etah, Farrukhabad as well as a major part of the Rohilkhand Division comprising the districts of Bareilly, Moradabad, Badaun, Pilibhit and Shahjahanpur in the west⁶. The cession was made with retrospective effect from 22 September 1801, that is the beginning of the *Fasli* year 1209,⁷ though the treaty was signed on 10 November 1801 and ratified by the Governor-General on 14 November.

1. Montgomery Martin : *Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of Marquess Wellesley*, Vol. III, pp. 211 and 215.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Jadunath Sarkar : *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV, p. 266.

4. Alfred Lyall : *Rise and Expansion of British Dominion in India*, p. 260.

5. Sidney Owen : *Selections from the Despatches, Treaties and Other Papers of Marquess Wellesley*, pp. 207-11.

6. Aitchison : *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. II, p. 122 ; Owen : *Selections from Wellesley*, pp. 207-11 ; Sleeman : *Journey Through the Kingdom of Oude*, Vol. II, pp. 186-7 ; Beveridge : *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 730-1 ; Sarkar : *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV, p. 266 ; *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, pp. 1-2.

7. *Ibid.*

ber 1801. The treaty enabled the Governor-General and the East India Company to maintain a large force on the frontier of Awadh at the expense of the Nawab of Awadh. Later, Farrukhabad was ceded by the Nawab of that place, who was a vassal of the Nawab of Awadh, by a treaty signed on 4 June, 1802⁸.

Lord Wellesley selected his brother Henry to organize the administration of the area ceded by the Nawabs of Awadh and Farrukhabad. Like his two brothers, Lord Wellesley and Arthur Wellesley, Henry Wellesley, who had been trained as a Private Secretary to his great brother the Governor General, was an able person, a good administrator, a fine politician and "an astute diplomat".⁹ He was the right person to administer the affairs of a British province created as a barrier between the dominions of the Nawab of Awadh and the other Indian powers. He was given full powers for the administration of the Ceded Province and enjoyed the full confidence of the Governor-General, as he had been greatly responsible for the treaty and the latest cession of this territory. Without being fettered with checks and hindrances, and allotted a handsome budget, Henry was entrusted with the fiscal as well as the judicial administration of the area which was inhabited by people "unaccustomed to regular law and order, and habituated to suffer and to commit the utmost excesses of violence and oppression"¹⁰. The Governor-General made the following appointments¹¹ on 14 November, 1801:—

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 1. Henry Wellesley | Lieutenant-Governor and the President of the Board of Commissioners. |
| 2. Mathews Leslie | } Commissioners for the Ceded Province. |
| 3. Archibald Seton | |
| 4. Joseph Fombelle | |
| 5. John Routledge | } Collectors of Revenue |
| 6. William Leycester | |
| 7. John Deane | |
| 8. Groome Mercer | Secretary to the Board of Commissioners. |

Under the Lieutenant-Governor were placed twenty-three British Covenanted Civil Servants, able and efficient and possessing a knowledge of the language, customs and manners of the people.

8. Atkinson : *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer*, Vol. VII ; *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, pp. 23-4.

9. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 353. J. W. Kaye, however, calls Henry "a hanger-on", vide Kaye : *Administration of the East India Company*, p. 235. The criticism of Kaye seems to be biased, for we know that later Henry Wellesley earned name in British politics and became famous as Lord Cowley, a diplomat.

10. *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, p. 18.

11. *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1801, Bengal Occurrences, p. 29.

The condition of the Ceded Province was deplorable at the time of its cession. The indifferent policy of the imbecile Awadh Government under Asafu'd-Daulah and Saadat Ali Khan, the neglect from which the administration suffered as well as the oppression of the bureaucracy of the feudal order had "drained the country of the specie"¹² and impoverished the whole area. The result of the weak rule was that the province knew no peace, and the life and property of the populace were not safe. The repercussion of the chaotic condition was as it was to be expected: "the efforts of the industrious were penalized; commerce, though not entirely ruined, was at a stand still; the revenues of the State, arising as well from the land as the other taxes, were collected with the utmost difficulty"¹³.

The Lieutenant-Governor fixed the headquarters of his new administration at Bareilly,¹⁴ and the three Commissioners¹⁵ under him also came over to the capital of the newly acquired territory. Bareilly being a little more costly than the Lower Provinces of Bengal, extra allowances were sanctioned for most of the officers in the Ceded Province.

Henry Wellesley decided to improve the tone of administration of the Province and the condition of the people there. An idea of the deterioration of the economic condition of the Province can be easily had from the fact that, while during the Mughal period the land revenue alone of this area amounted to Rs. 2,50,00,000 by the year 1801 the revenue from all sources (land revenue and other taxes) had fallen to Rs. 1,35,20,474.¹⁶ Soon after his appointment the Lieutenant-Governor looked to the financial and monetary problems of the province. Mints had for long been working in several towns which issued coins of various kinds, denominations, and degrees of purity. Henry abolished these mints and ordered that the minting of currency should be limited to Allahabad and Bareilly.¹⁷ This was done to give a uniform currency and thus stabilize the prices, encourage trade and commerce and give economic security to people.

The Lieutenant-Governor gave the Collectors of revenue some discretionary powers¹⁸ to settle the land revenue of the province on a progres-

12. *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, p. 18.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, Bengal Occurrences, p. 19.

16. *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, pp. 19-20. According to Sleeman it was Rs. 1,33,47,135-12-3, while Irwin computed it at Rs. 1,35,00,000. See W. Sleeman : *Journey Through the Kingdom of Oude*, Vol. II, pp. 186-8, and H. C. Irwin : *The Garden of India*, p. 105.

17. *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, p. 19.

18. *Ibid.* p. 20.

sively increasing demand schedule according to the increasing produce, as it was expected that with the improvement of the condition of the people their paying capacity would also increase in the same proportion. The Government demand was fixed on the basis of information or estimates regarding the produce of the soil as received from the revenue officers, specially the tahsildars. In many cases the land revenue demand was fixed after the fields were inspected by the officers and a rough survey held. Where none of the above two procedures was possible, settlements were concluded on the same basis and on the same terms as they existed under the Nawab's administration, for the fiscal year was quickly running out.¹⁹ A triennial settlement was undertaken mainly with the land holders, on the expiry of the current financial year, with the assistance of a large number of clerks called Registers.²⁰

The Collectors of revenue were to act as Judges and Magistrates also for the area under their jurisdiction.²¹

The Ceded Province was infested by bands of land-robbers and river-banditti. The robbers plundered the villages in the territory of the East India Company and then retired into the territorial jurisdiction of the Nawab of Awadh in taluka Pouria and some other villages, numbering twenty in all, which cut into the ceded Etawa district and formed a peninsula within it. In order to suppress these robbers, the Lieutenant-Governor negotiated with the Nawab of Awadh and included these villages in the Ceded Province, and made proportionate compensation to the Nawab from other lands.²² This action of Henry Wellesley eliminated the danger from robbers and a large number of unsocial elements on the land frontier of the province. It gave a great sense of security to the border villages of the territory.

The navigation of the river Yamuna had come to a standstill, as both the banks of the river were infested by river-banditti. In order to maintain peace and order and to encourage river commerce, Henry Wellesley appointed a guard of boats and watch-keepers on the river. They were to patrol the whole route and ward off the danger. River-banditti were hunted and a systematic attempt was made to stamp them out. The result was highly encouraging. Cotton trade with Western India through water routes was encouraged by this reform. Allahabad soon became a centre of West Indian and North Indian trade. This city had for long been a place of pilgrimage for the Hindus; now it became a "flourishing commercial capital",²³ thanks to the exertions of Henry

19. *Ibid.*

20. J. W. Kaye : *Administration of the East India Company*, p. 236.

21. *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, p. 18.

22. *Ibid.* p. 21.

23. *Ibid.*

Wellesley. More than six hundred commercial establishments began functioning on both the banks of the river from Allahabad to Banaras. As a result of these security measures, "a wide field for commercial speculation opened, for furnishing the Company's investment of piece-goods, sugar, and opium from Bareilly, Mhow, and Azamgarh, and cotton from Etawa and other places for the China market, at prices considerably under what that article usually furnished at Bombay".²⁴

The salt trade was made a monopoly of the Government throughout the Ceded Province by an order of the Lieutenant-Governor issued on 6 November 1802.²⁵ Import of salt by private individuals and private organizations or parties was prohibited. Commercial Residents of the Company were to manage trade in this commodity from now onwards.²⁶

The Lieutenant-Governor found that some taxes like the *Rahdari* and the *Sayar* (transit duties) were very unpopular with the merchants and traders for a number of reasons. They were vexatious in collection, unnecessarily raised the prices of various commodities many times their cost price and impeded trade and commerce. On enquiry it was found by the Lieutenant-Governor that their collection was quite high, while the receipts were very low in proportion to the duty levied by the Government and paid by the public. Therefore, he abolished the transit duties and relieved the trade of the Province of their burden.²⁷ At the same time, he effected a saving in the expenditure on the staff maintained for the collection of *Sayar* and *Rahdari* taxes. The transit duties were replaced by "regular and defined customs, or duties on the imports and exports". By this regulation an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent on imports and two and a half per cent on exports was levied on every article of trade, and customs houses were established in every district for their collection. The removal of the transit duties meant a good saving to the Government and an easy collection of a large amount of money as customs tax as also a great encouragement to the trade and commerce in the Province.²⁸ As a result of this improvement made by the Lieutenant-Governor, Etawa became the second great emporium for cotton trade. Merchants from all parts of Northern and Central India came in Etawa to have business transactions, and many of them either settled down to Etawa or opened their branches there. Hathras was another centre of trade which had ample business with Etawa. Many businessmen and traders migrated from Hathras to Etawa during this time.²⁹

24. *Ibid.* pp. 21-20.

25. *Ibid.* p. 22.

26. *Ibid.* p. 23

27. Regulation No. XXXVIII of 1803.

28. Dewar : *Handbook to the English Pre-Mutiny Records in the Record Rooms of the U.P.*, p. 14; *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, p. 20.

29. *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, p. 23

As a result of a number of conferences between Henry Wellesley and Nawab Imdad Husain Khan of Farrukhabad, during May 1802, the latter surrendered his estate to the East India Company in June 1802,³⁰ in exchange for a monthly allowance of Rs. 9,000. This cession extended the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant Governor over Farrukhabad, which became a part of the Ceded Province.

As the financial year was running out when Henry Wellesley took over the administration of the Ceded Province in 1801, some of the landlords were allowed to enter into engagements for the same amount of land revenue which they paid to the Nawab of Awadh. When an attempt was made to revise the land revenue in 1802, they objected and refused the payment of land revenue to the Company's Government. Bhagwant Singh, the Raja of Sasni and Bijaigarh (in Aligarh district), who had two mud forts and 20,000 soldiers at Sasni,³¹ rose in rebellion. Colonel Blair besieged Sasni, but even after the arrival of General St. John the mud fort could not be taken. Taking this as a challenge to British power, Lord Lake had to proceed against Sasni in person. Ultimately the mud fort was blown, and Sasni was occupied by Lord Lake on 11 February 1803. Bijaigarh was also captured after some time.³²

The country between Haridwar and Najibabad (in Bijnor district) was full of woods and marshes. The Lieutenant-Governor encouraged the settlement and habitation of the area. By his orders the marshes and jungles were reclaimed for cultivation. Three miles distant from Haridwar he constructed the famous Ganga Ghat and the Sarai and some other buildings for the use of merchants, traders and pilgrims visiting this holy place. In doing this Henry had in view mainly the economic interests of the Company. When the fair was held, some of the merchants and pilgrims decided to settle down at Haridwar, and thus the marshy and jungle land was populated and cultivation started there as a result of the interest taken in it by the new administrator.³³ The Lieutenant-Governor started periodical fairs in the mountainous tracts of Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand also, and sent there woollens and metal-wares from the Company's investments. These fairs became quite popular and encouraged trade and commerce in the areas. New markets were opened in this way for the Company's goods.³⁴

All these measures of Henry Wellesley bore fruit, and the general effect of the change-over from the Nawab's rule to that of the East India

30. Atkinson : *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer*, Vol. VII; *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, pp. 23-4.

31. Beveridge : *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 733.

32. N.A. I., Foreign Department (Political Branch) Proceedings, 31 March 1803, No. 15.

33. *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, pp. 22-3.

34. *Ibid.* pp. 27-8.

Company was tremendous. Peace and order was restored in the Ceded Province and the people were encouraged to lead a peaceful life. They were given an opportunity to devote their time and energy to peaceful and productive activities and to the improvement of their economic, social and cultural life. Henry Wellesley's administrative measures effected considerable improvement in the life and condition of the people of the Ceded Province.³⁵ He secured, or at least encouraged, a gradual, improvement of the Province and demonstrated the superiority of British administration. Land revenue was easily collected and people felt more secure once the new administration was set at gear. As Henry himself recorded: "The farmers soon found the advantage of living under our mild system, free from the extortions and oppressions, to which they had before been subjected and it is incredible how soon the country began to assume the appearance of greater prosperity".³⁶

The Board of Commissioners was dissolved after the preliminary administrative machinery was set up, on 21 February 1803, and Henry resigned his post. A new post was created under the denomination of the Secretary for the Affairs of the Districts Ceded by His Excellency the Nawab-Wazir to the Hon'ble the Company, and John Fombelle was appointed as the first incumbent of this post.³⁷

Before he retired, Henry Wellesley was presented an address by the Civil Servants who had worked under him. In the address they thanked the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Ceded Province and paid tribute to "his liberal and unwearied endeavours and his indefatigable personal exertions in an arduous task.....in a newly acquired territory where everything yet remained to be done".³⁸

HOLKAR SUCCESSION, 1844

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Maharaja Hari Rao Holkar expired on 24 October 1843, in his forty-eighth year, after a brief reign of nine and a half years.¹ He was succeeded by his adopted son Khande Rao Holkar with the concurrence of C. M. Wade, the British Resident at Indore.² During his minority the widow Maharani worked as a Regent and managed the affairs of the State. He had enjoyed his position hardly for a few months when he fell victim to a serious febrile affection caused by chicken-pox and died on 17 February 1844, at the age of 15,³ leaving the throne vacant with no one having legal claims to the throne or even a legal right to adopt a successor.⁴ Therefore, the question of succession again engaged the attention of the persons at the helm of affairs in Indore and of the Paramount Power. For some time the future of the State seemed very dark. Indore remained exposed to political confusion for more than four months before a successor was seated on the throne. During this period, two questions of vital interest to the State were decided. Firstly, should the State be annexed to the British territories or should it be allowed to continue? Secondly, if it was to continue, who should be the successor of the late Maharaja? Pending a decision of the Governor General on these issues, the Resident carried on the administration of the State in concert with Mai Sahiba and aided by Raja Bhow and Gopal Rao.⁵

On the first point it was very clearly stated that as there was no heir to the throne and no one had a legal right to adopt, the question of allowing the State to continue rested solely with the Governor General, the representative of the Paramount Power.

The Governor General, Lord Ellenborough laid down the following principle⁶:-

"Where, however, there is no person having the shadow of hereditary claim to succeed to the Gaddi of a native state and no person possessing a legitimate right to adopt a successor thereto and where, moreover, that state itself is of comparatively modern origin, owing its existence to

35. Sarkar : *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV, pp. 266 ff.

36. *Diary and Correspondence of Henry Wellesley*, p. 39.

37. Home Department, (Public Branch) Proceedings, 21 July 1803, No. 1; Home Department (Public) Proceedings, 1 August 1805, No. 7.

38. *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, p. 30; *Ibid.*, Supplement to Chronicle, p. 11; *Diary and Correspondence of Henry Wellesley*, pp. 36-41.

1 P. C., 27 January 1844, No. 103.

2 P. C., 27 January 1844, No. 113.

3 A letter from C. M. Wade to F. Currie, 17 February 1844.

4 A letter from F. Currie to C. M. Wade, 27 April 1844.

5 A letter from C. M. Wade to F. Currie, 2 February 1844.

6 A letter from F. Currie to C. M. Wade, 8 February 1844.

a conquest made by predatory troops, it must always become a question how far it may be expedient to maintain the separate existence of that state for the benefit of none but the immediate followers of the court."

Other considerations were presumably to be taken into account to decide the question and the Resident was given definite instructions to ascertain if there was a popular feeling for continuing the State as a separate political unit.

The Resident pointed out that the annexation of Indore to British territories would be a highly unpopular act and it might provoke disturbances in the State. It was clear that in the absence of any oppression or misrule in the State the people would not welcome a change in the Government. They had respect for the existing institutions and a pride in their continuance under the Holkar family. Any desire to annex the State was sure to be viewed with strong aversion.⁷ Moreover, there was hardly any occasion or even a justification for a drastic measure of that nature. In the past, particularly during the troubles in Gwalior in 1843, when it was feared that Indore might make a common cause with Gwalior against the high-handed proceedings of the British Government, the State of Indore had confirmed its attachment to the British Government by remaining peaceful. These considerations weighed heavily on Lord Ellenborough and his successor Lord Hardinge, and they decided not to resort to the impolitic project of annexing Indore to the British empire but to continue it as an act of grace and bounty.⁸

Once it was decided to allow the Holkar State to remain a separate political entity, the second question became the most engrossing point at issue. On this question also a very clear decision was taken that the British Government should interfere to decide the question of succession as it was their responsibility to nominate a successor under the existing circumstances. The Governor General viewed that in any case the person selected must owe his position to the British Government and not to any right of his own.⁹ That the successor of the late Maharaja of Indore should be a person directly or indirectly connected with the Holkar family was undisputed. But who that man should be, it was very difficult to decide. There seemed to be a number of alternatives open. One was to recall Martund Rao from Poona and appoint him as successor of Khande Rao as a piece of grace and favour. Another was to recognise Mukhtaji, one of the boys presented to Hari Rao Holkar for adoption when Khande Rao had been selected. A third was to allow the widow of Hari Rao Holkar to adopt any member of the Holkar family other

than Martund Rao as heir to the throne with the concurrence of the Resident.

