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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

PROCEEDINGS

OF

MEETINGS

VOL VI

SIXTH MEETING HELD AT MADRAS

JANUARY 1924

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Proceedings of the Sixth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Madras on January 10 & 11, 1924.

The sixth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in the lecture theatre of the Government Museum, Egmore, Madras, on the 10th of January 1924. An Exhibition of documents, paintings, maps, plans, coins and other objects of historical interest obtained from the Government archives, public institutions and private individuals was also held in connection with the meeting. The proceedings were opened by His Excellency the Governor of Madras at 11 A.M. in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. A large number of ladies also attended the function. The Hon'ble Mr M. S. D. Butler, C.B., C.I.E., C.V.O., C.B.E., I.C.S., the *ex-officio* President and Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, M.A., C.B.E., Member of the Commission, were unavoidably absent. The Hon'ble Mr H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., acted as Chairman during the sessions.

The following members were present: —

The Hon'ble Mr H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S., Bihar and Orissa.

Mr J. J. Cotton, M.A., I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Ganjam, Madras.

Mr B. X. Thakore, B.A., Prof, of History, Deccan College, Poona.

Mr P. Dias, Keeper of Records, Bengal.

Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India. (Secretary.)

The following co-opted members were also present: —

Mr R. K. Ranadive, M.A. (Baroda).

Mr C W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., I.CS. (Travancore).

Mr C Hayavadana Rao (Mysore).

Rao Sahib Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., **PH.D.**, M.R A.S., F.R.H.S., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University.

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, **C I.E.** I.S.O., President, Legislative Council, Madras.

Mr M. Ratnaswami Avargal, M.L.C, Principal, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.

Dr John Mathai, B.L., B.LITT., D.SC., M.L.C, Professor of Economics, Presidency College, Madras.

Speech of His Excellency Lord Willingdon.

In opening the proceedings His Excellency the Governor said :—

" MR COTTON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It gives me very great pleasure to welcome the Indian Hiftorical Records Commission to Madras to-day and that for more than one reason.

We are proud of our old records and our old memorials in Madras, and very glad to have an opportunity of showing them to our neighbours. We arc proud too of our Record Office and of the work that has been produced there. At the same time we feel that it is very good for us from time to time to be called upon to give an account of our stewardship, and we are not without hope that the effect of the criticism of so influential a body may serve to induce those members of our Legislative Council whose eye-sight has become affected by constant use of the retrenchment angle of vision to udopt magnifying glasses when they scrutinise the budget of this very useful institution and put it into a position to continue and increase its good work. Last, but by no means least, we look forward to an intellectual treat in the series of papers that are to be read and in the most interesting exhibition of old coins, pictures, documents, maps and seals and in this connection, I should like to express my thanks on behalf of the Presidency to all the gentlemen who have been so good as to lend exhibits for this purpose, to Mr Abdul Ali, the Secretary to the Commission, who has brought a number of papers and exhibits from other parts of India and has come here in advance to set them in order and to Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar who has performed a similar function as regards papers and exhibits from Madras. I hear there is some proposal afoot to establish a local branch of the Commission and I am sure we need no better evidence of the useful purposes such a branch could fulfil than the work the professor has put before us to-day.

It has been said that the records of the East India Company afford the best historical material in the world and of those records, Madras may claim to possess a very fair share. Although she may not have so great a wealth in this matter as Calcutta, or go back quite so far as Bombay, she goes very much further back than, say, the Punjab, which regards anything more than sixty years old as being ancient. Our own records go back actually to 1670 or for over 250 years.

As regards the care taken of them we date the constitution of a separate record office to the year 1805 when Lord William Bentinck recommended the location of the documents in a set of apartments in the old Fort

Square and placed them in charge of a record keeper assisted by three writers. From there they were removed in 1826 to the Pillar Godown, or the old Banqueting Hall, on the site of which the present Council Chamber stands, to be shifted in 1888 to the ground floor of the Secretariat when the Press was removed from that place to the Mint Buildings. There they remained till 1909 when the present record office was built. In 1910 Mr Dodwell was placed in charge. The Record Office contains records of the Secretariat, the Board of Revenue and the Collectorates as well as a large number of old records in Persian, Dutch, Danish and other languages. In addition to Press Lists, Reprints and Calendars, the chief official publication undertaken has boon the translation of the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Dubash of Dupleix, which, I have no doubt, furnished a good deal of the material for Mr Dodwell's interesting volume on " Dupleix and Clive. " Mr Dodwell has added to this another on the Old Coast Army. The records, in addition have formed the basis of a number of very interesting publications, of a more private character, the chief of which are Talboys Wheeler's " Madras in the Olden Times," Colonel Love's " Vestiges of Old Madras," Mr Penny's " The Church in Madras, " and Mrs Penny's work on Fort St. George.

I see that among the papers to be read there is one by Professor Srinivasachari on " Robert Orme and Colin Mackenzie—two early collectors of manuscripts and records " and another by Mr Gopalan on the "Pallava papers in the Mackenzie collections, " and this leads me to the confession that there are other records in the custody of the Madras Government of the care of which we cannot give such a favourable account as I have given of those in the Record Office. Colonel Colin Mackenzie, who ended his career as Surveyor-General, devoted his spare time for a space of 38 years to collecting manuscripts bearing on history, ethnology, literature and tradition, chiefly of the country south of the Kistna river. He appears to have begun his enquiry at the instance of the fifth Lord of Merchistoun who wanted to trace the source of his ancestor Napier's logarithms, and to have expanded as time went on into various other branches of knowledge. The collections provided a very substantial portion of the material which went to the writing of the history of Mysore by Colonel Wilkes and included as many as 1,568 manuscripts in Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam, Uriya, Mahrathi, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Hindusthani, Javanese and Burman. In addition to these, he collected as many as 2,070 local tracts bearing on history and ethnology, 8,076 inscriptions, 79 plans, 2.G30 drawings, 6,218 coins, 106 images and 40 antiquities. The collection was purchased just a century ago by the Marquess of Hastings, then Governor General, for a sum of £10,000. A large part of it consisting of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Javanese and Burman books, with the plans, coins, images, and sculptures, were sent to England; but the books and tracts in the languages of Southern India to the number of 531, 255 local tracts and over 8,000 inscriptions were handed over to Madras. They were first lodged in the College Library then entrusted in 1830 to the Madras Literary Society,

then handed over in 1836 to the Revd. William Taylor to be examined with a view to publication. He published five reports in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science and started restoring the manuscripts, which were already becoming lost by the decay in the ink or the material. Some of the volumes restored by him will be found in view in the Exhibition. Nothing more happened till 1846 when the books were returned to the College Library. About 40 years later the collection was transferred to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and there, I regret to say, it has remained with no further change in the condition except that which has been caused by time und climate. T am glad to see, however, that private students have made more use of the records than the Government and shall look forward to the two papers I have mentioned in the hope that the writers may be able to give us some suggestions as to how best to utilize these valuable materials, if and when we have funds available for sO doing.

Of the other papers that are to be read at the meeting, it is perhaps natural in Madras that a considerable proportion should relate to the early period of British rule in Tud ia. Thus we have papers upon Governors Collet, Clive and Hastings, and on Famine Relief in the time of several others who ruled here over 150 years ago and another on the Dutch records. We have two contributions relating to Madura, one dealing with the records of its famous temple, the other with those of the Jesuit Mission, other papers deal with the Pallavas and the Mahratta connection with Southern India. I am glad, however to say that we are also to hear some interesting papers upon other parts of India including Begum Sombre, Mehdi Ali Khan and Bahu Begum, as well as a paper on the Burgi invasion of Bengal. There would seem here to the layman to be food for discussion for a week, but I understand that the Commission by a new and self-denying ordinance has reduced the time to be given to each paper to fifteen minutes so that it limits its stay here to two days.

The Exhibition that has been collected together affords matter of interest, I think, for us all. Personally not being a historian, I am specially attracted by the original copy of the Abbe Dubois' Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies and the original of Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary and by the maps illustrating the growth of Madras during the past two centuries, a matter to me personally of never-ending interest. Equal to these in interest is the old Church plate in St. Mary's Church which the Chaplain has kindly sent over for inspection. I would also mention the book of Regimental flags of the Madras Army, which I may say have recently been carefully reproduced and hung in the Banqueting Hall. I hope that the Members of the Commission will give Her Excellency Lady Willingdon and myself the pleasure of their company at tea at Government House at 4 o'clock to-morrow to view these and our other treasures.

To these the loan from the Imperial Record Department adds the very interesting reconnoitring plans of Madras prepared in the years 1758 and

1768 and a copy of the treaty transferring the Danish settlements to the English, and the letter of the Maharaja of Mysore on his release and restoration of the kingdom of his ancestors. These are in addition to a number of very interesting documents of more general interest including letters from Tipu Sultan, the Peshwa, Nana Furnavis and others. In addition, we have a number of interesting paintings of the Mughal Emperors and of Tipu Sultan and Alexander the Great. Another exhibit of much interest in Madras is that lent by the Revd, leather Hosten of pre-Portuguese Christian reikis, some of which come from St. Thome, Mylapore, and the Little Mount.

In this brief and disjointed list, I have referred to a few of the items which, as I have said, appeal specially to me as a layman; but the items I have mentioned form only a very small fraction of the whole and I feel sure that with students of history the one regret will be that the Commission and the exhibits which they have so kindly arranged for us will only be staying in Madras for so brief a period. "

Speech of the Hon'ble Mr H. £. A. Cotton.

In thanking His Excellency, the Mr Cotton said:—

" Your EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I must, at the outset, convey to the meeting the regret of Mr Montagu Butler, Pressident. of the Commissin, who has been detained at Delhi and could not attend the Sessions at Madras. In the unavoidable absence of Mr Butler it devolves on me to express on behalf of the Commission the gratitude we feel towards His Excellency for the warm reception accorded to us and for the kind interest taken by His Excellency in the Commission's work in Madras. It is impossible for any one who has some leaning to historical study to visit Madras without experiencing a species of thrill, because Madras is not only a British Capital, but the real India is seen here. Whatever may be said of Calcutta as a British Capital—and I cannot give up my love for Calcutta—I am bound to make the admission that there is very little of real India in Calcutta. Madras is extremely fortunate in possessing both attributes. The visitor cannot help noticing, wherever he turns his eyes, the reverence for the past which the people have. Everywhere the association with bygone days has not been forgotten but it is cherished. I would venture to call that the right spirit in which to deal with history. I have also visited the Madras Record Office and I may respectfully represent to Your Excellency to take some steps to appoint a Record Keeper at an early date. It is quite evident even from a cursory glance at the Madras record room that it contains materials of immense value to students of history, relating to the early days of British rule. I think, the records in Madras are even of greater value than those which are collected in the Imperial Record Office at Calcutta. "With regard to the Mackenzie collection, the proper home for it is, I think, the record office at Madras rather than the Museum. In the India Office already a catalogue is being prepared and

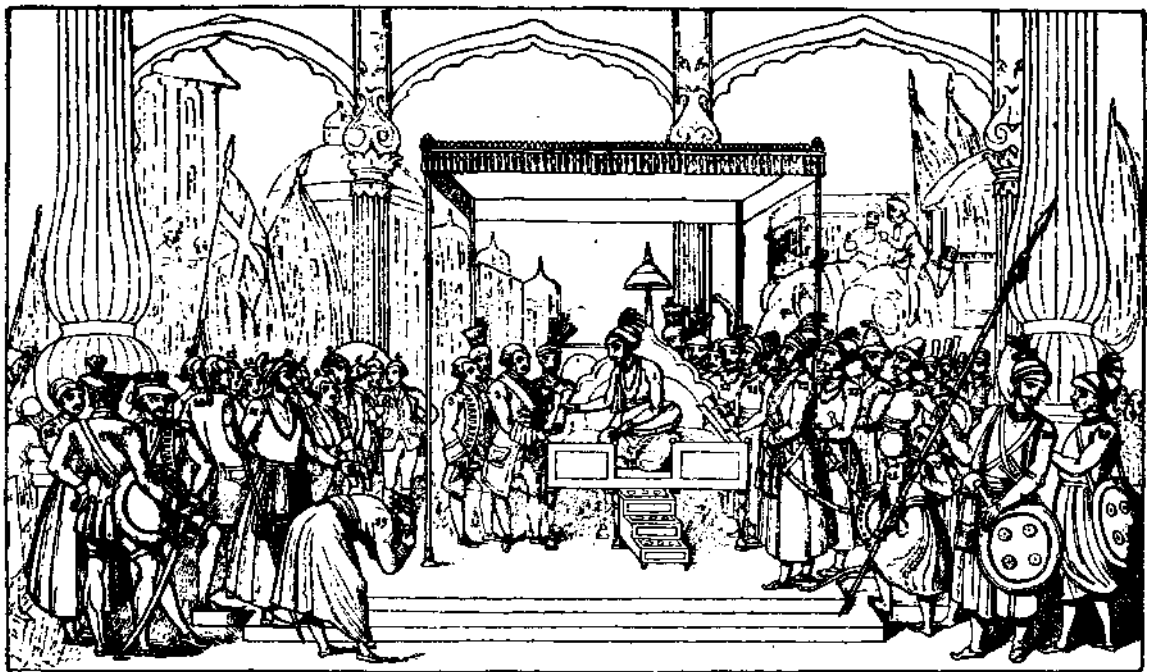
I hope it will soon be complete. I thank Your Excellency once again for opening the Sessions and for taking so keen an interest in the Commission and its work. "

After His Excellency had left the Secretary proposed the Hon'ble Mr H. E. A. Cotton to the chair. A number of papers on historical subjects were then read. The meeting lasted till 4 P.M.

