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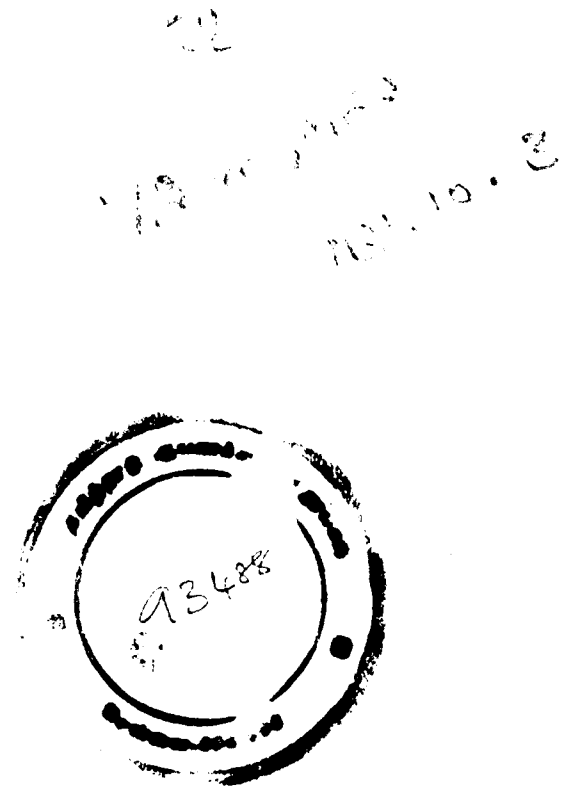
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Editorial

The Editor regrets to have to apologise for another delay. This is due to proof sent to the Punjab having miscarried in post and caused a fortnight's unnecessary waiting and ultimate disappointment, in that the proof did not reach the author, and apparently miscarried in post. The number is therefore issued without the instalment of the article on Shah Jahan from Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law which was to have formed part of it. This will of course, be issued with the next number.

The difficulties of the times make the financial responsibility of the journal heavy, and subscribers are requested to extent their good offices to support the journal by sending it not only their subscriptions in time, but also gaining further subscription from new subscribers. It is particularly requested that the subscribers intimate changes of address, and give early intimation if their names should not be continued among the subscribers. Neglect of this particular often leads to unnecessary loss in these difficult times. The Editor requests this particular good office from subscribers as a matter of favour.

Journal of Indian History

Pieter Van Den Broeke at Surat (1620-29)

BY

W. H. MORELAND, C. S. I., C. I. E.,

Writing in this *Journal* (May, 1923) on the Dutch sources for the history of India in the seventeenth century, I mentioned that the published *Voyages* of Pieter van den Broeke (or Broecke) told us very little of his nine years' residence in Surat, and conjectured that his diary might have been greatly curtailed in printing. At that time I did not know that a manuscript of his diary was in the library of the University of Leiden, where it is numbered BPL 952. I have recently obtained photostats of this MS, from 1620 to the end, through the kindness of the Curator, Professor-Doctor H. P. Blok, who has authorised me to publish a translation of such portions as may be of interest to students in India.

My conjecture proves to have been well-founded, for the manuscript record is something like ten times as long as the printed version, but it is a less important document than I had hoped. As a diarist, van den Broeke was unsatisfactory. He wrote very irregularly; he left some incidents half-told, and began others in the middle; sometimes he would record trivial matters at length, at others he would omit all mention of occurrences of real importance; and his diary must be taken for what it is, the hurried jottings of a busy man, certainly not written for publication, though extracts from it were to be published later on, but recording whatever happened to have struck him, and remained in his memory. A verbal translation of the whole would be tedious to readers, and in the account which follows I have attempted to follow the general lines adopted by Sir William Foster in *The English Factories in India*, mentioning every fact and every name, which is recorded in the diary, but translating only those entries which appear to deserve it as throwing a definite light on the economic or social life of the period, or on the individuality of the writer. The portions translated are marked by inverted commas, while square brackets are used for interpolations.

A few words may be said about the writer of the diary. Pieter van den Broeke, who was born in Antwerp on 25th February, 1585, is one of the outstanding figures in the early history of the Dutch East India Company, which he served from the year 1613

onwards. His first experience of India was in 1617, when he was sent to establish a factory at Surat. His ship was wrecked at the entrance to the Gulf of Cambay, but the crew and goods were saved, and the factory was duly constituted and placed in charge of two factors, one of whom was P. G. van Ravesteijn. Van den Broeke himself marched to Masulipatam in order to return to Java, where he played a prominent part in the operations which resulted in the establishment of the Dutch capital of Batavia.

The Surat factory continued to operate during the next three years, but it was hampered by want of capital and other causes; and the commercial success of the Dutch on this side of India dates from 1620, when van den Broeke himself was posted to Surat, not as a mere factor, but as 'Commander and Director', with the charge of the Company's interests in Arabia and Persia, as well as in the north and west of India. Supplies of capital were at the same time increased largely, and the Dutch had obtained a predominant position in the trade of the Arabian Sea by the year 1629, when, after two extensions of his appointment at Surat, and sixteen years' service in the East, van den Broeke started for Batavia on his way to Holland. After some years at home during which he brought out the record of his voyages (printed at Amsterdam and Haarlem in 1634), he returned to the East, and died at Malacca, during the siege in December, 1640, at the age of 55.

In preparing this account of his diary I have felt some difficulty in deciding the question of annotation. The text is so discursive and allusive that to explain everything at length is practically out of the question, while the bulk of the notes would be mere reproductions from the *English Factories in India*, a series which must be available in every decent library used by Indian students. It has seemed best on the whole merely to give references to this series, and to other works which are within the reach of students, while the notes are confined to explaining matters which cannot be elucidated in this way. The best method of approaching the diary is to read the Introductions to the first three volumes of *English Factories*, (cited below as E. F.), which give a connected account of what happened at Surat during this period¹; while the following general notes will make the diary more intelligible.

The affairs of the Dutch Company in the East were managed by the Governor-General in Council at Batavia. Members of the

1. When the word *passim* is used in these references, readers should consult the Index of the volumes cited.

Council or others sent to inspect outlying factories were usually styled 'Commissary'. The factories were grouped in regions under 'Directors' or 'Commanders', but the latter designation was also applied to the chief officer of a fleet or single ship. A factory was usually in charge of a 'senior factor', with a staff of 'factors', 'junior factors', and 'assistants'; sometimes 'boys' are mentioned, and the designation is accurate, for the diary records the death of a 'boy' of 15, but I have not found evidence to show precisely how they were employed. Merchant vessels were ordinarily 'commanded' by a factor or higher officer, while the 'master' was in charge of the navigation.

'Ships' means sea-going merchant vessels, ranging at this period from about 300 to 1000 tons; they were of course armed, and on occasion were employed for fighting, but their ordinary business was transport. 'Pinnace' means a sea-going vessel, smaller and lighter than a 'ship': 'carrack' denotes the large ships employed by the Portuguese in their trade with Europe. 'Galleons' were the large warships used by the Portuguese, which could be rowed as well as sailed. 'Frigates' or 'foists' were quite small vessels, ranging about 50 tons, which also could be rowed as well as sailed, and were used mainly in the coasting-trade; occasionally, however, they were sent on sea voyages, and they could be equipped for fighting—the Portuguese in particular using them for offence, either in separate flotillas or as adjuncts to the galleons.

Indian shipping was varied. There were great ships of over 1,000 tons for the pilgrim-traffic to the Red Sea; these were usually named, I believe, though I am not sure, that names were practically confined to this class. 'King's ship' meant a ship for the Red Sea or elsewhere sent out by the Mogul Emperor; 'Prince's ship' meant a similar venture of Prince Khurram or Shāh Jahān; but 'Prince's flag' meant the flag of the Prince of Orange, which was carried by the ships of the Dutch Company. Ordinary ships of 200 or up to about 300 tons, plied from Gujarāt to other parts, while along the coast frigates or foists were used, together with a variety of smaller craft, 'sampans' 'prows' 'tonys', etc., etc. The expression 'Moor', i.e., Moslem ships was in common use to denote Indian, as distinct from European, shipping, the chief Indian owners at Surat being Moslems.

The primary objects of the Dutch factory at Surat were to buy (1) the various types of cotton goods saleable in Java and beyond, (2) indigo and plain calico for the European market. To finance this trade, they imported whatever could be sold, chiefly spices, which, as readers of the *Ain-i-Akbari* know, were used very largely in the kitchens of the Moslems in the North; but

most of their funds had to be imported in the form of silver coins, which were taken to the mints at Surat and Ahmadābād, to be recoined as rupees. The coins imported were chiefly the Spanish reals-of-eight, worth about two rupees. The Dutch kept their accounts in guilders (of twenty stivers), and reckoned the guilder as 5/6 rupee. The Dutch unit of weight was the Holland pound, equal to 1.09 lb. avoirdupois. The local unit was the Gujarāt maund of about 33lb, 20 of which made a *bahār* or candy.

Ships of large size could be brought up the Tapti to the town of Surat, but there was a dangerous bar at the mouth of the river which could be crossed only under certain conditions of weather and tide, and the Dutch ordinarily used the anchorage called 'Swally hole', which the English had developed, near the river-mouth; goods could be taken thence to Surat by water, but this was often dangerous owing to the presence of hostile Portuguese frigates, or the pirate-craft from the Malabar Coast, and as a rule the road between Surat and Swally was used for transport.

In comparing the diary with the English records, it is important to bear in mind that the dates in the former are new style, and consequently 10 days ahead of the old-style dates given in the latter. I have shown every date given in the diary, so that readers will have no difficulty in recognising its incompleteness as a record of occurrences; I hope they will also be able to recognise the informality of the style in the translated portions, which are meant to be absolutely literal. The language is colloquial throughout, and obsolete colloquialisms present many pitfalls to the translator; in cases of doubt regarding the exact meaning I have received most generous help from Professor P. Geyl, Litt. D., of the University of London, but the responsibility for the accuracy of the version is mine, not his. Some few passages are so obscure as to be practically untranslatable; in these cases I have indicated merely the general sense.

THE DIARY

Van den Broeke sailed from Java for Surat on the *Wapen van [Arms of] Zeeland*, which, after calling at Aden and Socotra, sighted the Indian coast near Damān on 28th September, 1620. On 1st October, while coasting northwards, two *sampans* were met, one of which was engaged to conduct the ship's boat, carrying the factor Johan van der Dussen, to give news to Surat of their arrival. During the night the tide fell and the ship went

aground, but was refloated without injury on the rising tide. On 3rd, the boat returned, bringing the outgoing President, Pieter Gielisz. van Ravensteyn; and on the 4th, van den Broeke landed and assumed charge as 'Commander and Director'.

On 20th November, the *Wapen van Zeeland* was despatched for Batavia. The same evening, two English ships, *London* and *Roebuck*, under Captain Andrew Shilling, anchored in the roadstead; two other ships, *Hart* and *Eagle*, had gone to Persia. The late arrival of the English caused general surprise, but they gave out that they had gone too far south, and had first seen land off Dabhol.

On 6th December senior factors Wouter Heuten and Sebolt Wonderar, with junior factor Francisco Pelsert, assistant Daniel van der Bruggen, boy Marcus Elderssen, and also a barber named Marten, arrived overland from Masulipatam, where they had been sent by the Governor-General on the ship *New Zeeland*. On 10th a junior factor (not named) was promoted to be factor, and sent to take charge of the factory which had been established at Cambay for the purchase of cotton goods. The rest of the month was spent in getting cotton goods ready for Java.

1621.

January. "On 4th, I went to Broach to see if I could get any reduction in the toll on the spices which it had been decided to send to Agra with the senior factor Wouter Heuten, seeing that they could go by another,¹ though not a shorter, road. When I arrived, the Nawab Himmāt Khān² had gone to Sarod; wherefore decided to go to him there, where arrived on 5th, just as the fort was taken. The Governor gave me a most friendly welcome. On 6th, I went with the Governor's brother to look at the fort, which was already dismantled. This fort belonged to a blackguard of a Rājput, who had wrought great oppression on travelling merchants, who had to cross the Cambay river just at that spot; now he was a prisoner. After I had received some courtesies from the Governor, I took a friendly leave of him. He gave me a fine Rājput horse; and on the same day I returned in the company of his brother, with sixty horse, to Broach, where I arrived on the morning of the 8th'. On 9th, left Broach after having put the factory in good order. On 20th, I sent senior factor

1. i.e., up the Tapti valley to Burhānpur.

2. Governor of Broach: see *EF. i. passim*. Sarod lies on the south bank of the Mahi, on what was then the road from Broach to Cambay.

Wouter Heuten to be head of the factory now established at Agra, with a caravan laden with cloves, nutmegs, mace, benzoin, and other goods; I gave him Junior factor Francisco Pelsert³ with these assistants—Willem Jacopssen, Gerret Verdelft, Daniel van der Bruggen, Cornelis Arentssen, barber Marten Ordtmans, with a boatman, and two boys, Marcus Elderssen and Jan Pepper.

February. 'On 7th, our frigate the *Good Fortune* came from Gandivi⁴ to lie off Surat, to the disgust of the English, because they had never been able to arrange to buy any vessels from the native, and now we were the first. On 10th, arrived in the roadstead from Ormuz the four English ships which had had a smart fight⁵ with four Portuguese galleons, of which Ruy Freire was captain. The English captain Andrew Shilling, was killed. They brought as they said, but one could place no reliance on them, 500 bales of silk from Persia; each bale weighs about 180 Holland pounds'. On 14th, there was much excitement in Surat over a case of Sapphic passion. On 27th, Jan Symonssen Storm of Rotterdam, who came out on the *Golden Lion*, arrived with the Pole⁶ from Māndū, after two months' leave. 'I had pardoned the blackguard for having deserted to the enemy from Fort Pulicat. On 29th, towards evening, Jan Symonssen Storm fell overboard and was drowned when he was returning, drunk, from the *Good Fortune*. The body came to the surface next day, and I had it properly buried'.

March. 'On 16th, after lying for a long time off the custom-house flying the Prince's flag, to the disgust of the English and of some Moslems, the frigate *Good Fortune* was sent to Swally to sail with the English ships to Batavia. This is the first frigate that Hollander or Englishman has ever sent from here. On 22nd, I went to Swally to despatch the *Good Fortune*. The English invited me to a meal on their ships. I went on board the *London*, on which Robbert Bly [Richard Blyth] was now captain in place of Andrew Shilling, killed off Ormuz; the others were *Hart*, *Roe-buck* and *Eagle*. According to their custom, they showed me great seeming friendship. The same day the English arrested the two Gujarāt ships⁷ which were ready to sail in the name of

3. Pelsaert subsequently wrote a report of his experiences, a translation of which, by Professor Geyl and myself, was published as *Jahangir's India*, Cambridge, 1925.

4. On the coast, midway between Surat and Damān.

5. See EF. i. 220, etc.

6. Probably John Baptista, an independent merchant (EF. i. 291, 314).

7. An account of these reprisals will be found in the Introduction to EF. i.

the Prince [Khurram], one for Mocha and the other for Jidda; this caused great amazement among the Moslem merchants of the town. On 25th, received news that the English caravan, though it had a *kaul* or pass, had been robbed and plundered⁸ by Mansūr Khān, a Portuguese renegade, commander of 5,000 horse in the army of Malik Ambar, the Deccan King [sic]. Coming from Agra this caravan, of 356 camels with 300 bales of Biāna indigo and 410 packs of valuable cotton goods from Bengal, had for a long time accompanied our caravan, which I would not allow to come here in such a dangerous war because I had no ships here to carry the goods which was lucky for us: otherwise we should have risked our caravan also, which the English before they started were very anxious should come along with them, but God Almighty then preserved us. On 30th, the chief men of the town requested me to go on board the English ships on their behalf, and speak for them as best I could. I went in the evening, but, before I got on board, the English, fortunately for me, had already released the ship [s]. The said ships sailed the same evening; in the one which was for Mocha I sent Johan van der Dussen to the senior factor Harman van Gil in Mocha.'

April. On 17th, the frigate *Good Fortune* sailed for Batavia in company with the English *Eagle*. The three other English ships sailed for Mocha, to winter in the Red Sea, because it was too late in the season for the voyage home; 'but I am convinced it was more for their private trade than for other reasons.' They also put forward the pretext of hoping to capture the ships of Chaul.⁹ On 18th, Sultān Kurram's ship arrived from Achin after a voyage of two months and 17 days, bringing 300 *bahārs* of pepper, with money and other goods of less importance; the ship brought one of the King of Achin's officers with 150,000 reals-of-eight to be invested in gold for him.

May. On 5th, senior factor Adrian Willemsen Gøeree, with the assistants Adam Classen and Marten Fredricksx, arrived from Māndū, having without orders left the caravan there in charge of two 'Japponders'.¹⁰ On 12th, the Prince's ship mentioned above sailed for Achin with a valuable cargo of Gujarāt cotton

8. See EF. i. 315 ff. The description of Malik Ambar as King is an obvious slip; further on he is described correctly as the King's General.

9. In order to enforce their claim against Ahmadnagar for the destruction of the caravan.

10. At this time the Dutch employed Japanese soldiers in some of their fortresses in the Further East, and it is possible that some of them had been sent as guards for the party going to Agra.

goods; this was very surprising since it was thought to be too late in the season. On 31st, I sent the factor Goeree to Gandivi, with five Dutchmen and 13 peons, 'to protect the foists [I had] purchased, which the Portuguese of Damān had planned to come and burn'.

June. On 5th, 'it began to rain dust, so that the rains were near at hand'. On 17th, the rains opened with a hurricane. On 25th, went with Mir Jān Muhammad, brother of the Governor of Broach, to hunt buck with leopards. On 26th, saw a snake with a head at each end.¹¹ *Note.* There is in the Deccan army with Malik Ambar, General of the King Nizāmshāh, a woman, (who was born in Rānder, a fishing village about half a league from Surat), who can make gold from copper by means of a certain plant with an exceedingly strong smell, which kills the person who smells it when it has been prepared. The gold is exceedingly fine, but if it is melted three times, it turns into copper again. When the said Malik was satisfied of this, he gave his daughter to the woman's son, and afterwards let her bring *schondio*,¹² which is the usual payment among such folk'.

July. On 16th, 'got news that the Portuguese of Damān, Bassain and Tārapur were arming strongly in order to come and burn our foists at Gandivi as soon as the wheather should be favourable; immediately sent there eight more Dutchmen and 20 peons, with three guns'. On 18th, 'since the rumour continued that the Portuguese were arming strongly, and further that they would certainly start at the new moon, sent senior factor Sebolt Wonderar, with 50 lascars from Rānder, to bring the foists here'. On 23rd, 'Sebolt Wonderar brought the two frigates *Mocha* and *Surat* from Gandivi in safety before the custom house here (thank God!); they were now out of all danger from the Portuguese. I sent the two frigates to Rānder, so as to be out of sight of the people at Surat, because the Moslems and English grumbled so much about them.'

September. On 12th, the season began to change, with fine weather and a northerly wind. On 27th, about midnight, the 'elephant' [last storm of the season] came with a strong wind, lasting more than half an hour.

11. Probably *Eryx Johnii*, the blunt-tailed snake which is manipulated by professional snake-charmers so as to appear two-headed.

12. This word, which appears below as *Sonidido* and *schondido*, has not been recognised by any of the authorities consulted; it appears from the context to denote some customary payment made at marriages in this part of the country

October. On 1st, six ships from England, commanded by John Weddell,¹³ arrived in Swally. One of them was a Portuguese prize with 60 Portuguese and more than 100 natives, from Mozambique for Goa; the English valued it at more than £ 6,000 sterling, reckoning only the ivory and wax, and not counting the gold and amber, which were as usual distributed among the principal men. [The prize is stated to have been of 14 last, or 28 tons, burden; but this must be an error, as she was in fact over 200 tons, and perhaps the figure should be 140]. On 20th, the *Samson* arrived from Mocha, having left there the *Wesp*, to follow eight days later. 'The *Samson*, on which were Johan van der Burch, factor, and Tjerk Isbrantssen, master, had taken the following prizes, after having left Mocha peaceably, and given free passes to all the Moslem ships—an incredible act by which they have brought such dishonour and disgrace on our valiant Batavians and Honourable Company and country that it will be talked of for more than a hundred years'. First, a small vessel from cutch near Sind; it yielded 10 bales of *rūnās* [Indian madder] and other booty of little value, and was then destroyed pirate-fashion. Second, a ship of Cannanore, from which they took 2,000 ducats in cash and four women without their husbands ('which was exceedingly cruel'), and then allowed to proceed on her voyage. The third belonged to Dīū, and had sailed from Helick in Ethiopia, just opposite Mocha; some ivory, uncoined gold, and other goods were hastily taken out because the ship was sinking; they understood that more than 150 pounds of gold remained in her. Both the other two belonged to Dabhol,¹⁴ the *Ibrāhimshāh*, and the *Toccoly*; most of the people were landed on the coast of Arabia, and about 100 brought to Surat. After taking out most of the cash and goods, these two vessels were sent direct to Batavia. 'In short, they have behaved not like honourable merchants, but like pirates, and worse than sea-robbers; and, by giving false passes, have blackened the honest name and fame of the Dutch, who have been regarded as upright people throughout the whole world—besides taking bribes from the Moslems before they would give them these passes! In the evening I went on board, and in council found it good and advisable to liberate all these people, giving to each a gold ducat and a half-real for expenses, because they had been robbed and plundered so bare and naked by our people. This taking of the ships

13. For Weddell's fleet, see *EF. i. passim*.

14. Dabhol, near Ratnagiri, then belonged to Bījāpur. I cannot guess what *Toccoly* represents, unless it be for Taqi Ali.

has raised no small clamour throughout the country, and brought our nation into no small dishonour and disgrace, to the injury of the Company's business.¹⁵ The English exulted not a little over this, and vomited every possible villainy against us. That brute, President Kerridge, in the public bazaar, presumed to write to Prince Khurram¹⁶ at Burhānpur that he had warned him about us long ago, and did it not appear as he had said, that we were not merchants like the English, but mere pirates and sea-robbers.'