Of these alternatives the first one was the most ticklish. The Mai Sahiba (Krishna Bai) championed the claims of Martund Rao and assured the Resident that his nomination would not fail to afford universal satisfaction in the State as he had been earlier adopted by the widow of Malhar Rao as her son and was actually on the throne for some time.¹⁰ But his adoption and succession in 1834 were not liked by the Paramount Power as they had been done without the prior approval of the British Government. He was not granted recognition and no support was given to him against his opponents. For sometime the Resident had watched the political reactions in the State with apparent indifference, but later on he had definitely encouraged a rival candidate, Hari Rao Holkar who effected a coup in the State and became its *de facto* ruler possibly with the blessings of the Resident. Soon after, he obtained recognition from the Resident and acquired the *de jure* status also. Martund Rao had thus been ousted.¹¹ After his ejection from Indore he had retired to Poona. There he lived peacefully and did not intrigue against the new regime in Indore. This conduct of Martund Rao created a good impression about him in the mind of Mr. Stuart, the Magistrate of Poona, who testified to his merits. He considered him to be a very intelligent, frank and straightforward man, not connected with any politics of the State of Indore. He had openly professed gratefulness to the British Government for the pension given to him in his distress. He had no intention to act otherwise than as he was directed to do by the British Government.¹² Quoting this favourable opinion about Martund Rao and basing his views on the results of inquiries made from different sources in the State, the Resident expressed a belief that the general opinion in the State was in favour of his succession. Mai Sahiba's support for him had popular appeal because of her kindness of disposition, the benevolence of her rule and the respect that she enjoyed in the State.¹³

But Martund Rao's candidature was not acceptable either to Lord Ellenborough or to his successor Lord Hardinge. Ellenborough in Council expressed decided views against his candidature. He directed the Resident to make known to the nobles of the court of Indore that any attempt to put forward the pretensions of Martund Rao would meet with the severest displeasure of the British Government. He advised the Resident to be watchful of the situation and to submit a comprehensive report on the issue after a thorough study of every circumstance of the

7 A letter from C. M. Wade to F. Currie, 17 February 1844.

8 F. C., 23 March 1844, No. 15,

9 *Ibid.*

10. S. C., 23 December 1844, No. 88.

11. Gupta, H. L. : Indore Successions, 1833-34 & 1843, a paper read in the Indian History Congress at Calcutta.

12. A despatch from Resident to the Secretary to the Government 20 May 1844, No. 72.

13. *Ibid.*

case.¹⁴ His successor Lord Hardinge argued that if the question of his succession had been altogether new he might have considered it favourably. But as it had a long history behind it, recognition of his succession would be interpreted in a light most unfavourable to the Paramount Power.¹⁵ Martund Rao had once ascended the throne by reason of legal or pretended adoption but had been removed from his position by Hari Rao who was accorded recognition as the ruler of Indore by the British Resident, and after his death his adopted son Khande Rao was recognised as his successor to the continued exclusion of Martund Rao. Hence it was considered most consistent with the character and policy of the British Government in India to adhere to a course twice pursued and to reject the claims of Martund Rao as they had been rejected twice before.¹⁶ Under these circumstances any change in the British attitude except on very strong grounds of expediency was bound to give appearance of triumph to Martund Rao's party which had upheld his claims persistently, notwithstanding the strong British opposition. His succession would falsify British stand in the past. It would take the appearance of a succession by legitimate right which the Governor General wanted to avoid. Hence restoration of Martund Rao was ruled out.¹⁷

As a result of a thorough inquiry into every aspect of the case the Resident felt fully convinced of the inadvisability of resorting to the second course of selecting Muktaji, the cousin of Khande Rao, as his successor.¹⁸ The argument advanced against him was that he would not be acceptable to the people, as his father was not a person of high rank, status, character and respectability, and Mai Sahiba was not favourable to his claims.¹⁹ There was no one of note in Indore who could champion his cause with success. Therefore, the idea of selecting Muktaji as ruler of Indore was dropped. Due to the opposition of Mai Sahiba to the candidature of Santaji of Simrole as proposed by Raja Bhow, he was also ruled out.²⁰

There thus remained only the third and the last alternative to adopt. On this point the Governor General held the view that the recognition of successor should be done in a way that might make him feel that he owed his position to the East India Company and not to any other person or party or to his own legitimate claims as a collateral.²¹ While advocating

the claims of Martund Rao, Mai Sahiba had mentioned in her despatch that if her suggestion failed to meet with the countenance of the Governor General-in-Council she would consider the claims of the younger of the two sons of Bhao Holkar, named Mulharji, aged ten, to be the successor of Khande Rao.²² Her preference for the younger son in disregard of the claims of the elder son was suspected to have been prompted by a desire to control the government for a longer period during a more protracted period of his minority, though it was essentially due to his better health and more calmly, fair-looking and intelligent appearance and more favourable horoscope.²³ In spite of this suspicion her proposal was provisionally accepted²⁴, largely because of her loyalty to the British Government, her conciliatory disposition, her popularity in the State, and the devotion of the army to her, and also to mitigate the disappointment caused to her by the rejection of her most cherished proposal in favour of Martund Rao. With this tentative decision instructions were issued to the Resident to collect necessary information about the health and disposition of the proposed candidate, the character of his father and of his relations.²⁵ If there was no grave reason to thwart the wishes of Mai Sahiba, the Resident was asked to communicate the decision of the Governor General to Her Highness.²⁶

Having found no reasonable ground to interfere with the proposal of Mai Sahiba, the Resident approved of the selection of Mulharji in an open Durbar on behalf of the Governor General and on her advice fixed 27th June for holding the installation ceremony of the new ruler.²⁷ This decision was acclaimed with universal applause and there remained no uncertainty about the future of the State. Amidst great rejoicings, Mulharji was styled as Maharaja Tukoji Holkar in an open Durbar and Mai Sahiba was appointed Regent to conduct the affairs of the State during his minority.²⁸ After this ceremony the new Maharaja and the Regent sent *kharitas* to the Governor General expressing gratitude and cordiality and expecting a confirmatory reply.²⁹

The Governor General treated these proceedings of the Resident as unauthorised and took serious objection to his conduct.³⁰ He accused him of precipitancy and want of due deliberation and held him guilty of

14. F. C., 23 March 1844, No. 15, Letters from Currie to Wade, 8 February and 1 March, 1844.

15. Letter from F. Currie to Hamilton, 8 June 1844, No. 1218.

16. Despatch from F. Currie to Hamilton, 8 June 1844, No. 1218.

17. *Ibid.*

18. S. C., 23 December 1844, No. 88.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. S. C., 23 December 1844, No. 88.

23. Letter from F. Currie to Hamilton, 8 June 1844, No. 1218; letter from Hamilton to F. Currie, 24 June 1844, No. 88.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Letter from F. Currie to Hamilton, 27 April 1844, No. 742.

26. Letter from F. Currie to Hamilton, 8 June 1844, No. 1218.

27. Letter from Hamilton to F. Currie, 24 June, 1844, No. 88.

28. Letter from Hamilton to F. Currie, 8 July, 1844, No. 94.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Letter from F. Currie, 9 July 1844, No. 1572; S. C., 23 December, 1844, No. 88.

having interpreted an expression of opinion as permission. By the instructions of the 8th June 1844, the Resident was authorised to do no more than merely to institute an enquiry respecting the age, health and disposition of the two sons of Bhao Holkar and if on inquiry there appeared no reason to doubt the expediency of abiding by the wishes of the Mai Sahiba, the Resident was to communicate to Her Highness alone the concurrence of the Governor General-in-Council to her wishes. He was not required to do anything more than that. He was expected to report his findings to the Supreme Government and to await further instructions. But instead of confining himself strictly to the instructions he appeared before the Durbar and made pronouncements in favour of the second son of Bhao Holkar in deference to the wishes of the Mai Sahiba and expressed the desire of the Supreme Government to perpetuate the State without obtaining previous permission from the Governor General. More than that, he fixed a date for holding the ceremony of installation and on that day formally installed Mulhar Rao on the *gaddi* of Indore as successor of Khande Rao.

This indiscreet action of the Resident was considered by the Governor General as harmful to British interests. By his proceedings, the succession of the young chief, instead of bearing the appearance of a free and voluntary act of grace on the part of the Paramount Power, who alone possessed the legal right to nominate, assumed the form of a succession by legitimate right which the Governor General wanted to avoid. In fact he wanted the new ruler to feel that he would obtain the throne of Indore as the nominee of the Paramount Power and not by virtue of his hereditary right. To create that impression he wanted to grant a sanad to the new ruler and to fix the amount of *nazr* to be presented by him to the Paramount Power on the occasion of his succession. This opportunity of initiating an important line of policy seemed to have been lost by the precipitate proceedings of the Resident. The Governor General-in-Council considered it inconsistent to present a sanad and demand *nazr* from a prince already placed on the throne, not as a nominee of the Paramount Power but seemingly by his own right³¹. Public pronouncements by the Resident had thus taken the wind out of the sail of the British design. Therefore, the conduct of the Resident was disapproved and he was asked to give an explanation.³²

Unperturbed by the Governor General's displeasure, the Resident argued out his case³³ by giving several points in defence of his conduct. He had granted recognition to the second son of Bhao Holkar after full

inquiries. He had declared time and again that in the absence of an heir and anyone having a legal right to adopt, the right to nominate a ruler vested solely with the representative of the Paramount Power. He assured the Governor General that not a shadow of doubt existed in the State about the selection of the successor to the throne as the sole act of the British Government³⁴. This impression was corroborated by the *kharita* from the Mai Sahiba and also by the news in the Gwalior *Akhbar*. The Resident, therefore, felt that no opportunity was lost for enunciating a new line of policy if there was no intention to found a new dynasty in Indore or to lower the status and power of that State.³⁵ He held that the grant of a sanad to the new Maharaja in reply to the *kharita* and requisition of *nazr* from him as a mark of his subordination to the British Government would confirm the new position of the Maharaja which the Governor General had in view.³⁶ He was confident that the proposal to make the new ruler of Indore seek a sanad from the British Government as a condition of his recognition, when succession was unsettled, would have been a source of considerable unrest in the State. The tenacious chiefs and *sardars*, keenly sensitive to dishonour, would have become distrustful of British motives. They would have carried the impression that the State would ultimately escheat to the British empire.³⁷ Confidence in the integrity of British purpose would have been shaken. Recourse to an armed force to carry out the plans might have become necessary. The unsettled state of the adjoining territory of Sindhia, the wild character of the Bhils and the dissatisfaction among the persons thrown out of employment in Gwalior as a result of Lord Ellenborough's policy would have afforded elements of commotion, if a policy of delay and procrastination was adopted and settlement was not made in time.³⁸ These apprehensions of the Resident were not without foundation.

Enumerating the positive advantages emanating from his measures the Resident expressed his conviction that by his prompt measures the situation in Indore had completely altered and the British name had acquired a higher reputation than ever before. Recognition of Mulharji was received with great enthusiasm and gratitude and had allayed anxiety and restlessness prevailing in the State. The new ruler was popular. The dissident parties had ceased to function.³⁹ The army had shown loyalty to the new set up. Military detachments placed around the palace and at different strategic points as a precautionary measure were withdrawn

34. *Ibid.*

35. Letter from the Resident to the Secretary to the Government, 30 September 1844, No. 137.

36. Letter from the Resident to the Secretary to the Government, 27 July 1844.

37. Letter from Hamilton to F. Currie, 21 November 1848, No. 163.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*; letter from the Secretary to the Government of India to the Resident at Indore, 14. September 1844 No. 2218.

32. Letter from F. Currie to Hamilton, 9 July 1844, No. 1572.

33. Letter from the Resident to the Secretary to the Government of India, 27 July 1844, No. 106.

to cantonments. Everywhere there was peace and satisfaction. He assured Lord Hardinge that he had not bound the Paramount Power by any of his acts or utterances to adopt a similar course in future in the event of a vacancy in the gaddi.⁴⁰ The amount of Rs. 27,000 spent on the *khilat* presentation ceremony was met not by the British Government but by the Durbar.⁴¹

The Governor General could not be convinced by the arguments and assurances given by the Resident about the favourable impression created by his conduct upon the people of Indore. He considered the explanation as unsatisfactory and still felt that it would be inconsistent to grant a sanad of appointment to Mulharji after he was seated on the *gaddi*.⁴² So the Resident submitted a further explanation of his proceedings and detailed the reasons which had induced him to proceed at once to the installation of Mulharji without previously communicating the matter to the Government and receiving instructions on the subject.⁴³ He suggested that the Governor General's replies to the *khairats* from the Maharaja and Mai Sahiba might be issued as sanads which should incorporate all that was necessary to make British policy quite explicit, and conveyed the willingness of the young Maharaja to offer a *nazr* of 101 gold mohurs to the Governor General as a mark of his superior position. He also suggested the nature of the replies and the following main points for incorporation therein:

- (1) That the succession in future will be distinctly limited to the heirs male of the Maharaja's body lawfully begotten.
- (2) That the existing arrangements with the State of Indore will remain in full force and will be binding on the new Maharaja.
- (3) That the Resident will exercise general superintendence over the affairs of the State during the minority of the Maharaja and that on a report from him of the Maharaja's ability to rule, the Governor General will reserve to himself the power of transferring the ordinary functions of government to him.
- (4) That the Maharaja's education will be carefully attended to.

At last the Governor General-in-Council accepted the recommendations of the Resident and addressed a reply to Maharaja Tukoji Holkar recognising him as the ruler of Indore and incorporating all the points suggested by Hamilton. In this way was propounded a new policy which the

Paramount Power decided to adopt thereafter.⁴⁴ By the explicit insertion of a clause that after Tukoji Holkar the succession would go only to his legitimate son and to no other, the possibility of adoption in future was altogether precluded. The Maharaja enjoyed his rank and honours unaltered. The Resident was entrusted with the education of the Maharaja. He worked as the guardian of the minor ruler. The State was administered by a regency under the instructions and superintendence of the Resident. The Maharaja was to present a *nazr* on the receipt of the *khairita* which was to be treated as a sanad.⁴⁵ The instructions were carried out by the Resident literally. The young Maharaja was virtually stripped of all pretensions to succession by hereditary right or by adoption. He was made to understand clearly that he owed his position to the Governor General of the East India Company.⁴⁶

The policy pursued, the declarations made, the sanad granted and the *nazrana* received marked a clear transition from the old policy towards the Indian States to a new one emphatically endowing the Paramount Power with the authority to refuse adoption in the absence of a legitimate male issue. This policy was destined to reduce the Indian Princes to a subordinate position and to enlarge the sphere of activity of the Resident. The Governor General assumed discretionary power to refuse to transfer the authority of the State to the adopted son unless the adoption was made with his concurrence.

These measures were undoubtedly intended to extend the scope for British intervention in the Indian States to the extent of establishing a government, nominating a successor and deciding the expediency or otherwise of continuing the State as a separate political entity. From this account it is clear that during the time of Lords Ellenborough and Hardinge the doctrine of lapse was in the state of formulation. The State of Indore escaped the application of escheat because of sheer expediency. It would have met with a different fate had the Indian sky been clear of the political clouds appearing from the western horizon. The policy adopted at Indore indicates the march of paramountcy from one stage to another assuming greater importance and more obligations till it reached its culmination during the period of Lord Dalhousie a few years later.

40. Letter from Hamilton to F. Currie, 27 July 1844, No. 106.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Letter from F. Currie to Hamilton, 14 September 1844.

43. Letter from Hamilton to F. Currie, 30 September 1844, No. 137.

44. Letter from Hardinge to Maharaja Tukoji Holkar, 9 November 1844.

45. Despatch from F. Currie to Hamilton, 7 December 1844.

46. S. C., 23 December 1844, No. 38.

TIPU SULTAN'S EMBASSY TO FRANCE, 1787-89

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It is a well-known fact that Tipu Sultan had sent his ambassadors to France in 1787.¹ It is generally held that the object of this embassy was of a political nature. While working in the National Archives of Paris, we came across a few documents which throw light on the visit of these ambassadors to Paris.

The ambassadors left India (Pondicherry) on 22 July 1787 and reached Toulon, the southern military port of France, on the evening of 9 June 1788. On their way to Paris, they passed through Marseilles, Aix, Lyon, Dijon and Fontainebleau, everywhere getting a splendid reception. When they reached the outskirts of Paris, de Launay, ex-Chief Commissioner in India and then Chief Naval Commissioner in France, went to receive them and conduct them to the house specially prepared for their stay in the French capital.²

They arrived in Paris on 16 July. The Minister for the Navy, Comte de La Luzerne, had decided to receive them personally after a week or so. This would give them not only time to rest themselves after their long fatiguing journey, but also ample opportunity to come into close contact with persons who had been placed at their disposal to look after their comfort and to whom they could make overtures regarding the mission which had brought them to France.³

During the interview which took place on the 29th, Luzerne began with the declaration that France had no intentions either to make conquests in India or to extend their territorial possessions in that country; on the other hand, the King of France desired that the Indian Princes should be sovereign in their territories and that foreign nations should enjoy there only liberty of trade. He also informed the ambassadors that his government intended to station troops at the Isle of France with a view to helping efficiently the Indian Princes in the event of a war with

England. He then stressed the advisability, for the Indian Princes, of not wasting their energies in internecine struggles but remaining united so as to withstand any oppression from a European power which was most likely to use them against one another. The Minister even invited the ambassadors to indicate in advance the number of troops which Tipu would require and also the place where they should land. He ended by giving them to understand in clear terms that as France was tied down by her treaties in Europe, she could not conclude fresh treaties with the Indian Princes, though she could come to a verbal understanding with them.

In their reply, the ambassadors began by complaining about the conduct of Bussy on the occasion of the last peace treaty, and asked that, in future, in similar circumstances, their master should not be abandoned as before. The minister gave them an assurance on this point. To give an impression of their strength, the ambassadors declared that their master was strong enough to resist with his own forces the English as well as the Indian Potentates, but in their own interests, the French should augment their territory and their forces in India and lose no time in putting an effective check on the power of the English by attacking them in conjunction with Tipu Sultan. The minister, at the end of the interview, asked them to give due consideration to what he had said and closed with the expression of his firm stand that his government would not be ready to negotiate on any other basis.⁴

Soon afterwards, the ambassadors submitted a petition to His Majesty, in which they praised the valuable services rendered by Cossigny (Governor of Pondicherry, 1786-87) to their master during the last war in recovering from the English the territory on the Malabar Coast which the latter had captured.⁵ They next made a reference to Bussy's conduct with their master on the occasion of the last peace treaty. The petition terminated with a request for a supply of craftsmen, seeds and seedlings. They also asked for the services of a physician, a surgeon and a pharmacist. To the first point in the petition *i. e.* complaints against Bussy, it was replied that that officer had not strictly obeyed His Majesty's orders which were not to conclude truce or agree to the preliminaries of peace without previously intimating a faithful ally like Tipu

4. *Ibid.*, f. 49-49 v.

5. In his letter to the French King, Tipu had made a request that Cossigny be continued in the government of Pondicherry and be given the grade of a Lieutenant-general (An, C² 180, f. 147.). In consideration of his services, Cossigny had been recently promoted to the rank of Marechal de camp (equivalent to Brigadier-General). The French King could thus keep the pretence of having complied with Tipu's request in this respect. But if the Nawab insisted on the return of Cossigny, who had in the meantime left Pondicherry for the Isle of France, His Majesty would express his inability to accede to this demand. (AN, C² 187, f. 46).

1. Tipu had also sent an embassy to France by way of Constantinople towards the end of 1785 or the beginning of 1786. When the news of the arrival of their compatriots in France by sea reached them, these ambassadors decided to return to Mysore where they arrived in December 1789. (Archives Nationales, Serie C² 187, f. 48; Wilks, *Historical Sketches*, III, p. 56.)

2. An, Serie B 195, f. 304-05, 318, 324v An, C² 174, f. 2000.

3. An, C² 187, f. 246.

Sultan, with whom he had instructions to act on all occasions in perfect harmony. As regards the request for the supply of craftsmen, the French Government thought that it would be advantageous to furnish the ruler of Mysore with artisans who could improve the quality of the fire-arms produced in the Prince's foundries. Therefore, a promise was given to send with the ambassadors as many persons as it was possible to collect, with the assurance of sending more at a later date. Seeds and seedlings could also be easily furnished; spice and camphor trees did not grow in France, but they could be obtained from the Isles of France and Bourbon (now called Mauritius and Reunion)⁶. His Majesty took this opportunity to inform Tipu Sultan that he had, in accordance with the latter's wishes, promoted Cossigny to a higher grade, but at the same time, he expressed his inability to retain him in the government of Pondicherry, because that officer had already left India and was appointed Governor of the Isle of Bourbon. Finally, His Majesty thanked the Nawab for sending his ambassadors to France. He had conferred with them on all the matters which the Nawab had entrusted to their charge.⁷

The audience with His Majesty took place on 10 August at Versailles with all the customary pomp and grandeur of the French Court. The ambassadors presented their credentials. In the letter, Tipu spoke about the object of the embassy to Paris. "My ambassadors", he "wrote, will disclose to Your Majesty certain matters which affect the two courts and which ought to contribute to the perpetuation of our alliance and friendship." The ambassadors had agreed not to discuss on this occasion any political matters which were deferred to a later date. The programme of the ambassadors during their stay at Versailles included two dinners: with the Comte de la Luzerne, Minister for the Navy, and with the Comte de Montmorin, Minister for Foreign Affairs; visits to the Grand Trianon, the Petit Trianon, the War Office, the Opera Hall (illuminated), the Menagerie, the Orangerie, the Fountains and the Park.⁸

Towards the end of the month, Luzerne paid a courtesy call to the ambassadors at their residence. He took the opportunity to ask them to think over the subjects which they wanted to discuss with him at the next meeting, as it would be the last one between him and the ambassadors.