The Exhibition which was organised in connection with the Madras Session of the Commission was formally opened on the afternoon of the 10th January 1024 by His Excellency the Governor of Fort Saint George, in the presence of Her Excellency Lady Willingdon, several membors of the Royal Commission on the Superior Services in India, and a representative gathering of ladies and gentlemen. The Exhibits included interesting manuscripts, coins, seals, maps, *Sanads, Firmans,* official papers and a large number of pie-Portuguese Christian relics in India, Ceylon, Burma and China, Official documents written and signed by Hobert Clive in a clear and bold hand and the original despatches of Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards the hero of Waterloo) were among the exhibits. A letter written by Count Lally during the siege of Madras spoke of the place as " *a S*odom " which culled for the fire of English guns if not the fire of Heaven. These exhibits were received mostly from Calcutta and Madras. The Calcutta exhibits were chiefly from the Imperial Record Department and those of Madras *limi* been collected by Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangur, Professor of History and Archaeology in the Madras University, as well as the officers of the Madras Record Office. The French Government were good enough to send a number of exhibits from Pondicherry in the shape of valuable historical records, *firmans,* treaties, *perwanas,* and letters which materially enhanced the value of the exhibition. A complete list of the Exhibits will be found in Appendix B.

On the morning of the 11th January 1924, the members of the Commission inspected the Madras Record Office. In the afternoon Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon entertained the members of the Commission to tea at Government House, after which they were shewn the collection of pictures in the Banqueting Hall. The Revd. H. Hosten, S. J., who has always taken a keen interest in the activities of the Commission, accompanied the members on a visit to the Mylapore Cathedral, the Great Mount and Little Mount of St. Thomas, and explained to them the pre-Portuguese Christian relics preserved at those places for several centuries.

THE GREAT MOGUL Presenting the GRANT of the DEWANNEE to LORD CLIVE.



1. The Emperor Shah Alum, commonly called the Great Mogul. 2. Lord Clive. 3. Gen^l Carnac. 4. Captain Archibald Swinton 5. Major — Pearson. 6. Sir Henry Strachey. 7. not ascertained. 8. M^r Beaumont. 9. 10. not ascertained. 11. an Officer of the court called a Chubdar 12. M^r Kelsall. 13, 14, 15. not ascertained. 16, 17. two Sepoys. 18. an Indian civil Officer. 19. an Indian Nobleman. 20, 21, 22, 23. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28. 29, 30. Civil and Military attendants of the Court. 31, 32, 33, 34. Servants bearing whisks of Peacocks feathers to chase away the Flies

Clive and the Strachey Family.

(By the Hon'ble Mr H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E.)

A number of interesting details regarding the connection of Clive with the Strachey family are given in the book of autobiography which has recently been written under the title of " The Adventure of Living " (London, 1922) by Mr. St. Loe Strachey, the Editor of the "Spectator" and younger brother of Lord Strachey, the present head of the family.

No one requires to bo reminded that, when the Baron of Plassey went out to Bengal in 1765 to assume for the second time the office of President of Fort William and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces stationed in that Presidency, he took with him as his private secretary the son of a Somerset squire, of the name of Henry Strachey. Bui, it is less generally known that at the time of Strachey's appointment, the family fortune was seriously embarrassed. Matters had reached such a crisis, that unless tho sum of £12,000 was paid within the next twelve months, the Sutton Court estates would pass *into* other hands. Clive heard of the difficulty and advanced the money in anticipation of the remuneration which was to be received by his secretary in return for his services in Bengal. Thanks to this timely act of generosity, Sutton Court is still *in* possession of tho Stracheys; and the memory of Clive is held by them in high honour. A portrait of him by Nathaniel Dance hangs in the hall; and in the background is shown, oddly enough, not a platoon of his faithful " Const " sepoys, but a company of horsemen with drawn swords charging an invisible enemy,([1])

A portrait of Henry Strachey may be seen in Benjamin West's picture of " Shah Alam, the Great Mogul, conveying the Grant of the Dewanny to Lord

[1] Another and full-length portrait of Clive by Nathaniel Dance is in the collection of the Earl of Powis, the present head of the family, at Walcot; and a replica, also by Dance, was presented in 1834 to the Oriental Club in London by the first Earl who as Lord Clive was Governor of Fort Saint George from 1798 to 1803. Yet another copy (a three-quarter length) which was painted by Thomas Day in 1819, hangs in the drawing room at Government House, Madras, [n the background of this picture an engagement is shown. Two field guns, served apparently by soldiers in red coats, are in action on the extreme left. On the right is a hilly landscape, with a cloud of black smoke rising above it and groups of the enemy retreating in disorder. A dead horse lies in the middle distance. (See the account in Col. H. I). Love's " Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House and the Banqueting Hall, Madras "; published in 1903). This picture is believed to have been presented by the first Earl of Powis, and for many years was incorrectly labelled with his name. Three other portraits of Clive by or after Dance are known. One is the property of the Earl of Plymouth: another is in the National Portrait Gallery: and the third (which is a copy by W. E. Spanton of the Walcot picture) is in the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta. The pose of the figure is the same in each case.

Nathaniel Dance, the painter, was an original member of the Royal Academy, but resigned his place in 1790 upon his marriage with Mrs. Dummer, a wealthy widow with a fortune of £18,000 a year. He subsequently assumed the name of Holland, was created a baronet in 1800, became a member of Parliament and died in 1811. There are frequent references to him in the Farington Diary: " Dance when He painted portraits, very diligent—rose at 4 in the morning." His nephew, Nathaniel Dance, was in the Company's Marine Service, and was knighted in 1804 for having, when Commodore of the homeward bound China fleet, beaten off an attack by Admiral Linois with four French men of war, off Pulo Aor.

Clive, August 1765." The original picture is in the possession **of** the **Earl** of Plymouth (whose family name is Windsor-Clive) but **a** copy **which was** painted by West himself was presented to the East **India** Company **by Edward,** second Lord Clive and first Earl of Powis, in 1820.([2]) It was placed in the Finance and Home Committee Hoorn at the India House and now hangs in the Finance Committee Room at the India Office. The Emperor is shown lobed in gold coloured satin with turban to mutch, and seated on a musnud under a large canopy. He is handing the grant to Clive, who stands on his right, with General John Carrac behind him. Both officers are in full uniform, and Clive wears the red ribbon of the Order of the Bath. Near them stands a group of British officers. According to the key plate which was drawn on stone by J. Baker and printed by J. Redman, Captain Archibald Swinton stands behind General Carnac whose aide-de-camp he was. Next to him are firstly Major Pearson and then Henry Strachey (miscalled Sir Henry in the index). Anselm Beaumont, a stout squat figure, is separated from Strachey by a European whose name is " not ascertained." Beyond them and standing behind " an officer of the Court called ehubdar " is Strachey's brother-in-law, Thomas Kelsall.([3]) The British flag and the Company's colours arc displayed in the background. On tho other side are the ministers and officers of the Imperial household ; and behind them are the **banners of t**he Mogul and a couple of elephants. in front, but rather to the left of the picture, an Indian is making a low obeisance.

[2] The following extract from the Court Minutes (October 25th, 1820), which is taken trom *Mr* Foster's catalogue of pictures at the India Office,records the presentation of this pieture to the CoMpnny.—

> " Thy Chairman then acquainting the Court that tho Earl of Powis had been further pleased to authorize him to intimate a wish on the part of his Lordship to present to the Court a Copy by Mr West of his original Painting representing his father, the late Lord Clive., receiving the grant of the Dewanny from the Moghul:
>
> Resolved that the Chairman he requested to convey to Lord Powis the Court's acknowledgments for his obliging offer, and to assure his Lordship that the Court will have great satisfaction in accepting a Picture which represents one of the most important events in the administration of his distinguished Ancestor, and in the history of the East India Company."

[3] Archibald Swinton had originally been a surgeon's mate on an Indiaman and first came out to India about 1752. He entered the Company's service in Bengal as a surgeon but at the instigation of Clive and Carnac, who found him useful on account of his knowledge of Persian, took a commission as ensign in 1759. He became lieutenant in 1761 and captain in 1763. Before his return to Europe in 1766 he founded, witb Mr Burn, the well-known engineering and shipbuilding firm of Burn and Company. whose office in Hastings Street, Calcutta, was formerly the house of Mrs Warren Hastings.

Anselm Beaumont received a nomination as factor in the Company's Service for his bravery during the siege of Calcutta by Seraj-ud-daula. He was Resident at Midnapore from February to December 1764. About the year 1769 he retired and returned to England where, it would appear from references in the Barwell letters, he acted as agent for Richard Barwell.

Thomas Kelsall was one of the four civil servants on the establishment at Fort St George, who were brought to Bengal by Clive to fill vacancies on the Council at Fort William. The other three were Claud Russell, William Aldersey and Charles Floyer: of whom the last named subsequently reverted to Madras and as a member of Council was involved in the extraordinary episode which culminated in the arrest of Lord Pigot on August 24, 1776. Kelsall was appointed in 1767 to be chief of Dacca, to the intense annoyance of Richard Barwell who alleged that the post had been promised to him. Another civil servant of the same name, Henry Kelsall, was Resident at Balasore in 1748 and Mayor of Calcutta in 1755 and 1756.

There is another copy of this picture in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection at Calcutta. It is possible that it is a study in oils for the India Office painting: for although the general composition is similar, the grouping of the figures is altogether different. Strachey and Beaumont are absent: and their place is taken by a mustachioed European officer.

Little or no information appears to be available as to the ceremony observed upon so important an occasion; and no details can be traced beyond the statement of Malcolm in his " Memoirs of Lord Clive " that Shah Alam, having with him none of the accompaniments of high condition or state, used as his throne an ordinary English dining table covered over with a cloth. This tradition has not been followed by the artist.

The grant of the Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa was the outcome of the Treaty of Allahabad which was concluded on August 16, 1765, between Clive and Carnae on the one hand, representing the Nawab Nazim of Bengal and the East India Company, and Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, on the other hand. This interesting document was reproduced in " The Journal of Indian Art" for July 1890: and one of the original copies hangs in a frame in the reading room of the Library at the India Office. It is written in English and Persian and bears the signatures of the three principal contracting parties. Edmund Maskelyne (the brother-in-law of Clive), Archibald Swinton, and George Vansittart (who was Persian translator), und un equal number of Indians sign as witnesses. These transactions formed the culminating point of Clive's second governorship of Bengal (1765—67), and " may be viewed aa having crowned his efforts as a hero and a statesman, in fixing firm the foundation of the British Empire in India" (Malcolm: Vol. II, p. 338).

Henry Strachey (1737—1810) returned from Bengal with his patron in February, 1767, and an interesting glimpse of him may be found in a letter written from London on March 29, 1774, by a certain Mr John Knott to "Mr Nubkissen" and reproduced in Mr N . N . Ghose's "Memoirs of Maharaja Nubkissen" (pp. 26—29).

> His Lordship (Lord Clive) enjoying but an indifferent state of health every cold season here (which is rather too severe for his constitution as well as for most gentlemen that come from India), he went to Italy for the benefit of his health about five or six months ago which is a warmer and healthier climate than England. Mr Strachey tells me that his Lordship's health is now so much benefited by his journey that he will very soon return to England again. Mr Kelsall and Mr Beaumont, late of Bengal, accompanied his Lordship to Italy. . . . Mr Strachey was married soon after his return to England to Mr Kelsal's sister and has one or two children by her: he is in good health and lives very happily: he is a member of

> Parliament and will be. chosen one of the East Indian Directors, I believe, next year."([4])

Strachey did not secure a seat on the board of the Company, but sat •continuously in the House of Commons from 1770 until his death in **1810.** Various offices came to him such as Joint-Secretary to the Treasury, Under Secretary of State, and Master of the Household: and on June 15, 1801, he was created a baronet. He married in 1770 Jane, daughter of John Kelsall of Greenwich and widow of Capt. Latham, R.N., and had three sons (Henry, Edward, and Richard), all of whom came to Bengal in the Civil Service of the Company.

THE INDIAN RECORD OF THE STRACHEYS.

Henry Strachey, the second baronet (1772-1858) was nominated to ft writership on the Bengal Establishment on April 11, 1792, and arrived in India on August 25 of that year. He was appointed Register of the Dewanny Adawlut at Jessore on May 1, 1793, and was transferred to the Presidency on December 17, 1798, as translator to the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut. On February 11, 1800, he became Magistrate of Midnapore, and from February 21, 1803, until March 31, 1805, when he resigned the service in India, was third Judge of,the Court of Appeal and Circuit in the Ceded Provinces, now known as the Gorakhpore and Rohilkhand Divisions.([5]) He died unmarried in 1858. His grand nephew, Mr St. Loe Strachey, relates that when he returned to England his mother ottered him £4,000 to buy a seat in Parliament and that he refused the money, as he did not like tho idea of voting in the opposite lobby to his father.