November. On 3rd, the English fleet arrived from Cape Ras-al-hadd, where it had wintered, having failed to reach Mocha. They had sailed by Dabhol, in order to capture some ships in reprisal for the seizure of their caravan, but had secured only one vessel belonging to Chaul. On 15th, Prince Sultān Khurram's ship arrived from Mocha. 'The English had taken out the captain, or *nākhudā*, and the clerk, and forced them to declare what money or goods belonging to Malik Ambar's people were on board. They found 7,000 reals and 3,300 gold ducats, which they took out, and allowed the captain and clerk to return'—a very injudicious proceeding. On 30th, a Portuguese *armada* [fleet] of about 80 vessels passed Swally on the way to Cambay, 'where-upon our men of the *Samson* rashly sent against them two prows, each with eight men, without my knowledge or orders. Senior factor Sebolt Wonderar went in one, and Johan van der Burch in the other, each with seven men. The wind fell as they [? approached] the fleet, and they were surrounded by the strong Portuguese frigates, which were better rowed than our vessels. One of these was captured, having on board factor Johan van der Burch, assistant Egbert Hellinch, boatswain's mate Harman Symonssen, master's mate Andries Gerretsen Alkmaer and seamen Ben Willemssen, Elbert Thomassen, and Jan Willemssen; the other was in great danger, being pursued by the frigates until within range of the ship's guns'.

December. On 3rd, nine English ships sailed for Persia; the *Hart* and *Roebuck* sailed for England with Mr. Kerridge, lately President here, on board. Sent the *Samson* with them to cruise for some days; the English wanted her to accompany them to

15. This passage is of historical interest as showing the first impression made on van den Broeke by this action of the *Samson*. See the Introduction to *EF. i.* for a concise account of the rivalry between Dutch and English at this time.

16. Then Viceroy of the Deccan province. The text is obscure, and may possibly be intended to mean 'had the face to say that he would write'.

Persia but this could not be arranged. On 23rd, the *Samson* returned to the roadstead, having parted from the English seven days before. On 25th, Anne, the slave of senior factor Sebolt Wonderar, and the child of Jadegar the Armenian, were baptised, the child being named Catrina; I was a witness, and godfather. May God Almighty allow both of them to grow up in His fear!

1622.

February. (no entry for January). On 4th, the lading of of the *Samson* was completed; senior factor Adrien Willemssen Gøree was on board. On 6th, she was ordered to lie for four days at the mouth of the river alongside of the Prince's ship for Mocha; and on 10th, she sailed for Batavia with cargo worth 102,000 guilders. The same day I started with eight Dutchmen on horseback to inspect the factories at Broach, Ahmadābād and Cambay. On 11th, 'I reached Broach, a famous *baniyan* market-town, where large quantities of *bāftas*¹ and other cotton goods are made annually. The English also have a factory here, where they buy most of their cotton goods for the South,² England, Mocha, and Persia. The town is 22 kos, or 12 Holland leagues, from Surat; it is walled, and situated on a high hill. The Governor is my great friend, Himmat Khān, a Mogul, commanding 3,000 horse. I went to visit him, and he showed me so much respect as to astonish the English and everyone else'. On 13th, started for Baroda, and halted at a village named [blank in MS] 14 kos from Broach. On 14th, starting before sunrise reached Baroda, a very populous market-town, walled, and governed by a commander of 2000 horse. Formerly the English had a factory here,³ 'but this is now forbidden by the Surat people, because most of the goods made here are suitable for Mocha and the Red Sea, and are bought by the Surat merchants and despatched by the King's or Prince's ships.' On 15th, left Baroda, and halted in a village named [blank in MS] 12 kos distant. On 16th, marched 18 kos, and reached Mahmūdābād, the former capital of Gujarāt, now utterly ruined by the Moguls. On 17th, reached Ahmadābād, a great and famous city, surrounded by high walls, 40 kos from Baroda, and 10 kos from Mahmudabad; I lodged in an old stable in the Armenian *sarai*. The Governor is a Mogul, Nawāb Rustam Khān, commanding 5,000 horse, who rules the whole

1. The trade-name for the plain calico of Gujarāt.

2. 'The South' denotes Java, and the markets served by it.

3. See the Introduction to *EF. i.* for the dispute regarding the Red Sea trade, which was eventually reserved for the local merchants.

country on behalf of Prince Sultān Khurram.⁴ On 20th, I visited Sarkhej, about three kos from Ahmadābād, where the best indigo in all Gujarāt is manufactured. There is an exceedingly fine burying-place of the former Kings of Gujarāt, with many palaces and pleasure houses built in the vicinity. On 22nd, having seen all the gardens and other sights, I decided to leave for Cambay. The English have a factory at Ahmadābād, and do a magnificent trade, selling their reals, and buying indigo and cotton goods. On 23rd, started for Cambay. On the march Gerret Verdelft, an assistant, was thrown from his horse: I jumped off the cart to catch it, but was kicked in the mouth, and lost nine teeth. [The printed text adds that this reminded him that at Surat a sooth-sayer had warned him that his journey would be unlucky]. Halted in a village 14 kos from Ahmadābād. On 24th, I reached Cambay, 30 kos from Ahmadābād. Ordered various goods against the arrival of the ships.

March. On 3rd, I left Cambay, 'crossing the dangerous and famous great river,⁵ which at spring tide rises and falls five fathoms. The water comes with the rising tide from the sea, with a noise and fury like that of the bore of Rouen in France. Owing to the channels the ride is seven kos, but it [the river] is not two kos wide. There is great danger to life if the right time is not taken to cross; I understand that from 100 to 200 persons or more are drowned every year. In the evening with great difficulty we reached Jāmbusar,⁶ where the indigo *de mato* is made; it is called *singilli* in Hindustan, and is considered to be the worst in all India. Cambay lies on the river Indus,⁷ well populated with the *baniyan* nation, and containing fine houses and remarkable buildings. A mighty trade is done in cotton goods. Two or three times a year the Portuguese come to trade with foists and other light craft; they bring much ivory, China goods (which come to Goa from Macao), spices and other goods from the South and Patani. At present [Cambay] belongs⁸ to Asaf

4. Prince Khurram was Viceroy of Gujarāt as well as the Deccan province.

5. The Mahi. The comparison is with the Seine, on which Rouen is situated.

6. In Broach district. *De mato* in Portuguese means 'of the jungle', i.e., wild; and *singilli* is probably for 'jungly'. See EF. i. 64, and *passim*, for the inferiority of the local indigo.

7. This mistake as to the course of the Indus runs frequently in the literature of the period; see, e.g., *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, p. 91, where it is corrected.

8. i.e., it was his *jāglr* or assignment.

Khān, brother of Nurmahal, the King's concubine [sic] and is ruled by a Governor who commands 1,000 horse. The English used to have a factory here, but now there was nobody. Saw a hospital for animals'. On 4th, on reaching Broach I heard that the *Wesp* had arrived off Surat, and resolved to return immediately. On 6th, reached Surat. Our caravan from Agra arrived shortly afterwards. Found the factor Van der Dussen, who had come on the *Wesp*. On 7th, went on board the *Wesp*. At the entrance to the Red Sea she had captured a Chaul ship, with 7050 ducats and 8600 reals, 'which came in exceedingly handy for us'. Off Dofar she had captured a Portuguese ship bound for Goa, the crew of 120 having fled; the booty was seven horses, some lacquer desks and boxes from Sind; the ship was fired.

On 8th, three English vessels, the *Lion*, the pinnace *Rose*, and the sloop *Dick* [really, *Richard*] arrived. 'They brought as prisoners the Portuguese commandant Dom Ruy Freire, with 10 or 12 of his chief officers, who had surrendered on the capture of the fort at the watering-place.⁹ The English were asked to help the Persians, who had laid siege to this fort with more than 12,000 men; they promptly brought six guns into position, and seeing this, the Portuguese, who hitherto, though in want of everything, had not feared the might of the Persians, immediately opened negotiations, and surrendered the place, on condition that all the Christians should go to the English, and all the Moslems to the Moslems, who forthwith massacred the lot without mercy. The English sent the Portuguese soldiers, 300 men, into the fort at Ormuz, causing great surprise; they brought Ruy Freire here, having promised in the terms of surrender to land him on the Surat coast within 40 days. The four other English ships, with two Portuguese prizes, remained at Ormuz to help the Persians in the capture of the fort and city'.

On 9th, 'received news that at Burhānpur, on the 2nd, Sultān Khurram had personally strangled his elder brother named Sultān Khusraw with a cord,¹⁰ no one else being present'. [I omit a description of dynastic affairs, which is obviously not authoritative]. 'All the people of the country lamented sore over the death of this Prince, for he was a soldier, and good-

9. See the Introduction to EF. ii. for a connected account of the operations at Ormuz.

10. See Mr. Beni Prasad's *History of Jahāngir*, p. 336, for a review of the evidence on this question. The description of Khurram as 'an ignorant man' cannot be accepted in the ordinary sense of the words; possibly something heard in conversation was misunderstood.

natured, while Prince Sultān Khurram is a severe and ignorant man'.

On 16th, nine or ten Malabar vessels arrived; hitherto they had never come so late in the season. On 25th, very late in the season, a Surat ship left for Mocha. On 21st, I went on board the *Wesp*, which, though it was somewhat late in the season, I intended to despatch, along with the frigate *Surat*, 'During the night Captain Ruy Freire, with two of his officers, escaped by boat from the English ship *Lion* owing to careless watch, which brought the English no great honour'.

April. On 2nd, returned to Surat, and on 3rd, the *Wesp* and *Surat* sailed for Batavia. On 7th, the English ships *Lion*, *Rose*, and *Dick* [Richard] sailed for Mocha. On 26th, the Gujarāt ship returned from Achin, after what was said to be a very profitable voyage. Cargo: much tin from Perak, some pepper, small quantities of nutmegs, cloves, benzoin, camphor, etc. The ship left Achin on 11th February, making the voyage two months and 15 days. On 27th, arrived a *tauri* of Cihiri¹¹ [in text, Catsini in margin], which had gone there last year with a pass from me: came in 35 days, coasting nearly all the way. On 29th, the *Tocoly* [ante] reached Dīū from Mocha. Merchants of Ahmadābād, Cambay and Surat had in her more than 900,000 rupees in cash; the share of Dīū merchants was thought to be still larger, so that the total was more than 2,800,000 guilders [in margin, 2,500,000 rupees].

May. On 25th, the King of Castini's ship arrived after a voyage of 19 days. 'She brought us the mournful news that our people in Mocha were in great trouble owing to the capture of Moslem ships by the *Samson* and *Wesp*; they also said that two Dutch ships were cruising off the island of Babelmandel.' On 31st, it rained for a short time.

June. On 23rd, heard that 17 *tauris* coming from Goa had been lost off Dabhol.

July. On 19th, 'to my great surprise three drops of blood fell from my nose as I was coming from Anthonny's!'

August. On 16th, in Surat five men were beheaded for theft, and a woman was buried alive up to the waist and then stoned to death, for receiving the stolen property. On 22nd, a *baniyan's* ship arrived from Hodeida in the Red Sea.

September. On 10th, our pinnace *Surat* arrived from the Red Sea, and brought news [not given] of our people in Mocha, where she had left the *Wapen van Zeeland* and the *Noordt*

11. *Tauri*, a small vessel. Cihiri is probably Shehr, on the coast of Arabia.

[North] *Holland.* On 21st, the English *Dick* [Richard] arrived from Mocha. In the evening the *Salamati* of Surat also arrived from Mocha with more than 800 persons, and over 200,000 ducats in gold and silver, but little cargo. On 27th, Surat merchants despatched to Achin a ship with a valuable cargo of cotton goods. On 29th, the English *Lion* arrived from Mocha.

October. On 1st, two 'ships of defence', *Wapen van Zeeland* and *North Holland*, arrived from the Red Sea.¹² I at once went to Swally, but could not get on board owing to the weather. On 4th, the four English ships commanded by John Weddell arrived from Ormuz; and, before they had anchored, the *Good Fortune* and *South Holland* arrived with Admiral Jacob Dedel, thus uniting the four 'ships of defence'. Being still unable to get on board, returned to Swally for the night. Heard that the English and Persians had taken Ormuz; and that, after losing the pinnace *Hardt* in the river [blank in MS], Admiral Dedel with these two ships, and the English *Exchange*, *Anne* and *Diamond*, had found four carracks and one galleon coming from Portugal with the Viceroy on board, and had driven one ashore, while two others had been burnt after reaching Mozambique. On 10th, the monsoon began to change; 'the natives said the rains had not lasted so long for many years'. On 13th, three English ships, *Blessing*, *Discovery* and *Reformation*, arrived from England under Captain Hall. On 14th, 'while I was on board, a Hindu woman burnt herself alive with her husband's corpse in the village of [?] Solparre,¹³ about two kos from Surat, six or eight Dutchmen from the factory being present. The corpse was laid on straw and other fuel near the river; the woman went very bravely and of her own free will to sit beside it, and allowed a straw hut to be built over her. This being done, she took a lighted candle in her hand and began to pray. The bystanders, who were mostly brāhmans, began to make such an outcry that nobody could hear the laments of the woman, who had now set fire to the hut with the candle: in short, she was forthwith burnt to ashes'. On 25th, Admiral Dedel sailed with the *Good Fortune*, *Wapen van Holland* and *South Holland*, leaving the *North Holland* to take in goods for Batavia.

November. On 1st, a Gujarāt ship arrived richly laden, from Jidda. On 3rd, the English ships of defence, *Exchange*, *Anne* and

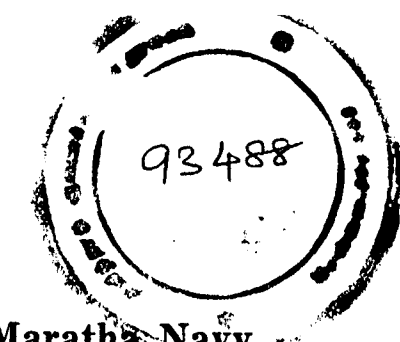
12. The Treaty of Defence, made in 1619, provided for the maintenance by the Dutch and English of a joint 'fleet of defence'; see EF. ii, *passim*, for its activities. Jacob Dedel was Admiral; Humphrey Fitzherbert, the first Vice-Admiral, died, and was succeeded by Michael Green.

13. This may represent Phūlpāra, a village N. E. of Surat.

Diamond, arrived; one Green was in command in place of the deceased Vice-Admiral. On 6th, Admiral Dedel returned to harbour.

December. On 2nd, after all the goods for Batavia had been put on board the *North Holland*, Admiral Dedel sailed with the fleet of defence to lie off Goa; the fleet included four Dutch and three English ships, but the *Diamond* stayed behind to take in water and fuel. On 17th, the pinnaces *Heusden* and *Wesp*, commanded by Francois Lemmens, arrived from Batavia with cash and goods. On 18th, I went on board to make arrangements, and on 19th came ashore. The same day four English ships and a pinnace left for Ormuz with freight-goods. On 24th, sent the *Wesp* and *Mocha* to Admiral Dedel to communicate the Governor-General's letters [presumably received by the *Heusden*].

(To be continued.)



Half a Century of the Maratha Navy

(Readership Lectures to the Calcutta University, 1931)

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

The Konkan coast measures some two hundred miles from Bombay to Goa. It is this narrow strip of land open to the sea that made the Maratha navy possible and shaped the history of the Maratha sea power.

The first requisite of sea power is the sea. But access to the sea alone does not necessarily lead to the growth of a fighting fleet. Without convenient ports and harbours, without a sea-faring population and without a steady supply of ship-building material, a country cannot aspire to maritime ascendancy even though its sea board may be fairly extensive. Luckily for the Marathas the western coast of their native province was to a greater or lesser extent blessed with each of these three requisites. The physical features of this coast as well as the common characteristics of its people were fully reflected in the brief history of the Maratha Navy.

Viewed from the sea, the coast presents an apparently unbroken line of hills. Some times the massive boulders rise abruptly from the surging water, sometimes a thin line of sandy beach intervenes between the towering rocks and buffeting ocean. Had appearances been true there would be no naval basis for the Maratha seamen and their maritime projects would have been nipped in the bud; but in reality the rocky rampart is frequently broken by estuaries and creeks, and the small islets in the near neighbourhood easily admit of fortification. About twelve miles from Bombay lie the twin islands of Khanderi and Underi; the former, held by a Maratha garrison, and the latter, in the possession of the Sidis of Janjira, commanded the entrance of the Bombay harbour. Seven miles to the south stood the famous naval station of Alibag at the mouth of a tidal creek named after the village of Sakhar on its southern shores. Further south we come across the more considerable Roha creek where the Kundalika falls into the sea. It forms the northern boundary of the remnant of *Habshan*, the land of the Habshis or Abyssinians. On the right bank of the Kundalika is the

famous stronghold of Chaul or Revadanda, which in the days of its prosperity could boast of a commodious harbour and provided a safe retreat for the Portuguese fleet. The Habshi state is divided into two unequal halves by the gulf and creek of Rajpuri. The creek penetrates far into the mainland and at its very entrance we find the fortified island of Janjira. "Five or six miles inside of the island, crafts of not more than four feet draught can sail at all times. Further inland it is navigable at high tide only". The creeks and estuaries with their naval strongholds multiply as we proceed further south along the coast of the modern district of Ratnagiri. On the south shore of the estuary of the Savitri river stands Bankot or Fort Victoria. Then follow the well-known stronghold of Suvarnadurg at the head of a small natural bay, Dabhol on the northern and Anjanvel on the southern banks of the Vashishthi, Jaygad on the creek formed by the Shastri, Ratnagiri on the Bhatiya, Purangad at the mouth of the Muchukundi, and Jaytapur at the entrance of the Rajapur river. One hundred and seventy miles from Bombay, where the Vaghotan river disembogues into the sea, stands Vijaydrug or Gheria, the Griem of the Portuguese writers, which earned for its strength and impregnability a reputation comparable to that of Gibraltar alone. Devgad with its land locked harbour was far less important; but Malavan or Sindhudurg, Melondim as the Portuguese preferred to call it after the neighbouring mart of Maland, once formed the naval arsenal of the great Shivaji. Here an image of the Maratha hero still receives worship from the descendants of his faithful crew. In the eighteenth century it became known to the trading nations of Europe as the home of the formidable Malavan pirates. The only other port that deserves mention in this connection is Vengurla where the Dutch had a trading settlement. Here came their fighting fleet for provision and fuel when occasions arose. The port is closed during the South-west monsoon but is not always judged safe even in the fair season.

These ports and harbours, creeks and estuaries, gulfs and bays played a part in the naval history of the Marathas more important than is at first sight suspected. Strong by nature and fortified by man, the strongholds suffered from one irreparable disadvantage. The havens were in most cases shallow and the estuaries did not always afford a safe riding to vessels of heavy draught at low tide. The Maratha admirals based their tactics on this feature as well as another peculiarity of their coast. We learn from Grose that "the land and sea breezes on this coast, blow alternately in the twenty-four hours, and divide the day; so that vessels sailing along the coast are obliged to keep in sight of land, as the land winds do not

reach more than forty miles out to sea."¹ The Maratha fleet therefore crept along the coast and sought safety in the familiar shoals in the face of an adversary of greater burden. Nor had the vagaries of land and sea breeze an insuperable difficulty for the Maratha sea man. When a calm befell or the wind was unfavourable the sailing ship was towed in the desired direction by numerous rowing crafts which formed a considerable proportion of the fleet.

If the peculiarities of the coast dictated the naval tactics of the Maratha it is no wonder that they should influence the personnel of the fleet as well. The maritime districts do not form an integral part of Maharashtra. They are cut off from the main land of the Deccan by a steep mountain wall and are accessible only through a small number of narrow passes. The coast had a sea-faring population from the earliest times and the Portuguese commerce suffered not a little from the pirates of Sangameshwar. But the inhabitants of the main land could not claim any familiarity with the sea and the naval service had for them but little attraction. Shivaji had to depend on the Koli and Bhandari recruits for manning his fleet, but they were by no means sufficiently numerous. A glance at the map will show that the maritime districts are not very extensive in area. In proportion to their length their breadth is very inconsiderable, never exceeding sixty miles and sometimes no more than thirty. While the land near the sea is exceptionally fertile a large area consists of nothing but basalt and laterite rocks. The population could not therefore be very considerable at any time. Of them the sailors formed an insignificant fraction. According to the Census of 1872, the fishers and sailors formed but 3.29 per cent of the Hindus in Ratnagiri; in Kolaba their numerical strength was slightly superior, forming 4.60 per cent. of the entire Hindu population. Figures for the period under survey are not available but it may be safely assumed that the change in government has not adversely affected the numerical strength of the sea-farers of the Konkan. The Mahomedans supplied a larger number of recruits for the navy. The Daldis were fishermen by profession; the Konkani Muslims were probably descended from Arab immigrants and the sea had no dread for them. No wonder that the large majority of Shivaji's admirals were Muslims by faith, and even when a naval tradition had been created by the Marathas the Muhammadans continued to occupy positions of trust and responsibility in their navy. If the main land of Maharashtra had an easy access to and uninterrupted communication with the

1. Grose, *A Voyage to the East Indies* Vol. II, p. 213.

Arabian sea things might have conceivably been different and the navy might draw a considerable number of Maratha recruits. As it is the personnel of the fleet remained mainly non-Maratha in character and foreigners of all nationalities were eagerly employed because a sufficient number of native experts was not available. But for the isolation of the Konkan coast the Maratha navy might have been a national institution like the Maratha army.

The hamlets of Konkan were deficient in sea-faring people, but the forests of Kolaba and Ratnagiri, Janjira and Savantwari yielded excellent timber and that in plenty. Teak is found in all the twelve blocks of Kolaba forest. It is plentiful in the Habshan hills, though those of Ratnagiri are not of good quality. Teak-made ships were expensive, it is true, but both Grose and Stavorinus testify to their durability. The Dutch Admiral was of opinion that an Indian ship made of teak wood could "navigate the seas for a hundred years together." We learn from the same authority that the natives of Western India "have a peculiar way of preserving their ships' bottom, by occasionally rubbing into them an oil which they call wood-oil, which the planks imbibe, and it serves greatly to nourish and keep them from decay."