This interview took place on 1 September. It is not possible to know with certainty what transpired at this meeting. But there is no doubt that the ambassadors discussed the possibility of an offensive and defensive alliance between Mysore and France. Tipu Sultan seems to refer to this very fact when, during his negotiations in 1793 with Les-

6. AN, C^s 174, f. 253v-55; C^s 189, f. 37-37v.

7. AN, C^s 187, f. 50.

8. AN, C^s 189, f. 30, 48, 53.

callier, Civil Commissioner of the French nation in India, he complains, "Some years back I had despatched to France my ambassadors who were men of eminence. They were entrusted with many proposals which aimed at consolidating the best friendship between the two nations. But the ministers did not communicate these proposals to the King, because, in their opinion, they would result in wars and such other disasters."⁹ Moreover, in his memoir to His Majesty on 15 September, Luzerne speaks about some proposals made by the ambassadors who had insisted that His Majesty should, in his reply to Tipu Sultan, refer to the secret articles and specifically mention that the time was not opportune for negotiating them.¹⁰ Finally, Comte de Macnemara, who was to accompany the ambassadors during their return journey, had instructions that in case he was asked about His Majesty's dispositions about an offensive and defensive alliance between the two nations, he should give only a verbal reply that he had no special mission in this respect¹¹. It was thus evident that the minister had eluded a definitive alliance with Mysore, which fact also explains the insistence of the ambassadors on getting the King's reply in writing, because they were anxious to protect themselves against any eventual reproach from their master. His Majesty's reply was not less evasive. "They (the ambassadors) will surely report to you, he wrote to Tipu Sultan, "the result of their negotiations and we have nothing to add to what we have already communicated to them about our dispositions for the present and for the future."¹²

Muhammad Usman Khan, the leader of the delegation, had expressed a desire to meet the minister privately. The latter was to appear incognito at a place to be fixed by the Commissioner of Police. It was obvious that Usman Khan wanted to discuss with Luzerne something of a very confidential nature. This meeting took place on 2 September. The secret matter discussed seems to be a suggestion made by Tipu Sultan for the education of his son in France. Welcoming the proposal, the French minister gave full assurances for the safety and health of the Nawab's son during his stay in France. The advisability, for the prince, of using an incognito i. e. the European costume was also discussed. No doubt, Tipu Sultan was to provide all the expenses of his son's education. Luzerne also wrote to Conway, who had replaced Cossigny as Governor of Pondicherry, to convey his assurances in this respect to the ruler of Mysore. This latter step made Usman Khan feel very nervous and he implored the French minister to write once again to Conway not to make any overture to Tipu Sultan until the latter had himself broached this subject. It is possible that the Nawab had only instructed Usman

9. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Fonds Asie, Vol. 20, f. 154.

10. AN, C^s 174, f. 185; C^s 189, f. 288.

11. AN, C^s 187, f. 67-68.

12. AN, C^s 189, f. 357; Wilks, *Historical Sketches*, Vol. III, p. 330.

Khan to sound the French minister on this point without giving it any publicity, which explains Usman Khan's anxiety to meet Luzerne privately. Whatever it may be, the war between Tipu Sultan and the English (1790-92) and the French Revolution prevented the Nawab from pursuing this project¹³.

The ambassadors' stay in Paris was coming to its close and the French Government began to make preparations for their departure. They were to board the steamer at Brest. Therefore, orders were dispatched for repairing and furnishing the Town Hall of Brest which was to serve as residence for the ambassadors during their stay in this port. Their journey lay through Orleans, Tours, Nantes and L'orient. Orders were also dispatched to give them a grand reception in all these places.¹⁴

The ambassadors left Paris on 1 October. They were treated, during their stay in the French capital, with the greatest honours and had received all possible attention. They had seen all that Paris could offer, including the Mint and the Royal Porcelain Factory at Sevres. They had visited some of the great towns of France. They had also seen the naval forces stationed at Toulon.¹⁵

Unfortunately, the ambassadors' stay in Paris was marred by two small circumstances. Firstly, they were not united and even had frequent quarrels among themselves. Secondly, a few days prior to their departure from Paris, there was a clamour about claims for debts incurred by the ambassadors. The total debt amounted to a lakh of rupees. Under the circumstances, the French officials insisted that the ambassadors gave to their creditors separate receipts, specifying the quantity of and the reasons for each item. Fearing that these receipts might one day be passed on to their master, the ambassadors returned a large part of the jewels and other costly articles which they had purchased, with the result that the total debt was now reduced to about Rs. 20,000, which the minister ordered to be paid from the treasury.¹⁶

Tipu's embassy had cost the French Government in all Rs. 1,50,000, including presents to Tipu Sultan valued at Rs. 20,000. Tipu's presents to the King of France were worth about Rs. 5,000¹⁷.

The ambassadors left Brest on 17 November 1788, after expressing

their deep gratitude to the French authorities for the warm reception which they had received everywhere during their stay in France.

They arrived at Pondicherry on 11 May, 1789.

The result of his embassy must have greatly disappointed Tipu Sultan. France had just emerged from a ruinous war (the War of American Independence); moreover, she was threatened by serious internal troubles. Therefore, it was impossible for her to contribute in any way to the realisation of the hopes of the ruler of Mysore. On their return to their country, the ambassadors are said to have committed the imprudence of exalting the size, the population and the wealth of the nation which they had just visited. The Nawab, a zealous Mussalman, who presumed that no Christian monarch could equal his power, was hurt in his vanity. Exasperated by the failure of his embassy, he held his ambassadors responsible for it and had two of them executed.¹⁸

13. AN, C² 187, f. 18-20.

14. AN, B² 195, f. 335-35 v; 363.

15. AN, C² 189, f. 66; C² 187, f. 45.

16. *Ibid.*, f. 05-05v.

17. AN, C² 189, f. 12; C² 174 f. 36; C² 187, f. 49v.

18. Wilks, *Historical Sketches*, Vol. III. pp. 52-53; Collin de Bar, *Histoire de l'Inde*, Vol. II, pp. 219-20; M.P.H. Audiffret, *Notice sur Tipu Sultan Behadour*, p. 2.

AN EARLY ENQUIRY INTO 'THE STATE OF NATIVE EDUCATION

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It is not exactly known when the Government of the E. I. Company for the first time turned its attention to the question of education in India. No doubt, the Calcutta Madrasa was established in 1781, but the considerations weighing with the Government in setting up such an institution were quite other than the promotion of native education.¹ My recent searches for educational papers in Bihar have enabled me to discover in the State Central Records Office a circular letter of March 1783, from the Revenue Committee, Calcutta, to various district officers, which appears to be the earliest of its kind. Since it is a very small letter I quote the whole of it: "We desire you will make enquiry if there are any establishments for the purpose of promoting education and instruction commonly known by the name of Madrissa in the Districts under your jurisdiction; and that you report to us the actual state of any such establishment and any Regulations that may occur to you as conducive to promote the purposes of their institution."

The genesis of the above circular is unknown but its importance can hardly be overlooked. It was perhaps for the first time that a desire was evinced on the part of the Company's government to know the state of native educational institutions, and that desire was emphasised by the demand of suggestions and recommendations for their improvement. One thing to be noted here is that the enquiry was limited to Madrasas i. e. Muslim educational institutions. Nothing is said about Sanskrit education.

I have so far been able to discover the replies (to the above circular) of two district officers only. The first is from W. A. Brooke, Revenue

1. In his Minute of 1781, the Governor General Warren Hastings gives, in brief, the history of the establishment of Calcutta Madrasa. It appears that the interest of the Governor General in educational matters was aroused by the presentation to him of 'a petition by a considerable number of Musulmans of credit and learning.' The main and special object in founding the *Madrasa*, according to Arthur Howell (*Education in British India*), was "to qualify the sons of Muhammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, even at that date largely monopolised by the Hin 'us." And according to H. A. Stark (*Vernacular Education in Bengal*) "the object in founding them (Calcutta Madrasa and Banaras Sanskrit College) was self interest, for they were to furnish Maulvis and Pandits who should be competent to cite Muhammedan and Hindu law in cases that were to be tried by British Magistrates."

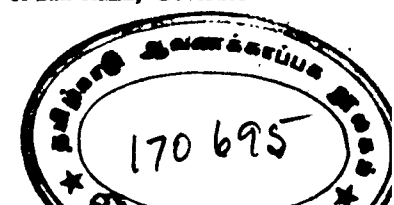
Chief of Patna, dated 8 April 1783. This is a letter forwarding some enclosures containing the account of a *Madrasa* in Patna. Unfortunately the enclosures are not recorded in the Correspondence. It is just possible that these papers might be found among the records of the Board of Revenue preserved in the Central Records Office, Bhopal. However, the forwarding letter is very clear on the following points: that the enclosures had been prepared by one Maulvi Badiu'd-Din;² that the state of affairs was not very unsatisfactory; and that a monthly grant of five or six hundred rupees would have enabled the institute to realise the ideals for which it had been founded.

The second is a reply from the Revenue Chief of Bhagalpur, dated 1 August 1783. It gives a detailed account of the history and state of the Bhagalpur Madrasa at the time of enquiry, and also the recommendation of the Revenue Chief for its improvement. According to this account the Bhagalpur *Madrasa* was founded in the reign of Jahangir by one Maulana Shah-baz,³ a native of Bihar. He was a man of great religiosity and vast learning, and "was held in high respect by all classes of people." He gathered round him about two hundred pupils⁴ most of whom he supported at his own cost. He died at the beginning of the reign of Shah Jahan.⁵

2. It is not clear as to who this Maulavi was. The letter, under reference, says that he was residing in Patna. *Siyaru'l-Mutakherin* (Vol. 2) mentions the names of two. The first is described as a saint who had come over to Bihar and the second as a man of great learning. So the second, Badiu'd-Din, appears to be the likely Maulvi.
3. According to *Tazkira-i-Sadiqa*, written in early 20th century by Maulavi Abdur Rahim of Sadiqpur, Patna (pp. 240-41), the ancestors of Shah Muhammad Baz (generally known as Shah-baz) belonged to Bukhara (Central Asia). Shah-baz's father Maulana Khetab came to India with his wife and settled at Deora (a village in the Gaya District of Bihar). Shah baz was born there in 956 A.H. (1549 A.D.). He lived at Deora upto the age of thirty years. After this he went to Bhagalpur and settled in the quarter now known as Mulla Chak. There he led a saintly life and started a *Madrasa* in which he used to impart general knowledge as well as mysticism. 'Hundreds of pupils thus gained ascendancy and became perfect saints'. He was himself the disciple of Mir Yasin Samani who was born in Saman (Central Asia) and lies buried in Bihar. Shah-baz died on 16 Safar 1050 A.H. (1641 A.D.)
4. Shah Abu'l Barkat of Patna was one of the distinguished pupils of Shah-baz.
5. It is said that Shah Jahan had visited the *Madrasa* during the days of his rebellion against his father (1624-25 A. D.). When he arrived at the place he found the Maulvi deeply absorbed in imparting instructions to his pupils, and only after a good deal of time could attract his notice for a short while by his respectful address. Shah Jahan wanted to know whether he could be successful in his mission, upon which the Maulvi is said to have uttered, "*Lachhan to achhe hain*" (i.e. Prospects are good).

A similar tradition prevails about the visit of Saif Khan, Governor of Bihar (1627-31).

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Maulana Shah-baz had four sons, the eldest of whom, Maulana Muhammad Salam, succeeded his father and ran the institution on the lines of his father. In 1063 A. H., Shah Shuja conferred a grant of 500 *Bighas* of land (besides 19 *Bighas* for the purpose of erecting a dwelling) which he "dedicated wholly to the maintenance of the poor, the relief of travellers and instruction of the well-disposed, reserving what he got in donations only for the support of his family". In his time the number of pupils was about 150. He also died in the reign of Shah Jahan. He was succeeded by his brother Abdul Latif, the second son of Maulana Shah-baz. Abdul Latif "followed the example of his brother and applied his time to the support and edification of the same number of people." He appears to have lived for short period, because in Shah Jahan's reign itself the third brother, Maulana Muhammad Taqi, succeeded him. During his superintendentship a further grant of two hundred *Bighas* of land was made to the institution under the seal of Amiru'l-Umara. The number of pupils also rose to two hundred. By the time of Maulana Muhammad Asim, a grandson of Shah-baz, the *Madrassa* was turned into a fraternity of learned and religious people. A further increase in the income of the *Madrassa* was made by an addition of sixteen parcels of land grants in the reign of Aurangzeb. But there was a sharp fall in the number of students and dependents on the Institution, which came down to eighty.

The decline noticed during the superintendentship of Maulana Muhammad Asim continued in the succeeding years. The number of students and scholars supported by the *Madrassa* during the term of Muhammad Hafiz, the eldest son of Muhammad Asim, came down to sixty. In his time further grants of land were conferred which yielded a rental of Rs. 141. Another source of income to the *Madrassa* in his time was a daily allowance of four rupees nine annas. He was succeeded by Aqil, the second son of Muhammad Asim, in the reign of Muhammad Shah. He supported about fifty students. In his time about 582 *Bighas* of land were acquired by purchase and grants. After his death the third son of Muhammad Asim, Muhammad Abid, succeeded to the superintendentship. By this time the family of Shah-baz had immensely increased, and although further grants in land and *Rozina* (i. e. daily allowance) were made to the *Madrassa*, they were found quite insufficient. In his time the number of students never exceeded thirty.

Muhammad Abid was succeeded by his eldest son, Maulvi Muhammad Muwahhid. He was the superintendent of the *Madrassa* when the enquiry had been made, and it was he who had furnished the Revenue Chief with the above information. Till then about 40 *Bighas* of land had been acquired by purchase. Besides there was a daily allowance of Rs. 4/8/-.

An idea of the total land and *Rozina* grants for the support of the Bhagalpur *Madrassa* can be had from the following table :—

In whose time granted	Lands		Value yielding Rozinas		Total
	B. C. D.	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.
Muhammad Asim	1,712-1-0	136-0-0	—	—	136-0-0
Maulana Muhammad Hafiz	903-5-0	141-0-0	4-9-0	—	145-9-0
Maulana Muhammad Aqil	582-2-0	48-0-0	—	—	48-0-0
Maulana Muhammad Abid	486-14-0	27-12-0	16-8-3	—	44-4-3
Maulana Muhammad Muwahhid	39-19-0	17-8-0	4-8-0	—	22-0-0
	3,724-1-0	370-4-0	25-9-3	—	395-13-3

As to the suggestion for the improvement of the Bhagalpur *Madrassa* the Revenue Chief requested the Board "to take it under their Patronage and.....to grant *Sunnuds* confirming the institution, and thereby rendering it a permanent seminary for the edification of such as may be disposed to avail themselves of it." For this he recommended two courses for their consideration—the first was to resume all lands belonging to the *Madrassa* and sanction, in its stead, a regular monthly stipend, and the other was to regulate the appropriation of the funds for the specific purpose of maintaining and supporting the institution. He also submitted, in consultation with the superintendent of the *Madrassa*, the following statement of the expenses requisite for the Bhagalpur *Madrassa*

Superintendent or <i>Mutwalli</i> per month	40-0-0
5 Assistants	110-0-0
Servants	
2 <i>Navisindah</i> (Writer)...	per month 5-0-0
2 Cook at Rs. 2½ ...	" 5-0-0
1 <i>Bhisti</i> (Water-carrier)	" 2-0-0
1 <i>Hajjam</i> (Barber)	" 2-0-0
1 Washerman	" 3-0-0
1 <i>Khakrob</i> (Sweeper)	" 1-0-0
1 Tailor	" 2-0-0
1 <i>Mali</i> (Gardener)	" 1-0-0
	21-0-0

For the maintenance of 50 students and scholars:—

10 for boarding etc.....at Rs. 5/- each per month 50-0-0

Diet for 40 scholars:—

			Md.	Sr.	Ch.	Rs.	A.	G.
Rice $\frac{1}{2}$ Seer each	20 Srs. per day		15	0	0	15	0	0
Dal 2 Chatak	5 „ „		3	30	0	5	0	0
Salt $\frac{1}{2}$ „	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ „ „		0	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	5	5	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oil 1 „	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ „ „		1	35	0	10	11	15
Wood 4 „						10	11	15
Masalah (Spices)						5	0	0
Mats and earthen pots						1	0	0
Paper and stationery						9	6	0
						58	15	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
						50	0	0
						108	15	12 $\frac{1}{2}$

CLOTHING :

						Rs.	as.	p.
40 scholars' Turbans	2 Yds. each	80	...			80	0	0
Jamas ...	2 „ „	80 at 1 4 0				100	0	0
Urnis ...	2 „ „	80	...			40	0	0
Pajamas ...	2 „ „	80 at 0 4 0				20	0	0
Urnis for quilts	2 „ „	80 at 1 0 0				80	0	0
Cotton $\frac{1}{2}$ Seer for each	20 Srs. at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$					8	0	0
	Sr. per rupee							
Shoes 2 pairs each	80 at 2 annas					10	0	0
Nalain 1 pair each	40 at 1 anna					2	8	0
	per annum	340				8	0	
	per month					28	6	0
	Total	308	1	12 $\frac{1}{2}$				

I have not come across any paper as yet showing what action, if any, was taken by the Government on the recommendations of the various District officers.

A STUDY OF SOME MUTINY LETTERS OF SOHAGPUR

KAMESHWAR JHA

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Originally Sohagpur Ilaqa (Shahdol District of old Rewa State: South Baghelkhand) was a portion of the Rewa State, but it had been seized by the Bhonslas of Nagpur in 1809, from whom it passed to the British under the terms of the treaty of 1826. The British occupation of Sohagpur was viewed with suspicion by the Rewa ruler and he and the Thakur of Sohagpur desired to come together for mutual benefit. The opportunity was offered by the Mutiny of 1857, when Thakur Garul Singh of Sohagpur, which then formed part of Mandla District of British India (Madhya Pradesh), with his brother Bharat Singh rose in rebellion against the British. He had been managing the estate since the death of his brother Ram Singh, the Thakur of Sohagpur, leaving a widow and two daughters.

The Mutiny started with an attack on the *Thana* at Sohagpur by Garul Singh with the help of the mutinous sepoys of the 52 Bengal Native Infantry. The police were put to flight. The rebels then joined the Lodhi Thakurs of Shahpura and pushed on to Mandla. In their action the Thakurs of Sohagpur also received cooperation from the Raja of Ramgarh, at present a village of little importance in Dindori tahsil of Mandla District. This is also supported by letter No. 4 below. The *Mandla Gazetteer* (p. 37) observes, "Shortly after Captain Waddington's appointment the Mutiny broke out. Mandla town was only slightly affected, the principal seats of rebellion being Shahpura, Ramgarh and Sohagpur. Sohagpur surrendered to the British when a force from Rewa under Sipahi Singh Dauwa attacked the Garhi on the 11th June 1858."

In 1859 Garul Singh was pardoned, paid up the arrears of revenue and continued to manage the estate. In 1860, Rewa got the territories of Sohagpur and Amarkantak for the services rendered to the British during the Mutiny.

Fourteen letters in original written in Bagheli dialect made available to the Vindhya Pradesh History of Freedom Movement Committee by Thakur Rajendra Bahadur Singh, M.L.A., of Sohagpur are sufficient proof that Maharaja Raghuraj Singh of Rewa was in league with the rebel Thakurs of Sohagpur. He incited as well as helped them. I give below the relevant extracts from the more important of these letters.