While Strachey was Magistrate of Midnapore, he submitted a report on July 31, 1800, to Mr H. St. George Tucker, Secretary to the Government at Fort William in the Judicial and Revenue Departments (afterwards Director of the Company from 1826 to 1851 and Chairman of the Court in 1834:) in which some interesting details are given regarding the conditions prevailing in what was then a frontier district :

> Towards the south-west quarter of this zillah, but at a considerable distance from the frontier, lies the pergunnah of Pataspur, belonging to the Mahrattas, entirely surrounded by the Com-

[4] Mention is also made in the letter of the approaching departure for Bengal of " Robert Chambers, Esq., a gentleman of respectable character and distinguished abilities " who is recommended to Nubkissen as " having a desire to learn both the Persian and Bengally languages on his arrival in Bengal." William Chambers, the Judge's brother, who was a specialist in Oriental languages and was appointed Prothonotary and interpreter to the Supreme Court, came out with him. He had previously been in Madras (writer 1765: Senior Merchant, 1776).

[6] Various reports by Henry Strachey are contained in Appendix XT to the famous Fifth Report. One of these which was compiled " on his completion of the 2nd sessions of 1802 for the several districts of the Calcutta Circuit " is described (p. 67) as " one of the most able, intelligent and interesting expositions that have appeared on this subject." Other reports relate to the " Berilly " and " Benares " divisions (1805): and in the former of these mention is made of his approaching departure for Europe " **this** season."

pany's territory. There are likewise situated between Pataspur and the common boundary, several detached villages, amounting in the whole to about the same quantity of land as is contained in Pataspur, belonging also to the Mahrattas. These detached villages are in like manner surrounded by, and intermixed with, the Company's lands. The most common and natural limit between this zillah and the Mahratta territory to the west is the Subarnrekha river; but while some of the Mahratta lands lie to the east of the river, some of the Company's lands lie to the west of it. This state of things is productive of many disputes and inconveniences. The Mahratta pergunnahs contain a very considerable number of dacoits—some of them well known as such, others are more secret. Most of the proprietors of land and of those who possess wealth or influence in these pergunnahs are either dacoits themselves or connected with dacoits. Some of the persons employed by the Mahratta Government in the pretended administration of justice or in the collection of revenue arc connected with dacoits and salt smugglers, receive as the reward of their assistance or connivance considerable contributions, and in Some instances n share of the actual plunder. Dacoits, Chuars, and plunderers of every description, retire to this territory and occasionally return to commit depredations. Their inducements to reside there are the facility of pursuing- their occupations of pillage and at the same time evading justice. Hence this part of the Mahratta territory is much better cultivated than the Company's lands which surround it. The lawless and turbulent MaKratta subjects are well protected in their persons and property, while I am conscious of my inability to afford the same protection to the peaceful and industrious inhabitants of this zillah. Criminals of every description, whose aim it is to evade justice, convicts escaped from jail, deserters, persons who have resisted judicial process and who are outlawed, to which may be added insolvent debtors and persons charged with crimes who fear to stand their trial, find an asylum in the heart of the Company'? territories. A few weeks ago only a police daroga was charged with corruption, upon which both he and bis sureties retired to Pataspur. ([8])

The Magistrate wrote further that complaints of carrying off cattle from **the** neighbouring villages were very frequent, and the injured applied to him

The letter is quoted in J. C. Price's " Notes on the History of Midnapore " (Bengal Secretariat Press, 1876). The conquest of Orissa in 1803 formed part of Wellesley's great campaign against the Mahrattas in Central Tndia. Their possessions in Midnapore and the adjoining districts were under the rule of a Fouidar at Balasore, who was in his turn subordinate to a Subadar at Cuttack. The British Resident at Balasore acted as " Agent for Mahratta Salt."

in vain for redress. A large quantity of salt was manufactured in the lands occupied by the Mahrattas, and the whole of it was sold in the Company's territory either to the Salt Agent or smuggled, to the great loss of the revenues of Government. If the Mahrattas could be prevailed upon to cede their lands. by which an uninterrupted line of demarcation would be produced, the police in the south-west of the district would receive more improvement than it was possible to attain by any internal regulation of Government or by any exertions of the Magistrate.

Edward Strachey (1774-1832), the second son, and father of the third baronet, was nominated to a writership on the Bengal Establishment on April 15,1793, and arrived in India on September 5. of that year. On November 1, he was appointed an assistant in the Governor-General's Office, and Commissioner of the Court of Requests on December 5. On February 28, 1791 he became third assistant to the Resident at Benares and Register of the City Adawlut at Benares on July 13, 1795. He went to Lucknow on April 17, 1797, as second Assistant to the Resident at the Nawab Vizier's Court; and from January 26, 1801 to July 28, 1804, was Secretary to the Resident at Poona. Thereafter he served as Judge at Midnapore, Agra, Jessore and Dacca. From January 29, 1808, until he left for Europe in February 1811, he was Judge of the provincial Court of appeal, first at Moorshedabad, and then at Dacca. ([7]) His wife was the daughter of Major General William Kirkpatrick of the Bengal army, Resident at Hyderabad (1795) and private secretary to Lord Wellesley (1799). On his return to England he was appointed in 1819 to be an examiner on the judicial side at the India House, and died in 1832. ([8]) Mr St. Loe Strachey relates how he was among the first to learn of the death of Napoleon at St. Helena.

His eldest son Edward succeeded his uncle Henry as third baronet in 1858; and three of his younger sons (William, John, and Richard) came to Bengal.

William Strachey (1819-1904) was nominated to a writership on the Bengal Establishment on January 24, 1838, and arrived in India on December 5, of that year. He became assistant to the Governor General in Rajputana in 1840 and proceeded to Europe in 1843. His subsequent official life (1848-70) was passed in the Colonial Office.

[7] One of Sir Charles D'Oyly's drawings of Dacca—" Part of the city from the Douillae Nulla " (Dolai creek)—is dedicated to Edward Strachey, Esq., " iate of Dacca." These drawings, twenty-three in number, were engraved by John Landseer, and published in four large folio volumes (1814, 1817, 1826, and 1827). Each plate was inscribed or dedicated to a friend: and there are a few vignettes by George Chinnery in the letter-press. The series may be seen in the Victoria Memorial Hall.

[8] " Such is the force of habit that, when he had occasion to take notes of an important trial at the Somersetshire assizes, he actually wrote them in Persian rather than in the English words in which the evidence was given, just as he had done, many years before, when trying dakoits at Jessore."—*Talks at a County House*, by Sir Edward Strachey (third baronet): quoted by Mr William Foster, C.I.E., in his history of the India House (John Lane, 1924).

John Strachey (1823-1907) was appointed to a writership on the Bengal Establishment on February 1, 1842, and arrived in India on December 12 of that year. He became Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces (1874-76) and Finance Member of the Governor General's Council (1876-1880); and both he and his brother Ki chard (1817-1908), who served in the Bengal Engineers and was also a member of the Supreme Council, ended their career on the Council of the Secretary of State for India.

The third son of Clive's Secretary, Richard Strachey (1781-1847), was nominated to a writership on the Bengal Establishment on March 2, 1798, and arrived in India on November 1 of that year. He was sent to Persia in November 1799 as assistant to the Envoy (Sir John Malcolm) and on October 1, 1801, became an assistant in the Governor General's office. From 1803 to 1807 he was on leave in "Europe; and on his return was appointed on October 12, 1807, to be Deputy Superintendent of Chandernagore and Deputy Commissioner of Chinsurah (which were then under English administration). He retained these offices until 1810, but went to Kabul in August 1808 as Secretary to tho Envoy (Mountstuart Elphinstone). On February 25, 1811, he became Resident at the Court of Seindia, and on October 31, 1815, was appointed in the same capacity to the Court of the Nawab Vizier at Lucknow, resigning tho service on October 31, 1817.([9])

A memento of Richard Straehey's occupancy of the Gwalior Residency is still to be seen, in the shape of the tomb of his favourite dog Glancer, which

[9] In the supplement to the " Calcutta Gazette " of Thursday, December 17, 1807, an account is given of a masquerade given on December 11 at Moore's Assembly Rooms (in Dacres Lane, Calcutta, which were demolished about 1826) by " the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, Mr. Parry, Mr. Strachey and Mr. Thackeray." We are told that it was " distinguished by circumstances of particular splendor, animation, gaiety, and appropriate humor."

> The cards of invitation, issued on this occasion, amounted to the number of three hundred; and the period of time occupied in preparing for the festivities of the evening necessarily excited, in a very high degree, the public expectation of the entertainment to be furnished by the variety and grotesque assemblage of character which constitute the jest of such entertainments.

" The Honourable Mr. Elphinstone " is probably Mountstuart Elphinstone (writer, 1795) who was, no doubt, in Calcutta on his way from Nagpur to Gwalior where he took over charge of the office of Resident at the Court of Scindia on March 28, 1808, and remained until August 29, when he was despatched as envoy to Knbul. He was the fourth son of the eleventh Baron Elphinstone. His elder brother, the Hon'ble James Ruthven Elphinstone, who was the third son, was appointed to Bengal as a writer, in 1790; and was judge and Magistrate of Juanpore (Jaunpur) from March 11, 1807, to February 20, 1808. when he was transferred to the Zillah Court at Behar in the same capacity. He died at St. Helena on August 1, 1828. Their nephew, the thirteenth Baron, was Governor of Madras from 1837 to 1842, and of Bombay trom 1858 to 1859.

Richard Parry (writer, 1792) was probably a son of Edward Parry, Director of the Company from 1800 to 1826 (Deputy Chairman of the Court, 1806: Chairman 1807, and again in 1808). He was appointed Secretary to Government in the Military Department on March 12, 1807, and resigned the Service in England on June 23, 1813.

Richard Strachey, as stated in the text, was Deputy Superintendent of Chandernagore and Deputy Commissioner of Chinsurah at the time.

The fourth host was Richmond Thackeray (writer, 1797), the father of the novelist, who had been appointed Secretary to the Board of Revenue on January 1, 1807. He died at Alipore on September 13, 1815, when holding the office of Collector of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs.

he erected in 1814. It was discovered in the grounds of the old Residency by Mr. W. E. Jardine, C.I.E., the present Resident, and removed by him and re-erected in the garden of the new Residency. In shape it is a circular building supported on eight pillars; and containing a masonry slab. The following verses are inscribed on the tomb:

To the Memory of " Glancer " who died on the 25th February 1814.

1. Departed worth the Muse's tribute claims,
   Nor sinks without its meed,
   In Glancer's praise her humble effort aims
   To tune the vocal reed.

2. Thy bones, O first of all thy cherished kind,
   Beneath the sod lie cold;
   Though gone yet long thy name shall dwell behind,
   Thy virtues oft be told.

3. If beauty's praise the Muse delight to sound,
   None e'er could rival thine,
   No Hound could boast a head or form so round,
   Thy tail was beauty's line.

4. How graceful hung thy ears; what varied guise
   Adorned thy coat so sleek!
   But who shall paint thy full expressive eyes,
   Those eyes that seemed to speak?

6. Is tried fidelity a theme for song?
   The lay is Glancer's due,
   From West to East, a toilsome road along,
   His lord he followed true.

6. Midst Baltic waves and Russia's vast domains,
   O'er many a Persian hill,
   Through stormy Gulphs and India's sultry plains,
   His faithful servant still.

7. Nor less with subtle penetration bred,
   Most skilful of the pack,
   He knew with sure sagacity to thread
   The fox's devious track.

8. Though none, save Man, the power of speech command,
Such winning arts he knew,
His ways persuasive from the unwilling hand
A mouthful always drew.

9. And if some failings fell to Glancer's share,
Who e'er was spotless found?
His faults (the record's not the Muse's care)
Lie buried under ground.

The authorship of the lines is uncertain. As Mr. Jardine observes, there is a suggestion of humour in the treatment of Glancer's points, both good and bad, which indicates the hand of a friend rather than that of a devoted master. Could the friend have been Sir John Malcolm whom Strachey accompanied to Persia in 1799? Glancer seems to have gone also, " o'er many a Persian hill." But it may be that Strachey returned to India from leave in 1807 by way of Russia and Persia and took Glancer with him.([10])

THE STRACHEY COPY OF ZOFFANY'S " *COCK* MATCH."

In connection with the same Richard Strachey's tenure of office as Resident at Lucknow, from 1815 to 1817, an interesting fact may be recorded, which appears to have escaped the notice of Mr. St. Loe Strachey.

At least three copies of the famous picture of " Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match " are believed to have been painted by Zoffany who was at Lucknow in 1786 in the time of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula. One of these remained at Lucknow and is mentioned by Mrs. Fanny Parks who says (" Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque," Vol. II, p. 181) that when she visited the Daulat Khana, a palace built by Asaf-ud-Daula, on January 24, 1831, she saw " a picture painted in oils by Zoffani, an Italian artist (sic) of a match of cocks between the Nabob, Ussoof-ood-Dowla and and the Resident (sic) Colonel Mordaunt. The whole of the figures are portraits, the picture excellent but fast falling into decay." In later years, a certain " Senex," whose identity has not been ascertained, stated in *Notes and Queries* (8th Series, Vol. X, p. 351) that he was in Lucknow before the annexation of Oudh (which took place in 1856), and saw the picture in the royal palace which was destroyed " during the Mutiny."