The Marathas never came into possession of the entire Konkan coast. They had been rather late in the field and were forestalled by others. No less than six rival powers contended for supremacy in this region. At one time the Portuguese fleet dominated the whole coast from their naval stations at Bassein, Chaul and Goa. Their ascendancy was visibly on the wane and they had more enemies than friends. Bombay once belonged to the Portuguese crown but was presented to Charles II as part of the dowry of his queen. The King had no use for the unhealthy island and it passed into the possession of the East India Company. The transfer however had not been effected with good grace on the part of Portuguese Government of India and bitter feelings survived on both sides. Besides the English and the Portuguese, the only non-Maratha power on the coast was the Sidi of Janjira. When the Abyssinian sailors first rose to power we do not know. Early in the 17th century they held the island and a good slice of the coast on behalf of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar. After the Mughul conquest of that kingdom the territories held by the Sidis passed under the jurisdiction of Bijapur but this change did not adversely affect the quasi-independent position of the Abyssinian admiral. When Shivaji turned his arms against the chiefs of Janjira and reduced the major part of their principality on the main land they readily transferred their allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi and subsequently became the admirals of the Imperial fleet. The Sidis succeeded in

recovering part of their lost ground while Shivaji was still alive. During the turmoil that followed the capture and death of Sambaji they again became the most predominant power in Konkan and when Shahu ascended his grand-father's throne the Sidis held Raigad, the seat of Shivaji's government. The dissension in the royal house considerably weakened the Maratha power, but by the second decade of the eighteenth century the credit of the Maratha navy was restored by Kanhoji Angria who had by that time become the chief commander of the Maratha fleet. The naval stronghold of Malwan was held by a partisan of Kolhapur. The seamen of Malwan co-operated with Angria on rare occasions and usually consulted their own interests in forming their plans and formulating their policy. The chief of Savantwari, otherwise styled the Sardesai of Kudal, was closely connected with the Maratha royal family and bore the same surname as Shivaji. His branch however rose to prominence much earlier, and although he was constrained from time to time to acknowledge the suzerainty of Satara or Kolhapur, he ruled over his principality with sovereign authority. He had a fleet of his own and like his neighbours he also tried to exercise his rights of sovereignty over the sea in the customary way of the coast. The most important port in his State was Vingurla, and as the Dutch had a factory there they also became involved in the naval rivalries of this area. To the trading nations of Europe the chief of Savantwari was known as Khem Savant, after the most distinguished ruler of the State and his followers were called Khemsavants as the sailors of Kolaba and Gheria were called Angrias and those of Sindhudurg, the Malwans.

All the naval powers of the Konkan coast expected merchant men of all nationalities to purchase their passport unless they were exempted from such an obligation by express treaty terms. Any failure in this respect was severely punished and the defaulting ship was liable to confiscation with its cargo. The custom prevailed in the Malabar coast, though in a slightly different form as early as the days of Ibn Batuta.² The Portuguese in the heyday of their maritime suzerainty compelled all nations to procure their passport before their vessels could venture into Indian waters. The Maratha admirals emulated this example and advanced similar claims when they felt themselves strong enough to enforce their traditional right

2. Gibb, *Ibn Batuta, Travels in Asia and Africa*, p. 233 "It is a custom of theirs that every ship that passes by town must needs anchor at it and give a present to the ruler. This they call the "right of bandar". If any one omits to do this, they sail out in pursuit of him, bring him into the port by force, double the tax on him, and prevent him from proceeding on his journey for as long as they wish".

and the maritime struggles of the first half of the eighteenth century centred round this peculiar practice in which the sovereignty of the sea was supposed to find a suitable expression.

LECTURE II.

KANHOJI ANGRIA.

1698-1729.

Shivaji was not a sailor but he was the first general of his race to perceive the importance of sea power. The Maratha navy was still in its infancy when its great founder died but it was destined to survive the disasters that befell the Maratha arms on the main land. The two decades that intervene between the death of Shivaji and the rise of Kanhoji do not constitute a total blank in the naval history of Maharashtra, and although the Marathi chronicles seldom throw any light on their exploits, we get an occasional glimpse of the fleet and its leaders. We learn from a letter addressed by Francisco da Tavora, the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, to Sambhaji on the 28th July, 1682, that the Maratha fleet often harassed the Portuguese merchant men while engaged in their peaceful pursuits. Shortly after Rajaram's flight to Jinji a Maratha vessel circumnavigated Cape Comorin and safely conveyed the ladies of the royal family to their new abode in the Madras Presidency. The details of this voyage have unfortunately not been preserved but it may be fairly assumed that the Maratha sea men considered the high way of the sea perfectly safe while the route overland was deemed dangerous. Nor were they content with a policy of least resistance, for Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha, Conde de Villa Verde, complained in 1695 in his letter to the newly appointed Maratha Governor of Konkan, that though Ramachandra Pandit, the regent, professed nothing but friendship for the Portuguese, he permitted his gallivats to infest their territorial water and make prizes of their trading crafts. The Maratha admirals were not however always unfriendly to their neighbours of Goa, as seven years later Bhavanji Mohite, Subhedar of Sindhudrug, received a letter of thanks for restoring a captured Manchua to its Portuguese owner, and in 1705 a similar epistle was addressed to Daud Khan, Sarnobat of Shivaji II's fleet in acknowledgement of the kindness the Portuguese men-of-war had received from him in

the ports of Kanara. Why this Muslim admiral held a military title we do not know but it is strangely reminiscent of Robert Blake's designation of "General of the Sea."

In the opening years of the eighteenth century the numerical strength of the Maratha fleet must have been inconsiderable. But it had scoured the sea for four decades and could boast of a creditable record which had been sadly wanting in the fifties of the preceding century. The Marathas in Shivaji's day had no naval tradition, but his sons had employed at least half a dozen able Captains of their own race in the fleet and one of these Kanhoji Angria accomplished what Shivaji had attempted in vain. For three decades Kanhoji dominated the entire Konkan coast and his fleet became a terror to the trading nations of the west. Feared by his foes, respected by his friends, Kanhoji raised the maritime prestige of his people to a pinnacle never before attained and never surpassed.

Of his early career we hardly know anything. His father Tukoji Sankhpal, according to the official account of the family, served under Shivaji and was posted at the naval station of Suvarnadurg. It is here that his famous son must have spent his early years and served his first apprenticeship in the navy which he was destined to command. The wild stories of his Arabian parentage or Abyssinian origin may be dismissed as utterly baseless. Equally unfounded was the Portuguese myth that he had once aspired to the hand of Shivaji's widow. Nor does it seem likely that he had ever been an inhabitant of the Portuguese island of Versova though the story comes from no less a personage than Conde de Ericeira. In view of his future greatness Kanhoji was a man of humble origin, for his father held no higher rank than that of a commander of two hundred. But it seems improbable that Kanhoji at any stage in his career was reduced to common servitude and earned his living as a menial in the Hindu houses of his native place. He earned his first laurels at Suvarnadurg, if the official account is to be credited. The stronghold was severely assailed by a strong force of the Sidi and Achloji Mohite, the Maratha commander was contemplating capitulation when Kanhoji took matters in his own hand, led a forlorn cause, and saved the place. His daring and resourcefulness soon brought Kanhoji to the notice of his sovereign and he gradually rose to be the second in command of the Maratha fleet. In 1698 he was appointed Chief Admiral by Rajaram and within ten years his fleet became so formidable that a Portuguese writer compared him with the famous Barbarossa, justly dreaded as the scourge of the Mediterranean.

With his head-quarters at Kolaba, Kanhoji was in the happy position to command and control the high road of sea-borne trade that literally passed by his door. With Bombay, Bassein and Surat on the north, and Chaul, Janjira and Goa on the south, the Kolaba fleet could keep a vigilant eye on all vessels sailing from the north to the south and *vice versa* while the intermediate ports offered safe asylums in case of emergency and danger. From the very beginning of his career Kanhoji was resolved to exercise the sovereignty of the sea, as it was then understood, and make prizes of all vessels unprovided with his pass, irrespective of their nationality. His fleet, if Conde de Ericeira was correctly informed, consisted at first of eight or ten gallivats only, but his prowess was soon rewarded with rich spoils and his neighbours copiously, though involuntarily, contributed to his coffers. With increasing wealth Kanhoji found little difficulty in augmenting his fleet but the very process involved hostilities with his neighbours among whom the English and the Portuguese were the most prosperous and powerful. The Sidi of Janjira was the avowed enemy of his king and therefore his legitimate prey.

Of the two European nations the English were to suffer first. The cause of their early dissension with Angria still remains obscure though it may be safely surmised that Kanhoji wanted them to buy his pass. In 1702 a Calicut boat with six Englishmen fell into his hands. It was useless to protest, for Kanhoji was not the man to be easily intimidated. In 1704 'Mr. Reynolds was deputed to find him and tell him that he could not be permitted searching, molesting, or seizing vessels in Bombay waters.' But his expostulations had no effect and Kanhoji charged the English with bad faith and threatened 'to seize their boats wherever he could find them.' He was as good as his word and three years later attacked an English man-of-war which was destroyed after a short encounter. In 1710 he boldly attacked another English ship in the very neighbourhood of Bombay. Though he was defeated on this occasion his naval supremacy remained unshaken. In 1712 he captured the Governor of Bombay's yacht the *Samuel and Mary*, and an English ketch from Karwar the *Anne*. Next year he was constrained to compose his differences with the English, not because he was particularly afraid of them, but because he had too many nuts in the fire and was prepared to forego some in order to save the rest. Kanhoji was not merely a sailor, he was also a diplomat of uncommon ability.

With the Portuguese he was at peace at the beginning. He wanted a market for his prizes and the Portuguese government

were prepared to accommodate him while he found suitable customers in the merchants of Chaul, as appears from a letter of the Viceroy Caetano de Mello de Castro, dated the 8th November 1703. We do not know how Kanhoji appreciated this concession but amicable relations apparently did not endure long. From a letter of the Viceroy to His Majesty the King of Portugal, dated the 11th December, 1708, we learn that the Portuguese State was still engaged in a war with Kanhoji Angria. He had indeed repeatedly sued for peace but the Viceroy paid no heed to his friendly advances as he had beheaded in cold blood all the captives he had taken in two Portuguese manchuas. His villages in the neighbourhood of Chaul were harassed and a Captain I. C. Mor, Antonio Cardim Froes, had particularly distinguished himself in this campaign (Monções F. 3. pl. 11). When exactly the war commenced and why, we do not precisely know although we may reasonably surmise that Portuguese refusal to acknowledge Kanhoji's claims in the sea must have provided the *causus belli*. The manchuas, mentioned above, it may be pointed out, were not trading vessels but fighting ships of the northern fleet. The date of this naval action is yet unknown but from a contemporary Portuguese manuscript we learn that of the two manchuas one was burnt and the other captured by Kanhoji. Of the twenty-seven prisoners all, except one, were put to the sword. The captain saved his life by paying a big ransom of 12,000 xerafins or Rs. 6,000. This was not the first time that Kanhoji had measured his strength with the Portuguese. His first victims were trading vessels with rich cargo but shortly before his engagement with the manchuas, mentioned above, he had captured a Portuguese Pal of war which was going from Chaul to Bassein. The Pal must have provided a very rich booty, for among its passengers was the retiring governor of Chaul. At this period Kanhoji's fleet consisted of six Pals carrying sixteen to eighteen pieces of artillery and thirty gallivats specially equipped for war.

Heavily as they had suffered from the depredations of Angria's fleet, the Portuguese still omitted to provide their merchant fleet with suitable convoys. At one time they were the foremost maritime power in India but they could not safely bank on their past credit for ever. A shrewd observer like Kanhoji could not but notice the steady decline of Portuguese ascendancy in the east, and in 1712 he dealt a stunning blow at the commerce of Goa. The merchant fleet of the North sailed under the convoy of two frigates only under the command of Dom Luis da Costa, the nephew of the Viceroy. Angria fell upon this fleet and went straight for the flag ship which was

promptly disabled. The second frigate succeeded in running away to Goa with a few parangues but more than forty of these boats fell into Kanhoji's hands. The merchants and private citizens of Goa had largely invested their capital in this fleet and its loss was a calamity of unprecedented magnitude. This achievement added so much to Kanhoji's power and prestige that Luiz de Mello, General of the North, permitted his brother to procure Angria's passes for his trading ships.

Another blow of this magnitude would mean the utter ruin of the Portuguese power in India and the next Viceroy wisely provided for a stronger convoy. In 1713 the merchant fleet sailed under the protection of three frigates, four pals, two manchuas and a pinnace (pataxo). But nothing daunted, Angria hovered about with four pals and six gallivats. As two of the convoying pals kept much behind the rest to protect a slow going vessel the Maratha fleet found an opportunity of engaging one of them and a running battle was fought for two days and nights before they withdrew.

The Portuguese were indeed in a very sad plight. The rising power of Angria had rendered their naval stations extremely insecure. Chaul depended mainly on imported provision and Chaul was within striking distance of Kolaba. It was, therefore, urgently needed that they should take some effective measures to remedy this growing evil and they naturally suggested to their fellow sufferers of Bombay that a joint expedition should be made against the common enemy. Governor Aislabie, however, preferred peaceful negotiations to an expensive war, and Angria was in an accommodating mood, for the Portuguese were not the only enemy he had to deal with.

In 1713 there were two claimants to the Maratha throne and the Maratha nobles were divided in their allegiance. When Rajaram died, his nephew Shahu was a prisoner in the Mughul camp and he was quietly succeeded by his minor son Shivaji II. Shivaji II was a boy of undeveloped intellect but his mother Tārā Bai was a masterful lady of unbounded energy and unlimited ambition. When Shahu returned home in 1707 Tārā Bai refused to acknowledge his claims and prepared to fight for her son's rights to the bitter end. During the stormy days of Rajaram feudalism had been unwisely revived, and Shahu and Tārā Bai now vied with each other to purchase the support of the feudal chiefs. The officers of the army and navy were no longer the paid servants of the State and they seldom lost any opportunity of self-aggrandisement, particularly when their selfish interests could be reconciled with the cause of their king. In the civil

war that ensued Kanhoji enlisted himself on Tārā Bai's side but he was for all practical purposes an independent ruler. As early as 1704 the English of Bombay described him as a "Rebel independent of the Rajah Sivajee". Unlike Shivaji's admirals he took no order from his nominal suzerain, nor were his activities confined to the sea. He maintained a strong force on the land and captured many fortresses from Shahu's partisans. In 1713 Shahu sent his Peshwa Bahiro Pant Pingle against Kanhoji, but Angria defeated his Brahman adversary and took him prisoner. In the same year Shahu sent Balaji Vishwanath to retrieve his lost position on the western coast. Balaji tried conciliation and converted a formidable foe into a steadfast friend. Kanhoji offered allegiance to Shahu, relinquished his conquests in land and obtained in return twenty six strongholds, big and small on the sea coast. He was formally appointed by his new sovereign to the office of Chief Admiral which he already held, and his new acquisition of Khanderi or Keneri enabled him to control the entrance to Bombay harbour. Some of the strongholds granted to him on this occasion were still held by the Sidi but it appears that the Janjira Chief also came to terms with him after a brief contest. Thus when the Portuguese Viceroy decided to blockade him in his stronghold of Kolaba, Kanhoji had settled his differences with the English of Bombay. Early next year he concluded a lasting peace with Shahu of Satara. In 1715 his long war with the Sidi was brought to an honourable conclusion. In 1710 he had created a fresh enemy in the Dutch by capturing a sloop of theirs, but they were not in a position to cause him much annoyance.

In 1713 Kanhoji had given the Portuguese a fresh offence by attacking one of their frigates conveying provision and reinforcement to Chaul. For some time past Angria had been openly boasting that he could reduce Chaul and Karanja whenever he liked and the Viceroy Vasco Fernandes Ceasar de Menedes at last sent a strong fleet of five pals, eight gallivats and two manchuas against Kolaba. One of the most distinguished Portuguese officers of this time, Antonio Cardim Froes, was appointed to lead the expedition. He blockaded the harbour but lack of a land force prevented him from attempting a complete siege. From October to December the Portuguese fleet lay before Kolaba but it could not make any impression on the enemy. At last Froes had to withdraw to face a fresh danger that threatened the trading ships of his country. An Arab fleet had appeared before Surat and had already captured a Portuguese ship from China. Angria's stronghold was very well provided with munitions of war but the Viceroy complained to the Emperor of Delhi that

Angria might have been totally annihilated if the Sidis had invaded his territories by land when the Portuguese blockaded his headquarters by sea.

It was useless to invoke the Emperor's aid against Kanhoji; it was futile to inform the Mughul ruler that Angria's triumph meant the ruin of Surat. He was too far off and too weak to be of any real use. The Sidi either would not or could not do anything to check the growing ascendancy of Angria. But the Viceroy found a willing ally in Sambhaji of Kolhapur. To him Kanhoji was a traitor and rebel who deserved condign punishment. Accordingly a treaty was concluded between the two states with a view to the reduction of Angria's strongholds. The Portuguese fleet undertook to co-operate with the army and navy of Kolhapur, they offered to supply Sambhaji with munitions of war if necessary, an alliance was concluded, the treaty was signed and ratified in March 1716 but apparently nothing further was accomplished. Sambhaji was no match for the Barborossa of Konkan. Next year a new Viceroy, the far famed Conde de Ericeira, arrived at Goa and he tells us that Kanhoji offered no insult to the Portuguese State during his term of office except once when four of Angria's vessels were defeated by two Portuguese men-of-war near Anjidiva. But we have reason to believe that while Kanhoji refrained from molesting Portuguese men-of-war on the high sea the fishermen and trading people of Chaul and Bassein dared not launch their boats without his permit and preferred to pay him a regular tribute rather than incur his displeasure. For the time being Kanhoji had no war to wage; in 1715 he had concluded a treaty with the Sidi of Janjira and in 1718 he considered himself so secure as to undertake a journey to Jejuri where he made his homage and paid his allegiance to Shahu. But appearances were deceptive and the very same year witnessed the beginning of a war between the English of Bombay and the Lord of Kolaba that was destined to last for thirty-eight long years.

The lengthy war was preceded by a bitter controversy, and insinuations of bad faith were freely exchanged. In February 1713 Kanhoji had voluntarily sought peace with the English and offered to restore the vessels he had captured if an Englishman of credit was sent to Kolaba. The treaty concluded on that occasion was in force until war broke out in 1718. The terms were quite unambiguous and had been carefully worded to safeguard the interests of the two contracting parties. The English demanded that Kanhoji should restore all that he had taken "that belonged to the Company and our people". That he should not

on any pretence whatever "meddle with any English ships or with the ships belonging to the merchants who live under the protection of the English as Madras, Bengal, or any other Factories or colonies belonging to the English whatsoever." They further demanded that ships coming to or going from Bombay should enjoy immunity from Angria's fleet irrespective of their nationality while within sight of the harbour of Bombay, and lest there should be any misunderstanding about the neutral area it was clearly specified that the space between Mahim Stakes and Khanderi was meant. The English subjects were to be permitted to trade freely in Kanhoji's ports on the payment of the usual customs and he was moreover expected to afford them protection against the vessels of Shivaji Raja and Shahu Raja. The English on their part promised not to permit ships or vessels of other nations to wear their colours and to throw open their ports to the subjects of Angria. Kanhoji was prepared to accept these terms and proposed a few additional articles. Of the six articles suggested by Kanhoji three were roundly rejected but the remaining three demand our attention. As the English were anxious to secure the freedom of the sea for their ships so was Kanhoji eager to exercise in his master's name but in his own interest the sovereignty of the sea. The major part of his revenue was derived from this source and he could not therefore afford to forego these profitable claims. It is on this account that he wanted a clear understanding from the English, whose flags he henceforth undertook to respect, that their protection would not be extended to vessels other than their own even if they might be bound for Bombay or leaving that port. The English replied that they would convoy such ships out of the sight of their port; this area having been clearly defined in the third article proposed by them, the natural assumption is that Angria might deal with such boats as he pleased once they were beyond the specified limit. Secondly, Angria had a large number of aliens in his service and apparently he was not in a position to man his fleet with his own nationals alone. He therefore suggested that "Mariners, inhabitants of your island, that shall desire to serve me of their own free will leaving their families on the island shall not be hindered by you, and also those who, having served here and come to their houses, have been detained by you and have given security; I desire you to discharge their securities, and that those persons may be free." To this request the Bombay Council replied that they would not hinder "mariners inhabitants of Bombay that of their own free will will serve" Angria, and expected reciprocity in the matter. They also agreed to permit Angria's Grabs and Galli-

vats to come to and leave Bombay without any impediment. But the Bombay Government definitely refused to sell him powder and shot, and to allot him any place for manufacturing munitions. As regards his suggestion of mutual support and co-operation in times of need, the English preferred to retain their freedom to act as they thought fit. Angria's messenger later informed that his master was prepared to accept the first proposals of the English but he desired that these articles should be formally incorporated in an agreement, confirmed by the seal of the Company and delivered to the Chief of Kolaba by an Englishman of credit. The English did not think very highly of Kanhoji's trustworthiness and suspected treachery. The Governor and Council were therefore unwilling to ask any of the Company's servants to put his neck inside the wolfe's jaws, but Lt. Mackintosh volunteered to go to Kolaba in consideration of a gratuity of one-thousand rupees. The treaty was then drawn in English and the country language, and Lt. Mackintosh left for Kanhoji's headquarters, and on the 22nd of February he returned with the *Anne* ketch and the prisoners. Kanhoji promised to restore the yacht and the Company's goods before long. From subsequent correspondence it appears that the yacht was returned without its mast and rigging. The peace was concluded, it must be admitted, with wonderful expedition and as Kanhoji's good faith had all along been under suspicion the treaty or agreement was very carefully worded. For three years Kanhoji did nothing in contravention of his undertaking but the mast and the rigging and the cargo of the captured boats remained a fruitful source of future dissention.

Aislabie's successor Charles Boone arrived at Bombay on the 26th December, 1715. He was a man of masterful spirit and was not likely to tolerate any serious omission on the part of Kanhoji. Angria also had some grievances, real or fictitious, against his new friends and his formal letters of compliment were soon succeeded by those of complaints wherein he alluded to "ill usage in return of the good offices he had done, and boasted of his success. The Governor answered (that) if he kept the articles of the treaty, it would be well: if he had just cause to complain, it should be remedied . . . that the English never boasted of their performances, but let their actions do it." What ill usage Kanhoji had received from his neighbours of Bombay and what good services he had rendered them during the short interval of three years between the conclusion of the treaty in February 1713 and Boone's assumption of office in December, 1715, must remain a matter of conjecture for the time being.

But apparently a storm was brewing; that it did not break out earlier was due to Boone's unpreparedness. Early in 1716 he informed his masters that "some outstanding claims would be pressed upon Kanhoji when the English were in a good posture to oppose him; till then keep fair, but must not be too supple." This indicates the policy that Boone pursued for the next three years. He was busily engaged in equipping a fleet to challenge Kanhoji's supremacy in the sea, he protested whenever Bombay received any offence from Angria but did not seek armed redress until he was fully prepared for a prolonged contest.