Sohagpur Letters, 1857-59

1. From Maharaja Raghuraj Singh, dated Katik Sudi 10, 1914 V. S. (Nov. 1857). Your letter requisitioning help. Shri Bailonha Ramgulam Ram and Shri Bailonha Dalganjan Ram have been sent to you. Keep them hospitably and in nearness with..... (illegible).....After 15-25 days Shri Kaka Sheobakas Singh and Shri Kaka Dilraj Singh are coming with 200 horse, 500 foot and four topes on behalf of the British. See that you don't quarrel. Write every thing with details. Received letter from the (Thakur of) Ramgarh. Treat with him. He should not worry. I am prepared to give all help.
2. From Maharaja Raghuraj Singh to M. K. Garul Singh, dated Agahan Sudi 15, 1914 (Dec. 1857). Your letter. What you have heard is correct. You write that you will do according to my instructions; so my opinion and direction is that you do what the Saheb Bahadur orders. This will lead to the welfare of all.
3. From Maharajkumar Shri Lal Sheobakas Singh to M. K. Garul Singh, dated Magh Badi 11, 1914, V. S. (1858). Heard about fight between you and Saheb's forces and that your forces retreated and that they carried away treasury. Write all things with details about the wounded and killed. Write the welfare of the Parihar of Bela who is there and the names of the wounded and killed and also about the Baghel of Bara Kalhari who was (a servant) at yours. After fighting you have to be very cautious. So keep your forces and the fort well protected. Ghats should be very carefully watched and guarded.
4. From Maharaja Raghuraj Singh to Maharajkumar Garul Singh, dated Magh Sudi 11, 1914 V. S. (Feb. 1858). Your letter. Came to know the condition as recorded. We have surrounded Bijera-ghogharh. When Saheb Bahadur will assign me Sohagpur then we (shall come to) Sohagpur.
5. (British) *parwana* to Lachhman Singh, Thakur of Nigwani, dated Sohagpur, the 1st June 1858, requisitioning his presence in the court of Sohagpur. Huzur came to know in Sohagpur that you did not put any pressure on ryots. You tried to convince those who betrayed the Government. But when they were adamant you remained quite aloof from them after some discussion. You wrote to Muhammad Husain of Tahsil Sohagpur about sending the *Jama* which was forcibly snatched by Reodawan Singh of Lalpur. Huzur is very much pleased with this. You come to Sohagpur without any fear. We shall arrive at some settlement after talks with

- you and if after the meeting you will want to stay here you will stay; otherwise, you will go to your home. Bring some provision for which proper charges will be paid. Do not fear those who are in the Garhi. They are surrounded from all sides. Tope is coming. All will be killed. Other Thakurs have been invited like you. All those who are loyal to the Government and are coming and those who are opposed but likely to come here for defence, are welcome. Or they may send their representatives for talks.
6. (Anonymous) I have been telling you from before hand that you should take to the hills, do not live near Rewa, (but) you did not comply. On the receipt of the letter wherever you may be start from there and go to the Maikal hills. Don't tarry in Itma etc. This will not suit you. If you are arrested there you will be hanged. The same advice applies to those who are inside the Garhi that they may leave the Garhi and fight back to the hill. You will not be a match from the Garhi. Escape from the Garhi. If you do not comply with our suggestion a lot of forces from Rewa will arrive, and in case you leave the Garhi you will be saved. So in no case is it advisable to stay in the Garhi. After reading tear off the paper.
 7. From M. K. Kr. Shri Lal Jamadar Vishyoshar Singh to M. K. Garul Singh, dated Rima, Jeth Badi 1915 V. S. (June 1858). I had been to Nagod with the Saheb Bahadur. Have now returned to Rewa with the Saheb. Saheb's letter had arrived that platoon (*paltan*) and topes have come to Sohagpur for fighting. 11011* reinforcement is also coming to Sohagpur (in aid of the British). Write to brother Shri Bharath Singh to fight there as long as he can. When he can no longer hold on in the Garhi he will come out so that he may not be encircled. When life is saved the Garhi will remain. Once dead, dead for ever. Some settlement is sure to be made within one or two months. And then there will be no danger to life after that. The saying we have been hearing is this. Brother, this is not a false saying. The counsel of the king and the minister must be acted upon (if the king is saved so much the better, but your action counteracts it). You are yourself a clever man (and) do not require any one's advice. Live carefully. Rest is O.K. Oral information will be known from Bansi.....Blessings to children.
 8. From Senyadhipati Kashinath to M. K. Garul Singh, dated Tala, Jaistha Badi 2, 1915 V. S. (June 1858). Man Rakhan Ram Tiwari of Paljha, Bhola Singh Dikhit of Dodka and Lachhiman Baniya complained here as follows. Your goodself have picked up quarrel with the Angrez and while you have been loyal to the 11011*

* 11011 is symbolic of *Sarkar* (Government)

(it is strange that) you have begun to loot 11011's property. You have not done a good thing. Return the property to him whom you have deprived of it. If you are bent upon it, write frankly.

9. (British) *parwana* to Thakur Garul Singh, *Sarbarahkar* of Sohagpur, from Chandan Singh, Serastedar (Sohagpur, dated 4 Badi Phagun 1915 (21 Feb., 1859). Your application dated 10 Sudi Magh 1915 considered by Huzur. Before your application reached here the Tahsildar and Thanadar have (already) been sent to Sohagpur. You are also asked to settle down in Sohagpur and deposit the government *Jama*. Unless you settle down and deposit the government *Jama* you will be counted among the rebels. And when you will settle down, the matter will be reported to the Saheb Commissioner Bahadur. His order as received will be made known to you.

Sd/-Illegible.

It is evident from Letter No. 1 above as well as other letters that Maharaja Raghuraj Singh of Rewa feared to give direct and open help to the rebels. Openly he sided with the British and also sometimes asked the Thakurs to do what the "Saheb Bahadur" required them to do (Letter No. 2). Letter No. 3 and Letter No. 6 which bear no name show that the Maharaja always kept in constant touch with the rebels and sometimes gave directions to them. The letter (No. 7) from Shri Lal Jamadar Vishyoshar Singh Deva to Shri Maharajakumar Shri Lal Garul Singh Deva dated Rima, Jeth Badi 1915 (June 1858) also communicates some information and gives suitable directions.

From these letters it is obvious that in the Mutiny of Sohagpur the Maharaja of Rewa was the guiding hand, though outwardly he desisted from professing any alliance with the rebels. With the shrewdness of a diplomat he tried to put pressure on the British by creating disturbances from within while obliging them with military help. In the light of the above it would be incorrect to suppose that the sole aim of Rewa Durbar in encouraging the Sohagpur Mutiny was to get back the Ilaqa of Sohagpur. There is no denying the fact that Maharaja Raghuraj Singh coveted Sohagpur, but in assisting the rebel Thakurs he had no doubt been actuated by a national spirit.

THE SOUTH KANARA INSURRECTION OF 1837

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The year 1857 is considered as very memorable in the history of India as the year in which the first independence struggle against the British began and arrangements are being made by the Government of India, the State Governments and the prominent political organisations in India to celebrate the centenary of the first Independence War of India against the British in a fitting manner this year. The first Independence War was fought on a fairly big scale and the fighting spread over a large part of North India. In this connection I feel it may not be out of place if I narrate an episode in Coorg and South Kanara History which shows that an attempt was made in 1837 to end the British rule in Coorg and in that part of South Kanara which before 1834 formed the domains of the Coorg Rajah and to restore the old dynasty of Lingayat rulers to the musnad of Coorg.

Coorg was annexed by the East India Company in the year 1834 as a sequel to the opposition on the part of the last Coorg Rajah to the domineering interference of the Company in the internal administration of the State. The Coorg Rajah was deposed by the invading army of the Company and deported to Benares. The Company appointed its own officer, a superintendent by designation, to administer Coorg with the help of the old Rajah's native officials according to the usage and customs of the country before annexation. Therefore there was not much discontent in Coorg proper by change in the head of the Coorg administration.

But in the former Rajah's territories below the Ghats which now form the Puttur Taluk of South Kanara there was great discontent in consequence of the change of rulers. After the deposition of the Coorg Rajah and the annexation of Coorg by the British Company, the territories of the Rajah below the Ghats were transferred to the Kanara collectorate for the convenience of administration by the Company's officers. This change of administration caused great hardship to the people of the old Rajah's territories in this area. In the Rajah's time these people were paying their assessments to the Rajah in kind, but under the British Collector of Kanara they were asked to pay their assessments in money. Money was scarce then and the ryots were thrown to the mercy of the money-lenders. The money-lenders or the local merchants bought the produce of the people for a paltry sum and hence the ryots were left with almost nothing after paying their assessments to the Go-

vernment. This incensed the people and prompted them to rise against the Company's rule.

In Coorg proper, too, in the northern and western parts there were many loyal adherents of the old Hindu dynasty. These people and those below the ghats were watching for a favourable opportunity to rise against the British and to overthrow their rule.

Such an opportunity came with the appearance of a pretender to the Coorg throne in the person of Kalliyanaswamy, a native of the northern part of Coorg. He claimed himself to be the second son of the last Coorg Rajah's uncle Appaji Raja and the only remaining heir to the Coorg *gadi*. He donned the Coorg Rajah's royal robes and proclaimed himself the Rajah of Coorg. On his onward march from Kodlipet, the northernmost town of Coorg, a large number of people flocked to his standard. But Kalliyanaswamy finding that he had more supporters below the ghats descended the Bisle ghats in Yelusavira Sime and reached Bellare fort below the ghats in April, 1837.

Almost at the same time the Gowda community in the territories of Sullia and Bellare who had long been oppressed by one Ramappayya, the younger brother of Dewan Lakshminarayana, one of the Coorg Rajah's Dewans, united together and put Ramappayya to death. Ramappayya who called himself the Rajah of Atloor was a terror to the Gowda community in his Taluk. The death of Ramappayya at their hands made the ignorant and illiterate Gowdas think that they could defeat and drive away the British from their part of the country. So, on the appearance of Kalliyanaswamy as the heir to the Coorg throne in their midst, they flocked to his standard in increased numbers.

Kalliyanaswamy issued proclamations to the people of South Kanara and Coorg appealing to them to support him and to overthrow the Company's rule. In response to this appeal some people from the northern part of Coorg, Bhagamandalanad and Napoklunad joined the camp of Kalliyanaswamy at Sullia and Bellare.

In April 1837 Kalliyanaswamy marched at the head of thousands of his partly armed, unarmed and poorly armed followers to Puttur. At the news of the rising of the people under a pretender to the Coorg throne the Collector of Mangalore came to Puttur with two Companies of Sepoys. But Kalliyanaswamy easily routed them and the Collector fled to Mangalore on horseback. Kalliyanaswamy then triumphantly marched to Panemangalore and Bantwal and plundered both the places. At Panemangalore Lakshmappa Banga Arasu, the pensioned descendant of the old feudal chieftains of that place, joined Kalliyanaswamy with his retainers and marched to Mangalore.

On the information that Kalliyanaswamy, the pretender to the Coorg throne, was marching to Mangalore with thousands of his followers, the English officials got frightened and went to the sea on their way to Tellicherry. Kalliyanaswamy broke open* the prison gates and let the prisoners free, looted the treasury and set fire to the houses of the English officials of Mangalore. For about a fortnight, Mangalore was in the possession of Kalliyanaswamy and his flag flew in the present Light House Hill in place of the Company's flag. Thus for a few days at least the Company's authority was non-existent in Mangalore.

But Kalliyanaswamy's rule in Mangalore was a few days' affair. At the advance of the British forces from Tellicherry to Mangalore the ill-disciplined and poorly armed people of Kalliyanaswamy melted away. So the English had an easy task in capturing the leaders of this insurrection and putting them to death. Kalliyanaswamy, Lakshmappa Banga Arasu and other important leaders were hanged in a place called Bikrana Katte in Padayu in Mangalore and some others were deported to Singapore for life.

This rising, though on a small scale and of a short duration, is worth remembering and recording as one of the earliest instances in Indian history of a people rising against the established authority of the British. So along with the heroes of 1857 War of Independence credit should also go to the heroes of Coorg and South Kanara insurrection. Among the heroes of Coorg and South Kanara were people of all communities including Male Kudiyas—a scheduled tribe, Chetti Kudiya and Karthu Kudiya were the chief among them. The former had trained the last Rajah of Coorg in marksmanship. He was reputed to be able to shoot birds and bring them down while flying.*

* The paper is based on the following sources :—

1. The Report of Capt. LeHardy presumably to the Governor-General-in-Council on the Insurrection as it relates to Coorg (Ms.)
2. Orders of the Directors of the East India Company, London to the Governor-General-in-Council on the same subject (Ms.)
3. *A Manual of Coorg* by Rev. G. Richter.
4. *History of South Kanara* (in Kannada) by Ganapathy.

DID KHANDOJI BHONSLE OF NAGPUR RULING FAMILY GO TO BENGAL IN 1764 ?

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The present Note is based on an unpublished document which contains a set of horoscopes pertaining to the royal family of Nagpurkar Bhonsles and their relatives. Among these there is one referring to Khandoji alias Chimna Bapu Bhonsle, the brother of Raghoji II, the ruling prince. This person is said to have been in "command" of the forces that marched to Bengal in the beginning of 1764 which to my mind does not appear to be credible.

As a sequel to the disaster of Panipat, the southern powers began to be aggressive against the Marathas and the Nagpur Bhonslas instead of allying with the Peshwas joined the enemy's camp. The Bhonsla Brothers were rivals of each other and involved themselves in family feuds. For all these and sundry reasons they could not formulate a plan for recovering their dues from Bengal. The insistent demands were of no avail. At last Janoji despatched a force apparently under the command of Khandoji Bhonsle vesting all authority in Bhawani Kaloo, the Diwan of the State. The latter arrested Sheobhat Sathe, and as is evident from letter No. 160 of 19-12-1765, P. Daftar, Vol. 20, Sheobhat seems to have actually joined the Peshwas against the Bhonslas.

This episode has been discussed by late Shri Y. M. Kale, the author of the Marathi standard work *Nagpur Prantacha Itihas*. I shall quote some relevant extracts from his work in translation. "After this Janoji appointed his son Chimna Bapu as Subhedar of Orissa. The Emperor, Vazir and Mir Qasim continued the struggle against Mir Jafar and the English even after his arrival (1764 A. D.)."¹ "Janoji having appointed Chimna Bapu as Subhedar deputed Bhawanipant Kaloo and by virtue of office Chimna Bapu was the real Subhedar."² "Chimna Bapu the son of Mudhoji was also in Orissa with Bhawanipant Kaloo and by virtue of office was the real Subhedar."³ "Though Bhawani Kaloo was the ostensible viceroy of Orissa the Sanad of Subhedarship was granted in the name of Chimna Bapu".⁴

It is my contention that Khandoji Bhonsle alias Chimna Bapu could not have proceeded to Orissa in 1764. At best as a tactical move the Subedarship may have been conferred on him.

1. P. 225.
2. P. 229.
3. P. 350.
4. P. 352.

Among the authorities which may have misled Shri Kale may be included the *Gupta Bakhar* of Nagpur Bhonslas written in 1822 at the instance of Sir Richard Jenkins, the then Resident at Nagpur Court. This *Bakhar*⁵ states that Chimna Sahu (*not* Chimna Bapu) had gone to Orissa. Secondly, letters Nos. 2173, 2176, 2179, 2201 and 2204 of the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, purport to be addressed to Chimna Sahu while in Orissa, where he was presumed to be present from April to July 1764. Great accuracy is usually attributed to English records, but they too are sometimes prone to errors. Late Shri Kale was, however, expected to be more careful. Incidentally, in the first quotation above, he is wrong in stating that Chimna Bapu was Janoji's son. In fact Janoji was issueless. Without going further I shall in the first instance base my contention on Shri Kale's own statement. In a footnote on p. 195, he says that Chimna Bapu's elder brother Raghoji II (the ruling prince) was born in 1757 A. D. and he was 15 years old when he sat on the *masnad*. Khandoji, his younger brother, was junior to him by 7 years. This means Chimna Bapu must have been born in 1764, the year of the expedition to Bengal, and yet Shri Kale will have us believe that Chimna Bapu was in Orissa in that year. Shri Siddheswar Shastri Chitrao, the author of *Charitra Kosha* states that Chimna Bapu was 25 when he died in 1789 and yet he says that he had gone to Orissa in 1764. In *Nagpoorkar Bhonsle Historical Papers*⁶ edited by late Shri N. D. Oke, the editor says that Chimna Bapu was hardly 25 or 26 when he died (i.e. on 16-8-1789). His year of birth therefore comes to 1764.

Further, when Chimna Bapu really went with Bhawani Kalu to Bengal in 1779 in implementation of the quadruple alliance concluded between the Southern Powers of India with a view to oust the English from this land, he was a mere boy of 17, according to Warren Hastings⁷.

Above all, the evidence alluded to at the beginning of this note leaves one in no doubt as to the date of Chimna Bapu's birth. The said set of horoscopes was handed to the writer of this note by a scion of an old and reputed Joshi family of Nagpur. In this document one comes across the dates of birth of a number of illustrious members of the Nagpur Bhonsla family and if these are found to be correct there is no reason why the birth date of Chimna Bapu should be disbelieved, specially when it is corroborated by the evidence cited above. This document gives the birth date of Raghoji II as *Shake Vaisaakh Shuddha* 14 while those of his younger brothers *viz.* Chimna Bapu and Venkoji are given as *Shake* 1685 *Magh Krishna* 4 and *Shake* 1688 *Shrawan Krishna* 12 respectively. The above dates correspond to 17-5-1761, 21-2-1764 and 1-9-1766 respectively of the English calendar. Incidentally the date of birth of

5. 2nd edition, P. 72.

6. Edition of 1889 A. D., P. 51, footnote 11.

7. C. U. Wills, *British Relations with the Nagpur State in the 18th Century*, P. 76.

Raghoji II given by Kale also stands corrected. One of the letters in the *Calender of Persian Correspondence* mentions the charter of Subedarship being granted to Chimna Bapu, but this may have been at best a fiction created by Mudhoji, the father, with a view to provide against a future contingency; but even this surmise does not hold water as it was too early to forestall events as Janoji, his ruling brother, was still alive. The latter died in 1772 and Mudhoji had no hand in foreign policy. It is, therefore, concluded that all that has been attributed to Chimna Bapu in 1764 should not be believed. Shri R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa* (Vol. II) and Dr. J. N. Sarkar in his *Bihar and Orissa during the Fall of the Mughal Empire* have made the same mistakes as late Shri Kale on this point, as they based their information on the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*.

SOME UNPUBLISHED RECORDS REGARDING THE SEPOY MUTINY

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During my recent visit to London (June, 1956) I studied some records preserved in the Library of the Commonwealth Relations Office (formerly India Office). I came across many interesting documents which, to my knowledge, have not yet been published. As regards some of them, it appeared from some stray notes in the files that they were recently micro-filmed, presumably for the use of the official history of the Mutiny sponsored by the Government of India, though I have no definite knowledge on this point. I publish some documents which do not appear to have been so microfilmed, as they are of great importance and yet not utilised, so far as I know, by any historian. These are extracts from the correspondence between Major General T. Reed and Sir John Lawrence. Reed was the Provincial Commander in Chief and was appointed commander of the forces besieging Delhi, in supersession of Sir Henry Barnard. He arrived at Alipur, near Delhi, from Rawalpindi, on 8 June 1857, but, on account of his health, did not assume personal command of the troops till after Barnard's death on 5 July. Unfortunately Reed could not long continue in his office owing to his bad health, and on 17 July, proceeded on sick leave to Simla. It was probably because of his short tenure of command, during which he could not make himself conspicuous, that his correspondence with Lawrence has not drawn much attention from scholars. But the extracts quoted below reveal an interesting episode, otherwise unknown, viz. secret intrigues carried on by Bahadur Shah's most trusted lieutenant, Hakim Ahsanullah Khan, with the British general during the siege of Delhi. It was proposed, on behalf of Bahadur Shah, that if the British agreed to continue his pension of one lakh of rupees a month and secure his former status and position he would help the British to occupy Delhi by secretly admitting British troops into the fort through a particular gate.

Such an overture on the part of Bahadur Shah, at the moment when the fate of the Mutiny (or War of Independence as some would like to call it) hung in the balance and the Sepoys were shedding their blood to defend the city of Delhi in his name, gives us a true insight into the character of the man who has been hailed as the great leader of the War of Liberation and whose tragic end has evoked much sympathy from Indians of all shades of opinion.