Another copy, which is in the possession of the Marquess of Tweeddale, was painted for Warren Hastings in England by Zoffany, to replace **one**

[10] In a letter received after these lines were in print, Mr. Jardine informs me that the poem was written by Gerald Wellesley (writer. 1807) who was appointed second assistant to the Resident at the Court of Scindia on September 10, 1810, and remain at Gwalior until March 16, 1816. A portrait of Glancer is preserved at Ashwick Grove in Somerset, which became Richard Strachey's home upon retirement.

which he had executed for him in India but which had been lost at sea on the voyage home. It remained at Daylesford until the death of General Sir Charles Imhoff, the step-son of Hastings, when it was sold at the Daylesford House sale in 1853 for 215 guineas, to Colonel Harry Dawkins, a neighbouring squire. In 1898 it was re-sold at Christie's for 210 guineas.

Yet a third copy was presented by Nawab Ghazi-ucJ-din Hyder to Richard Strachey, when he resigned the post of Resident in 1817, and is now at Ashwick Grove, near Bath, the home of that branch of the Strachey family. It was offered for sale at Sotheby's by Mr. R. S. Strachey on July 15', 1920, but a bid of £200 was not accepted, the reserve price being £500. Judging from the reproduction in Sotheby's sale catalogue, the picture would seem to be inferior to the one from which Richard Earloin's well-known engraving is taken.([11]) The background is different, and several figures appear which are absent from the Daylesford replica: while the faces of the minor characters have either been touched up by an inferior hand or were not too carefully painted in the first instance, ([12])

Richard Strachey was also presented with a portrait of Ghazi-ud-Din Hyder which now hangs in tho Oriental Club in London, This is saidl by Dr. G. C. Williamson (p. 88) to be the work of Zoffany: but the ascription is difficult to endorse, for Ghazi-ud-din Hyder succeeded his father Saadat Ali Khan (who was the half-brother of Asaf-ud-Daula) in 1814 and Zoffanv returned to England in 1789 and died i*n* 1810.

THE DEATH OF CLIVE.

Mr. St. Loe Strachey records some hitherto unknown details on the subject of the death of Clive, who put an end to his life on November 27, 1774, in the house in Berkeley Square which is still occupied by his descendant, the Earl of Powis.

Shortly before his death Clive addressed the following letter to Henry Strachey :

[11] The Victoria Memorial Hall possesses a copy of the engraving and also of the key to the figures represented. Both are the gift of the late Mr. 11. S. Strachey, who was the grandson of Richard Strachey and was formerly agent of the Assam-Bengal Railway.

[12] Mention is made in an article published in the *Pioneer* in the autumn of 1920 and reproduced in the *Madras Mail* on November 9 of that year, of another picture of the Cock Fight, which was then in the possession of Colonel H. A. Vernon, of the King's Royal Rifle Corps, and which was painted towards the end of the eighteenth century for his ancestor, Joseph Cator, who acted as Barwell's private secretary. This picture is not, however, by Zoffany, but is the work of an Indian artist, " Hosnao," who is said to have been originally a syce. Asaf-ud-daula is again the Nawab of Lucknow, but his adversary is described as the " Nabob of Bengal," and was probably Mobarak-ud-daula, one of the sons and successors of Mir Jafar. Many of the figures closely resemble those in the Strachey picture which is believed by experts to be an early replica of the one which Zoffany painted for Asaf-ud-daula, and which has disappeared.

" How miserable is my condition. I have a disease which makes life insupportable but which my doctors tell me won't shorten it one hour."

According to Sir Edward Strachey, the third baronet (1812-1901), who was the father of Mr. St. Loe Strachey, the disease from which Clive suffered was a very painful form of dyspepsia accompanied by vertigo. When these attacks came on, he became utterly depressed : and he lived *in* constant dread of their recurrence. It is thought that it was upon a sudden sense that an attack was impending that he cut his throat. He could not face again what might have been an agony of three or four months' duration.

Some eight years before the death of Sir Edward Strachey, which took place in 1901, his son persuaded him to put on paper, partly from family papers, and partly from his own memory of what he had heard from his uncle and others, as exact an account as he could of the actual facts of Olive's death. This was published in the " Spectator " of November 4, 1893, and reprinted in the issue of November 3, 1918. By the courtesy of Mr. St. Loe Strachey, we are permitted to reproduce it.

* * * * * * *

All lhe accounts of the death of *a* great mani are interesting to us. They are most so when we can say that there was "Nothing but well and fair,

And what may quiet us in *a* death so noble"

But even when we are unable to deny that there has been something neither noble nor creditable in such a death, the incidents are still interesting, were it only that we might find something of pity and extenuation for the failure in a great man of the courage which should have upheld him to the last. Such was the interest aroused in London by the report of Lord Olive's sudden death, of which Horace Walpole tells the Countess of Ossory and Sir Horace Mann, on November 23rd and 24th, 1774 : and in a postscript to the latter, written on the 29th of that month, he says : " Lord Clive has died every death in the parish register; at present it is most fashionable to believe he cut his throat."

The family of Lord Clive were not unnaturally desirous that it should be believed that he had died from an overdose of laudanum, taken under medical advice, rather than by the act of his own hand; and we suppose that it was out of respect for this still existing feeling of the family that Sir John Malcolm passed the matter over in silence in his Life of Lord Clive, written from the family papers. The true story was, however, told in great detail in the Life of Clive by Caraccioli, and again, less precisely, by Lord Stanhope and Mr. Gleig, and now by Colonel Malleson; which last writer should not have been unacquainted with the account given by Sir Edward Strachey in the *Spectator* of August 4, 1882, and in *Notes and Queries* for March 23, 1889.

Sir Edward Strachey's account is, in fact, the first in authority of the three which have come down to us, it being more direct and not anonymous. But the original memorandum was at that time mislaid, and its contents were given from recollection; and as it has lately been recovered, and as it was not then quite accurately reported, we here give it again. It is the story as told by Lady Strachey, cousin of Lady Clive and wife of Clive's Indian Secretary and devoted friend, Henry Strachey, given by her to her son, the second Sir Henry Strachey, and written down from his words, and corrected by his own hand, by and for his nephew, Sir Edward Strachey. It is as follows: —

> On the publication of Mr. Gleig's Life of Lord Olive, I drew the attention of my uncle, Sir Henry Strachey, to the account of Lord Clive's death, and also to a note which I had made of his own account, which he had told me was first given to him by his mother, who was one of the eye-witnesses immediately before and after the event. In my note of that account he made some corrections in his own hand; and I here give it, so corrected and verified.
>
> Lord Clive had long been ill—in a very nervous state—and had been cautioned by his physician against taking laudanum, but lie would and did take it. Mr. and Mrs. Strachey and Mias Ducarrel([13]) were at Lord Olive's house in Berkeley Square. Lord Clive went out of the room, and not returning, Mr. Strachey said to Lady Clive,"you had better go and see where my Lord is." She went to look for him, and at last, opening a door, found Lord Clive with his throat cut. She fainted, and servants came. Patty Ducarrel got some of the blood on her hands,

"The sister, no doubt, of George Gustavas Ducarel, writer on the Bengal Establishment, whose name appears seventy-eighth in order among the signatures to a petition addressed in January 1766 by ninety members of the Company's service to the Court of Directors, **and** protesting in the strongest terms against the importation by Clive of the " four gentlemen from Madras." Ducarel, however, wrote from Mirzapore to beg that his name might be erased. " The consequence of remaining single among a multitude overcame my judgment," he says, "but a few hours' reflection convinced me of the folly I had been guilty of." He became Supravisor of Purneah in 1770, and in August 1775 was appointed by the votes of Clavering, Monson and Francis to succeed Alexander Elliot as Superintendent of the Khalsa Records (Progs, of the Board of Revenue, 1775; G. G. P., pp. 3370-3375). The candidate favoured by Hastings and Barwell was George Bogle, of Tibet fame, to whom objection was taken by the majority as being too young. (I am indebted for this information to Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., Principal of the Hooghly College, Chinsurah, who has examined the original record.) Ducarel, with George Livius and John Bristow, was constantly intriguing against Hastings who contemptuously describes the trio as " the lees of Francis." Both he and Sir George Shee were implicated in the Francis Escapade at Grand's house (see Grand's Narrative, p. 85) **and** gave evidence at the trial. The registers of St. John's Church, Calcutta, contain entries of the baptism of the following natural children of Ducarel: Mary (Feb. 27, 1777), Philip John (June 11, 1778), William (April 22, 1780). Dr. Busteed quotes an amusing **reference to him** in a letter written by Francis in 1784 from Paris: " Ducarel has found **his uncle and aunt,** or rather, they have found him. He was forced to get on a chair to **put his arms round his** uncle's neck: and he has worn my blue box to rags to keep his **feet from** dangling **in** the chaise."

and licked it off. After the event, Mrs. Strachey remembered having seen Lord Clive, when at her house some days before, take up a penknife from the inkstand, feel its edge, and th«a lay it down again.

we have a story (probably derived from my mother) that my father (Edward Strachey the elder) had a red mark on his forehead—which I do not recollect—and that his mother explained it by saying: "just before he was born, I saw a man covered with blood." I only remember my uncle saying to me: "She was not fit to do much, as it was just before your father's birth"; or words to that effect. EDWARD STKACHEY.

The second account is evidently from the Miss Ducarrel mentioned by Lady Strachey, whose family were on intimate terms with that of Clive. It is given by Colonel Malleson, on the authority of Lord Stanhope, who says that it was told by the Earl of Shelbourne, afterwards the first Marquess of Lansdowne, to the person from whom he (Lord Stanhope) received it. This is substantially the same account as that given by Mr. Gleig, who no doubt derived it from Miss Ducarrel's representatives, or from Lord Stanhope. When Mr. Gleig was asked, a year or two before his death, where he got it from, ho replied that he did not remember, but .supposed it was from the papers of Lord Powis. But this must have been a mistake, as he says in his preface that Lord Powis did not give him access to the family papers.

The third account is that in the last volume of The Life of Clive, by Caraccioli, which bears no date, but which was, we believe, published a few years after Clive's death. This account, which is much more in detail than of Lady Strachey, bears very strong evidence of having been obtained by Caraccioli from Lord Clive's valet.

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THE TREATY WITH OMICHUND.

We may also quote from the same source a passage dealing with the controversy as to the treaty with Omichund:—

"Let us add a word on the deception practised upon Omichund, which Clive boldly justified in all its details, but which—as we may see from what Colonel Malleson says of it—still lingers as the only serious charge against Clive in popular estimation. We have all first learned the story from James Mill's History in India, and have felt all the sympathy and the indignation which he intended to awaken by the tale of the respectable Hindoo banker, struck down in a moment by a blow which reduced him at once to ruin and to idiocy, because he had demanded a reasonable compensation for the losses he had suffered in the taking of Calcutta, a blow from which we are left to

believe that he never recovered his reason. Both Sir James Stephen and Sir John Strachey have shown us how James Mill habitually used his great skill in vigorous and lucid narrative, in order to disguise and distort facts, if he can so strike at the reputation of some eminent man; but the story of Omichund takes quite another aspect when we learn from H. H. Wilson, in a note to his edition of Mill's History, that Omichund's property chiefly consisted of houses in Calcutta which had not been destroyed; that he received compensation for his actual losses; and that only two months after his supposed fall into hopeless idiocy, Clive wrote to the Committee to recommend him for employment. To which Colonel Malleson adds, that 'he returned to business in Calcutta and prospered till his death!' He, indeed, implies a doubt whether there was even a temporary alienation of Omichund's reason; and it has even been suggested that tho whole story may have been only an ordinary Oriental way of saying that he was greatly confounded when he learned the deception which had been practised on him. But we must say that Orme seems to imply that Omichund's mind was permanently weakened by the shock. Be this as it may, it is time that, in Carlyle's phrase, we left off shrieking, and began to consider. In war, fraud is no more dishonourable than killing is murder. The Duke of Wellington might have thought the sham treaty a needless finesse; but he would have hanged the Hindoo banker without scruple on the morrow of plassey. He certainly would not have paid him the quarter-of-a-million sterling which was his price, as Colonel Malleson thinks Clive should have done."

Shiva ji in the Madras Karnatak.

(From, unpublished French records in Paris.)

(By Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S.)

§ 1. THE RECORDS AND THEIR "VALUE.

The most famous achievement of the Maratha king Shivaji was what ft Marathi chronicle calls his *dig-vijaya* of the South, namely, his invasion of the Madras Karnatak in 1677 and creation of a kingdom there, with Jinji for its capital. Its territory is described in the *Fort St. George Diary* as sixty leagues in length and forty in breadth, with an annual revenue of 550,000 pounds sterling.

The history of this invasion is very briefly given in the only contemporary Marathi chronicle, the *Sabhasad bakhar*, where it occupies 25 lines. We have incidental references to it in the English Factory Records of Madras, printed by Government, and a few pieces of information relating to it in the letters of the Jesuit missionaries (Bertrand's *Mission du Madure).* These

sources have been used in the existing English works on Shivaji **and the** district *Gazetteers* of South Arcot and Tanjore.