(To be continued.)

Policy and Character of Mir Casim

BY

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Mir Casim, son of Mir Razi Khan and grandson of Imtiaz Khan, was of Persian origin.¹ His father was a Mansabdar under the Mogul Emperor, and possessed a jagir in Bengal, where he passed his days with comfort. Mir Casim married Fatema Begum, a daughter of Mir Jafar, and received some valuable articles and a large amount of money as dowry.

Early Career Alivardi also paid him two hundred (?) rupees per month from his own treasury, but during his time and in that of his grandson Sirajuddowla, Mir Casim's social position was not very high; he was a mere courtier in the Nawab's Court. He appropriated a box of valuable jewellery belonging to Sirajuddowla's Begum Lutfunnisa, while both the latter were running away from Murshidabad. This helped him greatly to better his fortune and to maintain some cavalry and infantry. During Mir Jafar's first Governorship, he was appointed as the Faujdar of Rungpur and Purniah.² He was a man of parts and possessed a good knowledge of astrology and mathematics.³

His firm administration of these two places, and his other abilities soon created a name for him, and the English Governor thought him to be the proper man for remedying the evils of Mir Jafar's misgovernment of Bengal. Accordingly, after deposing Mir Jafar the English Governor and his party placed him on the masnad of Bengal on the 27th October, 1760.⁴ Like Henry VII of England, who had gathered lessons from the Lancastrians as well as the Yorkists, Mir Casim had learnt some lessons from the regimes of Sirajuddowla and Mir Jafar.⁵ Sirajuddowla's rule had taught him that the native Zemindars must be placed under

proper control and that he must be careful to watch their movements; and the Government of Mir Jafar had clearly demonstrated to him that the strength and life of his government would depend on the improvement of the economic condition of the state and on the proper reorganization of the military department. Mir Casim's policy was formed from these points of view, and he acted accordingly just after his accession.

When Mir Jafar was deposed, there was in his treasury "of ready money only forty or fifty thousand rupees, and about the value of three lacs in gold and silver plate."⁶ Keeniram, Moonilal and Checon, the principal advisers of Mir Jafar, declared that the balances due from them were trifling. But the situation demanded a well-stocked treasury, because the troops were mutinous for the non-payment of their arrears of pay and the Company had not yet received the whole amount promised to them by Mir Jafar. Within a week or two after his accession Mir Casim satisfied the troops by promising to pay off their arrears in instalments.⁷ To the Company he made over the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong in lieu of the money that had been promised to them and for the expenses of their troops, and pawned some of his jewels with the members of the Council in Calcutta.⁸ It is

His measures for the economic improvement of the State.

⁶. Extract of a letter from Mr. Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud, dated, Moradbag, 24th Oct. 1760, Narrative, Vol. I, pp. 139-140; *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh*, p. 93 (a).

⁷. *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh*, p. 92 (b).

⁸. Ibid, 93a; *Seir-ul-mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 391; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 45. The sanad for the cession of Burdwan runs in the following official language:—

"To the Zemindars, Canoongoes, Talookdars, Tenants, Husbandmen and Chief villagers of the Pergunnah of Burdwan, etc., The Zemindaree of the Rajah Tilluck Chand, in the districts of the Subah of Bengal, be it known that whereas divers wicked people have traitorously stretched forth their hands to plunder the subjects, and waste the royal dominions for this reason the said Pergunnah, etc, is granted to the English Company in part disbursement of their expenses, and the monthly maintenance of five hundred European horse, two thousand European foot, and eight thousand sepoy, which are to be entertained for the protection of the royal dominions. Let the above officers quietly and contentedly attend and pay to the persons appointed by the English Company the stated revenues and implicitly submit in all things to their authority, and the office of the Collectors of the English Company is as follows:—

They shall continue the Zemindars and Tenants in their places, regularly collect the revenues of the lands, and deliver them in monthly for the

1. *Khulāsa-ut-Tawārikh*, p. 76b.

2. Ibid, p. 88a.

3. Ibid.

4. For details, vide, Original papers relating to the disturbances in Bengal, etc., vol. II.

5. *Seir-ul-mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 432.

found in the Second report of the Select Committee⁹ that he also paid the following sums to the Members:—

to Mr. Vansittart as Governor and President of the Select Committee, Rs. 500,000; to Mr. Holwell, Rs. 270,000; to Mr. Sumner, Rs. 255,000; to Mr. McGuire, Rs. 255,000; to Colonel Cailland Rs. 200,000; to Mr. Culling Smith, Rs. 134,000; to Captain Yorke, Rs. 134,000.

Thus having satisfied the Company and the troops to some extent, Mir Casim proceeded to strengthen the financial resources of his government. At first he detected various cases of embezzlements on the part of the old officers and 'Muttaseddees'¹⁰ and compelled them to render satisfactory accounts of their offices.¹¹ In this work he was assisted by some old officers "whom he took care to soothe into compliance, by taking them into his favour." He appointed as clerks in the treasury some of the old 'Muttaseddees' of Ali Vardi's time, and employed many of his faithful attendants as Nazirs, Controllers and Supervisors in several offices.¹² One of his most trustworthy friends, named Ali Ibrahim Khan, who possessed a fair talent of "discovering intuitively the decisive knot of the most intricate accounts, was proposed chiefly to the military examination, and to the business of ascertaining the real arrears due to the troops."¹³ He appointed Sitaram, an old 'Muttaseddee' and accountant of the time of Ali Vardi, an auditor of the Dewani and an accountant in that department of the treasury from which pensions and other allowances were disbursed. Mir Munshi, who was his own Secretary and on whom he conferred the title of Hafiz Irsar Khan, was also entrusted with the task of auditing certain accounts and of determining

payment of the expenses of the Company, and the pay of the above-mentioned forces, that they may be always ready cheerfully and vigorously to promote the affairs of the King. Let this be punctually observed. Dated the 14 of the month Rubbeulawul 1st sun answering to the 1st of the month of Cartic 1176, Bengali style". Proceedings, November 17, 1760.

Sunnuds for the cession of Chittagong and Midnapur were also similarly worded.

⁹ p. 20; First Report, pp. 33-34; Carraccioli, *Life of Clive*, Vol. ii, p. 195.

¹⁰ Verelst explains "Muttaseddee" as "a general name for all officers employed in taking the accounts of Government, or any person of consequence". [The modern form is *Mutsaddi*, holder of a comparatively small charge or minor office—Editor].

¹¹ *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, pp. 92b-93b; *Seir-ul-mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 388.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Seir-ul-mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 388.

the net expenses of the state.¹⁴ He then formed a budget of the income and expenses of his government, abolished the expenses on luxury, and curtailed many other unnecessary expenses, as for example, the expenses on the managerie department.¹⁵ He converted the gold and silver articles in the Taziakhana into coins amounting to several lacs, and stopped the expenses for making Tazias.¹⁶ During his stay at Patna he called Ramnarain, the Deputy Governor of that place, to account for "the quantum of the revenues he had hitherto received during his long administration, and the sum total of the expenditures he had made; the monies charged in the books, as paid to the Djaghiry-holders (jaigir-holders) of the Emperor's Court, and the Nawab's, and the receipts and vouchers of those disbursements; the sums charged as paid to the troops, with a comparative statement of the reviews made, and of the number of horses marked on the thigh, and borne on the books. Vouchers and regular accounts of all these he required of him in the auditing hall, in the presence of a large number of Ramnarain's own officers, and heads of office, with whom he had formed a large circle round the Governor's person."^{16a} Ramnarain submitted to the Nawab's orders but he had already sent away some account books with his own men. They were, however, caught hold of by Mir Casim's people, one Sunder Singh being the first to fall within their clutches. He was put in confinement, and as he was found guilty of embezzlements in the army accounts, Jaigir-holders' accounts and in the receipts of the public income, his house was surrounded and 7 lacs in cash and many other effects were taken therefrom. But some of his effects were concealed in the houses of his cashiers Gangavishnu and Mansaram Sahu, rich bankers of Patna. So Mir Casim compelled these two men to pay vast sums of money, and similarly realised a considerable amount from Muralidhar, the head spy of Ramnarain, as well as from Mohammed Issac, the Kotwal or Police Inspector^{16b} who had misappro-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 389; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, pp. 92b-93b.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*; "... he curtailed his expenses ... for instance the ram office, the nightingale office, the antelope office, and some others, all belonging to the menagerie department. Of all that multitude of animals, he kept only a few of each species, and made the rest over to the Zemindars of the provinces on their paying a certain price, which his treasury received from their agents". *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 391.

¹⁶ *Muzaffarnamah*, p. 154b; *Ryaz-us-salatin*, p. 385.

^{16a} *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 417-419.

^{16b} *Ibid.*; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, pp. 103b-105b.

priated much from the Government fund. He confiscated the effects of Chunilal and Munilal and realised vast sums from them.¹⁷ So far Mir Casim followed a policy of "prudence and economy."^{17a}

But in certain points he carried his measures too far. It is said that he extorted money from some of the old relatives and dependants of Ali Vardi and Mir Jafar as well as from those public women who had been lavishly paid by Miran and Mir Jafar, and credited the amount thus realised in the state treasury.¹⁸ He extorted what he could from one Amanullah, who used to place inkstands before Nawab Ali Vardi, and from Mir Muksud Ali, who was the Superintendent of Ali Vardi's elephant-house.¹⁹ Some of his revenue measures were somewhat strict and arbitrary. Francis writes:—"His principle is said to have been that whatever the Ryots paid should be the property of Government; thereby totally excluding all Zemindars. His officers acted accordingly. Their fear of him was so great, both from his skill in accounts and the rigour of his government, that his orders were punctually obeyed; so that partly from the direct produce of the lands, and partly by fines and confiscations it is believed that for two years, he drew almost double the ancient revenue from the coun-

17. Seir, Vol. II, p. 391; Khulāsat-ut-Tawārik, pp. 392b-393b. In this respect and in his treatment of the Zemindars, as we shall find later, the policy of Mir Casim might be well compared with that of Henry VII of England. As Henry's policy of squeezing out money from the nobles, with the help of his agents Empson and Dudley, had served to fill his treasury at the expense of the nobles, so this policy of Mir Casim enabled him to strengthen his financial resources and at the same time to curb the power of the wicked counsellors of Mir Jafar.

The situations at their accession on the thrones of their respective kingdoms were also somewhat similar. Henry VII was welcomed as the saviour of England from the evils of the Lancastrian and Yorkist misrule; and similarly Mir Casim was placed on the Masnad of Bengal to restore order and peace in the country which had been distracted as a result of Mir Jafar's misgovernment. But their ultimate fates were quite different. Henry was able to lay the strong foundations of the Tudor Monarchy, while Mir Casim's aims were completely frustrated. The former had the united support of the people of England behind him, while Mir Casim had to rule a country where such a support could never be expected.

17a. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, pp. 138-140.

18. Ibid. Jagat Sing, a famous 'Mutaseddie' of Ali Vardi's time, prepared a list of his valuables and property and presented it to Mir Casim. The latter was highly pleased at this, and returned to Jagat Sing his property and jewels taking only a portion of it.

19. Muzāffarnāmah, p. 154 (b).

try."²⁰ It is stated in the Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, ²¹ that in 1760 Mir Casim "laid an additional tax of 1½ annas or 3/32 parts of the original crown rents and estimated this addition at Sicca Rupees, 4,50,164-2-9, which being added to the former revenue of 1,32,82,960-2-17-1 made the whole of these revenues in his time amount to 1,37,33,124-5-6-1 or £1,792,172 sterling". He also took possession of all such local collections as Khajiri-jama (Khadge jama), which had been hitherto concealed, "for the benefit of the provincial treasury, and the increment so obtained for the Nawab was spoken of as Kifayat (corruptly Keffyet) or profit" ²².

Mir Casim paid equal attention to the reorganisation of the military department. He placed the Armenian Gurgin Khan, brother of Khajwa Madar, in charge of this department, and ordered him to organise it after the European fashion.²³ He admitted English sepoy and their officers into his service and "made a vast quantity of firelocks or artillery".²⁴ He arranged for manufacturing guns and flint-muskets at Monghyr.²⁵ Shaik Saiyad Ali, an inhabitant of Lucknow, was given the post of (paymaster) and, after his death, his son Muhammad Ali and his nephews Farhat Ali and Barkat Ali were also appointed paymasters to four or five

20. Minutes, etc., p. 23.

21. p. 3, quoted in Firminger's Introduction to the Fifth Report, p. CXV.

22. Ibid, p. XI

Kifayat-i-sair: "the profit derived by bringing to account concealed exactions in custom duties, etc."

Kifayat-i-faujdari: "increased assessment on the frontier lands held by the military governor levied by them, at first for their own benefit, but brought to the credit of the Government by Kasim Ali Khan". Wilson: Glossary of Revenue Terms.

23. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, p. 92b, Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 389.

24. Reflections on the Present Commotions in Bengal, pp. 9-10 (Imperial Library, Calcutta).

25. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 421. Haji Mustafa, the translator of the Seir-ul-mutakherin, makes the following remarks regarding this manufacture of guns at Monghyr:—"The European reader may possibly hear with surprise, that those firelocks manufactured at Monghyr, proved better than the best Tower-Proofs, sent to India for the Company's use; and such was the opinion which the English Officers gave them, when they made the comparison by order of the Council of Calcutta. Their flints were of Radjemahl (Rajmahal) agates, and their metal more mellow. And even to-day, 1786, Colonel Martin, a Frenchman, who has greatly distinguished himself these twenty-two years in the English service, has, at Lucknow, a manufactory where he makes pistols and fusils better, both as to

thousand horse.²⁶ Besides these, he had other officers, whether natives or foreigners, each of whom was appointed in some particular branch. Mohammad Taki Khan, who was appointed as the Faujdar of Birbhum, "with orders to raise men, but to discipline only such as might prove able-bodied and serviceable", discharged his duties satisfactorily.²⁷

lock and barrel, than the best arms that come from Europe. The comparison had been repeatedly made; and Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, carried to Europe one pair of these pistols". Ibid, footnote. Rennel noticed a great gun at Dacca, of which the dimensions were:—

	Feet.	Inches.
"Diameter at Muzzle.	3	1
Do. Breech.	3	
Do. of the Trunnions		11½
Do. of the Bore.	1	
	lbs.	Tons.
Weight of gun	61673	or 279
Do. of shot	474	

(Rennel's Journals, p. 124).

The following particulars are given about this gun in Rennel's 'Memoir of the Map of Hindustan', p. 61:—"It was made of hammered iron, it being an immense tube formed of 14 bors, with rings of 2 or 3 inches wide driven over them, and hammered down into a smooth surface; so that its appearance was equal to that of the best executed piece of brass ordnance, although its proportions were faulty

Whole length.	22ft. 10½ inches.
Diameter at the Breech	3 " 3 "
Diameter four feet from muzzle.	2 " 10 "
Diameter of the muzzle.	2 " 2½ "
Diameter of the Bore.	1 " 3½ "

The gun contained 234,413 cubic inches of wrought iron and consequently weighed 64,814 pounds avoirdupois, or about the weight of eleven 32 pounders. Weight of an iron shot for the gun 465 pounds."

"There is another big gun at Murshidabad, the dimensions of which are nearly the same as those of the one now at Dacca. An inscription in this states that it was made in the reign of Shah Jahan and governorship of Islam Khan (circa 1637) at Jahanginagar (Dacca) by Janaranjan blacksmith". Cal. Review, Vol. XCIV, p. 339.

²⁶ Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārik, p. 92b; Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 390.

²⁷ Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 421. The author of this work writes that Muhammad Taki was a more useful and trustworthy commander than Gurgin Khan, and remarks that "his conduct and name has been inscribed on the leaves of the historical page". But its translator writes in the footnote that Gurgin Khan "was a man of genius, as Mahmed-Taki-

Mir Casim thus secured for himself a well-filled treasury and a strongly reorganised army, the two essential requisites for a strong executive, especially in those days of disorder and mutual distrust. His third measure, that is, the suppression of the refractory Zemindars, was also a part of his general policy of strengthening his position as the ruler of Bengal. He first turned his attention against Kummanand, the Zemindar of Myhuttu paragona, who was possessed of "many goods and effects." He sent his men to bring him to the capital, but the latter fled away from his territory.^{27a} He next proceeded against Asad-Zaman-Khan, the Zemindar of Birbhum, for the latter had become very powerful and had refused to comply with the Nawab's demand for some additional rent.²⁸ He had moreover entered into an alliance with the Raja of Burdwan and both of them had the bad intentions of rising against the Nawab as well as the Company.²⁹ The Nawab started from his capital in the month of December 1760, and encamped at Boudgram (about 20 miles from Murshidabad), from which place he despatched Khuja Muhammadi Khan, Major Yorke and Gurgin Khan to chastise the Birbhum Zemindar. On their approach Assad-Zaman requested his father Badi-us-zaman to govern the country, and himself came forward to meet them with four or five thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry, which he posted at Karidha, two miles north of Suri, and from which place he sent detachments to all the difficult passes of the country.³⁰ For some time the Nawab's soldiers could not make any headway against the Birbhum Raja's troops.³¹ But they were soon helped by Captain White, who had already marched towards Burdwan

qhan, but with more knowledge. It was he who trained and disciplined the Nawab's cavalry, infantry and artillery, in the English manner; and if half-trained, as were those troops, a simple detachment of them fought and defeated as numerous as those that won the battle of Plassey. What would he not have done, had he had already of two years more, to train them thoroughly."

^{27a} Mir Casim's letter to the Company, November 1760, Long, p. 238.

²⁸ Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 394; Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārikh, p. 94a.

²⁹ Mir Casim's letter to the Company, November 1760, Long, pp. 238-239.

³⁰ Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 395, Muzaffar-namah, 155a. The author of the Seir-ul-mutakherin had then gone to Boudgram with instructions from Mr. Hay, Chief of the English Factory at Patna, and Major Carnac, Commander-in-Chief of the English, to represent to Mir Casim the state of affairs in Bihar and to request him for proceeding thither.

³¹ Ibid.

in order to chastise its revolted Raja³². With a few companies of Telingas and other soldiers, Captain White attacked Assad-Zaman from his rear in such a way that all the Birbhum soldiers dispersed in various directions³³. Some of them fell dead on the field and Assad-Zaman fled away quickly from Nagore towards the hills.³⁴ Major Yorke and the Nawab's soldiers proceeded to Nagore and took possession of it.

The Zemindars of Bihar were more powerful and turbulent. So, after settling his affairs at Patna with Shah Alam and Ramnarayan, Mir Casim proceeded to suppress these Zemindars. One day he issued an order summoning the more important of them to attend his court. Buniad Sing and Fateh Sing (Raja of Buncary) obeyed his order, but were imprisoned as soon as they reached Patna³⁵. Kamgar Khan, the Zemindar of Tirhut, did not pay heed to his summons and, from fear of chastisement for his attachment to the Emperor and for his non-payment of the Government dues, retired with his troops into the Ramgur hills. Pahalwan Sing and other Zemindars of Sahabad (Bhojpuria Zemindars) also stood on their defence³⁶.

The Nawab, thereupon, sent his nephew Ali Khan and Asad-ullah-Khan, son of Mir Hossein Khan, to subdue Kamgar Khan and himself proceeded to Shahseram³⁷ at the head of a large army. He had already sent there Roshan Ali Khan, the Paymaster of Miran, and Somru, the German adventurer, to warn and chastise the Bhojpur Zemindars. On his approach Pahalwan Sing and some other Zemindars of Shahabad crossed over to the other side of the Ganges, and settled in the territories of Nawab Shuja-ud-dowla and of Bulwant Sing, Zemindar of Benares. The Nawab took possession of their territories, placed his own collectors in each Zemindary, killed some of those who were most turbulent

³². Mir Casim's letter to the Company, November, 1760; Public proceedings, 24 November, 1761.

³³. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 396.

³⁴. "The 28th of Jemed-ul-awal I received intelligence that the Beerboon Zemindar through the apprehension he was under of our troops had fled from his house at Nagore and gone with the utmost expedition to the hills. Major York with the troops is arrived successful at Nagore."

Mir Casim's letter to the Company, January 1761, Long, p. 249; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I p. 53.

³⁵. Muzaffarnāmāh, p. 161b; Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 423 Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārikh, p. 104a-105a.

³⁶. Ibid.

³⁷. Ibid; Muzaffarnāmāh, pp. 163a-163b. The author of the Seir-ul-mutakherin was at that time at Patna.

and dangerous, and gathered every information regarding the families of those Zemindars and other inhabitants of the cities through his head-spy Suk Lal and his assistants³⁸.

The Nawab then proceeded to visit the fortress of Rhotas, accompanied by the father and the younger brother of the author of the Seir-ul-mutakherin. From Rhotas he came back to Sahseram and put Sahamal, the Deputy Governor of Rhotas, under confinement. He then appointed Mir Mahdi Khan, a nephew of Assad-ullah-Khan's, to command in the districts of Sahaseram and Chainpur with some Zemindars in Seress and Cotombah. Shah Mahommed Akbar Khan, a man of Lucknow and a famous commander, was ordered to help Mir Mehdi Khan and to "keep a watchful eye on the machinations of the fugitive Zemindars, and especially on Pahluvan Sing, a man that might endanger the tranquility of the whole country." Sumro was placed at Buxar with three or four regiments of Telingas, and some pieces of canon. Mir Roshen Ali was kept at Bhojpur with his whole brigade of cavalry and infantry³⁹. On his return to Patna the Nawab put Raja Rajbullabh, the Deputy Governor of that place, under confinement and sent some men to confiscate his property at Dacca.

Raja Nobet Ray was then appointed the Deputy Governor of Patna.⁴⁰ It is stated in the Muzaffarnāmāh⁴¹ that, during his stay at Monghyr, the Nabob summoned Raja Krishnadas, son of Raja Rajbullabh, Raja Nityananda, son of Royroyan Umed Ram, Raja Krishnachandra of Nadiya and Muzaffar Ali, Zemindar of Kharagpur, from their respective countries and harrassed them in various ways. The Zemindar of Betiah, who had become rather unruly, was also brought under submission⁴².