But although the conduct of Bahadur Shah might appear strange, and even incredible to some, it need not cause any surprise to those who have studied, in a dispassionate spirit, the part played by him since the very beginning of the Mutiny. In particular it is fully in keeping with the account given by Munshi Jiwanlal who was in Delhi during the siege and recorded the incidents from day to day in the form of a diary. It may be doubted by some whether Bahadur Shah was personally cognisant of the intrigues carried on by Hakim Ahsanullah in his name. In order to remove all these doubts it is necessary to make reference in some detail to the part played by both Bahadur Shah and Ahsanullah.

When the Sepoys, who had mutinied at Mirat on 10 May, arrived at Delhi the next morning, Bahadur Shah was completely taken unawares. He had no knowledge of the event, and was terribly afraid of the mutineers. Douglas, the British military officer in charge of the Police Guard, was with him at the time when the mutineers arrived at the Red Fort. Attracted by their uproar this officer wanted to go out to meet them, but Bahadur Shah held him by his hand as he was afraid that he might be killed. When the mutineers approached him with a request to assume their leadership he at first refused, but had ultimately to agree to do so much against his will.

The incident is thus described by Jiwanlal Munshi in his diary under the date, 11 May:—

“Later on in this day, the two Subahdars, who had been admitted to an audience with the King in the presence of Captain Douglas, were again admitted to a private audience as the representatives of the crowds of soldiery that thronged the neighbourhood of the Palace. They formally tendered the services of the troops to the King. They were directed to take their orders from Ahsanullah Khan. They sought him out and gave their message. It is said that Ahsanullah looked much perplexed what reply to give. He looked upon the outbreak as a passing thundercloud, too black to last long.....Many of the men forcibly intruded into the presence of the King, who was seated in the Dewan-i-Khas. Ahsanullah sought a private audience of the king, and on his advice a camel sowar was sent off with a letter to the Lieutenant Governor at Agra. From time to time more troops arrived. The court of the Palace became a scene of the wildest confusion, quarrellings, and disputes. With a view to introduce discipline among the troops orders were issued by Ahsanullah Khan directing the different princes to assume command of the several regiments.”¹

The above extract leaves no doubt that Ahsanullah Khan was the

1. *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*, translated into English from original Persian by C. Metcalfe, p. 83

conscience-keeper of Bahadur Shah and the *de facto* master of the situation. This is further proved by the following entry in Jiwanlal's diary under the date, 23 May: “Seeing the atrocities the mutineers were committing in the city, Hakim Ahsanullah Khan induced the King to issue an order commanding the troops to leave the city, on the ground that they would only plunder and cause blood to be shed”²

But the most important for our present purpose is the following extract from Jiwanlal's diary under the date, 16 May, which shows that the Sepoys had already begun to suspect the loyalty of both Bahadur Shah and Ahsanullah Khan to the cause of the mutineers:—

“The Sepoys assembled early this morning before the Palace, threatening the King and his officers, accusing them of saving the lives of European ladies and gentlemen and concealing them in the Fort, and through them communicating with the Europeans at Mirat.”

“I learned today that nearly forty Europeans were concealed in the King's Palace. The Sepoys went to the Palace in great anger, as they said they had seized a messenger with a letter cursing the mutineers. The Sepoys threatened to kill Ahsanulla Khan and Nawab Mahabub Ali Khan, and also threatened to take away Zinat Mahal Begum Sahiba and keep her as a hostage for the King's loyalty. There was a great uproar in the Palace, the Sepoys on the one hand, and the King's household on the other, contending with violent language and harsh vociferations.”³

The suspicion of the Sepoys is confirmed by, and in a way confirms the truth of the extracts from the correspondence which form the subject-matter of this paper. Both receive further corroboration from the published letters of H. H. Greathed, the Commissioner of Mirat who was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor of N. W. P. as his political agent at Delhi, attached to the field force. The importance of his position would appear from a reference to him in the letters quoted below. The following extracts from his letters are therefore of great interest for our present purpose:—

1. Camp Delhi, 19 August (1857).

“I am beginning to get letters from the princes, declaring they have been all along fondly attached to us, and that they only want to know what they can do for us.”⁴

II. Camp Delhi, 23 August (1857).

2. *Ibid.* pp. 101-2

3. *Ibid.* pp. 93-4

4. *Letters written during the siege of Delhi*, by H. H. Greathed (London, 1858), pp. 205-6

"An emissary came out from Zeenut Muhul, the favourite wife of the King, a great political personage, offering to exercise her influence with the King, to bring out some arrangement."⁵

Whether the treacherous intrigues of the favourite queen and the sons of Bahadur Shah with the British were independently conceived or were a continuation of those he had himself begun it is difficult to say. Perhaps we shall never know the links between the different types of intrigues which continued almost throughout the siege of Delhi ending with the surrender of the King on agreed terms after the fall of that city. But, in any case, all the different informations coming from entirely different sources so remarkably fit in with one another that there is hardly any room for doubt that Bahadur Shah and his family betrayed the cause of the Mutiny (or War of Independence) by secretly intriguing with the English. The extracts quoted above, by depicting Bahadur Shah in his true colours, would help us in making a proper assessment of the role he played in the great outbreak of 1857. They complete the chain of evidence of the great betrayal, by Bahadur Shah and the members of his family, not only of the mutineers, of whom he was the nominal head, but also of the whole country.

Extracts from a letter dated Delhi, 4th July 1857, from T. Reed to Lawrence

"One of our Gomasthas who was in Delhi contrived to make his escape yesterday and brought a message from the king that if we would guarantee his life and pension he would open the gates for us; how far this is to be depended upon remains to be proved; but we have been so busy with their attack upon our rear that there has been no time to consider it; he has evidently been made a tool of and it might stop an immense deal of blood granting his pension for the remaining years of his life which cannot be many."

* * * *

"The private statement of Futteh Mahomed Gomastha—4th July, 1857, has just been placed in my hands as follows:—

"About a fortnight ago Boolakie Doss a Buneah and friend of mine hinted to me that the Hukeem Haissan Oollah Khan wished to come to terms with the British but I did not attend to him as I thought nothing would be done. However he came to me eight days ago and told me the Hakeem was most anxious to see me. Two days after I went to the palace to wait on the Hakeem who took me into a private apartment at the top of a high building; no one was present but the Hakeem, his mook-

5. *Ibid.* p. 217

tear Boolakie Doss and myself. The Hakeem at once asked me if I fully understood what he had desired Boolakie Doss to tell me; I said that I did, but that I would not give him much hope of being able to do anything. Then he said that the king was most desirous of making terms with the British and that if a promise (a formal one) were given him that his pension of 1 lac of Rupees a month and his former position should be secured to him he would have the "Jerdarajah" opened for the admission of the British troops, the "Jerdarajah" is a private entrance into the palace under the Summund Boorj on the river side. The king also offered to arrange to have any other of the city-gates opened at any time the British might wish. A written agreement to assist the British in every way in obtaining possession of the city would be given with the Royal Seal attached. I promised to submit the offer as it was made and make known the answer."

"The substance of this will be sent to you by telegraph today so that you will probably have replied to it before you receive this. Mr. Greathed has also been requested to make it known to the Lieutenant Governor, N. W. Provinces. If we enter into terms with the king it will be necessary to obtain a material guarantee that his part of the conduct will be faithfully performed. I doubt his (king's) ability to have one of the city gates opened as they are all in the hands of the insurgents whatever may be his power in the palace."

II

Extract from a letter, dated 9th July 1857, from Sir John Lawrence to General Reed

"I hope that unless the orders of Government prohibit it, that you will endeavour to come to an understanding with the king of Delhi. If he is sincere in his overtures and I am inclined to think that he may be, I should consider that by a little dexterity on our part, he could admit a regiment into the palace, and if we were fully established inside others could follow without difficulty."

III

Extract from a letter, dated Simla, 26th July 1857, from General Reed to Sir John Lawrence

"I am afraid the king of Delhi's overtures will come to nothing. I do not think in the first instance that he has the power of performing what he offers, to open one of the gates as the town is in the hands of the insurgents, and in the next he would always be influenced by the last report such for instance as the burning of the cantonment at Agra which they celebrated as victory at Delhi."

A REPORT ON THE RENT-FREE ESTATES IN THE CEDED AND CONQUERED PROVINCES

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Information regarding the condition of lands held under rent-free tenures in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, during the earlier period of British occupation in those territories, is comparatively scarce in the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue. Halbed's report on the rent-free estates, contained in the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 20th December 1820 (Letter No. 27A) is, therefore, both interesting and informative.

After the advent of the British in the Ceded Province, two laws were enacted dealing with lands held rent-free. One was Regulation XXXI of 1803¹ enacted 'for trying the validity of the title of a person holding *la-khiraj* lands not under the Badshahee grants', i.e. lands granted for religious and charitable purposes under Indian governments by Zamindars as well as *Amils*. The second was Regulation XXXVI enacted² in the same year 'for trying the validity of the title of a person holding *la-khiraj* Badshahee lands'. Both these regulations authorised resumption of lands held illegally under the above tenures. Collectors resuming such lands were permitted a commission of twenty-five per cent as a reward for their efforts.

In the beginning, the validation or resumption of such lands was indiscriminately done. Resumptions, in particular, were effected on a very large scale. These were brought about by the lure of a commission granted to collectors, or by the corrupt machinations of subordinate revenue officers. In the prevalent confusion little notice was taken of these injudicious proceedings. How confusing the situation was, for instance, in the district of Gorakhpur was described³ by Reade as follows:-

"We now come to the history of the *Muafees* after the Cession. Mr. Routledge, the first European Resident, attached, in the first place, every *Muafee* estate in the district—for one twelve months, or rather more, the whole of these lands were under the management of the Native officers, but at the expiration of this term, it was discovered to be unlawful to seize on these estates until the invalidity of the tenure had been

proved in the civil-court, and a publication went out directing all *Muafeedars*, whose estates had been attached, to apply for their release within a given time. Every one, of course, applied without delay; and each applicant, without the trouble of cross-examination, received a *perwannah* warranting the *Tehsildar* to release his estate, and make good the collections. But the curious part of the history is that several persons applied for the release of estates which had never been rent-free or resumed, and succeeded in the experiment most completely."

Discontent in this regard was further deepened by another regulation⁴ promulgated in 1811. It authorised the Board of Commissioners to resume lands without a previous proceedings in a law-court. The aggrieved party was left to institute a suit, if it so desired. It, incidentally, swelled the amount of commission receivable by a collector.

A fresh spurt of activity followed the enactment of the Regulation II of 1819⁵. Halbed's report,⁶ referred to above, was submitted after the promulgation of this measure. It observed in its opening paragraph: "The free-holders enjoy all the benefits of a regular Government without contributing in the smallest degree to the exigencies of the state in times of peace, and, though protected by our troops in times of warfare, have, in no one instance, stood forward to afford the smallest aid." They were described as "corrupt and debauched in their morals, litigious and fractious", and constituted "by far the worse part of the population of the British Provinces."

It classified rent-free lands as follows:—

- (1) Lands granted for the support of religious and charitable institutions.
- (2) Lands granted by British Government for services performed.
- (3) Lands granted by the Emperors of Hindustan.
- (4) Lands granted under the signatures of local authorities.
- (5) Lands granted to people, who claimed to have received the grants, but whose original documents were lost during the turbulence following British occupation.

The report alleged that by far the greater parts of the documents belonging to the categories third, fourth, and fifth were not authentic.

1. *Regulations of the Government of Fort William in Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 672.

2. *Ibid*, p. 686.

3. Proceedings of the Sudder Board of Revenue for the North-Western Provinces, dated 13 March 1832.

4. *Regulation of the Government of Fort William in Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 169.

5. *Ibid*, p. 527.

6. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 20 December 1820.

It asserted that the forgery of such documents was easy, because under Indian governments, seals, and not signatures were impressed upon the documents, and that the seals were easy to forge. It pointed out, ".....in most of the districts there are persons who are known to derive large emoluments by carrying on trade in forged seals, and affixing them to documents".

It stated that a number of grants were issued by the Mughal rule "even when it had lost all control, and were latterly given to the grantee rather with the view of obtaining the trifling emoluments arising from the *Nazaranna* and fees of office.....than with an idea of rewarding the former's services."

It gave the interesting information that most of the grants bestowed by the Mughal Emperors could be easily checked at the *Muafee-Daftar* at Delhi. It stated ".....this record-office offers most amply means, even in the present days, of enabling Government officers to detect forgeries by studying the counter-part." But it commented, "Even if the grants were given, they could not be valid, considering that he (the Emperor) had no possession in these parts."

It argued that the grants made by Princes and Nawabs could not be deemed valid because (a) the country had changed occupation, (b) it was not possible to differentiate forgeries from original documents, (c) in the case of the Marathas, they could afford to be 'munificent in a territory which they came only to over-run', (d) when the Marathas were driven out their seals were not taken away, hence they were misused, (e) "Perplexed by internal factions, rebellions, and out-ward invasions, the existing Government could not pay sufficient attention to the local administration of the revenue department", and (f) "The rapacious *Aumils* mismanaged the situation."

Finally, the report concluded that all grants, of whatever nature, were resumable by Indian governments; and that certain rent-free grants were bestowed, on the condition that the holders performed gratuitous services in the army.

Referring to the British administration, the report pointed out the confused state of the record-offices. It said, "There are books in each collector's office containing the abstract of deeds by which the occupants of rent-free-lands claim to hold them, but it would take years to examine them before the summary of the whole could be drawn out."

It observed that the provision contained in Regulation II of 1819 of investigating the authenticity of rent-free grants was 'rendered unattainable', because of the multiplicity of the cases to be investigated.

It stated, "It is to be recollected that in the smallest collectorate in the Upper Provinces, there are not less than six hundred claims to be decided; and in many districts such as Saharanpore, Meerut, Aligarh, Cawnpore, there are at least ten thousand claims to be renewed, in Moradabad alone not less than twenty thousand."

Enumerating other difficulties, it said that the Collectors were overburdened with responsibilities; that *Tahsildars* and *Qanungos*, receiving money from free-holders, did not give the required information to collectors; and that the *Sadar Amlahs* of the Collector's *Kutchery* derived very considerable emoluments from the rent-free estates by fraudulent means. Finally, it pointed out that the resumption of a *la-Khiraj* land often meant the institution of a law-suit against the Collector. The result of a Collector's inquiry was 'rarely satisfactory from a judicial point of view', because of his 'not being educated in the judicial line'. It observed, "From these causes the suits instituted by Collectors put on a very different appearance when entered on by the Courts to that in which they were viewed by the Revenue Authorities". The report suggested the establishment of a separate Commission for the investigation of such rights.

It may be interesting to mention that Ross, another capable and experienced officer, submitted a minute on Halbed's report. He sharply differed from the latter that many lands were separated from the Khalsa by fabrication. He commented,⁷ ".....they (rent-free land holders) could not have obtained possession of lands.....with the facility which Mr. Halbed imagines. To have effected this last object, they must not only have deceived collectors, and bribed their officers, both *Sudder* and *Mofussil*, but they must have also managed to get the consent of the proprietors and occupants of the land, who, it is not to be supposed would have quietly and silently relinquished their property, without receiving a compensation for it."

The mismanagement of the rent-free lands continued hereafter also. This is evidenced by the testimony given by the Deputy-Collector of Azamgarh. He wrote⁸, "shortly after the enactment of the Regulation II, 1819, and when its provisions became generally known, Azimgurh was adjoined to Jaunpore, and a Registrar⁹ was appointed, to whom all the *Muafedars* were called upon to bring their title-deeds for registry. At this period a most extra-ordinary person, by name Misree Lall, formerly a *Putwaree*, came forward and gave information to the Collector respecting upwards of a hundred *Muafee* estates held under invalid tenures. He brought evidence to prove his assertions; and so many es-

7. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 31 October 1821.

8. Proceedings of the Sudder Board of Revenue for the North-Western Provinces, dated 13 March 1832.

9. He was an English gentleman.

tates were resumed, one after another, in which Misree Lal was the principal that the Central Board at length suspected that something was wrong, and returned all the cases in which he was concerned, to be re-instituted. It was then discovered that Misree Lal and the Registrar, during the registry of the lands, had called upon every *Muafedar* for some token of their good-will; those foolish persons, who refused to comply with the proposition, suddenly found their cases pending under Regulation II 1819."

The sequel of this story was that the Registrar was dismissed from service and Misree Lal was found murdered.¹⁰

A FORGOTTEN HISTORICAL FORTRESS OF BHOPAL

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Among the records of the late Bhopal State, which have now been taken over by the National Archives of India, Bhopal, are available many instances of the part played by Bhopal in the history of India at different periods. Some of these depicts its contribution during the so-called Mutiny of 1857, and many are the places which have been immortalised by the achievements of the heroes of the great struggle for freedom. One such place is Garhi or the fortress of Ambapani, which has been repeatedly mentioned in the records of the Mutiny period.

Garhi Ambapani is situated to the south of Gwalior State, in tahsil Ghairatganj of Bhopal State, and is at a distance of about 55 miles from the capital. It is bounded on the east by tahsil Begamganj, on the south by tahsils Silwani and Sultanpur and on the west by tahsil Raisen. Bhilsa Railway Station is 36 miles from Garhi Ambapani. The present Ambapani is a little removed from its original site, which is now inhabited only by the Gonds.

The fortress of Ambapani is situated on the Vindhya, at a height of 2,385 feet. Adjacent to the fort is a tank which feeds a canal which had been dug round the fort to serve as a moat for the protection of the fortress. The canal has now fallen into disrepair but the tank is still in a fairly good condition, requiring only petty repairs. Buildings in the fortress are still strong and there are gates, broad ceilings and a magnificent tomb of the Begam of Khizr Muhammad Khan, who was the daughter of Nawab Dost Muhammad Khan, the founder of the Bhopal State. There is also a broken tomb which is respected by a section of the Muslims and is frequently visited by them. It is said to be of a Muslim saint whose name was "Peetam Shah". The *Wali* (Jagirdar) of Garhi Ambapani, being under the impression that the saint knew the secret of alchemy, asked him to reveal it to him. On the saint's refusal, he was tortured to death.

There is an inscription at the entrance of a small room bearing the word *Hazar* (caution) three times. The room might have been utilised for the storage of secret things or there might have been some undesirable thing hidden in it, and so people were warned against entering it.

For the last two or three decades there has been some controversy

¹⁰, Proceedings of the Sudder Board of Revenue, dated 13 March 1832,

regarding the correct name of Garhi Ambapani. It has been differently called as Ambapai or Amba-bai. But the presence of a fortress (*garhi*), mango grove (*amba*) and a well and a *baoli* for supplying water (*pani*) to the passers-by convince us that the correct name of the village should be Garhi Ambapani.

Ambapani is famous on account of its historical background. It was called 'Islam Khera' before it was renamed as Ambapani. It was bestowed in jagir by Nawab Dost Muhammad, the founder of the Bhopal State, on his son-in-law, Khizr Muhammad Khan.

The famous fortress of Ambapani was constructed by Nawab Haqiqat Muhammad Khan, son of Khizr Muhammad Khan. Some time later Faujdar Muhammad Khan rose against his brother demanding possession of the fortress and other villages of the jagir, which the elder brother relinquished in his favour and moved over to Saugor. Faujdar Muhammad Khan thus became the *Wali* of the jagir and the master of the fortress. In the year 1857, when the War of Freedom broke out in India, Ambapani was in the jagir of Fazil Muhammad Khan and Adil Muhammad Khan, sons of late Faujdar Muhammad Khan.

Fazil Muhammad Khan declared himself unequivocally in favour of those who wanted to put an end to the foreign rule in India, and joined hands with Tatya Topi and other distinguished leaders as their faithful ally in the War of Freedom. But the ruler of the Bhopal State remained loyal to the British Government and this proved to be the undoing of Fazil Muhammad Khan.