But there is one material of first-rate importance of which only **a** brief summary has been available in print, I mean the *Memoires* of Francois Martin, the founder of Pondicherry. The MS. of this work is preserved in the Archives Nationales of Paris, where it bears the number T. 1169. A portion of it has been utilised, but in a very condensed form, in **Dr. Paul** Kaeppelin's *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et Francois Martin* (1908).

The diplomatic talent and administrative genius of M. Martin must lend a high value to whatever he wrote. In addition, his memoirs contain the monthly record of events in the Karnatak by a contemporary who kept close touch with Sliivaji's camp by means of Brahman agents, and at the same time was the ally of the Bijapur noble Sher Khan Lodi, who was Sliivaji's chief antagonist in that region. To a historian of Shivaji's Madras campaigns, this is the only source of information about "the other side", and hence it is of unique value, though, naturally enough, Martin records *in* full only what concerned the French factory and its patron Sher Khan, and does not describe the general campaign except in its broad results. T have secured from Paris transcripis of those portions of Martin's *Memoires* which cover the period of Shivaji's stay in the Karnatak, and shall here give extracts from it in a slightly abridged form.

§ 2. SHER KUAN LOTH, HIS FRENCH ALLIES AND MARATHA TNVADEBR.

It is, however, necessary to know at tho outset the oyoct situation of the French merchants, Sher Khan Lodi was the governor of tho Vuli-kuuda-puram province on behalf of the Bijapur Sultan. This place is now an obscure village in the Perambalur Talnq of the Trichinopoly district; but. in the 17th and 18th centuries it was one of tho most important forte on the main road from Madras to Trichinopoly. Its strong position and triple line of fortifications are described in Orme's *Indostan* (4th ed. i. 172). The territory of this province stretched northwards to the frontiers of the province of Jinji, another dependency of Bijapur. Sher Khan Lodi had invited the French to settle in his territory as early as 1670; and two years later (December 1672) when the French agent Lespinay visited him at his capital he granted to them the site of Pondicherry. But during the minority of Sikandar Adil Shah, the last Sultan of Bijapur, Sher Khan became practically independent, with the support of Balliol Khan, another Afghan and the **all** powerful regent of Bijapur. He attacked the territory of Jinji and possessed himself of Porto Novo and some other cities belonging to the latter. At his request a French force from Pondicherry took Valdaur (12 miles west of the former city} by a night attack and slaughtered its Rajput garrison who had offered resistance (24 Sep. 1676).* This first victory of a handful of foreigners

* Martin's dates are in the New Style or reformed calendar. To convert them to the Old style (observed in England till 1752), deduct twelve days.

over many times their number of Indian troops created the greatest sensation in that part. It was the precursor of the marvellous triumphs of European discipline and arms which were to be witnessed there seventy years later under Lieutenant Paradis.

Sher Khan was very grateful to the French for this service, promised them a large sum as the price of their help, and kept up a close alliance with them ever after.

But Nasir Muhammad, the governor of Jin ji, knew that Sher Khan would be content with nothing less than that famous fork and that he was seeking the alliance of the Nayaks of the south to effect his purpose. So, the lord of Jinji, in order to save himself, approached the Sultan of Golkonda. Madanna, the Golkonda minister, induced his master to make an alliance with Shivaji and send him to conquer all the Karnatak on behalf of the Qutb Shahi government, This brought Shivaji on the scene.

From this point I shall narrate the events by making quotations from Martin's diary. The condition of the country, the terror of the people, the plunder and anarchy that accompanied the Maratha invasion are most graphic cally described by a sufferer living in the infant capital of French India.

§ 3. SHIVAJI's CAPTURE OF JINJI.

Towards the end of May 1077, an advance detachment of 1,000 cavalry from the army of Shivuji arrived and encamped outside Jinji. Its commander went inside the fort to confer with Nasir Muhammad Khan for a surrender. Terms were soon settled. Nasir Muhammad agreed to give up the fort to Shivaji's men in return for a cash sum on account and a jagir in perpetuity yielding 50,000 Rupees [*ecus* or crowns] a year.

Shivaji, after making arrangements for the defence of Jinji by his men, marched to attack Vellore, the governor of which was a negro [i.e., Abyssinian] on behalf of Bijapur. The latter was solicited by Nasir Muhammad to make terms, but flatly refused to follow his cowardly example. By the treaty Nasir Muhammad had been assigned some lands which were dependencies of Golkonda. On Shivaji's refusal to give up Jinji to the officers of the Golkonda king as he had promised, these officers also refused to put Nasir Muhammad in possession of the lands given him by the treaty. " The poor Nasir was tossed about and received not more than a part of what had been promised him. Beggared of his former grandeur, he felt such disappointment that he died shortly after."

§ 4. HE DEFEATS SHER KUAN LODI AT TIRUVADI.

Leaving the troops to continue the siege of Vellore, which was strongly defended by its commandant, Shivaji went south to fight Sher Khan. About 20th June, Sher Khan arrived with his army at Tiruvadi, 24 miles west of Pondicherry. The Marathas numbered six thousand cavalry. " Sher

Khan's force consisted of 9,000* horsemen or 3 or 4 thousand foot, whom the mere name of Shivaji caused to tremble." Sher Khan was by his nature one of the noblemen who are suitable for government but little fitted for war. He had also the weakness of letting himself be guided by his Brahmans, **who** undervalued the army of Shivaji.

The Maratha chief arrived near Tiruvadi, on Gth July. At the sight of him Sher Khan immediately put his men in battle order and advanced to the attack. Shivaji's men did not move at all, but waited for the shock. Their attitude made Sher Khan realise that he had taken a false step, and he ordered a retreat. Shivaji, who had been expecting a battle, perceived the enemy's confusion and set his own troops in motion. Then the retreat became precipitate and changed into a sort of flight. The Marathas charged and the enemy dispersed. Sher Khan, accompanied by his son [Ibrahim] and Home of his chief officers, fled at full gallop, holly pursued by Shivaji, who hoped to finish the war by capturing him. The Khan had just time to throw himself next day into the poor fort of Bonagirpatnam, which was immediately blockaded by the Marathas. On the 9th Valdaur, Tevenapatnam (Cuddalore) and several other forts of Sher Khan fell to the Marathas, then garrisons having vacated them in fear.

The soon (15th July) made lerns with Shivaji, eeding tu the Maratha king all the territories of his province and agreeing to pay 20,000 pagodas in cash, for which he left his eldest son as hostage. Shivaji, on his part, promised a free exit to Sher Khan and the delivery of his property in Goudelur (Cuddalore) fort. After the treaty had been signed on the two sides, Sher Khan issued from Bonagirpatnam and went to salute Shivaji, who received him very kindly and expressed sympathy for his distress. Then Sher Khan retired into the forest of Ariyalur.†

He was too poor to pay the 20,000 pagodas, though he was believed to have concealed jewels in his equipage, especially on the person of his mistress, amounting to more than a hundred thousand crowns [Rupees] in value. The Nayak of Ariyalur received him most hospitably, and gave him two villages yielding 1,500 rupees a year for his support.

At last after many months (February 1678) the princes of those parts, out of friendship and pity for the house of Sher Khan, voluntarily raised 20,000 pagodas from among themselves and secured the release of Ibrahim Khan, who was being harassed by Shivaji's men for the ransom.

Sher Khan long cherished the vain hope that his patron Bahlol Khan would send an army to restore him. But the Bijapur State was in the midst of a civil war between factions of nobles, and Bahlol died on 23rd December 1677 (Old Style). In February, Shivaji's iepresentative in the Kamatak

* Probably a copyist's error for 4,000.

† A village 15 miles south-east of Valikandapuram. Formerly belonging to n zamindar of the Kallar caste. *Bonagirpatnam* = Bhuvan-giri, on the Vellar river, 22 **miles south of Tiruvadi.**

tried to conciliate Sher Khan—who was popular with the petty **Hindu princes** of that quarter and whose downfall was so resented by them that **they would** have seized the first chance of restoring him to power. He was offered Goudelur in absolute sovereignty and with freedom to make his commerce there. Next month he and his son were invited to join the service of Shivaji, but they refused, as still retaining hopes of restoration with Bijapur aid. At last in April he retired to Trichinopoly to the Court of the Nayak of Madura.

§ 5. SHIVAJI MEETS HIS BROTHER VYANKOJI.

Many envoys passed between Shivaji and his half-brother Vynkoji concerning the former's claim to their father's heritage. Vyankoji [written as *Ecuji* had in his possession three of the territories of Jnji which Shahji had once held, and also kept the moveable property of their common father, which was of value. Shivaji demanded his share of these, und wrote many times to Vyankoji to come and meet him that they might make a friendly settlement of the question. The latter at first hesitated, but finally after taking the most sacred oaths and assurances from his brother, lie crossed the Kolerun und saw Shivaji..... Perceiving; that Shivaji would not let him go back unless he satisfied his demands, Vyankoji employed finesse; he gave good words and sought for a means of extricating himself from this bad position. One night he approached the bank of the Kolerun under tho pretext of necessity (as he was watched), threw himself into a raft which was kept ready for him, and crossed over to the opposite bank, which was in his own territory and where ho had troops.

Shivaji on hearing of it, arrested Vyankoji's men present in his camp, among them Jagannath Pandit, a man of spirit and activity, who commanded his brother's troops. Shivaji took possession of a portion of the territory of Jinji which belonged to Vyankoji.

Shivaji's camp on the Kolerun was some 500 paces from the wood of Ariyalur, and every night many of his horses were carried off by expert cattle-robbers who lived in that wood. Shivaji complained to the Nayak of Ariyalur, who laughed at him and replied that they were not his subjects. By the first week of August Shivaji had already lost four to five hundred horses in this way. Messrs. Germain and Cattel, the French envoys in' Shivaji's camp, witnessed a very daring feat of horse theft. They saw a **man** from the woods enter the Maratha camp, badly dressed, with a sickle, a cord, and a wretched piece of cloth round his body, in the manner of a grass-cutter.

It was the hour of noon. The horses were tied by their heel-ropes to pegs, the troopers lying on the ground, some of them asleep. The new-comer advanced into the camp. After carefully noting a horse of value, he by a sudden blow cut its leg-string, passed round its neck the rope he was carrying in the form of a halter, and leaping on its back galloped out of the **camp.**

Before the Marathas could even think of pursuing him, he had regained the wood.

Shivaji, without waiting much longer in such a place in the vain hope of recalling Vyankoji, broke up his camp and marched away.

The French observers were struck by the Spartan simplicity of Shivaji. Martin writes; " His camp is without any pomp and unembarrassed by baggage or women. There are only two tents in it, but of a thick simple stuff, and very small,—one for himself and the other for his minister...The horsemen of Shivaji ordinarily receive two pagodas per month as pay. All the horses belong to him and he entertains grooms for them....Ordinarily .there are three horses for every two men, which contributes to the speed which he usually makes...This chief pays his spies liberally, which has greatly helped his conquests by the correct information which they give him."

§ 6. SHTVAJI'S DOINGS DURING THE KARNATAK CAMPAIGN.

Shivaji made an easy conquest of the Karnatak, No place except Vellore resisted bini. As Martin wrote at the end of July 1G77: "Shivaji-acts as master in everything. He wrote to the governor of Madras to turn out of the city all the mon who had fled there from Sher Khan's territory, and. threatened punishment if the former delayed in carrying out the order. But the governor only laughed at him. The Marathas have dismantled many small forts (in the plain) which are not worth the expense of garrisoning them. The artillery and munitions which were in them have been carried off to Jinji. Bonagirpatnam was treated in this way, alter an inspection by Shivaji...Most of the Golkonda officers who had followed Shivaji now attached themselves to his service; some had land, others were given posts in the government. No one could travel through the country without a pass from Sliivaji's officers. He also ordered many heights to be fortified."

In September Shivaji held a grand council of his ministers and resolved to return to Maharashtra, as his dominions there were suffering from his absence. The government of the newly conquered Karnatak was left in the hands of Raghunath Pandit, the brother of his minister Janardan [Narayan Hanumante], with an army to complete the conquest of the places still unsubdued. The chief (Shivaji) has been so secret in his designs that long after he had departed many of the people believed that he was still in these provinces. It is because his mere name carries terror among his enemies.

§ 7. FIGHT BETWEEN SHIVAJI'S VICEROY AND VYANKOJI.

In November the troops left by Shivaji in the country showed a disposition to cross the Kolerun river and enter the territory of Tanjore and the neighbouring principalities. Vyankoji opposed them with 4 or 5 thousand horse and some tens of thousands of infantry. The two armies came within

sight of each other, but without any action. Envoys from the two parties sought to effect a compromise. Vyankoji's army was inferior in number to Shivaji's, but his cavalry was much better.

The reason why Vyankoji did not give battle was that he had a bad augury; a number of vultures flew into his camp for many days without cessation.

The conflict took place at last on 26th November 1677. Vyankoji's army began the attack. The contest was very severe, many were slain or wounded, including several persons of note. The losses on the two sides were nearly equal, and they both withdrew from the field. But skirmishes continued between detachments of the two armies throughout December, and they pillaged and ruined the country with equal violence.