Thus, with the above measures, Mir Casim destroyed the evil elements, which had greatly discredited Mir Jafar's administration, and established a strong and efficient Government. Vansittart has given the following estimate of his administration:—

³⁸. Ibid. The author of the Muzaffarnāmāh, who is all along biassed against Mir Casim, notes that the Nawab laid waste the whole of Shahabad with cruelty and oppression in such a way that many people died of starvation and some sold their own sons for a seer of rice. It is not certain how far he is true in this statement.

³⁹. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 430.

⁴⁰. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 431; Khulāsāt-ut Tawārikh, p. 105a; Muzaffarnāmāh, p. 166b.

⁴¹. p. 166b.

⁴². Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 437.

"He discharged the Company's debt and the heavy arrears of his army, retrenched the expense of his court, which had consumed the income of his predecessors and secured his own authority over the country by reducing the power of the Zemindars, who were before continual disturbers of the peace of the province"^{42a}

We have it on the authority of Gulam Hossein⁴³ that "in unravelling the intricacies of affairs of Government, and especially the knotty mysteries of finance, in examining and determining private differences; in establishing regular payments for his troops, and for his household; in honouring and rewarding men of merit, and men of learning, in conducting his expenditure, exactly between the extremities of parsimony and prodigality; and in knowing intuitively where he must spend freely, and where with moderation—in all these qualifications—he was an incomparable man indeed, and the most extraordinary Prince of his age". There might be some exaggeration in this statement of Gulam Hossein; but the author of the *Muzaffarnāmāh*⁴⁴ has also remarked that 'Mir Casim's fame and authority had spread over the whole of Bengal. During his time, the wolf and the lamb drank water in one place, the rebels were suppressed and the army was strong and reliable'⁴⁵.

He reserved two days in a week for the administration of justice, when he himself sat as the judge and decided cases most impartially.⁴⁶ The weak were protected against the strong and the poor landholders and tenants, who had been deprived of their hereditary estates and villages, recovered these through the Nawab's help⁴⁷. He was regular in the payment of his troops. He had a great regard for pious and learned men and encouraged them in

^{42a}. Compare an almost similar statement in Hasting's letter to the Governor, dated 26th January, 1762, Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, pp. 113-114.

⁴³. Same as note 42.

⁴⁴. From the author's personal references in the work, it is apparent that he had a special prejudice against Mir Casim, whom he indicts almost in every point. In one place (p. 167b) he says that Mir Casim's district officers had dismissed him from his post in the paragana of Laskaspur (?). Moreover he was in intimate terms with Rajbullubh, Jagatseth and others, who had been punished by Mir Casim.

⁴⁵. p. 143b.

⁴⁶. *Seir-ul-mutakherin*, Vol. II, pp. 432-434; *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh*, p. 105 (a).

⁴⁷. *Ibid.*

their work. His commercial policy aimed at securing facilities for the country merchants and protecting the manufacture and industry of his kingdom. He tried to put a stop to the evil practices of the Company's servants and *Gomasthas*, and to stop the abuse of *dustucks* on their part⁴⁸. Thus, as a ruler, Mir Casim was strong, wise and efficient.

But there were two dark spots in his character as a man. His nature was very suspicious, and he was extremely cruel to those whom he did not like⁴⁹. Gulam Hosein writes that "so suspicious a Government soon interrupted all social intercourse; and

people, accustomed to a certain set of acts, and acquaintances and visits, now found themselves under the necessity of abandoning them at once, and of living at home altogether". He maintained a large number of spies, whose business it was "to pry into the secrets of every family, and into the actions of every man, whether in the Nawab's service or not".^{49a} During his stay at Shah-seram, he put five persons, such as Sitaram, "a minister who transacted a great deal of important business", Shah Sadullah, (Shah Abdulla?) a commander, and three spies of his own Government to death, for their carrying on a treacherous correspondence with the disaffected Zemindars of Behar⁵⁰. Gulam Hosein has noted on the authority of "several persons worthy of credit, that not one of these five persons had committed any such crime as might have deserved death . . . ; that every one of them had fallen a victim to conjecture and suspicion"⁵¹. From what Mr. Hastings wrote from Patna to the Company's Governor in Calcutta on May 4, 1762⁵², it appears that these people were really in a conspiracy with these Zemindars in order to subvert the Nawab's Gov-

⁴⁸. Vide, my chapter on "History of the East India Company's Trade in Bengal, 1740-65," the first of which has been already published in the *Calcutta Review* and the second part is also expected to be published soon in the same journal.

⁴⁹. *Seir-ul-mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 427; *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh*, p. 115a; *Muzaffarnāmāh*, p. 163b.

^{49a}. *Seir-ul-mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 428.

⁵⁰. *Muzaffarnāmāh*, p. 164b; *Seir-ul-mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 428.

⁵¹. *Ibid.*

⁵². "I am informed that the Nabob had intercepted letters from Sitaram, Sheikh Sadolla, and others to Pulwan Sing and other disaffected persons encouraging them in their rebellion by arguments drawn from the disagreements between the Nawab and Mr. Ellis, which they should contrive to draw to such length as to induce the Nabob to quit the province, and

ernment, and that they had been slain with the consent of the whole Durbar. As conspirators against the established Government, these men deserved, no doubt, some sort of punishment; but the fact that they were all at once sentenced to death shows that the Nawab was too suspicious a man to allow any conspirator to live at all. When Gulam Hosein, the petition-bearer, died at Sahseram, his wife and two sons were imprisoned and his house was confiscated⁵³. Khuja Abdul Wafai, a Kashmirian money-lender, who resided at Murshidabad, was tortured and imprisoned, as the Nawab's people had reported to him that he owed several thousand of gold mohurs to Gulam Hosein Arzbegi. One astronomer of the name of Mir Jafar, who had been associated with Wafai in his business, died from fear of losing his effects and honour⁵⁴. Mirza Daud, who had been married to Miran's daughter, took protection in the English Factory at Cassimbazar for fear of losing his life but he was captured by the Nawab's people, who took him to Monghyr where he was kept in confinement⁵⁵. Ali Quli Khan, the Faujdar of Bhagalpur, was imprisoned on the very day when one of his daughters died⁵⁶. Permission for her burial was refused by the Nawab, and she was buried within the compound of her father's house. Under the Nawab's orders, Ali Quli's two sons, Kelb Ali Khan and Haider Ali Khan, were sent into prison and remained there as long as his Government lasted. He found fault with them for having been in the engagement against the Radja (Raja) of Gohrecpur (Gorakhpur), where Mir Abul Hassan Khan who was the son to Turab-ali-Khan, the Nawab's maternal uncle, had been accidentally killed. Another reason of resentment against

then the design was laid to take his life. Sitaram and the *nircarrahs* were confronted with the letters in a large and public Durbar. They all confessed the guilt, and threw themselves upon his mercy; but the whole assembly unanimously declared that they deserved death, and the same instant they were accordingly carried out and executed. Sheik Sadooll being stationed at some distance, the Nabob summoned him to appear before him, but he refused it, and the Nawab detached a party to bring him by force. A fray ensued, and Sheik Sadoolla with some others on both sides, was slain". Hastings letter to the Governor, dated Patna, 4th May, 1762, quoted in Gleig's *Memoir of Hastings*, Vol. i, pp. 111-112.

⁵³. Muzaffarnamah, p. 165a. The author does not state why the Nawab treated Gulam Hosein's family in this manner. We must be careful not to confuse this Golam Hosein with the author of the *Seir-ul-mutakhirin*.

⁵⁴. Muzaffarnamah, 165b

⁵⁵. Ibid. p. 166a.

⁵⁶. Ibid, 163 a.

them was "their having made a visit to General Coote, on his journey to Azimabad, on the score of their having already commenced an acquaintance with that officer, when he first passed by Bagalpur, in his pursuit of Musher Lass (M. Law)"⁵⁷.

A famous Punjabi archer, named Rahim-ulla Khan, who lived in Bengal with Abdul Rasul Khan, a brother of Dost Muhammad Khan, was cruelly punished by the Nawab who "ordered his nose to be cut off, and himself to be put upon an ass, and carried in that condition all over the town; after which he was to be banished beyond the Keremnassa (Karamnassa)"⁵⁸. The Nawab was offended with him because "he was passionately fond of Sukur-ollah-qhan, alias Aga-baba, son posthumous of Ser-efraz-qhan (Sarfaraz Khan), a young man now under confinement at Djehangirnagar (Dacca) . . . and who was extremely suspected by Mir Cassem-qhan, to whom he now and then sent petitions, requesting a release from his confinement. The man's servant used, together with these petitions, to bring letters to the Nawab's principal Ministers. Rahim-ollah-qhan, meeting the above servant in his way carried him home and gave him a lodging"⁵⁹. One Chintamani Das, who was a native of Bhojpur and who had been appointed by Mir Casim as the "superintendent of the finances of that district," was found guilty of carrying on correspondence with the refractory Zemindars of Behar, who had taken refuge at Gazipur⁶⁰. His punishment was that he was tied to an elephant's foot, and carried round till he breathed his last⁶¹.

When, after the battle of Suti, the wheel of Mir Casim's fortune had taken an adverse course, then, seized with anguish and despair, and being more suspicious of the behaviour of his Indian prisoners, he ordered a massacre of them. All the native historians have given the names of the most important of them and

⁵⁷. *Seir-ul-mutakhirin*, Vol. II, p. 426. The author writes that the "satellites, sent by Radja Radjbullub (Raja Rajbullubh) to fetch those ill-fated brothers, having met me by chance on the road, surrounded by my customary retinue, they mistook me for their prey, and desired me to follow them; and although I expostulated strongly, they answered nothing to the purpose; and I was fain to go whithersoever they thought proper to lead. They carried me to Radja Radj-bullub. This Governor, on hearing my name and family, was confounded; he professed much concern, made an apology and dismissed me. I returned thanks to God and went home". p. 427.

⁵⁸. *Seir-ul-mutakhirin*, Vol. II, pp. 438-440.

⁵⁹. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 439.

⁶⁰. Ibid, pp. 439-441.

⁶¹. Ibid.

have noted that there were many others besides them who were similarly murdered. The important persons were:—Ramnarain, Rajbullubh, with his son Krishnadas, Mir Muhammad Saddiq Khan with his sons, Royroyan Umid Ray with his son Nityananda, the Zemindars of Ticary, Raja Fateh Sing and Raja Buniad Sing, Shah Abdulla, Jagat Seths Mahatab Ray and Surupchand⁶². Ramnarain was drowned in the Ganges near Monghyr with a bag of sand fastened to his neck; perhaps others also were killed in the same manner.

The massacre of the English prisoners at Patna⁶³ is also an instance of his cruel and suspicious disposition. It baffled his own purpose. Instead of striking terror into the minds of the English, it made them more furious, and he could not maintain his ground for a long time.

It is true that these Indian officials and Zemindars were entertaining various designs against Mir Casim⁶⁴, and that their sup-

⁶². Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 492; Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, p. 115a; Muzaffarnamah, pp. 179a-180a.

Proceedings, October 26, 1763. We should note that there are different versions regarding Jagat Seths' death. According to Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh (p. 118a) they were murdered at a village Chandi near Bar; the Muzaffarnamah (p. 184a) also states that they were killed near Bar; in the proceedings, October 26, 1763, we find "that the Seats (Seths) were put to death near Baur and their bodies not permitted to be burnt". But Haji Mustafa, the translator of the Seir-ul-mutakherin, writes that Jagat Seth Mahatab Ray was drowned at Monghyr "from a tower of the castle. His favourite servant Chuni, desired, supplicated, intreated to be made fast with his good master, or thrown before him, and could not obtain that favour; so that he threw himself at last after his master had, in vain, descended to the lowest supplications to obtain his forbearing. These particulars I know, not only from a general report at that time, but also from a relation of Chuni's, one Baburam, a man of some note, who then lived in Djagatseat's (Jagat-Seth's) palace, and has been ten years in my service." Dr. Anderson, who wrote on the authority of the reports of the native servants, writes at one place of his Diary (Aug. 17) that the Seths were killed at Monghyr, at another place (Sep. 28) that they were alive and at Barh. Major Adams in his letter to the President dated the 18th October writes:—"And the Setts were about the same time put to death near Baur and their bodies were not permitted to be burnt but exposed".

Thus it seems that the version other than that of Haji Mustafa is true, or of the two Seth brothers one might have been killed at Monghyr and the other near Bar.

⁶³. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, pp. 504-508; Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, pp. 118a-119b; Muzaffarnamah, p. 184b-185b.

Wheeler, p. 325; Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. III, p. 396; Diaries of Three Surgeons at Patna, edited by Firminger.

⁶⁴. "And as his mind had been soured by the alteration which he now observed among the grandees of his Court; and the conjecture required

pression might have become a practical necessity for his Government. But death was too heavy a punishment for the offences they were guilty of. They might be well punished in some other way. Thus we see, that, inspite of his various qualities as a ruler, as has been already pointed out, Mir Casim could not rise above the two vices of his age, such as cruelty and suspicion.

During the greater part of the Eighteenth century these were the two most dominating evils among the ruling and aristocratic classes. The history of the scramble for the throne among the sons of Aurangzeb⁶⁵, the behaviour of Murshid Kuli towards the Zemindars, the manner of Sharfaraz Khan's accession to the musnud of Bengal⁶⁶, the treachery of Haji Ahmed, Ali Vardi, Roy Rayan, Jagat Seth against Sarfaraz Khan, the great conspiracy of 1757 against Sirajuddowla, and the relations between Mir Jafar, Roydurlabh, and Ramnarain—all clearly show that the political atmosphere of the age was one of mutual distrust. Mir Casim had been breathing in that atmosphere for sometime before he became the Nawab of Bengal, and his nature was accordingly formed. It is only great men who can rise above the environments of their age. But Mir Casim, was not such. He was only a strong ruler with a firm determination and a sound financial and military genius.

that he should dispose of his prisoners of State, who were in great numbers; he resolved to put all those unfortunate men to death; especially as he had already a variety of suspicions on their account, and they had filled his mind with tormenting anxieties; they were too numerous to be kept under command, and too dangerous to be dismissed."

Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 492.

⁶⁵. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. I, Sections I and II, Irvine's Later Maughals, Vol. I, pp. 1-35.

⁶⁶. "Immediately on the decease of his father Serferaz Khan took possession of the government, but notwithstanding his uncontested succession, he was so apprehensive of the intrigues of his enemies, that he would not venture out of the fort to attend the funeral obsequies of his father." Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 493.

The Madras Council and its relations with the Golconda administration under Madanna and Akkanna (1672-1686)

By

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The Editor of this Journal, in the course of a lengthy paper on "Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and His Ministers Madanna and Akkanna", presented to the 10th annual meeting of the Osmania University Historical Society and published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. X; Part II, has explained the significance of Golconda's alliance with Sivaji which was a necessary preliminary to the latter's Karnatic expedition, and also the consequence of the accession of Madanna and Akkanna to dominance at the Sultan's Court. In connection with the latter topic, he indicated the importance of, and the motives underlying, the attitude of the local representatives of Golconda of whom Podili Lingappa was the most important, towards the English. An attempt is made in the following paper, at the suggestion of the Editor, to explain the significance of this attitude, so far as it can be gleaned from a study of the Madras records.

I

Sultan Abu'l Hasan of Golconda (1672-87) began his reign with Sayyad Muza'ffar Khan as his chief Minister, and with Musa Khan, Khan-i-Khanan as the Governor of the Golconda Karnatak, (i.e., all the coast country of the Coromandel roughly to the north of Madras). Musa Khan succeeded Nawab Nēk-nām Khan with whom the Madras Council had arrived at a definite, rather a quasi-definite, agreement as regarded the rent of the Fort and Town of Madras. The Fort St. George Consultation of the 25th April, 1672 (Sir William Langhorn, Governor) declares that "the Nawab Yecknam Cawn being deceased and Mussa Cawn chosen in his place, having sent us a confirmation of the agreement and *phirmaund*, made by and with his predecessor, with promise that he will be no less, nay more, a

friend to us than he was, and that he should look upon the *phirmaund* (farman), etc., as received not from Yecknam Cawn but himself." The Madras Council resolved, in the same consultation, to send presents worth 500 pagodas, in the shape of scarlet cloth, looking glasses and such like, by their Brahman agent Venkatapati, to the new Nawab on his accession to the Government of the Karnatak.

Later in the same year, it was entered in a Council consultation of the 20th October, that the captains and *havalgars* (from Arabic *Hawāla*=charge) in the Moors' camp before San Thomé caused great trouble and poisoned the mind of the Nawab against the English, "the Nawab being inexperienced in these parts" and too apt to give credit to the representations of his men and therefore it was resolved to give small *peshkashes* (Pers. *Pesh-kash*=first fruits, fines, taxes) to them, through their chief merchant, the famous—a rather well-known—character, Casa Verona. Similar presents were ordered to be given to the chief officers of the Nawab when they came to visit the English Governor in May, 1673. In March 1674, Sayyad Fatimeah, the Governor of Chingleput and the son of Sayyad Ibrahim who was a good friend of the English Company in his days, was sent for by the Sultan of Golconda, in order that he might marry the daughter of his (Sultan's) Chief Mufti, a person of great influence. The Madras Council thought it fit to make Sayyad Fatimeah a fitting and acceptable present, to the value of 130 pagodas, "to entertain that friendship of so long continuance and which of probability may be of good consequence to their affairs, he having promised to give the king (Sultan) a good account of all passages here to their vindication, from the many aspersions raised by the Dutch and others at the camp." (Consultation of 26th March, 1674). Sometime later, it was deemed necessary by the Council to proceed with great caution in the matter of the confirmation of their *phirmaund* by the Court, as "through the absence of Madanna, the Great Braminy from Golconda, being gone abroad into the country with the King, our Egyb's proceedings do not yet appear to be too far engaged." (Consultation of the 21st November, 1674).

II

Thus by the end of 1674, Madanna had become supreme at the court of Golconda, thus displacing Sayyad Muzaffar Khan as the chief minister. Akkanna took the place of Musa Khan as the Governor of the Karnatak about the same time. In Feb. 1675 (*vide* Consultation of the 10th), the council resolved to send up *pesh-*

*cash*es to their Egyb Venkatapati, to be presented to the Sultan, Madanna, "the great Bramany, who is the great Mogundar and the chiefest person in power, next the King himself," the Nawab Muskmia, Muhammad Ibrahim the new Sarkheil (*Sar-i-khel*=head of the clan, leader), Pulla Pella Yengana, (Polepalli Venkana), the chief Survey Wisse or Comptroller General, Narasa Vittala and others of the great men—as "the King and all the great Crown Officers of this Kingdom of Golconda and Carnataca, having themselves long required that the Honourable Company should *peshcash* them upon his and their new greatness, as a right not to be avoided, and we having deferred it as long as we could with safety on promise to comply with them. . . . and being continually pressed thereunto, with intimation that if we do not give satisfaction to them therein without any longer delay, that we should endanger the displeasure of his Highness and all the afore-said great Officers past recovery, and instead of their assistance (hitherto enjoyed in all these late troubles), be very much obstructed and disturbed on all occasions and pretences . . . and be in the end compelled to do it by force and much greater expense and disadvantage." The Madras Consultation of the 28th September 1675 gives an account of the ruin to the weaving industry and trade caused in divers places by the high-handed oppressions and extortions of the horsemen sent by Madanna and the Sultan, as a result of which many of the Company's merchants and their families were glad to run away amongst the woods and "by great *peshcash*es, save their money and their lives amongst the thieves themselves" and that the "woodmen and watchmen, being abused by Chinnapelle Mirza's extortions, by the King's order, broke out into hostilities against all the neighbouring countries . . . made no less a disorder amongst the weavers who were fain to desert Bijapuri control for shelter. . . ."

III

In February 1676, Pollepalle Venganna, who was in charge of the neighbourhood of Madras, put forward a claim to sell paddy coming from the territory of Golconda, free of custom in Madras, at their own rates, as in their own territories, and to reimpose a *havaladar* saying "the King (Abdullah Kutb Shah. *d.* 1672) and Nawab (Nēknām Khan) who granted the *cowle* and *phirmaund* are dead and gone, and this King (Abu'l Hasan) not obliged, as if himself had not confirmed it and received the money"; while the Dutch who were not able to get a similar *cowle* for their settlement at Pulicat, did all they could to infringe ours. But even in

the previous year Podili Lingapa, the nephew of Akkanna and Madanna, who was appointed to be the *tarafdar* and Governor of the Poonamalle district, had procured (according to a Consultation entry, dated the 16th and 17th March, 1675) a *phirmaund* and *tasheriff* (Arabic *tashrif*=honouring) from the Sultan to the Madras Governor and Agent, "merely to extort a pishcash, as he has from the Dutch at Paliacat, to the value of 800 pagodas." Upon this, the Madras Council resolved to send their chief merchant, Casa Verona, to meet Lingapa at Trivetour (Tiruvottiyur) . . . to acquaint him that we cannot accept thereof to the prejudice of the Honourable Company's *cowle* (*paṭṭa*, agreement) and *phirmaund*, which exempts us from having to do with any but the Divan itself, and that the Agent write up presently to our Egyb Vencataputty to prevent misinformation and to get a strict order to the said Tarafdar to observe the said *cowle* and *phirmaund* and *sallabad* (*Sāl+ābād*=permanent charge) in all things representing to his Highness and to Madana, etc., the prejudice which will otherwise ensue to the King's revenue, should they be any ways disturbed."

As Dr. S. K. Aiyangar remarks, with the coming of Podili Lingapa, there was a stiffening in the administration and the relation between the Madras Council and the Tarafdar of Poonamallee became more or less one of continued hostility. From a quotation in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (Vol. I p. 356) we learn more fully about this change of position. An extract from the proceedings of the Madras Council containing what Casa Verona heard from the Sultan's Mazumdar of Armagaon about Lingapa's attitude towards the Madras Council (given on pp. 90-91 of the *Records of Fort St. George—Diary and Consultation Book of 1672-78*), is informing. Podili Lingapa was given a horse and other presents when he paid a visit to the Dutch towns of Pulicat and Sadras and when he carried a *tasheriff* to the English, they would not accept it, nor would (they) invite him to their town, but gave the messenger who carried their *phirmaund* petty gifts. Polepalle Venganna concurred with him that the English were a scornful people and that Nēknām Khan was ill-advised and foolish in letting them away with a paltry rent of 1,200 pagodas per annum. He further urged that Lingapa should keep a *havaladar* in Madras and the *cowle* of Nēknām Khan ended with him and that he would go to the Sultan and prevail on him "to send a Persian to be over Chinnapatnam". The Sultan himself is said to have postponed an order on the matter till his return from Masulipatam towards which he was going and his courtiers advised him to take some definite action in the affair.