Although Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam, the then ruler of Bhopal, was not acquainted with the intentions of Fazil Muhammad Khan, she had her suspicions. So she took recourse to various means to gain news about Fazil Muhammad Khan, who was undoubtedly busy at the time with his many schemes and was plotting to undermine the loyalty of the Bhopal State Army. Services of some Gonds and some household servants of Fazil Muhammad Khan were secretly obtained by Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam and they used to despatch timely information about the movements of the rebel family. One Hussain Bux, groom (*Sais*) of Fazil Muhammad Khan, used to send to the ruler of Bhopal secret reports about his master's movements, in his own handwriting.¹

Fazil Muhammad Khan being the jagirdar and the master of an important fortress was in a position to enlist the sympathy and support of the influential persons in the vicinity of Ambapani. This made the problem all the more difficult for the ruler of Bhopal. As a matter of fact,

1. National Archives of India, Bhopal, Mutiny Papers, File No. 16 of 1274 A. H. (1857 A. D.), p. 17.

it was the most critical time of her reign. She had to maintain peace in the metropolis and keep the Bhopal Army well in hand. She had also to maintain financial stability in the State which was on the verge of bankruptcy due to heavy economic drain during the Mutiny. The district officers had to borrow money from local zamindars and bankers in order to pay the salary of the army posted around the fortress of Ambapani. In a letter, sent under her own seal, the Nawab Shah Jahan Begam, the heir-apparent of Bhopal, complained to her mother, the Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam, that the *sahukars* refused to advance loan to the State due to the disturbance, confusion and panic prevailing at the time.²

After Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam had successfully solved all internal problems of the State which she had to cope with and had quelled the plots and intrigues in the army, she devoted her attention to the rebel leader, Fazil Muhammad Khan. But the power accumulated by the latter was so enormous that she hesitated to take immediate action. She was also greatly upset when due to heavy rains she could not get any news of her army which had been despatched for subduing the army of the rebel Fazil Muhammad Khan. She kept writing to her top-ranking civil and military officers from the 15th *Muharram* to the 5th *Safar*, 1274, pressing them to send her the report of the welfare of the army.³

The fortress of Ambapani was well-equipped with arms and ammunition and for further safety Fazil Muhammad Khan had posted pickets in the adjoining bushes to check and harass the State Army. While the State Army was crossing the valley of Raj Ghati, the rebel pickets attacked it and fought for two hours.⁴

Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam was nervous and confused on account of the number and strength of the rebel army, and the collaboration of the general public with it and also on account of the lack of means of communication. Due to these factors, the Begam was uncertain as to the result of the battle against him. She, therefore, requested her mother not to retrench her own infantry till the campaign of Ambapani came to a definite end.⁵ In order to subdue the fortress, she ordered her Commander-in-Chief to post the army at three strategic points and surround the rebel forces both within and without the fortress. At Ghairatganj a detachment of artillery was posted, while detachments of infantry and cavalry were posted at Sewnas (now Begamganj) and Bamhori.

2. National Archives of India, Bhopal, Mutiny Papers, File No. 107 of 1274 A. H. (1857 A. D.) p. 13.

3. National Archives of India, Bhopal, Mutiny Papers, File No. 35 of 1274 A. H. (1857 A. D.), pp. 27-31, 47-51 and 61.

4. *Ibid*, p. 87.

5. National Archives of India, Bhopal, Mutiny Papers, File No. 12 of 1274, A. H. (1857 A. D.), p. 3.

It was notified that all the wealth and property of Fazil Muhammad Khan would be distributed to the victorious soldiers, but they were clearly instructed not to plunder the residents or to give them any other cause of complaint.⁶

On 7 October 1857 A. D. (*Safar* 1274) the State Army attacked the rebels all of a sudden. The rebels hidden under the bushes put up such a stiff resistance that the Commandant of the Raisen fort had to hasten with his men to Ghairatganj to help the State Army. The insurgents were surrounded by the State Army and subsequently their Commander fled away from the battlefield. But the rebels had proved to be quite strong and therefore a reinforcement from Sehore under the command of Bakhshi Murawwat Muhammad Khan had to be summoned. The fortress was then surrounded on all sides. On 21 October 1857 A. D. (2 *Rabiul-awwal* 1274), the besieged forces were asked to surrender which they refused to do. The message of surrender was returned with the reply that the insurgents "knew nothing except fighting". The besiegers continued their struggle for about a fortnight. But despite many attacks nothing tangible was achieved. At last one night the besiegers breached the bank of the big tank which supplied water to the moat round the fortress. The water was so much drained by the morning that the State Army was able to post its guns on dry land near the fort and was in a position to fire on the fortress from close quarters.

During the siege, Fazil Muhammad Khan fled away secretly from the fortress, which completely damped the spirit of his supporters. One of his slaves opened the gates of the fortress on 11 November 1857 A. D. (23 *Rabiul-awwal* 1274 A. H.), and handed over the keys to the Commander of the State Army. The inmates of the fortress were exiled from the State or kept as prisoners for their part in the rebellion.

The unexpected conquest of the fortress gave Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam great joy and relief. She thanked the Commander-in-Chief, offered her grateful prayers and ordered five guns to be fired from the rampart of Fort Fatehgarh in Bhopal, in honour of the victory.

Just after receiving the news of the conquest of the fortress, the Begam ordered that the gates and walls protecting the palatial buildings of the fortress be demolished in order to avoid any possible attack from its battlements. But the Commander-in-Chief was hesitating to carry out the orders. Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam, therefore, despatched a *parwana* to him stating that "It could not be found out what good reasons you have and what architectural beauty is hidden in the build-

6. National Archives of India, Bhopal, Mutiny Papers, File No. 55 of 1274 A. H. (1857 A. D.), p. 5.

ing of Ambapani that you do not order its demolition".⁷

The fortress and its owners had been a source of perpetual danger to the peace and tranquillity of the State. In a letter to her Commander-in-Chief, after hearing the news of the hoisting of the State blue flag which marked the complete conquest of the fortress, Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam wrote in her own hand, "You should consider well how many battles have been fought by this rebel house from this very fort during the past four generations viz., at first they fought with the late Mian Wazir Muhammad Khan, secondly with Nawab Nazirud-Daulah Nazar Muhammad Khan and a third time with the Nawab Qudsia Begam, and lastly with us."⁸

The history of Bhopal proves the truth of the contents of the above letter. Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam was totally against Fazil Muhammad Khan and she wanted to uproot him and his family. In a *parwana*, to her Commander-in-Chief that in case of the death of Fazil Muhammad Khan during the battle or in case of his absconding from the fortress, the gates of Garhi Ambapani should be demolished and the booty found there distributed amongst the soldiers.⁹ She was afraid that Fazil Muhammad Khan might attack the fortress in future and take possession of it, and her fears proved to be true to a certain extent because after his flight from Bhopal, Fazil Muhammad Khan tried his best to recapture the fortress. Rumours were heard off and on about his arrival at the fortress.¹⁰ Ultimately, however, Fazil Muhammad Khan proceeded to the fort of Rahatgarh, where he was captured and executed.

Such is the history of Garhi Ambapani, and the gallant part it played during the great national uprising of 1857. The whole neighbourhood of Ambapani is strewn with historical monuments, but it is a pity that they have not so far been studied properly and their true historical significance has not yet been brought to light.

7 National Archives of India, Bhopal, Mutiny Papers, File No. 55 of 1274 A.H. (1857 A. D.), p. 39.

8 *Hayat-i-Sikandri*, Urdu edition of 1930, p. 62.

9 National Archives of India, Bhopal, Mutiny Papers, File No. 55 of 1274 A. H. (1857 A. D.), p. 5.

10 National Archives of India, Bhopal, Mutiny Papers, File No. 57.

INTERESTING EPISODE OF AN OUTBREAK IN BIHAR JAILS, 1855

N. B. ROY

Head of the Islamic Department, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan

In assessing the causes of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the general tendency has been to lay stress on the political and economic factors rather than the social. The letters published in the following pages describing disturbances in two Bihar jails, May 1855, however, disavour such a view. The incidents that occurred in some jails in Bihar on the introduction of the messing system in 1845, and those set forth here were but symptoms of an unrest that accumulated from year to year and threatened to sweep away the foundations of the British power in 1857. They indicate the feeling of uneasiness and uncertainty about the future of the faith that was uppermost in the minds of certain sections of the Hindus. They illustrate also the adamant rigidity of the caste system and its absolute sway over the Hindu society, a hundred years back. The letters published here are therefore of great importance as enabling us to see that the greased cartridge was not the mere "spark that kindled the embers of discontent" but related to a root-cause of the unrest that rocked one-third of the continent of India.

Loch, the Inspector of Jails in the lower provinces, was a believer in discipline. In 1845 he had introduced the messing system. He forbade also the use of tobacco and *hookah* (tobacco pipe). Finally he banned the use of *lotah* (brass-pot). One of the grounds for its discontinuance was the use made of it by the rowdy elements among the prisoners. To quote Loch's own words, "It was with the *lotahs* Mr. Richardson was killed in the Alipore jail and Mr. Wheeler attacked in the Tirhut jail and forced to promise that he would not introduce the ration system".

This decree of the jail chief was, however, regarded by the prisoners as an unwarranted interference with their social practices and an insidious attack on their religion. A. E. Russel, the Muzaffarpur District Magistrate, represented their feelings when he wrote, "The *lotahs* being once used for necessary purposes, became impure and they could not be touched by a man of another caste without loss of caste." In other words, the use of earthenware pot would cause defilement and impair the caste-purity and indirectly subvert their faith.

The prisoners in the Muzaffarpur jail at first silently parted with their *lotahs* (9 May) but they disobeyed the order to go out for work

after a while. The District Magistrate promptly arrived on the spot and ordered the *Darogh* to arrest one of the prisoners assembled in the yard. As the *Darogha* stepped forward to carry out the order, the prisoners threw bricks at him and caused a tumult.

Events took a more menacing turn on the following day (10 May). Near the jail was an opium factory where a large crowd of opium ryots had collected for the weighing of their stock. At 7 O'clock in the morning they were found moving in a mass towards the jail with their bamboo *lathis* and wooden rods. As they approached the jail they were faced by the guards with loaded muskets, but nothing untoward happened. There was great excitement in the town and Russel, alarmed by the magnitude of the crisis and "the support of the rich natives and amlahs of the district" to this agitation, called for troops from Dinapore and Sagauli.

Events in the Arrah jail took a very sorry turn. There also the prisoners allowed the *lotahs* to be taken away from them after an eight-hour-search of the wards, but they refused to take their food at 4 O'clock and when their demand for the return of the *lotah* was disregarded, they rose like one man, threw tiles and other missiles and threatened to surround Mr. Drummond, the District Magistrate. At this juncture Drummond ordered the guards to fire which resulted in the death of one person and grievous injury (as detailed in the last letter) to eight other persons. On the following day, 13 May, they were asked in vain to give up their opposition. They agreed neither to take their meals nor to deliver the wounded persons.

Meanwhile a report circulated widely about the Government's design to Christianise the people. This false allegation was promptly countered by a public proclamation on 14 May. It was sent to individual chiefs such as Kumar Singh of Jagadishpur whose aid was sought in pacifying the prisoners. He had a ten minutes' parley with them but it led to no result.

On the same day (14 May) Drummond entered the prison with a body of troops. The prisoners went back to their wards, and allowed their leaders to be separated from them. But they showed no sign of yielding. To quote his own words written on 16 May, "They ate one day but refused to eat the next, clearly showing a rebellious spirit." On the 18 they were reported to have "behaved quietly and well at work", but the District Magistrate could not depend on this outward submission. On the 19 the telegraphic order to return the *lotah* was received from Calcutta and life in the prison reverted to the normal condition.

Extracts from the Judicial Proceedings (1855) in the West Bengal Archives:—

I

From
A. E. Russel. Esqr.
Dt. Magte,
Muzzafarpore.

To
R. Forbes, Esqr..
Session Judge,
Tirhut.

Dated 10th May, 1855.

Sir,

I regret to be compelled to report to you for the information of the Govt. the occurrence of a most serious disturbance which has taken place in this town and Jail owing to the orders of the Inspector of Jails being carried out regarding the taking away of *Lotahs* from the Prisoners and substituting earthen pots for the same. This order was received from Mr. Lock some few days ago, and it being directed that it should be carried into effect as soon as possible.....I thought it proper to carry out the order yesterday and deputed H. W. Browne... to carry out the orders given in which he was assisted by Mr. Simson. I was not led to expect any opposition; that officer searched all the Wards and took away the brass *Lotahs* from the prisoners, none of them making any objection at the time. Soon afterwards when they were ordered to go out to work they all refused. This being brought to my notice I immediately went to the Jail, and found the prisoners assembled in a body at the further end of the Compound and in my sending the *Darogah* to apprehend one of the prisoners, the rest of the prisoners rushed forward and pelted that officer with bricks which were unfortunately in the Jail Compound owing to a well being in course of construction. On this I sent you notice of the disturbance and we shortly afterwards went to the Jail and we attempted to bring the prisoners to their senses and to induce them to return to their Wards but without any effect. All this time there was vast number of Opium Ryotts assembled around the Jail and it was reported to me that they would most likely make a disturbance in the event of any attack being made by the guard on the prisoners.....I considered it expedient to allow the prisoners time hoping that want of food would induce them to return peaceably to their wards, and this doubtless would have been the case had it not been for the cooperation they met from the people outside the Jail.

2. I took every precaution to prevent any attempt at escape on the part of the prisoners and myself visited the Jail in the middle of the night and my Assistant Mr. Simson slept in a Cutchery (office) close by. Before day break this morning I wrote to the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent

sunrise and found the prisoners finishing their meal...By a little after 6 o'clock they were all shut up and I then carried out the search as ordered by Mr. Lock...I was occupied in this search till past two o'clock and then found it impossible to examine the Hajut now laboring on Hospital wards.....

Previous to quitting the Jail I set the cooks to work and had some little difficulty in persuading them to this, although I allowed a *lotah* to each cook and a brass plate for every three or four prisoners in consequence of leaves not having arrived when cooks commenced. I did this in order that at all events in preparing the meal there should be no question which could affect the caste of the prisoners. I returned to the Jail at about half past three and first went all round the wards which I had examined in the morning. I then sat down in the Verandah of the Bungalow just in front of the cooking sheds. On the north side, I had the Jail guard drawn up to the west of the cooking sheds. At about 4 o'clock the prisoners began to arrive and went to the cooking sheds. Some little time were occupied in the prisoners assembling at their sheds and they sat down quiet enough but seeing that they did not begin to eat or take the earthen pots which were ready for them, I went to the principal Brahmin's shed and desired the Cook to laddle out the food. This was not done so readily as it ought to have been and the men did not take their food and those nearest begged of me to give them their *lotahs*.The men were generally silent and I desired those nearest me to take their dinners and was again asked for *lotahs*. I said that it was not in my power to give them *lotas* but told the man nearest me to take his dinner or go to his ward. He preferred the latter. Another did the same and I think a third; the next man said give me the *lota*. I talked with him probably for three or four minutes again explaining very quietly.....that I could not do it. The prisoners now rose from all parts of the Cooking shed and began a loud murmur. I immediately turned round to the guard and called out quick march and then turned again and now the prisoners were advancing rapidly and tiles and missiles were flying about. I turned again expecting to find myself supported by the guard but saw them coming on in no sort of order. The prisoners had now come out from the north side of the shed and seemed to be endeavouring to cut us off from the door. They were coming down rapidly upon us and I felt it was necessary.....to give the order to fire. This I did and under the momentary check from the fire we were enabled to make good our flight to the Jail door keeping the Bungalow between us and the insurgents.... There was a tolerable crowd of *Burkandazes* and so forth and I was pressed out at the door in the crowd but immediately forced my way again and stopped the guard from firing.....

When I got outside the Jail.....I proceeded to post sentries

all round the outside of the Jail in order to prevent any of the prisoners escaping. Whilst I was doing this I received intelligence that some of the prisoners who had not returned when the outbreak took place were now coming back and were disposed to be riotous as these men had their phoras (pick-axes). I immediately ordered off twenty men, intending to post the sentries and then take short cut to join this guard of twenty, now at the corner of the new dispensary at which place I was told they were.....I omitted to state that from amongst the gang that Mr. Tayler met on the road, one man, apparently a person of some influence was sent into the Jail to parley and to endeavour to persuade the prisoners to submit.....but no results followed. The gang whom I confined in the Civil Jail on one chain now refused to drink or eat, unless they had lotahs. On the Sunday morning they still refused with the exception of two or three men who drank out of the earthen vessel..... I omitted to state that a letter was sent in by Mr. Tayler very shortly after the outbreak, warning them of the folly in persisting and desiring them to bring the wounded men to the door of Jail. A message to this effect had also been sent by the prisoner who was first sent into parley but with no effect. To the letter an answer was returned by the Mussallmans stating that they had nothing to do with the disturbances. The same prisoner was again sent in the morning of Sunday to desire them to bring the wounded men to the door but they would not..... On Sunday I issued ishtahars (public proclamations) to the people generally.....This ishtahar I trusted to Syed Imdad Ally the Sudder Ameen to take to Baboo Kunar Singh Bahadur and Baboo Nankoolall and explain the matter with a request that they would also send out letters in the Mofussil backing the ishtahar. A similar request was sent to the Rajah. This step I took in consequence of information I had received that some of the prisoners' friends had sent out letters to the Mofussil stating that it was the intention of Government to make all the people Christians and a proclamation to the same effect was also read to the prisoners from the roof of the guard house but the result was nothing.....

On the morning of the 14th I requested Captain Watson commanding the troops to hold his men in readiness to enter the Jail but not to come down till I send for them. Mr. Tayler wished me not to accompany him and I therefore kept in the background. In consequence of the parley he had with these people he deemed it advisable to request Baboo Kunar Singh Bahadur to come down and speak to the ring-leaders. This was done and although 10 minutes was given to the prisoners to signify their acquiescence [*sic*] nothing was said on their part. I therefore entered the Jail in company with Mr. Tayler and Dr. Harrison, with the troops whose presence alone would be, I felt satisfied, sufficient to awe prisoners and to prevent their making any open attack. My

to request him to stop weighing for the day, as I greatly feared the effect of such a crowd around the Jail...I sent to all the prisoners (orders) to tell them that those who went to their wards would get food but those who refused must go without and hoped that the day would pass without any disturbance. At about 7 o'clock this morning I found that a number of Opium Ryotts were coming up to Jails and Kutchery in a body bearing Lathis and pieces of wood and that people from the town were coming towards the Jail. I immediately wrote off an express letter to the Officer Commanding the Irregulars at Sagwalee to send me in a wing of his Regiment by forced marches and also sent a similar letter to the Officer Commanding at Dinapore to send me at once a wing of a N. I. Regiment.....You shortly afterwards arrived in the spot and were enabled to judge of the state of feeling exhibited by the people who assembled and finally came up in a large body near the Jail threatening to commit violence. I had 50 of the Jail guards drawn up facing in different directions with loaded muskets and was obliged to keep a strong guard on the Treasury for fear of accidents.....I regret to say that I have reason to believe that this riot which may be almost termed an insurrection is the work of the rich natives of the town and of the Amlahs of the Courts. Of course after this demonstration it will be a most difficult matter for me to keep up Jail discipline and I trust that before any attempt is made to reinforce the order, a sufficient number of troops may be sent here to awe the populace and show the strength of the Government.

I beg to submit the names of some of the ring leaders in the disturbance, and to solicit sanction to transfer them at once to other district, namely Rambhoj Gawalla, Munoge Dasadh, Soome Gawalla, Ban-see Halwai—Hilman Jha, Mohadeb Baksh Singh, Jadmohan Singh, Bhoollee Dosadah, Brijnath Singh, Joopraj Singh, Latchman Gawalla and Ram Churan Gallah.

* * * *

There appears to be the very strongest feeling on the part of the people of this District against the system of giving earthen pots to the prisoners. In the Moteeharee Jail I hear that Toombahs or Pumpkin Shells have been given to the men and that they have received them without any objection, and I believe that it is not against the caste of any natives to drink out of these.

I do not think that it would be in any way advisable to attempt to enforce the use of earthen *Lotahs* which being once used for necessary purposes become impure and which being once touched by a man of another caste cannot be used without loss of caste.

II

From
Fred. B. Drummond, Esqr.,
Magistrate, Shahabad.