In January 1678, Martin writes : " The local officers of Shivaji, perceiving little union among the other Hindu princes of the country and the ease with which their alliances can be dissolved, have decided to keep not more than three or four thousand horse and to send the rest to Shivaji, who was threatened with an attack by the Deccani and Afghan parties at Bijapur in concert, as an alliance between them was on foot. An agreement was concluded on the conditions that the ministership of Bijapur should always remain in the hands of the Deccanis, of whom Sidi Masud was the present chief, and the post of commander-in-chief should be held by the Pathans, of whom Bahlol Khan was the head, and that they should co-operate in recovering the portions of the kingdom which Shivaji had annexed. But Bahlol Khan died a few days after making this treaty " [23 Dec. 1677, Old Style].

§ 8. FRENCH EMBASSIES TO SHIVAJI.

27th May 1677.—"We learnt that the vanguard of Shivaji's army had arrived within two marches of Jinji.....We resolved to embark the best of the effects of the Company then in the warehouse in a Portuguese ship from Goa which happened to have cast anchor in our road at this time, on its way to Madras. The petty princes of that quarter had decided to send envoys to Shivaji, not considering themselves able to resist him. Sher Khan sent his family for security into the wood of Ariyalur. Most of the inhabitants of Goudelur (Cuddalore) and other places on that side fled southwards. The people of Pondicherry sent most of what they had into the woods near by. We also sent there certain property which still remained in the house. There was a general consternation.....

1st June.—A party of dyers in the service of our Company at Pondicherry left at night for Madras without giving us notice.

10-12th June.—Detachments of Shivaji's troops took possession of many villages round Valdaur and Kuni-medu. The well-to-do men who had stayed there now fled into the forests, to wait for the end of the war.

On 1st June 1677, Martin sent a Brahman servant of the Company to Jinji to meet. Shivaji and deliver to him a letter to this effect: " our company is established in your territory at Rajapur and we beg of you to be protected in the same way on this coast." After having had three interviews with Shiva ji before Vellore the envoy returned to Pondicherry on the 19th.

At the first audience Shiva ji complained much against our nation for having attacked the king of Golkonda—whom he called his father, his master, and his king—at the capture of St. Thome and in carry ing off his ships in the roadstead of Masulipatam. He continued his complaints by referring to the outrage we had done to the lord of Jinji in capturing Valdaur [from him]. The Brahman who had been prepared [by Martin] for all this, replied and satisfied Shivaji on these points.

The second audience turned almost entirely on the same matters, to which Shivaji afterwards added that as we had taken Yaldaur from Nasir Muhammad on behalf of Sher Khan, so we ought to wrest it from the latter and restore it to its owner.

Shivaji next demanded that we should send some Frenchmen to assist him in taking possession of Vellore, to which our Brahman replied that we could not leave Pondicherry.

The (Maratha) chief made one more effort. He asked what we wished to give him for leaving us in peace. Our Brahman replied that we had nothing in the house and that we had done no trade on account of our war with the Dutch, but that we were expecting ships [from Home].....

At the third audience., Shivaji told our envoy that we might rest in full assurance at Pondicherry, if we did not take one side or the other.....He added that he would send a *havaldar* in a few days to Pondicherry and that we should behave towards him in the same manner that we had treated the officers of Sher Khan.....He then gave leave to our Brahman, charging him with a letter for me written in the form of a *Jarman.* His minister [Janardan Pant] also wrote to me in the same terms.

A few days after the return of our Brahman, fifty horsemen and some foot-soldiers *(fantassins)* arrived at Pondicherry. They said that they had come to find out Sher Khan and asked permission to encamp at night near a mosque lying to the south of the colony. I could not help giving them permission, but caused them to be watched, and we ourselves remained on the alert, day and night. On the morning of 20th June, the commandant of these troops sent to ask of me some money as loan and also food. I replied that we had neither the one nor the other. On this refusal they wanted to do violence to the inhabitants. We put ourselves in a posture to oppose them. This movement forced the commandant to retire with his troops and resume his march into the country.

Sher Khan encamped at Tiruvadi where he was routed by Shivaji's troops on 6th July and driven to seek refuge in the wretched fort of Bonagir-

patnam which, the Marathas at once invested. Thus, we lost the sole support that we had in that quarter. [Martin then made a fresh appeal to Shivaji.]

I wrote a letter to this prince in the name of our Director M. Baron to the following purport: "M. Baron being informed of the departure of Shivaji for these parts and not doubting that he would have all the success as wished for, begged him to take under his protection the men of the Company who were in the house of Pondicherry." It was sent with our Brahman, who reached Shivaji's camp before Bonagirpatnam (on 12th or 13th July). He saw Shivaji and presented our letter. The prince appeared to be satisfied, but expressed astonishment that we had not sent any [European] envoy to wait on him.

We met and decided to send an envoy with presents to Shivaji. It was the presents that embarrassed us. We had nothing of value or curiosity in Pondicherry, In the end we selected an old piece of brocade of gold and silk, of which the colour was almost gone, five or six ells of white cloth, a golden yellow shawl, a pair of double barrelled pistols, and four pieces of dyed stuff. It was a very small thing, in truth. Sieur Germain was charged with the delivery of these gifts, Antoine Cattel accompanying him as interpreter. They left Pondicherry on the 15th.

But in the meantime Shivaji had inarched away from Bonagirpatnam, and the French envoy, after detention by the Maratha governor of Palamkot, reached Shivaji's camp on the Kolerun early in August. They were introduced to Shivaji by the same minister (Janardan Narayan Hanumante) who had served our Brahman before Vollore. Our presents were offered. Shivaji made little account of them, but he had been informed that we were not rich and that we are making no trade. The minister received some painted stuff and some cash money. Our envoy was dismissed after a stay of only three days in the camp. Shivaji gave him a regular for *man* for our security in Pondicherry and presented to each of our men a piece of stuff worth four or five pagodas and then gave them permission to depart.

§ 9. SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE DURING THE MARATHA INVASION.

" Two Brahmans sent by Shivaji, arrived at Pondicherry for the government of the settlement [about 18th July]. Shivaji sent his Brahmans to all the villages in the country for administering them. It was something to wonder at—the number of the *canaille* that had followed him in search of some employment. They numbered 20,000. No one could travel in the country* without a pass from Shivaji's officers. I report all these particulars in order to make known the tyranny of the government of the *canaille* Brahmans.

" The bad government on the part of the (Maratha) Brahmans continued. They robbed all. A Capuchin Father, who served as almoner in our Factory, went to Partanur. I gave him a horse for the journey. On the way he was

dismounted by Shivaji's horsemen who seized the animal, which we have not succeeded in recovering.

" They still persecuted our Brahman, arguing that he ought to stand for his brother, who used to manage the affairs of the general Bahlol Khan at Partanur, and alleging that there was also an order to arrest him. This Brahman went to seek out Shiva ji and take a letter of reassurance from him After his departure from Pondicherry, the Marathas caused the official seal to be put on the doors of his house, where his father and mother, each aged mure than 80 years, were confined with his women and children, and the people were forbidden to let anything enter or issue from it. However, I caused the seal to be removed, in order that the necessaries of life might be freely carried to the inmates.

During the remainder of the month of August it was nothing but a continual search for the men whom they believed to be capable of yielding money. The Dutch were as prisoners in their house at Tevenapatnam and forced to give presents in order to have free entree and exit. The letters that were written to Shiva ji had no effect at all."

Again in October he wiites; " There is nothing particular in this month except the continuation of the molestation of the people of the country by the present rulers, without sparing either any person or any nation. The intendants are in concert with the governor *Subadar* of this province. All the ways of extracting money are permitted."

In February 1G78, the Subadar of the province paid a visit to Pondicherry. He was a rough and mercenary fellow. He wished at first to lay down a law concerning all the men serving the French Company which was contrary to the privileges granted to it. Martin opposed the attempt. The governor, proud of his power, arrested many of the Company's Indian employees. After four or five days of negotiation they were forced to make him a present of a small horse and some pagodas in cash, and give something to his suit, and then they were released.

The Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet, some time Governor of Fort St. George, Madras (17174720).

(By Miss Clara E. J. Collet, Fellow of Universify College, London.

The private letter books of Governor Joseph Collet cover the period s from December 8th, 1710, when " Joseph Collet of London Mercht. was chosen by the Honorable the Court of Directors for the United Company of English Merchants trading to the East Indies, Governour of York Fort and President of the Councell at Bencoolen in the Island of Sumatra, under the Title of Deputy Governour, that Place having been lately made dependant on the Government at Fort St. George," to October 2nd, 1719, when his term

of government at Madras was drawing to a close. They are contained in four large and firmly bound volumes of which the first two show little sign of wear and tear.

The first volume is labelled ' Historical Journal ' outside, and contains in Joseph Collet's own handwriting the narrative of his adventures from the day of his appointment in London to the day, October 29th, 1711, he left Santa Cruz for the East Indies. Twenty-two of the thirty-eight pages of this journal relate entirely to the happenings at Rio de Janeiro from August 14th, 1711, when Capt. John Austen, commander of the Jane Friggott' sent off a boat " with 2 letters, one in English for the Consull at Rio Janario, the other in Lattin for the commanding officer of the place," and eventually found himself, his ship, his passengers and his cargo at the mercy of a .French squadron under Duguay Trouin, sent to punish the city for its treatment of a French commander the year before " when Monsieur De Clay (Duelore) with 800 men having entered this City wore all cutt off or taken Prisoners whose poor remains not amounting to 200 we now see starving in the Town. Mons. De Clay was basely murdered in his House after having been some months a prisoner and consequently under Protection." The description of tho manners, morals, customs and government of tho Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro and their behaviour during the siege make very lively reading, but cannot be given here.

On September 14th, 1711 " we *(i.e.,* the Governor, Mr. Yarborough and Mr. Peter Caulier) reimbarked on the Pinnace and carrying a flag of truce went directly on board the French commodore, Mr. Burgess, our Chief Mate following in the long Boat to surrender the Ship. We were received with great civility by the Captain who told us that Mons, de Guay who was Generall at land and Commandant on sea was on shore. We desired to go to him which we did in our own Boat having an officer to attend us. We found the General at the Bishops Pallace, who received us very handsomly, refusing to take our swords and giving us our liberty on Parole. But th© Governour told him we must now reckon ourselves of his Family having no where else to go. He told us He could give us but indifferent accommodations for the night, but that next day he would order us a convenient appartment in the Jesuits Colledge which was don accordingly.

" September 15. The Govr. proposed to the French to buy of them a Brigantine or some other small Vessell in which He might proceed to the They replyd there was none fit for such a voyage except the Jane whicli the perfered to sell him. But he refused to treat for Her because he had heard Capt. Austen say he designed to buy her for himself.....

".....But about 14 days after the Govr. who was then on board the La Chille (? 1'Achille) received a letter from Capt. Austen advising him that Mons. Du Guay would not sell the Ship Jane without her cargo which he would not concern himself with and that Capt. Monery who had possession of the Jane had ordered him to advise the Govr. of it that

if he pleasd lie might treat for Ship and Cargo together but that they would not sell the Ship alone. The next day the Govr. waited ou Mons, du Guay and began a treaty with him which in a few days was concluded for both Ship and Cargo excepting the Treasure and 3 Chests of Corrall which the French took out. The Govr. drew for the sum agreed on, on the Hon'ble East India Company and delivered his son John Collet and his Servt. Edmond Bunting Hostages for the payment.

" October 5. The Govr. took possession of the Jane and had liberty given him to entertain any English He thot fit. His Ship was soon mann'd to Content. The Chief Officers were Mr. Marmaduke Peter Caulier Captain, Mr. Taylor Chief Mate, and Samuel Price second Mate. He entertained as passengers the Company's 3 Licvetenants *viz.* Mr. Orrill, Mr. Borlasse and Mr. Tanfield and also Mr. Presgrove Mr. Fink and Mr. Benj, Chaplyn so that our whole Company consisted of forty three besides some Blacks. The French supplyd US with some necessarys which had been plunderd out of th© ship as Compasses, Quadrants, etc., some fire arms and a quantity of provisions. We recoverd our Anchors and cables, scrubbed our ship and got ln a Sailing posture with all expedition.

" October 28 being Sunday we weighed from before the Town in the morning and passing under Mons, de Guay's stern who was now embarked with all his Troops we saluted him with 11 guns our English colours flying. He returned us 7 guns and we thanked him with 5. About 11 o'clock we came almost up with the La Chille who lay as a Guard Ship at the mouth of the Harbour, when the Land Breeze failing we came to an Anchor. The Govr. and Mr. Yarborough immediately went on board the La Chille to visit the Hostages who were placed there to the GOVTS, great satisfaction Mons. Le Bove the Capt, being a man of great Sobriety and very much a gentleman, and the ship not being so much crowded as Mons, de Guay's they had much better accomodations. In the Evenings they took a solemn leave the Father being bound for the East Indies and the Son for Europe..... The French in every respect behavd themselves towards us with the utmost civility; professing as great an esteem for the English nation as Contempt of the Portuguese."

Following the journal, in a secretary's handwriting, are copies of letters to the Court of Directors, Mr. Gregory Page and Joseph Collet's brother-in-law John Bedwell, from Kio de Janeiro (October 15, 1711) and from Madras (June 15, 1712) and a few other private letters including one to his son from the Cape of Good Hope (Feb. 10, 1712) and another from York Fort (Sept. 24, 1712). His first letter to his son is so .characteristic or
of turning misfortunes to good account that some part of it may be quoted. His son was then in his I6th year.