IV

The stiffened attitude of the Golconda government coincided with the establishment of Brahman dominance at the court and of Brahman control over the Poonamalle country, and also with the arrival at a sort of understanding between the Golconda government and Shivaji that was the preliminary for the latter's famous Karnatac expedition. It is doubtful, according to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, whether "the change was brought about as a normal consequence of the change of ministry or had something to do with the agreement between Shivaji and Abu'l Hasan's administration."

The Madras Council was strong in its view that the Brahman dominance in the Golconda government was inconsiderate towards itself and insatiably avaricious. This view is supported by Manucci who gives an instance of the intolerance of Madanna in Golconda (vide p. 31 of Irvine's Translation of the *Storia do Mogor* (Indian Texts Series) Vol. III; and also *Ma'as'ir-i-Alamgiri*, 227; 272.) In December 1676, the Madras Council complained of the Brahman officials of Golconda "who have been studying to do all the prejudices they can and to cavil at the said *cowle*, labouring to bring this their place (Madras) into the same condition as Paliacat and to force it to receive the King's paddy at his own extorsive rates; as a beginning of evils more to follow. . . ." The Council was anxious to obtain a new royal confirmation of the *cowle* by the Sultan's own express *phirmaund* (firman) and also a ready access to the throne for its own agent on all occasions of complaints, "whereof", the resolution ran, "we are sensible of a great want since his father's (Abdulla Kutb Shah's—who was the father-in-law of Abu'l Hasan, who was of low origin according to Fryer, but said by others to be descended on his father's side from the Kutb Shahi family itself) decease and Madanna's new greatness". (Vide Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* translation by W. Irvine, Vol. IV p. 444) The same consultation continues that the annual rent due for 1676-77 be sent to the agent of the Madras Council at Golconda, the Brmany Yeana Viraraghava to be paid to Nawab Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim (the Sar-i-Khel) and get good acquittances from him for the past and present, and also to engage the said Nawab to give his protection to the Company's business as against the mischief wrought by Lingapa and his master Polepelli Venganna, who were Madanna's creatures. Podili Lingapa had strengthened his hold over the whole country "hereabout from Armagaon to the borders of (the) Bijapur (Karnatac); he desired to force

the English to purchase only his paddy at exorbitant rates and likewise to extort from them a loan of 10,000 pagodas upon the neighbouring revenues of paddy, "which, formerly being a very sure assignation, as these juggling Brahminys contrive it, is now grown a mere cheat, for by removing the person who took the money, they avoid the obligation, and put folks to seek for their money where they can get it." Nevertheless the English Council resolved in January 1677, a peshcash valued at 30 pagodas, to Lingapa and one of smaller value to the Brahman agent of Akkanna.

V

In May 1677, Sivaji was almost upon them. On the 9th the Council heard that Sivaji, having been entertained in the King of Golconda's service, was in full march upon Gingee with 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot, the vanguard of which had already passed Kālahasti and Tirupati and was expected that night at Conjeevaram. In a consultation of the 14th May, the Council received a letter and messenger from Sivaji requesting some "cordial stones and counter-poisons" and sent him these, along with some broad cloth and a quantity of sandalwood. Sivaji did nothing in the Golconda portion of the Karnatac, in a military sense, and only when he passed into the Gingee territory that was under Bijapur, did he begin serious military operations. The comparative inaction of Sivaji in the neighbourhood of Madras and the consequent immunity that the English Presidency enjoyed were the result of an understanding that had been come to between Sivaji and the Golconda administration, and that was possibly deemed by the astute Madanna as "the best course of action to be adopted in the circumstances, both as against the advancing tide of Mughal aggression, and as the best safeguard for the preservation of what was worth preserving, the Hindu India of the South". Golconda agreed to provide Sivaji with a subsidy of 3,000 huns a day and also with an army of 5,000 men and a park of artillery in which branch of equipment the Maratha invader was weak. In return Sivaji was to give to Golconda such parts of his Karnatac conquests as did not belong to his father Shahji. Thus we can easily comprehend the reason for the vigour and rapidity with which Sivaji overran the Gingee country, which was under Bijapur and drove off Sher Khan Lodi into the forests of Ariyalūr on the banks of the Coleroon.

In June 1677 when Sivaji had just begun the long-drawn siege of Vellore, he wrote to Madras desiring a further supply of

cordials and counterpoisons; and we are informed by the consultation dated 18th June, that his (Sivaji's) power was increasing and he exercised so much power in the country of the Golconda Sultan that he sent all about to receive the King's rents by his own people and was punishing the *havalgars* and other great men of the country at his pleasure.

When in October a letter from Sivaji reached Madras in which he desired the English to supply him with engineers required for the effective prosecution of the siege of Vellore, the Council resolved to send him a civil excuse, saying that the affair was "wholly unfit for us to meddle in it, there being many dangers consequent thereon as well of increasing his (Sivaji's) power as of rendering both Golconda and the Mogull our enemies, all these parts being spread with his spies, and himself and army now come nearer this way, within two days' march of this place (Madras)".

VI

Meanwhile the bickerings between the Sultan's renter for the Poonamallee country and the English Council at Madras over the right of the former to compel the latter to take off his own paddy at his own rates continued. The renter threatened the English in February 1679 that if they forbade Poonamallee corn to be sold in Madras, he would stop wood and all other provisions from coming to them. When a remonstrance on this matter was addressed to Lingapa who had his headquarters at Conjeevaram, he returned answer that there being much of corn at Poonamallee to be sold, and the Sultan's necessity being urgent, he would take off the stop, if the Council would furnish him 7,000 pagodas to supply the want (Consultation of the 11th February, 1678).

Governor Streyntsham Master was anxious to get the support of the Muhammadan officers of Golconda; he took care to send the annual town rent due for Madras for 1677-78, to Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim, at Golconda itself and to convince the Nawab that Lingapa's report that the English at Madras were building a great bulwark was false, but that they were only repairing an old ruined bulwark. He also planned to send the chief and Council of Madapollam to procure if possible, from the Sultan during his forthcoming visit to Masulipatam, (1) a *farman* granting the right for the English to coin silver rupees and copper pice at Madras, the said coins to pass current in all the King's dominions; (2) a *farman* granting the exemption of English goods and trade in the Karnatac and adjacent regions from the *junkan* (Sun-

kam = toll) and other customs and duties as they were at Masulipatam; (3) the getting of Verasheroone or Madapollam or both of them settled on the English as rent-free grants, or on a fixed unalterable rent which was to be paid only to the Diwan (*Vide* Consultation of the 23rd May, 1678). The English Council subsequently advised the Madapollam Chief and Council to persuade the Sultan to grant Tiruvottiyūr, Egmore and San Thome in the neighbourhood of Madras, either rent-free or at moderate rents which should not be increased at all in future. They were prepared, in the case of San Thome, which they had been long coveting, to pay 1,300 pagodas per annum, as Casa Verona was then paying for it (Consultation of June 3rd, 1678).

The Sultan's *Sar-i-Khel*, Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim, was disposed to be friendly to the English and sent a tasheriff congratulating Governor Master on his accession to his office. The Sultan however was unable to proceed to Masulipatam owing to the oppressive heat and the scarcity of water prevailing on the route. The visit was postponed till after the rainy season of the year should have passed away.

VII

In August, 1678, news was received that a body of Sivaji's horse under the command of Santojee, appeared at Conjeevaram and that it was likely it would proceed further towards Madras and would take Poonamallee castle, that Vellore had surrendered and that Sivaji had now full and quiet possession of all the countries of Gingee and Vellore. The English Council feared that Sivaji would now turn his attention to the Golconda Karnatac. In the beginning of September, Podili Lingappa paid a condolence visit to Casa Verona, on the death of the latter's wife, when he urged that he should be given very valuable presents and a Persian horse by the English, that he had received a new *farman* from the Sultan giving him supreme control over all the Golconda forces in these parts and that Governor Master should not regard himself in any way as his equal. Lingappa's importunate demands were repeated in September when he requisitioned for 10 and got 2 *candies* of gunpowder to be used in subduing the jungle chiefs (*poligars*). Madras had to welcome the *Habshi* general of Bijapur, Abdulla Khan, who surrendered Vellore to Sivaji upon certain conditions, but later thought it safe for himself not to trust to Maratha protection and sought refuge with the English Governor. A letter was received from the English agent at Golconda that Sivaji had ordered his men at Gingee to take a fit opportu-

nity to plunder Madras, Pulicat and Sadraspatam. But the news proved baseless; and it was learnt that the Marathas had retired from the neighbourhood of Gingee towards Mysore whose ruler had been very formidable to the Marathas on his border; this was greatly to the relief of the English, who however, continued to be pestered by Lingappa's demands for presents which extended even to Casa Verona and the Pedda Naik of Madras.

VIII

In the beginning of 1679 the Madras Council became eager to get some good return for their payments and gifts to the Sultan and the great men with him. A letter was written on the 6th February to the Brahman *Egyb* at Golconda, urging him to endeavour to recover something in lieu of the presents given to the Sultan and to Madanna at Masulipatam during their late visit, when the Chief and Council of Masulipatam could not manage their request as was ordered by the Madras Council. The *Egyb* was asked to persuade Madanna and Akkanna to influence the Sultan to grant gratis the towns of San Thome and Egmore to the English Company, "since the English by their ancient, faithful and peaceable demeanour towards and profitableness to the Divan and his country, have not deserved less, but more favours from him than the Dutch or any other nation residing in his Highness's dominions and it is not for the Divan's honour to do so much for one and nothing for the other. . . ." (p. 4 of *Madras Records—Letters from Fort St. George 1679*).

To this, the *Egyb* replied that he had an interview with Madanna, the prime minister, who informed him that the Dutch had given their promised present of 6,000 pagodas, and the English had not given theirs of 3,000 pagodas, and when they should do so, he would then begin negotiations concerning the renting of San Thome and Egmore, and obtain the Sultan's permission therefor (*vide* the minutes of a consultation of the Madras Council on the 17th February, 1679). Troubles continued about Lingappa's demand that paddy from his *taraf* (division) should be sold in the market of Madras at his rate and the allegation that the customs raised by the English had increased, thus justifying a demand for a higher rent. To this, Governor Master made the bold reply—"The market of Madraspatam was free to all people to buy and sell in; but if men were content to sell at 12 *kalams* (measures) for a pagoda which was now the market price, no man could force them to sell at 10: and if it should please God to make it dearer or cheaper, it was not in the power of man to alter what

God Almighty had decreed. . . ." (p. 18 of the *Madras Diary and Consultation Book 1679-80*). The English Council resolved to resist by force, if necessary, the order made by Lingappa that the citizens of Madras should come and buy only the grain that had been collected at Vepery and Egmore (adjoining the confines of the English settlement) and that no other paddy should be suffered to come into the city.

While this bold face was put up before Lingappa, the Council was anxious to get a *cowle* and *farman* from the Sultan for the places (San Thome, Egmore and Tiruvottiyūr) that they were eager to acquire and instructed their *Egyb* at Golconda that he should "procure the said *phirmaund* (farman) and *coull* (cowl) written very exactly and punctually in all matters and particulars as therein mentioned." They also enclosed a copy of the *farman* that would satisfy them in which they specified by name the six villages dependent on San Thome, the six hamlets belonging to Tiruvottiyūr and the nine villages adjacent to Egmore; and they stipulated that the places should be permanently rented under them and they should have the right to build factories, godowns, etc., in them, to exercise jurisdiction in all causes, both civil and criminal, therein and to be exempt from the former usual customs, *junkan* or other duties.

IX

The higgling over the fixing of the rent for San Thome and its dependent villages was prolonged, as is clearly indicated in the letters to Bramany Viraraghava sent from Madras in the months March to June, 1679. It was feared that the French had a design of securing San Thome for themselves; and Casa Verona instructed Podili Lingappa, before he proceeded to Golconda to settle accounts, to use all possible means to prevent the French coming to that place again. The fruit of this was that Lingappa took possession of San Thome himself on the 17th August, 1679, apparently after his return from Golconda, farming it out of Verona's hands; and the latter endeavoured, in his turn, to wrest San Thomē from Lingappa, as, according to the consultation of the 25th August, he was anxious "to prevent the inconveniences that may accrue to the revenues of this town (Madras) by the stoppage of goods, grain and the calico investment this year".

Lingappa tried hard to improve upon the advantage he had secured and made a "malicious" request to Braminy Akkanna Pantulu to obtain a grant from his Highness for us (the English) to pay him our Town's (Madras') rent merely to encroach

upon us by degrees" (p. 41—*Letters from Fort St. George* 1679). Akkanna was requested not to countenance Lingappa's request for getting the rent of Madras for himself. It continues:—"We hope that your lordship (Akkanna) as a just and upright person under him (the Sultan) will never countenance (*him*) that desires such unjust things as the said Lingappa would persuade you merely to act his ill designs and (malice) he bears towards us." The letter also urged that Verona had a *farman* from the Sultan and a *Rakka* (Arab. Ruk'a = letter, note of hand) from Madanna (your worthy brother) and that Akkanna would use all his endeavours to put San Thome again into Verona's hands. Apparently these protestations and appeals to Akkanna had the desired effect; and in October the Brahmin Viraraghava was able to report from Golconda that there was great hope of San Thome being returned to Verona (Consultation; entry for Monday, the 3rd November, 1679). The *Egyb* was congratulated in a letter, dated Fort St. George, 26th November, that "you have done well in preventing granting Lingappa's malicious desire, to obtain our Town's (Madras') rent to be paid unto him, though we are resolved never to yield thereto" and "we have been glad to hear of what you have done in Casa Verona's request to Braminy Madanna and Akkanna concerning San Thome and hope that Lingappa upon arriving at these parts, will not offer to violate their express orders."

X

Casa Verona died on the 28th March, 1680; and certainly the death of one who was a strong champion of the English cause as against the pretensions of the Golconda officials was a serious loss to the Madras Governor and Council. The imposition of a *havaladar* on the town of Madras was attempted in May following on the strength of an order purporting to come from Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim on the ground that "the towne produced more than formerly, and Verona the *Dubass* (Dubash) being dead, therefore it should no longer be under the English, but kept under the King's hands and that Futtu Cawn (at Chingleput) should send a *havaladar* to take the government thereof." Master had to send three files of soldiers and bring the pretender of a *havaladar* into the Fort and sent him back after an examination. Nor were the English less cautious on their side than the situation warranted.

The Council resolved at a consultation on the 3rd of June that "the revenue of the Towne may not be known to the Moors

as they desire, it is thought good and ordered that the accounts thereof and especially of the customs upon goods exported and imported by sea shall be only kept in English, and the *Braminys*, *cancoplys*, etc., are not to keep any books or accounts thereof in writing, which the customer is to see observed and act accordingly".

Podili Lingappa was not peculiar in his attitude towards the English alone. He was equally stiff in his demands as against the Dutch; and it may be said of him that "the rights of the question were not altogether all of them on one side, and they got complicated by the steps and counter-steps adopted, and on the whole it cannot be well maintained that Lingappa was doing anything that was not in the interests of the Golconda administration." (Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in *J. I. H.* Vol. X Part II *Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and His Ministers Madanna and Akkanna*). It was reported at Madras towards the end of August 1680, that Lingappa had put a stop to all the Dutch business at Pulicat forbidding their merchants to buy or carry any cloth thither. He followed it up by imposing a similar embargo on Madras from the 1st of September, in the matter of the bringing in of cloth—the prohibition being alleged to be on the ground that the Governor refused to admit the *havaladar* that was sent by the order of the Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim. Lingappa sent word that Verona used to lend him large sums periodically and besides gave him annual presents "which he knew not of whom to have these advantages;" whereupon the Chief Merchants of the Company agreed to send two of their number to Lingappa to treat with him as to the removal of the embargo.

Upon the embargo continuing for some time, the Madras Council resolved to make an application direct to the Golconda court for redress and addressed letters to the Sultan and to Madanna (Consultation of the 13th September, 1680). Lingappa maintained that he did not begin the embargo without orders from his masters and that he would expect from whoever should be the successor to Verona, 2,000 pagodas and loans without interest for his Diwan. The month of September passed without anything being done at Golconda, where Nawab Ibrahim merely put off the *Egyb* of Madras with excuses and delays. What was worse, Lingappa sent orders to stop *chunam* (lime-shell) and brick from coming into Madras (Consultation of the 26th September). It was only in the beginning of November that letters were received from Golconda with *Rukkas* of the Nawab, Madanna

Brahman clerks and the class of non-Brahman accountants.

and Akkanna upon Lingappa, ordering him not to stop goods going into Madras, nor to hinder the business of the English in any manner. Lingappa was forced thus to stop his embargo; but he was in close communication—one might say, collusion—with a number of painters (of the Company's cloth) and other disaffected persons who deserted over from Madras to San Thome and countenanced them in stopping the goods and corn from being brought into town. In spite of Lingappa's orders, the customs-officers of the Golconda government continued to obstruct English trade and to prevent the free entry of cloth and other goods into the settlement. A further offence was alleged by Lingappa when a messenger of his bearing a farman from Golconda was not received by the Governor in proper form, and consequently he had orders from court to stop again goods and provisions coming into the town. He added to this a threat that he would stop all manner of trade and provisions and destroy the town and bring it to the same pass as San Thome (Consultations of the 27th December 1680 and of 3rd January 1681—pp. 87 and 89 of *The Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George for 1680-81*). These persistent threats so worked upon the Council that it was resolved on the 6th of January to settle a factory in the Ginjee country "which is out of the Golconda dominions, which is a matter of great security to the Company's investments and one of the main reasons why the Dutch keep so many factories upon this coast, which, being divided into several governments, if they be obstructed in their business by one governor, they have another place to friend, and besides this advantage of preventing Lingappa or any other Subahdar of this country from being capable of spoiling all our business when it depends wholly upon their courtesy."

XI

Akkanna, the minister of Golconda planned to go down to the Poonamalle country to settle the disputes outstanding with the Madras Council himself; and Lingappa wrote to say that he had ordered the village of Triplicane (which had already been given to the Company) to be taken over by the *havildar* of San Thome and would bring it under Poonamalle "threatening much what will be done to us upon Akkanna's coming down, who is now on the way." (Entry in the consultation for the 28th February 1681). Fortunately for the English, Akkanna turned back towards Golconda from Tirupati without marching further; and Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim wrote to Madras to say that he had abandoned all thoughts of raising the rent of Madras.

But Lingappa was not to be stopped from his course of action. He reestablished an embargo on provisions etc., going into Madras, forbidding the country people to do so and setting watchmen to stop them. All that Governor Master could do was to assure the people of San Thome, Egmore and other villages that if Lingappa abused them and prevented them from sending in provisions, they might retire into Madras and should be protected there. Lingappa however sent word on the 14th of April, by his Diwan, that he had an order from Akkanna to besiege Madras and Pulicat, because the Governors of these two places would not do as they were ordered by the Diwan of the Sultan and also because no Madras official met Akkanna at Tirupati and of other reasons (minutes of the Council of the 15th and 16th April, 1681).

The embargo continued upon all goods and provisions coming into Madras throughout May. In June the Madras Council resolved (see consultation of the 6th June) to send 2,000 pagodas as a sort of peace-offering to Akkanna, through Nazar Beg (the Sultan's jeweller) who was deemed to have great interest with the minister. Also it was at last resolved that "Podili Lingappa have a present sent to him to the value of pagodas 300, notwithstanding the Egyb at Golconda acquaints Mr. Master our troubles may be composed for pagodas 2,000: there; yet Lingappa being a person that has of late an unlimited power granted him in the countries adjacent to us and judging that of necessity something must be given him whatever is given at court, it was therefore thought convenient to compliment him with this *peshkash*. . . .", and a letter from the Governor was sent by Pedda Venkatadri (one of the Chief Merchants of the Company, who was a friend of the Tarafdar) who also was ordered to have discourse with Lingappa that "we might have a friendly understanding between us" (Consultation of the 20th July, 1681—pp. 39-40 of *Diary and consultation Book 1681*).

XII

On August 1st, the Governor was able to inform the Council that all differences with Lingappa were happily concluded. One peculiar result of this was that the Brahman Viraraghaviah, who was the English Company's Egyb at Golconda, and had been dismissed recently from his place, being replaced by one Guruvappa, alias Henriques Midao, was reentertained in consideration of his former good service, and what is noteworthy, because "we look upon the present Egyb Grua to be a man unfit for that

employ as being given to drink, and so not admitted to manage any affairs with the Bramanys who now govern all (in Golconda)." (Consultation of the 6th of October). Lingappa continued to give pin-pricks to the Madras Council even after the present was resolved upon.

XIII.

Lingappa's relations with the English hinged, on, among other claims, the right to receive the rent from Fort St. George which ought to be paid only through him and that the English Council should have no transactions or correspondence, directly with the Sultan or his ministers. In the *Letters to Fort St. George* for 1682, we find on page 8, a mild request from Lingappa to Governor Gyfford that the rent for the current year, or at least half of it, might be sent up to him. In another letter, received at Fort St. George on the 1st March, he wrote: "their Lordships Madanna and Akkanna have once before sent *tashrif*s to your worship through my hands." The English Company's agent at Golconda, in his letter of the 21st January, informed Gyfford that "Podili Lingappa being a great person in these parts, he would have been something grieved, if the *tashrif*s (to the Governor and Pedda Venkatadri) had not been first sent to him, before they had been conveyed to your Worship's hands; therefore Braminy Akkanna ordered the *tashrif*s to be carried to Lingappa, and there to take one of his people together with the Diwan's *nobut* to come with the *tashrif*s." (p. 16, of *Letters to Fort St. George* for 1682). In spite of the Company's agent's arguments to the contrary, the ministers, Madanna and Akkanna, maintained that Chennapatnam (Madras) and all other affairs of those parts should be of Lingappa's side." The agent however feared that "if we should pay the rent money but one year to Lingappa, he will contrive many ways to bring us into such a labyrinth of troubles that we shall not be able to get out of it." Akkanna himself advised Governor Gyfford that he should "hear Lingappa with credulity in whatsoever business he shall acquaint you about and to get him to write to us when you would have any business to be done here (at headquarters), for the more you oblige Lingappa to write in your behalf, the readier shall we be to favour you." The meaning of this was too plain to be misunderstood and showed how Lingappa had contrived to get all his demands recognised as just and lawful, in the matter of having undisputed and sole authority over the European settlements in his jurisdiction.