To
William Grey, Esqr.,
Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

Dated the 13th May, 1855.

Sir,

I have the honour to report for the information of the Lieut. Governor that an outbreak took place in the Jail yesterday afternoon at 4½ p.m. in consequence of my having carried out Mr. Lock's new order, regarding the prisoners being deprived of their Lotahs, I was obliged to order the Behar Station Guard to fire on the prisoners, some eight of whom are wounded. They however did not stop the prisoners from throwing missiles. I was therefore obliged to run and succeeded in shutting the Jail door. The doctor was with me and rendered every assistance. I immediately despatched a requisition for the Military and General Lloyd writes to me dated 4 a.m. this day that he has ordered 160 Bayonets to be despatched. I expect them to arrive by latest at 8 a.m. tomorrow morning. At present I am under some apprehension that the prisoners' friends may through mistaken ideas of the nature of the order come in *en masse* from the interior. I confidently hope however to have the Military before they arrive.....I have also requested Baboo Kour Singh Bahadoor and the Rajah of Doomraon and Baboo Nankoolall to assist in making known the true nature of the order. Three Brahmins have drunk out of the earthen pots but I do not think that the others will follow their example.

III

From
The Magistrate,
Shahabad.

To
The Secretary to the
Government of Bengal.

Dated the 15th May, 1855.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 266 dated 13th May, 1855, I have the honour to submit a detailed report concerning the disturbance in the Jail.

On the morning of Saturday the 12th instant at dawn I sent a message to the Jail Darogah to desire him to make the prisoners eat their morning meal as quick as might be and then to collect them in the yards of their respective wards. I proceeded to the Jail myself at a little after

the disturbances in the Jail up to 12 o'clock of Friday the 18th. On that morning the prisoners went out to work as usual with the exception of a few ring leaders whom I would not permit to leave the wards, although they begged to be permitted to do so and stated their willingness to drink out of earthen vessels. To this there was but one exception, Udit Gowala. The prisoners generally behaved quietly and well at work. On Friday I had them returned early.....and shut them all up quietly by five in the evening so that one may say that they had submitted, though it would not perhaps be politic to enlarge too much on this submission.

At day light of the 19th I received the telegraphic orders to return the lotas. This was done immediately after they had eaten their morning meal, that is very shortly after sunrise.

VI

From
The Inspector of Jails,
Lower Provinces.

To
The Secretary,
Government of Bengal.

Dated the 22nd May, 1855.

No one can regret more than I do, the occurrence of the disturbances which have taken place in the Tirhut and Shahabad Jails, owing to the attempt made to carry the above circular into force, but I must respectfully request the Lt. Governor's attention to the following few remarks, as in justice to myself, I beg to disclaim having had any intention of interfering with the religion of the Hindoos.

I formed my opinion on the fact that the great majority of prisoners are without lotahs, and that they have had to use earthen vessels for all purposes continually without any complaint as to loss of caste. For instance in the Patna Jail there are about 450 Hindoo prisoners and only 16 lotahs were found some of which most probably belong to the Mussalmans and women. There is, no doubt, that the disturbances among the prisoners arose out of the order, but this does not prove that the order was wrong.....It only shows that the prisoners did not like it and were desirous of intimidating the authorities from carrying it out. With regard to the movement outside the Jail of Tirhoot, and the cry that Government intended making Christians of the prisoners, the Lieutenant Governor must well remember that this was the very cry these Behar men made when messing system was first introduced into these very Behar Jails and which was only put down by the strong hand. This therefore cannot be brought

forward to prove that taking away the lotahs is opposed to the Hindoo Religion.....

The Lt. Governor has objected to my not having given my reasons for taking away the lotahs; in this I acknowledge my error, but I thought the general purport of Circular would have conveyed them. My reasons were that having seen that the order for abolishing the use of tobacco was almost nominal, and that very many objectionable articles were allowed to the prisoners to all the Jails, I determined to carry out a systematic search so as to take away all hookas and luxuries and to establish an uniform scale of personal necessities to be kept by the prisoners inside the wards. To effect the latter it was necessary either to give all the prisoners lotahs or to deprive the minority of their [s], substituting earthen kuttora (pots) in their place. This latter plan I adopted because it was the simplest and not opposed.....in any way to Hindoo religion but it also enabled me to take out of the hands of a certain number a most dangerous weapon which has been used ere this with deadly effect and which it had always been my intention to deprive them of. I need not mention that it was with lotahs Mr. Richardson was killed in the Alipore Jail, and it was with these same weapons that Mr. Wheeler was attacked in the Tirhoot Jail and forced to promise the prisoners that he would not introduce the ration system.

first care was for the wounded men. After these had been removed I took a few men with me as a guard and proceeded to open the door of the wards. I then called out the names of those whom I considered to be the most influential amongst the prisoners and having answered readily and come forward, I separated them from the rest of the prisoners. I now desired the prisoners to go to their wards. At first they did not move but a show here and there got them on their legs slowly and they went quietly though slowly and in a refractory manner to their respective wards. The troops I now dismissed, keeping a guard of 24 men which Captain Watson was good enough to give me. Such is the narrative of this disturbance up to the present time..... I regret extremely to have to state that one man died of his wounds on the 13th instant. But though I feel and grieve for this result most deeply, I cannot but feel that the order to fire was absolutely necessary for our safety andhad the guard obeyed my order to quick march instead of breaking line and advancing in disorder, this might possibly have been avoided.....

It was not for me to question the orders.....regarding the lotas. But I must point out that to supply the requisite number of earthen pots will cost the Government some 80 or 100 rupees per month and I do not see any reason.....why should not pumpkins or wooden lotas should be supplied instead of the earthen vessels.

I ought to state here that from the commencement the Musalmans have had nothing to do with the outbreak and that they came out of the Jail on the Sunday evening, of their own accord. Their numbers were few; not about nineteen or twenty were amongst those shut up in the Jail.

IV

From
The Magistrate,
Shahabad.

To
W. Grey, Esqr.,
Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

Dated the 16th May, 1855.

Sir,

Every thing remains at present tolerably quiet in consequence of the presence of the troops but the prisoners, that is to say, the higher castes are, I think, as far from being subdued and even and quite as ready as ever for revolt, if they had but the opportunity afforded them. This quiet is obtained only by keeping the prisoners in their wards and only taking a few out at a time. The prisoners eat one day and then refuse to eat the next, clearly showing a rebellious spirit.

I have endeavoured to effect some good by withdrawing from their wards such of the prisoners as I believed were exercising an influence over the rest.....

In my visit to those, whom I consider to [be] the ringleaders and whom I have shut up separately from the rest, I had some conversation with Kalichuran who has been the headman throughout and he and the rest of those in that ward as per margin agreed to eat in public if I would let them out. Since they have been shut up, their rations were served out to them to cook in their own yard and every man has cooked separately which I was not aware of till this morning and which of course must not be permitted to continue.

Kalichurrin in his conversation with me made various difficulties and excuses.....such as that Soories, Dosadhs and Chummars should be separated from his cooking place which of course was granted. Indeed I do not understand the meaning of this request, as they always have been kept separate and I look upon it and indeed most of his excuses as mere talk and possibly altered in order to make me believe that he really thought there was truth in the rumour that the intention of Government was to make the people Christians. It is not my intention at present to allow Kalichurrin or those with him to leave his ward, certainly not until he has eat and drank from leaves and earthen vessels his dinner, cooked by a cook upon the messing system.....

I have received information from several quarters which lead me to believe that there is a deep and general sympathy outside for the prisoners as well as a pretty general idea prevalent in the interior that it is the intention of Govt. to make the people Christians.....Captain Watson of the 44 Regiment tells me his Moonsee received a letter some time ago from his son, a resident of Bareilly, stating that one order of the above effect has been issued by the Magistrate of the district. There is, I am afraid, some amount of disaffection amongst the Burkundazes of the Jail, only 17 were present early this morning. I thought it, however, best not to see too much and chose to consider that they were tired out and reprimanded them merely for laziness. One of the Patna guards, I am informed, yesterday said they made the Magistrate and Judge give back the lotahs at Muzufferpore. Why don't they do the same here.

V

From
The Magistrate,
Shahabad.

To
The Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.
Calcutta.

Dated the 21st May, 1855.

Sir,

You have been made aware of every circumstances connected with

BRITISH MISSION TO THE KING OF COCHIN-CHINA, 1803

SRI KRISHNA SAXENA

Archivist, National Archives of India, New Delhi

Charles Chapman had, in 1779, recommended the establishment of a British Settlement in Cochin-China, but for about two decades no action¹ was taken for reasons discussed² elsewhere. Yet all this while support³ for the cause suggested by Chapman was mounting as is evident from the memoranda of statesmen and governors no less than from the letters of obscure sea-captains and traders, and so the Court of Directors could not remain inactive. Moreover, the stress of political circumstances⁴ in Europe forced them to take deeper interest in this matter and the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors consequently commissioned David Lance in 1803 on a mission to Cochin-China as well "for the purpose of promoting a reciprocal commercial intercourse with His Majesty, as for preventing the French obtaining establishments in that country."⁵ The Committee further stated, "Our views at present in opening an intercourse with Cochin-China exclusive of cultivating the friendship of the sovereign of that country to the exclusion of the French are merely commercial", and they, therefore, instructed their Envoy "to ascertain what articles of British or Indian manufacture can be introduced into Cochin-China, the probable quantity and what ar-

1. There was, however, an abortive attempt to establish relations with Cochin-China in 1793. In 1792 Lord Macartney was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China. He had also ambassadorial powers addressed to the King of Cochin China. He accordingly came to anchor in Turon Bay on the night of Saturday 25 May 1793, but as he found the country in the grip of a civil war, he left the Bay on Saturday, 15 June 1793, for China, without even presenting his credentials to the ruler of Cochin-China.
2. Please see my paper entitled "Warren Hastings and Chapman's Mission to the Eastern Seas", I. H. R. C. *Progs.*, Vol. XXIX, Part II.
3. Lord Macartney. G. L. Staunton. John Burrow. Captain Francis Simpson. Captain Lawrence Barisy. Fairlie Gilmore & Coy. Abbot and Maitland.
4. The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors wrote to Bengal that "in consequence of preparations going forward in the ports of France and Holland, whilst discussions of an important nature are pending between the Government of this country and that of France, His Majesty has thought fit to adopt precautionary measures for the security of His Dominion. His Majesty has accordingly directed the necessary steps to be taken for augmenting His Naval forces and for calling out the militia of the United Kingdom." N. A. I. Secret Letters from Court, 1802-7, Part I, pp. 151-53.
5. N. A. I. Foreign and Political (Secret) Department, 12 July 1804, No. 207.

ticles may be procured in return that are likely to yield an adequate profit either in the Indian or Europe market." In addition, in view of the fact "that opium is greatly in request in Cochin-China, and that it bears a very high price," they asked him "to ascertain the quantity that may be annually disposed of in that country as a point materially affecting the prosperity of that branch of our revenue in Bengal." He was also advised "to obtain as accurate a knowledge as possible of the State and resources of that Country" and that if the king wished to enter into a "political alliance with the Company, the overture must be received with attention and respect.....at the same time.....cautiously avoiding every thing that may be likely to occasion the smallest jealousy or suspicion on the part of the Chinese Government."

Armed with the Secret Committee's instructions and credentials⁶ David Lance sailed on board the *Coutts* from England and cast anchor off Cape St. James on 9 September 1803. Here he was informed by Captain Robert Allen of the brig *Eleanor* that the king had left Saigon for Hue and "was carrying on war to the North of Touron." The Envoy having been instructed "not to touch or to make such delay at any of theports as shall prevent the ship.....from making her voyage to Canton at the proper season," departed without transacting any business, leaving a written message with the said Captain Allen for the king that he would execute his commission early the following year, and hoping that the king during the interval "will not have entered into any engagements that may prevent the strictest union between your Majesty and the British nation."⁷

David Lance, who took his seat as second member on the Secret Committee of Supra-Cargoes at Canton on 1 October 1803, found himself unable for reasons of health to go as promised.⁸ So he nominated John William Roberts, one of the Supra-Cargoes, to execute the commission in his place. The Secret Committee at Canton elaborated⁹ the instructions already given to Lance by the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors as they thought "it proper to add such advice to their instructions as will tend to promote the object wished to be attained, and which the altered position of affairs may render necessary." According to their instructions, the king was to be offered the assistance of the Company "to prevent his receiving it from our enemies, which and their probable consequent establishment it must be our great object to prevent", but that aid should be such that "under no circumstance whatever, it can be employed against our allies." They also suggested "that

6. N. A. I. Foreign and Political (Secret) Department, 12 July 1804, No. 208.

7. N. A. I. Foreign and Political (Secret) Department, 12 July 1804, No. 209.

8. He left China in January 1804 for England.

9. N. A. I. Foreign and Political (Secret) Department, 12 July 1804, No. 211.

the king might possibly be induced to relinquish the Province of Donai (to the Company) on their paying the present annual amount of its revenues. A proposal to that effect could not be attempted in the early stages of our connexion, and it is much to be doubted, if his policy would permit him to allow such powerful neighbours to establish themselves in so fertile and considerable a province. But it is not improbable that as a proof of his goodwill and desire to form a connexion with us he might be induced to give us an establishment on his coast which would answer every purpose of commercial accommodation and security without being of such extent as to occasion any dread of political aggrandisement. Such we conceive would be the Island of Callao or Campellos situated about twenty miles to the south-west of the harbour of Turon... ..This possession might contribute to extend the sale of opium, should the port of Macao no longer be a depot for that article as may be the case in the event of war with Portugal." The mind of the king was to be prepared to receive a British Envoy "either immediately from England or from the Government of Bengal," and he "was to be encouraged should he manifest a desire to send his Envoy to the Governor General."

The President of the Select Committee at Canton, on 19 November 1803, drew 6,500 dollars from Secret Service funds; and Roberts, provided with introductory letters from the Canton Committee, took passage on the country ship *Ganjava* on 24 November. On the 4th of the following month he anchored in Turon Bay, where he was informed that the king had left Hue and was then in the northern part of his dominions, contemplating the reconquest of Tonquin.

His inquiries while there led him to report¹⁰ thus: "in a country long a prey to intestine commotions and every evil attendant on a usurped and tyrannical government, it cannot be supposed commerce will immediately flourish into recommencement after the severe checks it has for thirty years experienced. The progress must be slow and gradual but from the industry, population, and natural wealth of the country, joined to the known disposition of the king and his subjects to cultivate commercial intercourse with foreigners there is every reason to suppose a commerce with Cochin China will in time become valuable to the Hon'ble Company."

His inquiries further led him to believe that various articles of glass and hardware would be in general demand, and that "as it is probable the North-Eastern part of China might be supplied with such articles of Europe and Indian produce as they require by means of their Junks on more moderate terms than they can receive them after paying the high duties at Canton and the additional

10. N. A. I. Foreign and Political (Secret) Department, 14 June 1804, No. 2.

duties and charges on their carriage to the Northward, an established commerce with the Dominions of the king of Cochin China might become extensive and lucrative, and by this means perhaps cargoes might be obtained for Europe. At present the produce of Cochin China is principally suited to the China or Indian market."

As regards "obtaining the desirable point of farming a depot of opium in any part of the king of Cochin China's dominions", he observed that it "will be attended with some difficulty, and (as it) is an article the importation or use of which is strictly prohibited, admission of its sale to foreigners may therefore at present be questioned."

"Finding it impossible to wait an interview with the king" Roberts considered it useless to remain in Turon Bay. He, therefore, left it on 16 December 1803 and Penang on 17 January 1804, arriving at Kedgerree, a village near the mouth of the Hooghly river, on 30 January and in Calcutta on 1 February, and laid before the Governor General, along with other connected papers, his interesting diary of proceedings during his stay in Cochin China, which runs thus:—

"*December 4th, 1803.* After a passage of six days from Macao Roads during which we experienced uninterrupted serene weather and light winds anchored at 2 O'Clock this day in Turon Bay. Thinking it proper to acquaint His Majesty the King of Cochin China by means of the Mandarin or Governor of the place, as soon as possible with the object of my arrival at this Port, wrote the letter Nos. 1 and 2 intending to send them on shore by a boat from the ship; previous however to that being done, an Officer of Government (who from his Military Guard, and other attendants appeared a person of some rank) came on board to enquire the intention of the ship's arrival with which by means of the Chinese written character I endeavoured to make him acquainted; a person shortly after arrived who spoke a little Portuguese and through him I explained more fully the object of my visit to the Port and was given to understand that information of an Embassy intended to be sent by the Honble Company had been sometime received.

In answer to enquiries respecting the present residence of the King I had the mortification to learn that he was in Tonquin, and the period of his return to the southward very uncertain, but not likely to be soon; little information could be obtained respecting the distance of the King from this place, or the length of time in which a letter might reach him, indeed these men appeared entirely ignorant of his movements.

From the Interpreter I learnt that the person on Board was the principal Mandarin of Turon but that the chief officer of Government in this district resided at Fai Foo, a city about half a day's journey to the

Southward, and under whose orders he acted; as it appeared necessary to make known my arrival and procure a meeting with some of the Superior Mandarins with as little delay as possible, he was requested to forward the letter I had addressed His Majesty and to send that for the Governor of Turon to the Superior Officer at Fai Foo, the latter he readily promised to send but the other he appeared unwilling to take charge of without the sanction of his superiors, but said he should immediately send to the Capital notice of my arrival and that it would be directly forwarded from thence to wherever the King might be; as that would answer though not perhaps in so regular a manner, every purpose for which the letter was intended, the delivery of it was not for the present pressed upon him, that intended for the Governor of the district with an explanation in Chinese was delivered to him and he shortly after took his leave.

December 5th. Early in the morning one of the boats returning from the shore, was spoken to in English by a man from a country vessel just anchored in the Bay, the boat was sent with a request to the person to come on board, which he immediately did and I found him to be a Frenchman, who had been many years in India in different employs, that he had been frequently in Cochin China and had three voyages taken charge of junks navigating to Macao, his last residence in this country, had been about seven months and that he was now on his passage to Cape St. James or the principal town on Saigon river, in the hope of finding employment in the junks, or a passage to China, or India to seek his fortune in some other line.

I learnt from this person, that intelligence of the intended Embassy had been received by means of the letter Mr. Lance wrote in the month of September by the *Eleanore* Brig, which had been delivered by Captain Allan, and had, he understood, afforded the King much satisfaction; he also informed me that the King was, he believed, at present at Veng a town situated a short distance from the coast of Tonquin in Latt. 18.30, that he had proceeded to Tonquin with an army of 30,000 men part of which, after having given permission for the return to their families, he had lately again assembled and with three or four hundred War Elephants, ordered to join him to keep in check his Tonquinese subjects and to repel the attacks of the Pirates, who appear as formidable here as on the coast of China, that he believed the object of his expedition to the Northward was nearly accomplished and that when he heard of my arrival as he was confident he would wish to give me a meeting, he might probably be induced to hasten his return to his Capital but that the movements of His Majesty were very uncertain and although he was but a very few days since at Veng it was impossible to say in what place he might at present be as he seldom remained long stationary,—in reply

to inquiries respecting the time in which I could proceed to the residence of the King, he said that by water he had gone the distance in four days, but that at this season, the Country boat would be afraid of going to the northward, and that the distance by land was very much increased in consequence of the mountains which lay between this and Tonquin over which it is impossible to pass, he did not know the length of time it would require to go by land, but that it would be very tedious.

About 10 O'Clock the Mandarin who had visited the ship the preceding evening and who from the Frenchman I understood, was the principal Officer of Government resident of Turon, a person of little rank, and that the situation he held nearly corresponded to that of Beach Master with us, came on board, bringing with him a trifling present of fish and fruit; he assured me that he had despatched the letter and information of my arrival as he had promised, and now offered to forward the letter for the King, which was with a translation in French enclosed, delivered to him, and after a short stay he returned on shore having said that the Mandarin of Fai Foo would arrive in the course of the evening or early the next morning.