" I believe" writes Joseph Collet " you will find my Bills on the Company readily complied with; but if it should happen otherwise I would

not have your self or companion in the least discouraged. It will be in my power to make you speedy remittances from India for your ransom and you need not lose your time in France, where you will find Opportunitys of in provement in all the usefull parts of Education where ever you are. I recommend to you in the first place a constant regard to serious Religion. Consider that tho absent from me, you are always under the Eye of that great Father to whom you must account for your very thoughts as well as words and actions. Avoid the Temptations to Evill as much as possible and resist them obstinately when you cannot avoid them. Pray daily for the Divine Assistance and forget not to use Wisdom for your Conduct in every respect giving all diligence to keep a Conscience void of Offence towards God and towards Men. Apply your self to the study of Accounts and Mathematicks and learn a little Drawing and take some Opportunitys to learn the Portuguese language which will be absolutely necessary for you in India..... Tho' this is address'd to you singly it is meant joyntly to Edmond (Bunting) with you, to whom communicate this by which he will know I have it in my purpos and doubt not by Gods Blessings to have it in my power to make your long Voyage turn to a good Account for both. My daily Prayers are for your Prosperity in-Soul and Body."

The first volume has throe-fourths of its pages blank. Perhaps its owner intended to continue his journul if leisure wcie ever allowed him and found that leisure and inclination never came together. Moreover he was an abundant letter writer and had many friends at home.

The second volume (containing over 500 large folio pages and bound in sheepskin) includes copies of Joseph Collet's private or semi-private letters dealing with business affairs whether in connexion with the East India Company or private trade or family remittances. It begins with the letters already referred to which are duplicated in the first volume and breaks off at page 373 with the note ' A new Coppy Book of Letters sent begun July the 29th 1714.' This new book was bably more strictly confined to official and trade business and was probably not brought home to England.

The third volume (of 184 pages, bound in red leather) is exclusively devoted to private and domestic personal affairs, beginning with a letter from York Fort, September 19th, 1712, to Mr. Samuel Moreland asking him to convey to the Royal Society Joseph Collet's " acknowledgments for admitting him a member of their body" and ends with a letter from Marlborough Fort (built by Joseph Collet himself) to his brother Samuel Collet November 25th, 1715.

entered on the admimrtration of his Governmentr on the 23rd July, 1712, when he "came to an Anchor with the Union/Flag ot the Maintopsail head in the Road of Bantall," having left Madias on board the Toddington on June 17th. His visit to Madras, where he had landed on the 24th May, was short but of great importance to him in the coming years as his later letters show. Between himself and Governor

Edward Harrison a firm friendship sprang up which no doubt gave him a moral as well as material security without which Joseph Collet himself might have joined the numerous band of the Company's servants who found graves in Bencoolen. For only an unswerving faith and moral courage combined with purity of life could have saved him. Those who regard this earth as a penal settlement with a few angels, saints and martyrs as volunteer residents, rather than as a world in which the fittest survive would find much support for their theory from these records of Collet's four years government of Bencoolen. Some of the most worthless who were either dismissed or anticipated dismissal by resigning found their way home and lived to tell their tale; but every man who tried to do his duty and was recommended by Governor Collet for promotion (and it is a long list) died while he was in Bencoolen. At first we find some brief expression of grief or regret. Thus in July 1713 the Governor writes that " William Green an ingenious, modest, and diligent young gentleman that came over on the Abingdon is made provisional secretary " and a month later that " Mr. Green, a youth 1 loved is dead. Mr. Garrett is secretary but now sick." And again a few weeks later "The loss of Mr. Connell has very sensibly touch'd me; when one finds a man with a capacity and genius For business and has taken some pains to form such a one he cannot be too much valued or his loss too much regretted "But for the most part he becomes a mere registrar of deaths. To his brother Samuel Collet he ,writes on October 31st, 1713—"A raging Pestilence has swept away one-third of my people and severely handled the rest of us, but one Gentleman on the place having escaped. I thank God I am almost well again und all the Survivors on the recovery. I am very busy in dispatching Forces both by Seu and Land to command a Peace between some contending Princes in the Northern parts, of my Government. I thank God I prosper in Soul and Body, largely in Reputation and a little in Estate. To his protection I recommend you to whom are offered for you and yours the daily prayers of—Dear Brother—your affectionate friend and brother."

Joseph Collet had been sent out with definite orders to reform the administration. In February 1713 he writes to the Court of Directors:— " At Bantall the natives have been injuriously treated and consequently discourag'd from improving their Pepper Plantations, besides that instead of attempting to reconcile the Differences among the Natives themselves, these very differences have been fomented by our own people, who have not stuck to supply sometimes one side and sometimes the other with fire arms, etc., which now we would be glad to get out of their hands."

To Governor Harrison on the same date he writes:—" One thing I think necessary to mention to your Honour, where in I find myself oblig'd to Deviate from that Generall Instruction that all matters especially of Importance should be transacted in Councill in the matters of the Country Government. As for my Councill, God help them, they know nothing of the

matter and they are not only profoundly ignorant but also sometimes cross and obstinate, tho they have not yet dared to sign a Dissent in Councillj besides some of them are Talkative. So that upon the whole, after a little Tryall I have taken that part of the Administration entirely out of their hands and instead of asking them what I shall do, I only tell them what I have done. . . . . At present I can only plead the Necessity and Success of this Management, but could wish I had a little fuller Authority to justify this conduct."

In August 1714 a letter to his brother Samuel is too characteristic to be passed over, although the history of ihe English in Bencoolen can be of little interest in these days.

" If I live to come home as is very likely I think to turn parson. I am serving my apprenticeship here; I preach* every Sunday and all the Natives really take me for a divine. I have offer'd to dispute with some of the Mahometan priests and did engage with one who is a Sultan tho in Orders. He came off with an excuse that he was not so well vers'd in the doctrinall part of their Religion as some others. I desired him to bring their Padre Buzarr as they call him that is high priest, which he promis'd but brought this excuse from him that I understood the Mahometan Religion better than himself which he was not willing the People should know as they would certainly do if he took the Liberty of Conversing with me on that subject. But tho' I cannot bring the Mahometans to an engagement, I have succeeded better with the Roman Catholicks and have brought over the fattest sheep of their flock to be a constant attendant at our publick Worship. . . . . .

" I shall be glad to hear what Reflections will be made in England on my Assurance in Christ'ning the new Fort and Town I am now building *Marlborough,* a name which I endeavour to perpetuate in India because it seems to be forgot *in* England. Long may this Fort retain that glorious Name and may it sometimes be said that Govr. Collet built it. You will guess by this that I have no pretensions at your Court; and in truth my maxims of Government differ so widely from your practice that I should be able to do nothing there. I always perform that I promise and make my threatenings good where the express condition is not comply'd with.

" I have one employment fore'd on me whether I will or not, and that is being Judge of Civill Affairs among the Malays whose Laws I do not know. There happen'd lately a controversy amongst some of their bead family's about the distribution of a deceas'd Great Man's Estate; the Ordinary Judges durst not decide it nor the King to whom the Party's appealed, at length they agreed to referr the Matter to my decision; the King himself together with the Judges and the party's concern'd requested me to accept the refer-

* The sermons were not of his own composition; his seoretary read the Liturgy and he read a sermon of Archbishop Tillotson's. They " had no protestant Divine on the place."

ence. I refus'd to act as Judge but Offer'd to undertake the part of a Mediatour and to tell them my Opinion with the Reasons of it; they said it was all one to them for whatever I should think that they would stand by I heard the cause at large and when I had declar'd my Opinion all the Party's aequiesc'd and return'd me thanks.

" The Kings often desire me to instruct them in the Nature of 0r saws and have already introduced some things that I have taught the " into their own administration... 1 endeavour to inculcate that prjnple of Policy as well as of Religion—Do unto Others as you would have 0thers *do un*to you in the same oiromnstances. They often intread me to stay many Years with them and say they are more so long their Country will prosper. I can't omit one odd instance of their kindness, No less than three of them have made separate Offers of Wives or Daughter to attend me to which i have always given a Serious reply that the Christian Religion does not allow such plac tices. This I take to be one reason why they think I ara a priest for ' tis usual for their princes when they grow in Years to enter into Orders by which they think themselves oblig'd to a Stricter Life than formerly."

Notwithstanding the mortality around him Joseph Collet's Government was proving a success and in January 1715 he was able to write to a friend in England of his hopes for the future. " I am deeply touched "he writes to Mr. John Travers " with the loss of so many of our Friends and the circumstances of so many more. I cannot read over the melancboly List you sent me without tears. My own prosperity does not render me the less sensible of the Afflictions of my Friends. And the hopes of being able in time to do some of them real Services excites me to a greater diligence in my own affairs. My first work which is to discharge all former obligations will I hope be accomplish'd in a short time; my next which is to make comfortable provision for my family is also in View, and after that the enly true use of wealth is doing good."

To another friend, the Revd. Moses Lowman, he writes:—" You are mistaken in thinking human nature less corrupted among the Indians than with you; 'tis true they come short of that refined Wickedness which is to be found in Europe but they also come short of that solid vertue which is also to be found there. I do not know above two or three, who deserve to be called men of Probity; one of them is a sovereign Prince, the most powerful in these parts. He calls me Father and asks my advice in the Government of his own people. . . . . The Malays affect to appear cunning but are easily baffled by an open deportment. However it is necessary to make them fear as well as love. I have gone through two successfull "Wars without the loss of one man and yet have perform'd what the whole country believ'd impossible and at the same time have gain'd the Love of the people I have conquer'd. . . . . .

". . . . . The principles of Religion and the practice of Devotion gain on me daily, and in proportion the least tendency towards Enthusiasm or

Bigotry lose ground. The authority of a British convocation does not weigh one grain of Pepper with me, nor have I more regard to St. Athanasius than to the Council of Trent or Synod of Dort. I firmly believe what is reveal'd in the Holy Scriptures but acknowledge no other Authority. As *god* of the church here I have excluded St. A—s creed from the Liturgy and do no suffer it to be read on the days appointed, because I do not love to hear my damn'd over and over for not believing what I think to the full as incredi as transubstantiation itself, and of the two to have less foundation in scriptuss"

In Jun© 1715 Collet receved a letter from Governor Elward Harrison telling him that he was now third on the Coudi at Madras and that, although on one had been appointed as Harsson's.esBor at tho dispatch of the ships in january he was under mination "If I person , Harrison whites, " i t may tempt me to stay and settle you in this noble employ to hoth our satisfaction s." He adds, " King George has routed all the Torys and *tho* Whigs say all is wondrous safe and well Pray God it may be, but T cannot endure to see any one party have it all to themselves."

In a letter to Governor Harrison a year before, asking his advice, Joseph Collet had given a succinct statement of his position at the time of his first appointment:—

" When I left England 1 stood oblig'd in Conscience (tho freed by Law) for about £3,000. My Friends advane'd me about .£1,000 more for my Outsett, which was all lost by my Capture. The proffits of my Government do not more than defray my Expenses here and maintain my Family in England. By Trade I make about £2,000 per annum so that in my Four Years I may hope (God granting life and Success) to gain about £8,000 pounds. One half of this is devoted as above, and I should be willing to send half the Remainder home as a small provision for my four daughters in case of my death. My remaining stock at this calculation will be about £2,000.

" At my departure I had encouragement given me to expect some farther advancement, if my conduct here should be approv'd. 'Twas suggested either to succeed your Honr. or to have the Presidency at Bengall.''

One sentence in Governor Harrison's reply may be quoted:—" I tell you without flattery, a man of your principles and way of life may have as much money at interest here as he can find an advantageous employment for."

Acting on Governor Harrison's advice, Collet left Bencoolen in July 1716, having completed the four years service of his contract, and went to take his place on the Council at Madras. He was struck by a heavy blow before his departure,—the death of his only son John Collet, who had joined him at the end of 1714 as a covenanted servant of tho East India

Company and had begun his training as a merchant by going as super cargo on one on the Company's ships.

Between the date of the last letter in this 3rd volume, 25th November, 1715, and of the first letter in the 4th volume from Madras 18th September 1716, there is an unusual gap in this collection of family letters. The 3rd volume ends with a list of Joseph Collet's creditors to whom he had paid only 7*s.j2d.* in the £, and his letters to England in the early part of 1716 were probably business instructions to his brother-in-law and men of business for the full payment of his debts. The largest of these (.£1,650* in the full claim) was to Messrs. Larwoods of Amsterdam.