XIV

Lingappa's further attempts to strengthen his position need not be here elaborated. One of the features of his administration was to demand and enforce all the payments due to the Golconda Government strictly and stoutly. These covered all presents which had to be given to himself by convention and also to the great men at headquarters. It is this grasping character of the administration that elicited the suggestion conveyed in the Company's Golconda agent's letter of the 3rd March, 1682, viz: "The people in place here now are not like their predecessors, for all the officers are Braminies and when anybody goes to them about business, they immediately open their hands. . . ." Whatever might be said of the grasping avarice of Madanna and Akkanna and Lingappa and other Brahmans in power, there can be no doubt that Golconda's control was stiffened in the Karnatac and even the European settlements in a manner that was not possible in the previous times.

XV

Lingappa soon came to occupy the supreme position in the Golconda Karnatac, analogous to that which was enjoyed by Mir Jumla in one sense and certainly equally good with, or even better than, that of Nawab Nēknām Khan. From the position of the Tarafdar of Poonamalle, he became the Governor of the Karnatac, in succession to Akkanna. His attitude as the champion and defender of Golconda's rights was one of great value; because, as was pointed out by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, he claimed to have taken the town of Chikkanayakanhalli, in the subah of Sira, probably from the hands of the Marathas, after the death of Sivaji, and thus he vindicated his master's cause even against the Marathas who were strong and, besides, the quondam allies of Golconda. The receipt of presents and even the demanding of them should not be taken as a vice peculiar to Lingappa or the Brahman officials of Golconda. It was a commonly prevalent practice at the time and tainted as much the European settlements and their doings, in the epoch. The promotion of Lingappa to the supreme governorship of the Karnatac was consequent upon the transfer of Akkanna to the *Sar Lashkar's* (lit head of the army) post from which the Sultan dismissed Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim, consequent upon his weakness in losing the town of Basavapatan to the troops of the ruler of Ikkeri. Thus Lingappa got the Government of all the country from the Krishna

river in the north as far as all the Karnatac country, as Nawab Nēknām Khan was formerly ruling (The Egyb's letter dated Golconda 17th May, quoted in p. 39 of *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1682). The English Company was advised to keep an Egyb at Lingappa's head-quarters, as all the Egybs were gone to him. It was also made known by their Golconda agent that the ministry had positively prohibited any direct petition to them being made and ordered that every one should apply first to Lingappa, "for without his consent no request would be heard here (Golconda)." (Letter of the Company's agent, Viraraghavayya, dated 2nd August, 1682).

Lingappa had now the command of all the forces belonging to the Karnatac; and he demanded from the English, the service of 15 gunners to manage his guns. He also arranged for ships to be built on behalf of Akkanna who wrote, on the 28th August, to Gyfford that "your worship may please to look upon Lingappa as myself." Akkanna was at that time practically the dominant factor in the Golconda Government, as the Egyb wrote: "Now Braminy Akkanna is made the chief person who manages the whole affairs of the Kingdom. . . . for whosoever goeth to speak about any business to Madanna, he sends to his Akkanna." (p. 94 of *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1682). Akkanna even told the Company's Egyb that the *Sar Lashkarship* was given to Lingappa. The latter designed "to bring the English as much under his command as the rest of the country people and effectively poisoned the mind of Akkanna against them. He even threatened that he would take measures to extort 60 or 70 thousand pagodas from the English as soon as he should have done with the Mysore people (referring to his capture of Chikkanayakanhalli, as noticed in Viraraghava's letter of October 27th, 1682). In 1685 Lingappa was addressed as his Excellency. He took vigorous measures with an interloper, a Jew named Rodrigez who was given permission to live in Madras and ordered his goods at San Thome not to be released and given to him (Letter dated March 16th, 1685, from the Brahmans Narayanappa and Sangana at Conjeevaram—pp. 61-2, of *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1684-85). He took measures to recover seven pieces of timber that had floated to the shore on the San Thomē coast and that had been seized by the English Governor, and his lieutenants thus threatened Gyfford: "Your Honour knows Lingappa's disposition; so soon as you see the letter, Your Honour may please to send the timbers and goods . . . before Lingappa hath intelligence of it, and then you may live without trouble." (Letter dated 15th July, 1685).

XVI

Lingappa was turned out of his post before the beginning of 1686, and shortly afterwards quitted this world. Governor Elihu Yale recorded in the minutes of a consultation, dated 22nd December, 1687 (p. 200 of, the *Diary and Consultation Book*, 1687) that "Lingappa, late Sar Lashkar of this country, having often endeavoured to put a havaldar upon this Town (Madras) and to impose a custom for the diwan, but being unsuccessful therein, he, about three years past orders the building of a *banksall* within a mile of the Fort (at the Great Metta or Periamet) intending there to stop all grain and other goods to pay them Junkan before they would permit them to come into Town, but Lingappa happily leaving this world, before the finishing his ill design on the *banksall* . . . the Governor privately treated with the havaldar of Poonamalle about buying the said building of him." So let us leave the spirit of the strong-willed Lingappa who had been such a source of trouble to Governors Langhorn, Streynsham Master and Gyfford, still continuing to haunt the pages of Governor Yale's proceedings. The tragic end of Akkanna and Madanna which preceded so closely the fall of Golconda and the deposition of Abu'l Hasan by the Great Mughal and which was so little deserved by them, brought the last vigorous flicker of a dying administration to a close in the midst of foreign conquest and the consequent increase in anarchy.

Bombay Historical Congress

1931.

The First Bombay Historical Congress held under the auspices of the Bombay Historical Society proved once more the resources of all kinds that exist in a city like Bombay that is proud of her *biruda* "Urbs prima in Indiis". The time for the Congress was not the best. The world's economic depression in general, and the political situation of India in particular presented a gloomy horizon behind the silhouette of the Congress. Yet a slight observation as soon as one arrived at Bombay disclosed that the Historical Congress was going to be a success. Bombay was turning to History as the leader of *The Times of India*, December 22, put it. The bright and artistic posters, the sumptuous guide programme—illustrated with many pictures; the nice little badge adorned with an old view of the Bombay Castle—the seal of the Bombay Historical Society—and the enthusiasm of Fr. Heras, of Mr. Braz A. Fernandez and of a set of under-secretaries old students of the former—gave a sufficient guarantee of the success of the Congress. And yet the realization surpassed all expectations.

Whoever saw the stream of motor cars entering the University gardens from early 4 o'clock p. m., could rightly guess that the Congress was to be an unprecedented event in the annals of the city of Bombay. The most important and selected people not only of Bombay but even from outside Bombay were there represented: the Right Rev. the Bishop of Bombay, the Hon'ble Sir Govindrao Pradhan, Member of Council, Hon'ble Moulvi Sir Rafiuddin Ahmad, Minister of Education, the Director-General of Archaeology in India, the Government Epigraphist for India, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Mirza Ali Akbar Khan and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bomanji J. Wadia of the Bombay High Court, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle and delegates of the Universities of Delhi, Calcutta, Allahabad, Annamalai, of the Christian College, Madras; Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, Willingdon College, Sangli; Rajaram College, Kolhapur; Surat College, Watson Museum, Satara and many more were there present.

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Sir Frederick H. Sykes, Governor of Bombay arrived at 5 p. m., sharp. He was received

by Fr. Heras, the President of the Bombay Historical Society at the gate of the Convocation Hall and after introducing the members of the Council of Management of the Society and of the Reception Committee to His Excellency, the latter was led to the dais.

The address of H. E. was short but illuminating. He made a rapid survey of historical research from ancient times:—

"It was with more than ordinary pleasure that I accepted your invitation to open the Congress, because, though the Bombay Historical Society has been flourishing for some time, I believe, I am right in saying that this is the first occasion on which a Historical Congress has been held under its auspices. A century ago, the history of pre-Mahomedan India was a blank. So completely had India forgotten her own past that when, in the middle of the 14th century A. D. the Emperor Firoz Shah removed two of Asoka's pillars to Delhi, not a wise man in the whole of his kingdom could decipher them. The story how the key to these long-buried secrets was wrested from the bosom of the past when James Prinsep found the clue by comparing the bilingual inscriptions on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings, is one of the romances of scholarship. Since then an almost embarrassing stream of inscriptions, copper-plate grants, coins and other relics has poured in, the mass of fresh information had to be sorted out and fitted together like the pieces of a gigantic jigsaw puzzle until at last a more or less perfect picture of the Hindu civilisation of ancient India was reconstructed.

Subsequently explorers and archaeologists have found traces of its influence in the heart of Central Asia on the one hand, and in Java, Sumatra and Indo-China on the other, so that it is now realised that India was in those days a centre from which culture radiated to all parts of Asia. And now our attention is turned to those astonishing discoveries in the Indus Valley, which seem to indicate that the culture of India was itself linked up with the still older civilisations of the Euphrates. For the Mahomedan period, thanks to the excellent histories written by contemporary Mahomedan historians, less spade-work remains to be done, but as regards Maratha history, an enormous quantity of state-papers, letters and similar documents was scattered about the country on the fall of the Maratha empire, the collation and printing of which are still in progress.

In this great work, scholars belonging to this Presidency have taken a leading part in the past. Bhandarkar, Fleet, Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, Buhler and Kielhorn, for the ancient pe-

riod, and Grant Duff, Elphinstone, Ranade and Rajwade for the modern period are only a few out of the many illustrious names occurring to the mind in this connection.

It is for you, gentlemen, to continue the task of sifting the never ending stream of historical material in the same high, disinterested spirit as your great predecessors. Ample facilities for research are provided by the excellent school of Historical Research started by Father Heras, which has done so much to stimulate research in Indian History, the Prince of Wales' Museum, the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and Bharat Itihasa Mandal in Poona, and the Satara Museum, and here I may say that the Government of Bombay has not been unmindful of its obligation in this matter. In spite of financial stringency, the valuable collection of Maratha MSS belonging to the late Rao Bahadur Parasnis was acquired and housed in a suitable Museum, which is now thrown open to students; and the work of sorting out and publishing the papers in the Poona Daftar, so eagerly awaited by scholars, is making progress at a rapid rate in the hands of Mr. Sardesai and his co-workers.

There is, I think, some tendency, to neglect history for economics in this part of the world. We all realise the importance of economics in these days, but I may call your attention to one fact with regard to History? Our attention is concentrated at this moment on the constitutional changes which are taking place in India. I feel certain we might with advantage pause at times in our ardent gaze into the future to cast our eyes upon the past. Surely we can obtain some help in our efforts to guide the development of this country from a close study of India's past, her culture and her institutions. If this is so, may we not claim that the studies upon which you are engaged have much more than a merely academic importance, and may be a real and valuable contribution to the struggle of the country for political progress. But I must not detain you longer from your work. I wish you every success, and I assure you that I shall follow your deliberations with the keenest interest. With the greatest pleasure I declare this Congress open."

The address of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the President of the Congress was as scholarly as it was fascinating. When the copies of the Address were distributed, just before he was elected President, many people looked at the last page of the booklet—it was p. 19—fearing to be forced to stay in that crowded hall, during all the time the address was being read; but even for them time flew as fast as an arrow. One of the most interesting passages of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, was that, in which

he defended the usefulness of poems and other literary works as sources of history.

The number of members of the Congress was surprisingly high, above 300. Thus, the expedition to Elephanta Island organized by the Executive Committee was a great surprise to all, when they saw a crowd of 200 persons filling up the two decks of a steam launch. The excursion to visit the ruins of Bassein Fort was not so enthusiastically attended, yet a group of nearly 100 persons went through those interesting ruins so ably identified and explained by Mr. Braz A. Fernandes, the General Honorary Secretary of the Society.

The five sections into which the work of the Society was divided were naturally not so well attended, as the members were also divided into five different groups. Yet the aims were perfectly obtained. A number of a very interesting and scholarly papers were submitted and read. It is not necessary to enter into details as they will, I understand, be published in a special Congress Number of the Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.

A special feature of this Congress was the meeting held one of the evenings to discuss two matters of vital importance, the following two resolutions that were then passed revealed the nature of that discussion, the first being moved by Fr. Heras and the other by Dr. Andreas Nell of Kandy:—

1. That the history courses in Indian Universities generally require reform in the opinion of the Bombay Historical Congress and that the attention of the University is invited to the matter of effecting improvements to that direction.

2. That this Congress supports with pleasure the resolution adopted by the Indian Section of the International Congress of Orientalists, Leiden; That the Section of this Congress welcomes with profound satisfaction the announcement that the Government of India proposes to submit a bill in the Autumn Session of the Legislative Assembly for facilitating the participation of Scientific bodies, Indian and Overseas, with the co-operation and under the supervision of the Archaeological Survey, in Archaeological exploration. This section feels that the excellent work of the Archaeological Survey might be further advanced by the co-operation of competent experts belonging to other scientific bodies, both in India and elsewhere; and that in the making of rules for conducting excavations by these bodies proper safeguards be provided against removing the finds out of this country.

It is sincerely hoped that the first Bombay Historical Congress will not be the last. Such meetings are of great importance to encourage research and inspire new prospective historians to join the noble work of studying the great history of our country.

(Communicated)

Obituary

It is with great regret that we record here of the passing away of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Sāstri, C.I.E., on the 17th of November last. Born of an orthodox Sāstri family where Brahmanical learning of the orthodox type passed down for centuries, the late Pandit was a typical representative of that class. Born almost eighty years since, he was early initiated as Brahman youths usually are, into the study of Sanskrit; and very early in his life, he was brought into contact with the best of the Pandits that Bengal still had, in orthodox association on occasions of particular ceremonies in influential Brahman families, as we have actually heard from him. That implanted in him the desire for the pursuit of Sanskrit learning. When forced by poverty to be entirely dependent upon others more well-to-do, he struggled on with success, and early became a well-known figure for Sanskrit learning in Bengal. As he himself mentioned, he remembered almost seventy years of Sanskrit learning and Sanskrit learned men, and had as long ago come into contact with Sanskrit manuscripts. He began work in Sanskrit manuscripts as early as 1878 under the inspiration of that great Bengali Savant Dr. Rajendralal Mitra. Since then his studies have lain in various branches of Sanskrit learning, and much more particularly in the search for manuscripts and their cataloguing. He was a man of extraordinary learning, and his knowledge went into detail, which is surprising for the vastness of his learning. His connection with search for manuscripts began in 1891, and since then he examined the manuscript collections of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, continuing the work of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra. He asquired a vast mass of manuscripts for the Government of India, and succeeded in cataloguing them partially. He was twice deputed to Nepal for the acquisition of manuscripts, and he brought a pretty large collection. He assisted Professor Macdonnel of Oxford in the collection of Vedic manuscripts, during his tour in India for the Max Muller Memorial. He was mainly responsible for the purchase and cataloguing of the 7,000 Nepalese manuscripts acquired for the Bodleian Library.

His literary activities were in connection with the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Banglāya Sahitya Parishad, and the journals in which he published various articles. He was a Vice-

President of the Asiatic Society. He was elected President of the Indian Oriental Conference, and delivered an address of great learning, conveying a mass of information about Sanskrit manuscripts. He was too ill to be able to read the address, and the pleasant duty fell to us, and the address was appreciated very highly by the vast audience. Our association continued through the two years of this presidency of the Oriental Conference. He was honoured with a C. I. E., and a Mahamahopadhyaya by the Government of India, and the Dacca University did itself honour by conferring the honorary degree of D. Litt. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland elected him as one of their Honorary members. He was among the first Fellows elected by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, when this elective fellowship was instituted in 1910. By his death, Sanskrit learning in India loses its doyen.

Sir John Marshall on the Indus valley civilisation

Indian Archaeological Survey Report: Publisher, Mr. Arthur Probsthain, London.

AN EPOCH-MAKING WORK.

The long-expected publication on *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation* on which Sir John Marshall, late Director-General of Archaeology in India, was engaged for several years has at last been brought out in three sumptuous and magnificently illustrated volumes by the well-known Oriental Publisher, Mr. Arthur Probsthain. As Sir John points out, this book should, more than any other, serve to dispel the notion that the pre-Aryan peoples of India were altogether on a lower plane of civilisation than their Aryan conquerors. The discoveries made by the Archaeological Department at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind between the years 1922 and 1927, as well as the excavations almost simultaneously carried out at Harappa in the Punjab, exhibit the peoples of the Indus valley in the 4th and 3rd millennia, B. C., in possession of a highly developed culture in which no vestige of Indo-Aryan influence is to be found.

In many respects these discoveries are similar in significance to those made two generations ago by Schliemann and others in Greece and Asia Minor, which proved to be the key to the study of the Mycænan civilisation that was afterwards fused into that of the Aryan Hellenes. "The parallel that Greece presents in this matter, is the more significant, because in Greece, as in India, it was the happy fusion of the southern and northern races and the intermingling of their widely divergent talents that led to the splendid outburst of classic thought and art; and the memory, moreover, of what she owed to her older population, was effaced almost as effectually in Greece as it was in India. To the ancient Greeks the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were as much the beginning of things as the Vedas still are to Indians, many of whom may regard it as little short of impious to look beyond these venerable writings for a possible source of inspiration and knowledge."

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND PLACES OF INDUS CULTURE.

More comprehensive even than its significance and relation to later Indian culture, this newly unearthed Indus culture, brings

out the importance of the role played by paleolithic man in India and his evolution into the later stages of culture. The Indus discoveries present a picture of a people using utensils of stone side by side with those of copper or bronze, but living in large cities and carrying on agriculture and trade, and enjoying a plentiful supply of gold, silver and copper. The people cultivated wheat and barley as well as the date-palm, they domesticated the buffalo and the short-horned bull, beside the sheep, pig, dog, elephant and camel. The cat and probably the horse were unknown to them. They were skilful metal-workers, used tin as an alloy in the making of bronze, and knew to make the bow and arrow, spear, axe, dagger and mace. They had not yet evolved the sword; nor probably did they know the use of defensive armour.

In the arts of ornamentation they painted *encaustic* designs on pottery, occasionally made vessels of copper, bronze or silver and overlay them with gold, of faience, ivory, carnelian and other stones. They had figurines and toys made of terra-cotta, shell and faience, and they employed, in writing, a form of script which was analogous to the other contemporary scripts of Western Asia and the Near East.

Thus the Indus culture might be said to correspond in its general features, with the chalcolithic civilisations of Egypt, Sumner and other countries of Western Asia. It however presents features peculiar to the Indus valley which is its basis. It displayed the use of cotton for textiles which was not extended to the western world until two or three thousand years later. Again "there is nothing that we know of in pre-historic Egypt or Mesopotamia or anywhere else in Western Asia, to compare with the well-built baths and commodious houses of the citizens of Mohenjo-Daro". Also the Indus sites have not yet afforded relics of magnificent temples, palaces and tombs; but they have given plenty of evidence that the ordinary folk lived in commodiously built houses which were provided with wells, bath-rooms and elaborate systems of drainage, thus showing that the ordinary folk enjoyed a great degree of comfort and luxury. Their art and religion have a peculiar character impressed upon them. The engravings of humped and short-horned bulls on their seals are not only vigorous and refined; but show a continuity with that aspect of Hinduism which is bound up with animism and the cult of Siva. Indeed, Sir John Marshall thinks that the most surprising revelation of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa is the discovery that "Saivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even farther still, and that it thus takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world."

SOME OF ITS NOTEWORTHY FEATURES.

The architects of Mohenjo-Daro knew well how to construct two and three-storeyed houses according to the usual methods. There are remains of a pillared hall which is conjectured to have been a place of worship and a great bath which is the most imposing of all the ruins. Among conclusions drawn from the study of this Indus civilisation is one by Professor Langdon, who makes out a strong case for deriving the early Brahmi alphabet of India from the Indus script. The language of this script was not Sanskrit; it might possibly have been Dravidic; but as yet there is no definite tangible basis to proceed upon. The skeletal remains point to the presence of four different races in the valley. Stone representations of the phallus have been found at these sites; and they are held to prove conclusively that phallism in India was of pre-Aryan origin. Tree worship also seems to have prevailed; and evidences are available for proving the existence of the Nāga cult. Many of these ideas and cults later manifested themselves in the religion of those who were the descendants and successors of the Vedic Aryans, as the result of the latter's fusion with pre-Aryans.

This Indus civilisation was a part and parcel of the greater civilisation, which, in the Chalcolithic Period, stretched across the broad Afrasian belt. It had spread into the Punjab and as far as the Simla hills on one side. While indissolubly connected with other civilisations by community of ideas and inventions, it is no less individual and national than those of Egypt and Mesopotamia. It is likely that the people of the Gangetic plain and of Central India in that age were possessed of the same degree of culture. Baluchistan was an important cultural centre, dependent on the Indus valley for many of its amenities of life. The Vedic civilisation was neither the progenitor, nor the lineal descendant of this Indus civilisation; very likely it was the later of the two and had an independent development.

C. S. S.

The Failure of Federalism in Australia

BY

A. P. CANAWAY, K. C. (N. S. W.)

Oxford University Press,

Price 15sh.

The federal ideal has been accepted for India. It is to be wondered whether there has been any exhaustive discussion of alternative plans before it was declared that India was to go in for some type of a federal constitution. Such a preliminary discussion would have necessitated a detailed scrutiny of the history and practice of federalism in countries where that system is being worked in its various forms. Whatever transitional confusions may be felt necessary and even inevitable, at least the statesmen of the Round Table have made it plain that India should ultimately have a type of federalism in which we shall intermix with the federal principle, the Parliamentary executive. The great example of such a constitution is the Australian Commonwealth. The Report of the Round Table discussions does not reveal an appreciation of the difficulties which Australia has had to face in consequence of this experiment of hers. This is the more unfortunate as facts and arguments connected with this controversy had been marshalled skilfully and authoritatively in the course of the evidence and Report of the Royal Commission on the Australian Commonwealth Constitution which reported only a few months before the Conference assembled. Competent critics had also published their views which would have been of inestimable value. Mr. A. P. Canaway's study of the Failure of Federalism in the Australian Commonwealth has been before the public for many months; still the Round Tablers have not given evidence of their study of the interesting work, nor have they tackled the difficulties he has so clearly formulated.