From the information this day received it appeared that unless His Majesty made a movement to the southward, there was little probability of my being able to obtain an interview, in such time as would enable me to communicate my proceedings to the Honorable Court, which I considered as so desirable an object that every effort should be made for its attainment; as offering the most probable means for its accomplishment I determined to write to the French Missionaries, requesting them to use what influence they might possess, to induce His Majesty to move towards Hue or if that was impossible, to acquaint me in what time I might hope for an interview with the King, situated where he then was, and to deliver the letter to be forwarded by the Mandarin of Fai Foo when he should arrive.

From the consideration, that a person conversant with the customs of the country and having a native lad with him who understanding the Portuguese Language, might be employed as an interpreter, would on many occasions render very important service I determined to request the Frenchman now on board to remain with me, promising to reward him for his detention and for any assistance he might have it in his power to render, which offer he accepted; and sent on board the vessel in which he was a passenger, for the few articles he had with him.

December 6th. Wishing to avoid delay as much as possible, and at the same time having very strong letters of introduction to the Bishop of Vuen, and Messrs. Scott and Gerard with several other packets addressed to the Bishop from the Reverend J. B. Marchine at Macao, which

I did not think proper to forward by an uncertain conveyance—I thought the most secure and speedy mode of sending them, would be to give them in charge to Monsr. Rock the person whom I yesterday engaged to remain with me, and who promised to deliver them on my procuring permission and boats from the Mandarine in the most expeditious Manner; in consequence sent on shore to the Mandarine requesting him to come on board, which he immediately did, accompanied by a boat with rice, fowls &c as a present from the Mandarine of Fai Foo whose arrival he announced.

On being told I wished to send letters to the French Missionaries and to forward them by the Frenchman now on board, who would be able more fully to explain our wishes, he said that the person in question was travelling to the southward, with permission from the principal officers of Government, and under those circumstances he did not think sanction could be granted for his return to the northward; that as his superior officer was now here, he himself could not grant permission but would make my wishes known to the Mandarin now arrived, who would he was confident immediately send any packets to the French priests, but did not think he would approve their being forwarded by Mr. Rock; he gave as a reason for the Mandarine from Fai Foo not coming on board his being much fatigued by his journey and rather unwell but that he would pay his respects in the evening, and soon after quitted the ship having been previously presented with a few trifles in return for his present of yesterday.

The evening proving very wet bad weather he returned to appologise [*sic*] for the Mandarine being in consequence of the rain prevented leaving the shore, but that he would if the weather allowed him visit me the next morning.

It became necessary previous to seeing this Mandarine that I might take such steps as would give facility to the plan I should adopt, to come to a determination either of waiting any length of time for an interview with the King and sending the ship to Calcutta, or to proceed myself thither if it was impossible to obtain that desirable object in such time as would enable me to forward accounts of my proceedings to the Honorable Court, and return after seeing the Most Noble Governor General early in the ensuing season.

After giving every consideration to the subject, it appears, that whatever may be the event of the Mission on which I have the honor to be deputed unless it can be ascertained in such time as to enable me to communicate my proceedings to the Honorable Court by the ships of the present season, it is very immaterial whether it is concluded in the month of February or June.

The instructions of the Governor General under any circumstances must be attended with the most beneficial consequences and in the event of the supply of arms or military aid being required, become absolutely necessary before any agreement can be entered into, and from the unsettled state in which the King appears, that those points will form a very principal part of the negotiation is extremely probable, to possess myself therefore of the sentiments of the Most Noble the Governor General and that as early as possible, I conceive of material consequence.

From every information I had been able to procure there did not appear any hope of obtaining an interview with His Majesty in such time, as could afford a chance of attaining the first of these objects or even in a time to which the ship could be detained with any prospect of completing her voyage to Bengal and return to Bombay in the regular season and in consequence, her detention must expose the Honorable Company to a very heavy expence and for which no object could be gained that would in any way compensate.

In a country where show and appearance are much regarded, to remain singly I could not but consider might be highly injurious to the views of the Honorable Company, and having quitted Canton without any expectation of remaining, and perfectly unprepared with servants or equipage to remain in a manner suitable to the situation I have the honor to hold, these considerations, as there appeared no material object to be gained, induced me to decide on using every means to obtain an interview with the King in such time as would enable me to forward the event of my Mission to the Honorable Court by the ships of the present season and should that be found impracticable to proceed to Calcutta.

This determination confirmed the necessity of sending the letter to the French Priests, but unwilling to appear to suspect the Mandarin of not punctually and expeditiously delivering the letter entrusted to them which certainly I had not the smallest reason to doubt, the request of forwarding the letters by Mr. Rock was relinquished but as I did not think proper to risk the letters I had, falling into other hands than those to whom they are addressed; I determined not to send them by this conveyance. According [*sic*] wrote the letter No. 3.

December 7th. At 10 O'Clock the person who first visited us came on board attended as he always was by the Interpreter, to acquaint me that the other Mandarin intended paying the promised visit and shortly after he came alongside, attended by three other boats with his guard the greater part of whom were uniformly dressed in black close jackets reaching below their Middle, lined with yellow and cuffs and collar of scarlet serge, some had more red about the collar and a broad facing of the same trimmed with a yellow lace, some had also jackets entirely of

scarlet serge, they were variously, armed with swords, spears, muskets, and matchlocks, and upon the whole made a handsome, tho' not very regular, appearance; this Mandarin appeared about 40 years of age, of a mild and placid at the same time intelligent countenance; he assured me that information of our arrival had immediately been sent to Court by the most expeditious means, and was of opinion that on the receipt of the information, some man of rank would be sent to Turon; it was explained to him that the business I had in charge was of great importance, to the King his Master as well as to the Honorable Company; that circumstances rendered it impossible for me at present to make a long stay in this Country and that if an interview could not at an early period be obtained with the King I requested some Mandarin in his confidence might be ordered to meet me at this place, with as little delay as possible, which request he was desirous to communicate to the Governor or the General Council that governed at the Capital in the absence of the King which he promised to do but appeared to think my writing to the Governor of Hue would strengthen the requisition. The letter No. 4 was therefore written; I then requested him to forward the letter to the French Priests which he readily complied with, and after some further conversation not materially interesting he took his departure, having invited myself and the several gentlemen on board to visit him on shore the next day, which invitation we accepted.

December 8th. The day being very windy with much rain, we were unable to go on shore, but as soon as it a little moderated sent the boat to say we were prevented by the weather paying the promised visit, but that we would if possible the following day and took this opportunity of making him a small present in return for that which I had received.

December 9th. The morning proving tolerably fair, went on shore and were received by the person who had first visited us and conducted by him to his house, where the other Mandarin was, the troops about 40 in number were drawn up on each side of the path from the railing that bounded his premises to the entrance of his house, and to some distance on either side of the fence without, armed and accoutred much as those that came on board. As I conceived every means had been taken to obtain if possible an interview with His Majesty and such steps taken in the event of that not taking place as would tend to promote the views of the Honourable Court, our conversation was confined to subjects unnecessary to mention. After sitting a short time we expressed our wish to walk thro' the Town which we accordingly did.

With the exception of a few places of worship the houses are constructed with wood thatched and the sides covered with strong bamboo mats plastered with mud, the habitations of the better kind appeared to consist of several huts of this sort enclosed by a strong railing of bam-

boo; in the space not occupied by the buildings; Plantains, sweet Potatoes; and other vegetables were grown, the potatoe seemed every where the principal root cultivated for food; in some of these enclosures were plantations of beetle-nut; the houses extended to considerable distance on either side of the river but did not appear to extend far from the banks; the Bazar or market place was spacious but at the time we were there, it was impossible to say in what manner it is supplied, the market being held early in the morning's and evening's; Beetle Nut, Vegetables, and poultry however I believe are in abundance and at prices tolerably reasonable; the place has not the appearance of affording, more than the necessaries of life but although there is not any marks of wealth every rank appeared to enjoy comfort nor was want in any instance perceptible. The people are as far as we could judge extremely industrious; the soil is light and sandy in some part so much so scarcely I imagine to repay the labour of cultivation. After a short walk we returned to the Mandarin who soon after we were seated apologized for his want of ability to entertain us as he wished at this place in which as it was not his residence he was unprovided with servants and every other requisite, but that if we would favor him with a visit at Fai Foo he should have it in his power to return our civilities; as I thought this would enable me to see something of the state of the country and also what was considered the principal town in this district I accepted the invitation and having requested he would dine on board the *Ganjava* on any day convenient to himself it was proposed he should dine with us the next day and that the day following we should proceed to Fai Foo to all which he assented and we shortly after returned on board.

December 10th. About 11 O'Clock the Mandarin according to his promise came on board and seemed much pleased with viewing the different parts of the ship, as well as with his entertainment throughout the day.

December 11th. Early in the morning we quitted the ship and proceeded to the house of the Mandarin of Turon where we found boats prepared for our expedition, the one destined for our accommodation appeared small and on enquiring if more commodious vessels could not be procured we were informed that larger boats from the shallowness of the water could not pass some parts of the river. With these, therefore and the ship's pinnace we proceeded a quarter before nine O'Clock and at five in the evening arrived at the place of our destination distant about 26 miles from Turon. The river runs nearly the whole of the way parallel with the Coast villages and detached houses are everywhere scattered along the banks which bear strong marks of considerable population and great industry. A short distance below Turon are a great number of huts and sheds in which salt is collected and from the extent of the buildings

I should conceive in large quantities. The soil wherever we receded from the sea became more rich but still light and sandy; rice appeared planted on every spot where it could be cultivated and on the more dry places the sweet potatoes continued the general produce of the country, which as we approached the town became flat and swampy.

The Town of Fai Foo is a place of considerable extent, the houses in the principal street are constructed with brick and covered with tiles in a strong and substantial manner. On landing we were received by a guard of about 24 men armed with long spears who attended us to the residence of the Superior Mandarin distant from the landing place rather more than a quarter of a mile. This Officer of Government who received us at the entrance of his house appeared a man about 60 years of age, of a mild and pleasant countenance and manner; we were conducted to a large Hall in the front of his residence, and the usual refreshments of beetle nut, with tea and sweetmeats set before us; in a short time the Mandarin who [sic] we had seen at Turon and the two other Members of the Council at this place arrived. From these men I received the same uncertain accounts of the movements and residence of the King as I had before heard. They informed me that advices had been received from Hue stating that a Mandarin of rank was ordered to Turon and that he would most probably arrive there on the following day. At this intelligence, I felt and expressed much satisfaction.

In about an hour after our arrival a very plentiful meal dressed partly in imitation of the European mode, was set before us, during and after which having nothing material to communicate the conversation took a general turn. In reply to our wishes for the establishment of a commerce between the Honourable Company and their Sovereign which would be mutually advantageous, they informed us that the country had suffered very materially from the tyranny and oppression of its former plenty when commerce might again flourish and which from the industry every where apparent in the people, we could not doubt would be the case. After some little time we expressed our intention of returning the next morning to Turon, in the hope of meeting the Mandarin of whose expected arrival they had acquainted us, and then took leave for the night, when we were conducted to the house destined for our accommodation.

December 12th. After a short walk through part of the town and suburbs, we returned to the house of the principal Mandarin, and after partaking of breakfast took leave and proceeded on our return considering it necessary to return to the ship in consequence of the expected arrival of the Mandarin deputed by the Governor of Hue; we were prevented seeing so much of this part of the Country as we wished, my observation therefore must be very confined; the Country every where around appears

in the highest possible state of cultivation, and the city bears marks of having been a place of much importance. the principal street is wide and paved with large flat stones; it is defended by a Fort of considerable extent but of rude construction, formidable however to any Native enemies.

The city covers a very extensive space but except the street already mentioned and some very small ones adjoining the houses are much scattered it perhaps does not contain so many inhabitants as the first appearance would justify supposing.

We understood an extensive trade was formerly carried on at this place chiefly with China, the Junks and smaller vessels from whence came there annually, bringing Tea, China ware, and silks with several smaller articles, and carrying away in return principally Beetle Nut, Pepper and Cotton; that Commerce has however been for many years destroyed, as during the Government of the Tay Tsongs the Pirates who infest the Gulph of Tonquin and the Coast of China, received protection in the ports of their Empire, the Chinese vessels therefore that had the good fortune to escape these lawless plunderers at sea became a prey to them in the harbours of Cochin China and in every instance were plundered and their crew massacred.

December 13th. Bad weather prevented all Communication with the Shore.

December 14th. Early in the morning a boat arrived from the Shore bringing the compliments of the Mandarins from Hue who had arrived the preceding evening, and saying the badness of the weather prevented their visiting me, the one I learnt was a French Officer in the service of the King of Cochin China, and the other a native of this Country not of great rank. A Boat was immediately sent on shore with a return of Compliments and expressing my wish to see them whenever it might be convenient. By the return of the Boat I received the following letter (No. 5) addressed to David Lance Esquire delivered to the officer by the French Gentleman from which I was concerned to find that some of the French were inimical to the views of the Hon'ble Company. It served to strengthen the resolution I had taken of acting towards any with whom I might have communication with the greatest caution until I had opportunities of ascertaining their character and disposition.

About two O'Clock Monsieur Vanier with the other Mandarin (who we found spoke very good Portuguese and had in the early part of his life visited Bengal) came on board.

They stated that the letters to the King and Governor of Hue had been received, and that in consequence they had been sent down by the

General Council to conduct us to what place we chose, and to afford us every accommodation during our stay at Turon, with the supply of every Article the Ship might require, was very politely offered by the Cochin Chinese Mandarin, who is known to Europeans by the name of Sr. Juan Baptiste and who appeared an active intelligent man.

By these Gentlemen I was informed that the King was at present in Tonquin, by the last accounts he had removed a short distance from Ving, but that his present situation was very uncertain as he was making the Tour of that part of his dominions, repairing and constructing such fortifications as he considered necessary for the defence and security of his Country and that before his return he expected an embassy from the Emperor of China, that from these circumstances they did not think I could expect an interview in less than two or three months.

On a further consideration of the subject seeing no reason to alter the resolution I had taken, this Information (which I could not doubt was correct) determined me to inform these Gentlemen that if it was impossible to see the King sooner than the time now mentioned it was my intention to proceed to Bengal, and return to the dominions of His Majesty early in the month of June or as soon as the season would permit. They affirmed that an interview with the King could not be expected in a shorter space of time, and that they thought by the period mentioned for my return I might rely upon finding His Majesty at his Capital unless in the event of his being engaged in war with China, which was considered by them probable, as the King had claimed the Island of Hainan and some places bordering on Tonquin which it was asserted though now annexed to the Chinese dominions had formed part of Tonquin, and his right in virtue of his conquest of that Kingdom; these claims they assured us His Majesty would not be induced to relinquish, that his ambition was without bounds and that at the head of a victorious army whose discipline and valor he considered far superior to that of any neighbouring Prince, he felt no doubt of the issue of a contest with the Emperor of China. Notwithstanding these high ideas which he may perhaps with justice have formed, he will I conceive have some hesitation in engaging in a contest with a power in number so much his superior and particularly when his authority at home cannot be established on a very firm basis.

As it appeared these officers were sent to Turon as well for the purpose of affording such assistance as we might require as to ascertain the object of my Mission with which Monsieur Vanier seemed very desirous to be made acquainted, he was therefore informed that it was the wish of the Hon'ble Company to form such Commercial connexions with His Majesty of Cochin China, as might tend to the advantage of both parties, and in every possible manner strengthen the friendship subsisting between

them which I also said should be explained to His Excellency the Governor of Hue by letter. He seemed of opinion that if our purpose was merely commercial every agreement we could desire, would be entered into by the King but that as he was now in full possession of his dominion he did not require any foreign aid, nor would he be disposed to grant the Company any tract of Land, or Island. I repeated what had before been said and with assurances that nothing further was required but what would afford mutual advantage, and security to the proposed commerce. Unacquainted with the Character or Sentiments towards our Nation of the person who made these observations, it is impossible to say what degree of reliance may be placed on them; it may be proper to observe that on every occasion he seemed to wish to impress me with the powers and resources of the King, in whose service he was.

Having come to the determination of quitting this Port without waiting for an interview with His Majesty it remained for consideration the propriety of leaving the presents with the delivery of which I was charged or of carrying them to Malacca. By leaving them, much of their effect would be lost, and as perhaps it would be thought improper to return without something of the kind, it would be exposing the Honourable Company to additional expence; the object to be gained by leaving them was preventing their exposure to loss by capture which I considered so considerable a risk that I determined to make the offer of presenting them by the means of Mons. Vanier if he was authorized and disposed to receive them; it was accordingly proposed to him but on his observing that perhaps the King would wish to be made acquainted with the object of the Mission prior to his receiving any thing of that nature the intention was immediately relinquished.

Every material point being arranged it is unnecessary to note the remainder of the conversation during which we endeavored without success to procure commercial information from our guests, and in the evening they took their leave.

Finding it impossible to wait an interview with the King all further detention to the Ship I considered unnecessary. It would be satisfactory if possible to receive an answer to the letter I had written to the French Missionaries on the 7th. But as the impossibility of seeing the King within the time I had deemed it expedient to remain for that purpose was ascertained and an opportunity offered of forwarding the letter I had for them, I did not conceive it of sufficient importance to justify any considerable delay; as accounts were received of the letter to them having reached Hue near to which place they were supposed to be, it was concluded that if they had any favourable accounts to send me, or had not removed to a greater distance I should hear from them on the following

day or the next morning, I determined therefore to arrange what business I had to do in that time, and then proceed to Bengal, in consequence wrote the letter No. 6 to His Majesty Ya Laun, the title we understood His Majesty of Cochin China had adopted, or that had been conferred upon him by the Emperor of China.

The Frenchman who had joined me the day after my arrival being disposed to quit Cochin China, and as I thought an intelligent person well-acquainted with the customs of the Country, might be useful to me on my return, I resolved to make him an offer of 50 Dollars per month if he was disposed to remain with me, or to proceed as far as Malacca there to wait my return, and in the event of his remaining there, I could agree to make him an additional allowance for his living to be determined on our arrival there, when the necessary expences could be ascertained to which offer he agreed.

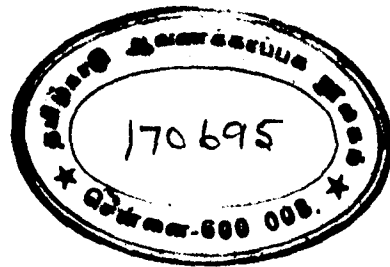
December 15th. Wrote to the Governor of Hue Foo, and the Bishop of Veren the Letters No. 7 and 8 and finding it impossible to deliver them this day and return on board in convenient time, sent a note to Mons. Vanier acquainting him with our being unable to visit him, but that I would come on shore the next morning early.

December 16th In the morning went on shore with the several letters with translations in French enclosed, and also the Packet for the Missionaries the which I delivered to Mons. Vanier; of the Letters to the King and Governor of Hue I shewed him copies of the translation with which he appeared pleased and observed the views of the Honourable Company, as now stated were very different from what had been understood and much to my astonishment found from the representation that had by some means been made His Majesty was led to suppose the principal object of the Company to be the obtaining a settlement on his Coast. I again repeated the conversation of yesterday and was happy in this opportunity of explaining away a supposition that might be injurious to the real object of the Mission when represented in the manner it doubtless would be by those inimical to the English Nation, and without the reason for wishing a settlement being understood.

After some further conversation during which I shewed them patterns of the different Woollen Manufactures which they agreed would be approved, but would not give any information respecting their probable value or the quantity that might be imported and having made a present of a few Dollars to the different persons that had been employed and serviceable we returned to the Ship and at two O'Clock got under weigh.

Although being obliged to quit this Country without obtaining the objects of my Mission must be to me a subject of deep regret, I consider

it less unfortunate as should it meet the approbation of the Most Noble the Governor General, I shall return with the advantage of his instructions which must greatly facilitate and I trust secure the attainment of the views of the Honourable Company."¹¹



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11. N.A.I. Foreign and Political (Secret) Department, 14 June 1804, No. 3.