But for a certain unnecessary heaviness of style, the book is one which would make a very wide appeal to all students of institutions. Political institutions acquire permanence however faulty their construction, because you always have a large number of people who are averse to change. They shy at experiments and would rather suffer present inconvenience than take the risk of possible future trouble as a result of readjusting the systems under which they live. Conservatives in Australia were at first opposed to Federation. Now they are tooth and nail against Unification. Yet it would appear that the ideal set before the

small numbers of the Australians when federation was ushered in was that when the numbers grew and the citizenship was consolidated, the progress should be towards closer and yet closer union. Whether it is time to unify the entire Australian territory or merely to take a step in the direction by further strengthening the National Government is a question which it is not easy for outsiders to answer. Mr. Canaway, and the great Labour Party of Australia certainly think that the time is ripe for full Unification. Within the last thirty years, they claim that the states united under a federal scheme have so far developed a national patriotism and have acquired sufficient common interests to justify their abolition and the creation of a perfectly unitary state.

Mr. Canaway urges his arguments with persuasive force. The development of Dominion Status is isolating Australia more and more from the mother-country. It would soon be necessary for her to depend on herself for her defence. Her international relations will have to be framed by herself primarily. If that is so, would not the problems of defence and of external relations be the more easily solved by an Australian government enjoying plenary jurisdiction over every part of the nation and on every subject? In times of war, we hardly know what is a necessary power and what is not. Instead of merely implying a large jurisdiction in the category of defence, an implication which may be resisted at or by the courts, is it not vital to entrust the power to one single government indisputably? It is in the realms of economics and finance which bear also upon the nation's external policy that there is maximum constitutional inconvenience in Australia arising out of her federal system. The regulation of wages and of hours of work, the compensation payable to workmen, the law relating to Trade Unions and similar very important questions are not dealt with by one body on uniform principles. There are several sets of institutional machinery which deal with them differently, often in a manner to conflict with each other. Take again the question of construction of Railways. State Railways are built on varying gauges so as to break the speed and efficiency of the national transport system. There is then the important problem of increasing urbanisation in a country where pastoral arts are the chief source of national wealth. How are you going to keep a sufficient supply of human material for work in the farms in a sparsely populated land as Australia? The control of public lands is a state subject; and except by regulating the use of the vast areas of public land, it would be impossible to deal with this problem of too rapid

and detrimental urbanisation. On the question of Public Loans of the Commonwealth and State governments in Australia, we have heard a good deal recently. In spite of the Agreement between the States and the National Government, we have seen the utter collapse of credit and threatening financial chaos, for which the solution offered by the only constructive statesmen in Australia, the Labour Party, is the immediate and full Unification of the country.

These are aspects of national life which can be assessed and evaluated with reasonable correctness. But there are subtler effects, on popular efficiency and psychology which do not yield to analysis in the same way. Mr. Canaway has done well to deal with this aspect in great detail. The presence of rival sets of jurisdictions, causing divided loyalties and sectional allegiances is the surest source of weakness in any nation. It is a truism that in the modern world, only common interests make for a really national existence. Common language and common racial characteristics have their part; but anyone who studies the laws of naturalisation would know that these are but secondary; what is vital is the unity based on interests. If that is so, the maintenance of artificial divisions based on historical accident among a people who have not merely many overwhelming common interests but who all speak the same language, are in a single geographically compact area, although of continental dimensions, and belong to a substantially identical racial stock, cannot be supported by any valid considerations. It is merely the conservative instinct that opposes a change so salutary. The conservation of efficiency and the fostering of ability as well as sentiment, in fact those ideas and factors which help to build and effectively maintain a nation up to the mark in the acute competition of modern times are all weakened in a land where you are going to maintain these institutions especially when they offer no counter-availing advantages. Nations are not museums, and you can never sustain an institution because it was handed down to you from your father though it is proved beyond doubt that it is a clear misfit and quite useless. In Australia, they have to fight unreasoning conservatism.

The practical difficulties of working a constitution which mixes up the federal and the Parliamentary principles were foreseen even at the time of the initiation of the new constitution. Responsible government, which means that the executive shall stand dismissed if the legislature does not require its continuance and that the executive shall answer for its acts day by day to the Legislature which lays down what those acts shall be, is practi-

cable only with a well-ordered party system. Let us assume that there is full play for such a party system in a federal system. In the National government one party may be dominant and may control policies and administration; in the various state governments different parties may be in power working out contradictory policies. This would be bad enough if there were only two parties in the land; the evil would be absolutely unmanageable if the parties were many as all over the world they are tending to be. No demarcation of functions between the central and state authorities can be so complete that the effect of policy adopted by one will not react upon that of the other; and executives controlled by parties professing different if not opposite ideas of things are to deal with questions of a similar character at the same time. If you take the States themselves, they enjoy the same powers internally and *inter se*. Now, the policy of one state on a state subject dictated by a certain party may be unacceptable to the minority, and the result may conceivably be that the citizens of the minority may even think of migrating to another state where their party is in the ascendant. Laws of Divorce are generally referred to in this connection. This gives rise to a large number of problems which cannot be well reconciled at all. On the other hand the vesting of full authority in one Executive will subject that body to responsibility to a single legislature, and upon all matters of concern to the people, responsibility can be enforced with certainty and speed. Mr. Canaway has discussed this aspect of the problem with great ability and acumen. The vindication of his views is in the proposals now made by the Labour Party for the complete legislative and administrative unification of Australia. Whether that proposal is accepted by the Australian democracy or not, Mr. Canaway has done his people service by calling their attention to the leading aspects of the problem in the manner he has done.

N. D. V.

Reviews

Diñnāga's Pramāna-Samuccaya (Chapter I), with Vrtti, Tīkā and Notes, Edited and Restored into Sanskrit, by H. R. Rangaswami Ayyangar, M.A., Government Oriental Library, Mysore; Mysore University Publication; 1930; pp. xxiv; 110; Price Rs. 3 or 4sh. 6d.

The eminence of Diñnāga in the history of Indian Logic is equalled only by the difficulty of obtaining his books in the language in which he wrote them. A familiarity with some aspects of his teaching has long been established through references in later logicians who controverted his views. The *Nyāya-bindu* and its *tīkā*, polemical works which came at intervals more or less long after Diñnāga, have also been of considerable help. Sometime ago Mr. Randle made a collection of the references to Diñnāga in other works, under the title "*Fragments from Diñnāga*." But anything like a proper knowledge of the master had to come necessarily from Tibetan and Chinese sources, where his works were preserved in translation. The re-rendering of these into Sanskrit, so as to accord with what is known of the works through references elsewhere, is an eminently praiseworthy task Diñnāga's *magnum opus* is undoubtedly the *Pramāna-Samuccaya*, and it is no little credit to the Government and the University of Mysore that they have taken up the task of re-rendering his work into Sanskrit.

The scholar in charge of the work has had the benefit of a sound equipment in Tibetan and Chinese under Professors Viduśekhara Bhattācārya and Tucci. The latter refers as early as 1928 to the work on *Pramāna-Samuccaya* undertaken by his pupil Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar. The result is in every way worthy both of the task and the expectations. We have with us so far only the first chapter, that treating of perception. It considers the definition and the divisions of perception, and closes with the refutation of the definitions of perception offered by Vasubandhu, the Naiyāyikas, the Vaiśeṣikas, the Sāṅkhyas and the Mīmāṃsakas. The Editor's notes bring together the reference in other works, so that the reader may compare them easily with the reconstructed text. We heartily endorse the opinion expressed by Sir B. N. Seal in his Foreword that this work "will help to lay the foundation of an accurate and scientific study of the history of Indian Logic" The book is attractively got up. It is to be hoped that the remaining five chapters will follow soon and at rapid intervals.

S.S.S.

Bhāvaprakāśana of Śāradātanaya ed. with an introduction and indices by Yadugiri Yatirājasvāmi of Melkot and K. S. Ramaswami Sāstri Śirōmani, Oriental Institute Baroda. 1930 Baroda (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XLV. pp. 77 plus 410.)

Sanskritists will welcome this scholarly edition of Śāradātanaya's treatise based on four manuscripts and provided with an elaborate introduction and useful indexes. More of the nature of a popular compilation, rather loose in its structure and style, Śāradātanaya's work does not mark any important stage in the development of the doctrine of Rasa or the theory of dramatic construction. But the author provides more or less reliable summaries of so many of his predecessors, and his illustrations contain so many recondite literary allusions and he incorporates in his work so much of the thought of classic writers like Bharata, Dhānanjaya and Ānandavardhana, at times their very words "without an acknowledgement," that this publication of the *Bhāvaprakāśana* may be expected to furnish valuable assistance in researches into the history of Sanskrit literature and criticism. At the end of a careful discussion Pandit Ramaswami Sāstri Śirōmani fixes the date of the composition of the *Bhāvaprakāśana* 'in a period ranging between 1175-1250 A.D.' He also furnishes an Appendix giving the full texts and the sources of passages cited as illustrations by Śāradātanya; and three indexes of (1) works and authors cited, (2) Important words and (3) verses in the *Bhāvaprakāśana*. Careful proof reading however does not seem to be received by the work. The editors of this book deserve to be congratulated on the soundness of their work.

K.A.N.

The Round Table

Summary of articles in No. 84, September 1931.

One article after another in the September issue of the *Round Table* throws light on some aspect of the sudden crisis which overtook the world and most particularly Europe—last July. The first article, on the political foundation for disarmament, brings out the political discontents on which economic trouble was nourished. But its relevance to the immediate question of financial maladjustment is only one side of the problems that will confront next year's disarmament conference. "Its decisions", runs the article, "will probably determine, not merely whether universal disarmament is practicable or not, but whether the ideals which underlie the League of Nations are to prevail, or whether Europe is going to return to the old system of an armed balance of power, which would be the certain prelude to another world war." The writer points out the only way in which the second of these alternatives can be avoided, and suggests the line which the British Commonwealth should take at the Conference.

The reader is then taken right across the globe to Shanghai, which bids fair to become one of the greatest cities of the world. The problem of its future Government is "the knot at the centre of China's tangled relations with foreign Powers", in the words of Mr. Justice Feetham's Report to the Shanghai Municipal Council, which forms the text of the second article. The western ideas of self-government and of the supremacy of law were never better taught to a people from whose tradition they were absent than in the foreign settlements of China's greatest port. But the path of these settlements has never been a smooth one, and the negotiations with regard to extraterritoriality have brought them to the most critical period in their history. A policy is suggested.

The third article deals directly with the events that led up to the recent crisis. It describes the effect of scientific and industrial development upon the world's economic life, and shows how this economic movement has been contradicted in the realm of politics. "We have constructed a twentieth century economic world which we are still trying to reconcile with eighteenth century political ideas". That is the general background of the slump and of the crisis. Against it, there was set a tendency for production to outrun consumption in the basic commodities of

world trade, and so the article goes on to discuss the problem of output restriction and price control. Trade barriers, monetary disequilibrium and the maldistribution of gold, political difficulties, are weighed as contributory causes; the leading events of the crisis are recalled, and suggestions put forward for a way out.

The fourth article is from an American pen, and describes the political reactions in the United States to the Hoover plan for the postponement of a year's war-debt payments. That leads naturally to an estimate of the chances of the possible candidates at next year's presidential election, and, by way of the tariff problem, to the economic relations of the United States with Soviet Russia and the conception of a planned economy.

The Report of the Macmillan Committee on the relations between finance and industry, which is analysed in the next article, while it proposes, in particular, large changes in the financial mechanism of London, has lessons for the rest of the world too, since no local adjustments can hope to make the international gold standard work satisfactorily or secure an emergence from the present slump. However, as the article points out, that does not excuse Great Britain from facing her own special difficulties. It is significant that the record of events in Great Britain is headed, "the Narrow Way?", since the main problem with which it deals is the choice between economy and a broader road, as presented by the report of the unemployment insurance commission and of the economy committee, and by the recent threat to the stability of the pound sterling. A special section describes the course of wage adjustments in the past few months.

A correspondent in India reports the doubts and difficulties that have darkened the prospect of an orderly settlement of the great constitutional question which is to be faced again this autumn—the uneasy working of the Irwin-Gandhi agreement, the hardening of the Moslem case, the hesitation of the Princes, agrarian discontent and the outbreak of terrorism.

The Irish Free State sends an account of the renewal of armed disturbance and of the efforts of the government to meet it. The intrusion of religion into questions of public appointments and the development of the status of the Free State within the British Commonwealth are other matters of much more than local interest. From Canada comes an account of the parliamentary session, including the amplification of the "Canada First" tariff, and a first-hand description of the condition of the western farmer, suffering at once from low prices and from terrible weather. "Western Canada is at war."

Among the articles from the self-governing Dominions that from Australia will perhaps be read with most interest since it describes the course of events which forced Australia to face a choice not unlike that which confronts the British people, and the alternative which she actually selected. Of outstanding interest in the article from South Africa are the section on the relation between the Dominion and the Privy Council, and the description of attempts to forsake the federal for the unitary form of government. The account from New Zealand of the attempt to meet the economic emergency by means of government economies, relief works and general wage reductions cannot fail at this juncture to interest the British reader.

Summary of articles in the December Number.

The December issue of *The Round Table* is naturally largely devoted to the crisis. Its world-wide character renders any purely national treatment impossible, but can be approached from various points of view. Thus, the first article, "Great Britain and the Financial Earthquake", takes the British aspect. Our peculiar difficulties are examined, though even these cannot be made clear without explaining the whole machinery of international credit before and after the war, and the factors which have combined to throw it out of gear for which purpose it is necessary to take in both the new and the old world, and countries of a widely differing character. But the author does not confine himself to diagnosis he suggests a cure both for the world in general and for Great Britain in particular. He puts forward indeed what the present Government has been given—a mandate to formulate a policy

The subject of the second article is "The European Problems of the United States," in other words, the world crisis seen from the American angle. History is again invoked—this time to explain American action in Europe. Starting from what he calls the "Paris idea" embodied in the Peace Treaties, the author reviews in succession the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, the lending period which made reparation payments possible for the time being, the German crisis in which this period ended, the Hoover holiday which raised so many hopes, and finally, the Hoover-Laval understanding. Some shrewd comments follow, and a suggestion which might, the writer claims, effectually put people out of conceit with war and help disarmament.

These two articles lead naturally to the wider aspect which the third article "The World and the Crisis," discusses. It

describes the fall of the British currency, but from the international, rather than the national standpoint, though the consequences for British industry and the danger of beneficial effects, and still more of artificial measures designed to improve our balance of trade, being neutralised are not left out of account. The political factors which lie at the root of the economic and financial problem are also dealt with, and the concluding section suggests the conditions which must precede recovery.

The next article has nothing to do with either finance or economics. It is just a plain tale, and its burden is the fortunes of the Protestant religion—a far more important element than is usually supposed—in Soviet Russia. But this simple story brings out in an extraordinarily vivid way the remorseless nature of Soviet methods and the peculiarities of Bolshevik psychology.

The fifth article is "Germany in the Storm". German weakness to-day is the nightmare that German strength used to be before the war. A German collapse would hit every one of us, especially the Americans and ourselves, to whom an immense sum is due from the Germans for the private debts which the French are now claiming should rank after reparations. German trade, moreover, is indispensable for our own recovery. The condition of the debtor must therefore be a subject of general interest. The Round Table article takes us through all the post-war phases of German life—reconstruction, disillusionment, and now the rise of the Nazis, the secret of whose appeal is explained by the writer, as well as the failure of parliamentarism and Dr. Brüning's gallant effort to bring his country through. Its greatest anxiety at the moment is the possibility of British tariffs adding to the loss of trade which it has already incurred through the depreciation of the pound.

Next, we have a chronicle of the events of a critical month of the Manchurian crisis, followed by some reflections by the author, who writes from China, on the behaviour of the parties to the conflict. Then "India and the Round Table Conference" discusses Mr. Gandhi's reasons for so suddenly deciding to come to London, and the reaction in India to the proceedings of the Conference.

The British article describes the General Election, the events which led up to it and the formation of the new Government. One of the most interesting consequences of the defeat of Labour described by the author is a tendency to adopt a new policy. A second section explains some of the effects of the devaluation of the currency on British industry. In the Irish article an illumi-

nating account is given of the recrudescence of political unrest and crime which recalls the old unhappy days just before the creation of the Irish Free State. The consequences of the fall of the pound are also described, and the condition of the balance of Irish trade is dealt with in the usual economic section. Among the contributions from the overseas Dominions the one which will attract most attention is probably the article on "South Africa and the Gold Standard", but the accounts of the way in which New Zealand is meeting her difficulties and of Australia's struggle towards financial rehabilitation recall our own position in so many respects that they are sure to interest British readers. The decision to resume the Imperial Conference at Ottawa next year gives a special importance to all the Dominion articles.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: London July, 1931.

An old Imperial 'sanad' relating to Rāisinā or New Delhi by P. V. Bisheshwar Nath Reu.

An Ismailitic work by Nasiruddin Tusi by W. Ivanav.

The latter portion of this contribution is the summary review of the *Raudatu'ttasllm* in the order of its chapters.

Notes on Some Pali words: by E. H. Johnston "most of the words have been chosen for discussion because of their interest for Sanskrit lexicography and other general Indian subjects."

A New Factor in the Problem of Sumerian Origins by S. Langdon.

Two Notes on Indian Head-dress: by C. H. Fābri Ph.D., Leyden.

There are interesting plates illustrative of the head-dress of women in early India.

Where the Rainbow ends: by L. C. Hopkins.

Varuna, god of the sea and the sky: by Jean Przyluski, an attempt to explain the name of the Vedic god Varuna as a development of *baru charu* a non-aryan god of the sea.

Māthara and Paramārthe by S. S. Suryanarayan.

Discovery of the last Phonetic sūtras of Pānini by Raghu Vira.

Epigraphia Indica January, 1929.

Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nāgārjunikonda by Professor Vogel.

Nalanda Stone Inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva by Hirananda Sastri.

The Three Tamil Inscriptions of Lālgudi by K. V. Sumbramanya Aiyar.

The Calcutta Review July, 1931.

The League of Nations and India by C. V. Hanumantha Rao.

Kingship in Bengal, Behar and Orissa in ancient times by Sarate Ghosh.

The Future Constitution of India by Prof. Pramathanath Bannerjee.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, July, 1931.

Glimpses into the Married Life of the Ancient Tamil people by K. G. Sessa Aiyar.

The importance of this article is enhanced by English renderings of a few lyrics from the Kalittogai.

The Date of Māṇikyavācaka by K. G. Sanker.

The date assigned is towards the close of the seventh century A.D.

The Kadambas of Banavase by V. Raghavendra Rao.

Social Legislation in Ancient South India by C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar.

Keladi Dynasty by S. N. Naraharayya.

Life and work of Kesiraja by Dr. R. Shama Sastri.

The author of Sabdamanidarpana, a well-known work on Kanarese Grammar.

Journal of the *American Oriental Society*, June, 1931.

Columbus and Cathay and the meaning of America to the Orientalist by Berthold Laufer.

The sources and Nature of *Purusa* in the *Purusasūkta* by W. Norman Brown.

The Palmyrene gods at Dura Europos by C. Hopkins.

An examination of the Dura cult.

The Avestan prefix *as* by Hermann Collitz.

Light Out of Ur by Ira M. Price.

Note on the Sanskrit ghostword *Padvinśā* by F. Edgerton.

Note on *Rātha-chidra* by A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Indian Art and Letters, by the India Society, London, Vol. IV. No. 2

Sculpture in Siam by Reginald le May a survey of sculpture in Siam of which no less than nine schools are distinguished.

A newly discovered Illustrated Indian manuscript by O. C. Gangoly.

"The Ms. of the *Vālagopāla* stotra is of 'signal importance for the study of a fascinating branch of Indian painting, and from the Indian point of view, of scarcely less interest than the medieval illustrated mass of the Psalter or the Book of Hours.'"

The Interrelation of Indian and Persian Art by J. V. S. Wilkinson.

A Central Museum of Asiatic Art in London by H. V. Lancaster.

Ibid Vol. V, No. 1.

A new museum of Indian Art at Benares by O. C. Gangoly.

The Poetry of Sir Muhammad Iqbal by Dr. Mulk Raj Anand.

The Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries.

Extracts from the Report are given.

Journal of the Department of Letters Vol. XXI (Calcutta University) 1931.

Sulika, Cūlika, and Cūlikā-Paiśāci by P. C. Bagchi.

Greek and Hindu methods of Spherical Astronomy by P. C. Sen Gupta.

The paper aims to present a comparative view of the Greek and Hindu methods in spherical astronomy and to bring out the independence of the Hindu astronomers in this subject. It is clear that the Hindu methods are in no way connected with the method of the 'Analemma'.

The position of gold in the Indian currency of the Hindu Period by A. K. Sarkar. An attempt to show that gold was coined and circulated as money in ancient India. The author says that it is quite likely that gold remained the sole standard and that values of silver and copper followed that of gold.

Government and Administrative system of Tipu Sultan by S. C. Sen Gupta.

Sankara on Empirical and Transcendental knowledge by S. K. Mukherjee.

An essay on the nature of empirical knowledge, its limits and defects.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Vol. III No. 2.

A newly discovered Image of Buddha near Goa by Rev. H. Heras.

Remains of a pre-historic civilisation in the Gangetic Valley by Dr. A. Banerji Sastri.

Rāyabhāga Inscription of Dasimarasa by Prof. K. G. Kunda-nagar.

The Marathas in Bengal (1740-1765) by K. K. Datta.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Vol. XII Pt. II.

Aryan Immigration into Eastern India by D. R. Bhandarkar.

Origin of the Rajputs by N. Roy.

Kumarila's verses attacking the Jain and Buddhist Notions by Dr. K. B. Pathak.

Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population by J. C. Ghosh.

Chronology of the Pāli canon by Dr. B. C. Law.

The Hindustan Review: Oct-Dec. 1931.

Reviving of the old Life in India by S. R. Das.

The Lore of the Finger-Ring: A study by U. C. Chopra.

Journal Asiatique July-Sep. 1930.

Note on an Eclipse in the time of Aśoka (?) by Robert Fazy.

On some images of Nāgas at Sambōr Prei Kūk, by V. Goloubew.

October—December 1930.

Introduction to Abhidharmahrdaya Śāstra of Dharmatrāta
by Pelliot.

A Greek Text relating to Aśvamedha by Roger Goosens.

Note on Ālambanaparīksā by La Vallée Poussin.

Mesopotamian Element in the Art of India by Dr. C. L. Fabri.



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1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
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4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, Patna Junction, E.I.Ry.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
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13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
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24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).

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30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2 Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young Men of India*, 5, Russell St., Calcutta.
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40. Triveni, Editor, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, 9, Armenian St., Madras.

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