On December 14th, 1716, Collet writes a long letter from Fort Rt. George to his brother-in-law : —

"... *You* will easily believe the loss of an only son just ent'ring into the World with personall merit and great advantages must affect me deeply. I have avoided as much as possible touching on the subject even where it might have been expected I should have treated it at large. His death destroy'd the little ambition I had of raising a Family. . . . . In this circumstance I am perfectly mortify'd to the desires both of ambition and avarice, and therefore can and do apply my mind to study how 1 may improve to the best advantage those talents to the glory of the supream Disposer. The sudden change of my circumstances from the lowest depth of adversity to such, an eminent Height of prosperity has made no change in my sentiments concerning the value of this world or of that which is to come. The same principles which supported my mind whilst myself and Family were fed by your Charitable hand, the same principles I say give the Poignancy and rellish to my present enjoyments. A full resignation to the will of God and resolution to perform the Dutys of whatever station or circumstance of life his providence shall place me in, was then and is now the temper and bent of my mind. ' Tis indeed more blessed to giv*e* than to receive and therefore the more eligible lot tho' not in our power. When I receiv'd I bless'd God the giver; when I give I bless God for the power of doing good and I know both will be rewarded.

". . . . . I shall on my return be willing to serve my country. The next year, I design to make you some remittances but the year following I purpose to begin to remitt largely and perhaps shall order the purchase of a qualifying estate. Thus far I have gone in my thoughts of contingences with a probable view; but must conclude with this sincere act of resignation; God's will be done! I have learnt to know how to want and how to abound and in both Conditions to be content.

". . . . . Governour Harrison's friendship is a very great advantage to me; he is a man of the most solid Judgment, polisht by the brightest conversation, and thereby qualify'd equally for the busy and the gay scenes of life; he is a man of strict Honour and justice and firm resolution. We com-

municate without reserve in our private conversation, and we have joyn'd together in publick in the most solemn positive Institution of Christianity.

" Soon after my arrival here, one of our Councillors had a son born for whom I was desir'd to stand Godfather, I publickly declar'd myself an anabaptist and thereby have avoided all future solicitations of that kind. And yet I pass for a very tolerable Churchman being more constant in my attendance than most of themselves, tho' I have ventur'd one bold step on another head. You must know I don't love to hear myself damn'd by tho whole congregation as T must be whenever the .Athanasian Creed is read. We have two Parsons here; one believes as little of that Creed as myself and therefore never reads it. T requested the other to let me know before when it would be his turn to read it, and I would be absent. He very civilly promis'd me to omitt reading it entirely since it was offensive to me. So that you see T am head of the Church already.

". . . . .You can hardly believe it possible for a man to be so soon engaged so deep in Trade as I already am since my arrivall here in Shippirg to almost all the parts of India; and at home I have laid out twelve thousand pounds in a morning at an outcry. A man that did not know my real principles would conclude the desire of wealth to be the main spring of my actions, and indeed I push in Trade as if I wanted or coveted a large estate.

" I am going shortly to Fort St. Davids which is about one hundred miles off, in order to fortify the Town of Cuddalore and appoint new Build ings in the Fort, etc. I purpose to travell overland and expect it will take up about a month's time.

" The Eastern Nations worship the rising sun; but this has no ill effect here, because of the confidence between myself and Predecessor to whom I communicate all that passes and he takes all occasions to advance my Int'rest and Reputation with the people, which he knows how to do consistently with the dignity of his own Character. His four months stay after my arrivall proves a very great advantage to me; I now enter on the Government Master of my business, knowing and being known to all the persons about me ; thus far at least they know that I will be obey'd in the just exercise of my Authority and that I am always ready to reward merit."

It has already been stated that during his first short visit to Madras Joseph Collet came under influences of great importance to him subsequently. His friendship with Governor Harrison was one of these; the other took possession of him in every leisure moment of the subsequent seven years and the incident from which it arose is described in a letter to his brother Samuel Collet dated 13th December 1716 from Fort St. George.

" The first time I arriv'd in this place was in the year 1712. I soon found a great variety of Religions profess'd here, Christianity of Severall Sorts, popish, protestant or Arminian, besides Mahometanism, and above

all Paganism, which has much more numerous disciples than all the rest together. They are divided into the right hand cast and left hand cast and these again subdivided into 18 severall casts of Tribes. Here are Churches of all the severall Religions I have named, but the most magnificent structures are the Pagan Temples called here Pagodas. Passing by one of them a few days after my arrivall I made up to the Gate which was open with a design to see what sort of Gods dwelt there, but the priests were too quick and shut the Gate before I could enter. I asked one of the Religion with me why they would not permit me to see the Pagoda; he told me they did not care to admit Christians and seeni'd to insinuate that the Priests thought the presence of a Christian would defile their Temple. T told him I rather believ'd they were asham'd to expose their Gods to our View. He reply'd, we are not such fools as to think the Images in our Pagodas are Gods; we know very well there is but one Supream God, Creator and Preserver of all things; the Images in our Temples are no other than Symbols and representations of the severall different perfections of the one Supream "Being. An Image with many hands holding Arms and Mechanicall Instruments represents his infinite power; another with an Elephant's joyn'd to a Human Face signifies his infinite Wisdom, the Elephant being esteem'd the most sagacious of all Brute Animalls; he added severall others. I smiled and was about to reply, but he prevented me and went on as follows,—There is no greater Difficulty in all this than in your Chiistian Religion, for you say with us there is but one God, and yet you say the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are each of them God, by which you must mean that the one God is calPd the Father as he is the Maker of all things, and he is call'd the Son as he is reconciPd to Sinners and he is call'd the Holy Ghost as he inclines men to do Good; so with us, our many Images represent to us the various perfections of that one God whom both you and we worship. Hero he stop'd, expecting my Answer, which I was in no condition to give him but stood for some time perfectly confounded. 1 knew very well the explication he had given of the Trinity was the Sabellian Scheme, which I could not assent to, and on the other hand I durst not say that there are three distinct persons equally God lest he should charge me with Polytheism which is as plain a violation of the first Commandment as the Adoration of Images is of the Second; in short I was glad to change the Discourse by asking what representations those were, pointing to two monstrous figures at a little distance. He told me one of them was a transformation of the God (Vishnu) and the other was the Devil before whom on a certain *day* every year a thousand Goats were sacrificed. This gave me a large Field of raillery on bis Religion and the opportunity of concealing my Ignorance of my own Religion. When I came home and' reflected on the passages of the Day I blush'd for shame that I had not been able to give a rationall Account of my own Faith to a heathan and resolv'd to lay hold on the first opportunity to examine a Doctrine I hart been taught to believe was a mistery and not to be pry'd into. It happen'd the next Sunday the Athanasian Creed was read in the Church."

As invariably happens with the correspondence of men of affairs the more weighty and pressing these affairs become the less is written about them. Except to genealogists there is little in Governor Collet's private letters from Madras of value to historians of Madras. He writes brief letter to friends who have furnished young men with introductions to him and he writes to their friends later on, recommending them to start their young relatives with capital. He answers letters from his creditors, in most cases grateful at receiving their own again. Of one who claimed a right to interest as well he writes:—"I am surpris'd that any should so much as hint at Interest for their money that was Lent on Bond. I believe that you'll be of opinion such a Demand is unjust in itself. Interest for money arises from the use that is suppos'd to be made of it; but when a man has deljver'd up to his Creditors the last farthing that was in his possession, I cannot see on what Grounds the pretence of interest can be founded. I have put myself in the case of a Creditor, and should think myself Guilty of Extortion in making such a demand."

During the seven years of his two governments the Athanasian Creed and the education and future marriage of his four motherless daughters are touched on by every ship taking letters home. And as his determination to go home as soon as possible hardens, his anticipations of a fight against religious intolerance in England result in instructions to his brother-in-law to look out for a 'qualifying Estate' for him to buy in order to stand for Parliament to fight for freedom in religion.

"I am astonish'd" he writes to Nathaniel Hodges (Aug. 28, 1718) "both at the weakness and Impudence of the lower house of Convocation, that while they call themselves Christians they dare to Avow a Right to prescribe Articles of Faith for other men to Believe, and to enforce that Belief by Temporall Penalties. May God Almighty overthrow their Devices, and Confound all Tyranny, Ecclesiastick and Civil."

The Schism Act of 1714, which aroused such a storm of indignation, was repealed in January 1719, one year before Joseph Collet's return to England.

References to religious matters in Madras are frequent. An extract from a letter to Daniel Dolins dated 15th July 1717, shows how quickly and effectively Governor Collet had devoted his attention to education.

"... I am very sensible of the Expectations not only your self but severall other Gentlemen of the Society for propagating the Gospell have from me of assistance in that Affair. I assure you my heart is with you and could I effect anything considerable therein I should esteem it the brightest Page in my Life. Soon after my accession to this Government I went to Fort St. David on the Company's Affairs and was there met by Mr. Grundler, one of the Missionarys from Trinquebar. There we found a project of building a Charity School for the Instruction of the Natives both in Malabar and Portuguez in the principles of the Christian Religion. The Building is

since compleated at my proper Expense and two Masters are settled in it. Mr. Grundler has lately made me a visit here and we form'd a project of erecting a Portuguez school in the White Town for the instruction of the Slaves belonging to the English and a Malabar School in the Black Town for the instruction of the Natives. This project has since been confirm'd in Councill and Trustees are appointed for the Management. To this I must add that our own free School is a noble foundation; there are between 30 to 40 children of both sexes already provided for, not only with all the Convenience's of Life but also with an Education to fit them to provide for themselves hereafter. We are about building a handsome Colledge for their Entertainment;, we have a Sufficient Stock to go thro' that; work and our constant income iS more than sufficient 1o support our Expense, for I.must tell you that Madras is by much the most,charitable place I ever came to.

" You desire to know my sentiments of the Missionarys, of their procedure, and what hopes of success. One of them you are acquainted with whom I have not seen; Mr. Grundler I have had some conversation with and I believe him to be a sincerely honest, pious and prudent man. But I find him to be, as I have found all the German Divines with whom I have convers'd are, perfect Systematicks. Their heads are fill'd with School Divinity and they cannot, they dare not search the Bible freely."

A few words may be said, before closing this survey, as to the class of which Joseph Collet was typical and of the ancestry which rendered him individual. His grandfather Henry Collet about 1640 married Elizabeth Harrison, daughter of Lancelot Harrison, rector of Orleston in Kent, who in 1641 bequeathed to her in his will ' a book called The Christian Warfare.' Henry Collet belonged to the class of which Dean Collet, when he founded St. Paul's School and placed its management in the hands of the Mercers'* Company, said " that though there was nothing certain in human affairs, he yet found the least corruption in them." Anyone who studies both Dean Collet's life and writings and Governor Joseph Collet's letters will find a remarkable resemblance in the directness of their criticism of theological tenets and their profound trust in the justice and simplicity of divine law, and their confidence that no law which was unjust and unintelligible was divine. The resemblance was no doubt not merely due to family affinity but was founded in the experience common to their class, the Anglo-Norman sea traders or merchant adventurers accustomed to months of isolation on the high seas and to lonely years of mercantile business in remote seaports surrounded by populations to whom they were alien in race and religion.

Henry Collet's brother-in-law, Edward Harrison (no connexion apparently with Governor Harrison), having graduated at both Cambridge and' Oxford was oarely twenty-one at the time of his sister's marriage and not long afterwards became Vicar of Kensworth, Herts.; but in 1645 he was already a famous Baptist preacher and had surrendered his living, although Remaining at Kensworth. In the North Library of the British Museum, bound

up with other pamphlets, is to be found one by this **great-uncle of Governor** Joseph Collet, entitled—

" Plain Dealing.

The Countryman's doleful Complaint and faithful Watchword, to **The** Statesmen of the Times whether in the Parliament or Army, wherein is **set** 'down the Rise, Nature and Species of Right Government with the Corruption thereof in former and this our Generation and this present time."

It was printed in 1649 and is remarkable for the clearness of its philosophy and the courageous indictment of the existing Government. **After referring** to himself as " suffering my judgment to be guided and overpowered by my strong affection towards them (the Parliament and Army) so long till I have been by many honest men thought to have either lost my understanding, or •departed from my Principles: wherefore T was at last enforced in my Spirit to bear this my witness against some present acting," he lays down the " several causes of all right Government "—four in number.

1. The Efficient Cause . . Cod the Creator,
2. The Material Cause . . The increase of mankind.
8. The Formal Cause . . The Mutual Consent of both parties the one to Govern, the other to be Governed according to such Laws, Articles and Covenants as are agreed upon between them.
4. The Final Cause . . The Mutual Success, Help, Commodity, Freedom, Peace, Security and Preservation one of another.

It was in the wide circle of devout, free-thinking men and women who •surrounded Edward Harrison and his family in London that Joseph Collet (1673-1725) was born and brought up and from which he chose nearly all his friends and there is no doubt that like his great-uncle he took for his text Micah VI 8—

" He hath shewed thee, 0 man, what is good; and what doth the **Lord** require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

George Chinnery, Artist (1774-1852).

(By Jullian James Cotton, I.C.S.)

In 1888 was published a little book entitled the " Early Writings of William Makepeace Thackeray " by Charles Plumtre Johnson, with illustrations after Thackeray, Chinnery, F. Walker and Richard Doyle. In this

volume of some sixty-four pages are two illustrations by Chinnery: a frontispiece of Thackeray at the age of three with his mother, and on page 28 Thackeray's father. There is not a word about Chinnery in the introduction or text.

Thackeray himself refers to Chinnery's reputation as a man of paint. Readers of the *Newcomes* will remember how the Colonel, speaking of the early efforts of his son Clive, remarks: " Chinnery himself could not hit off a likeness better : Clive has drawn me on horseback, and he has drawn me on foot, and he has drawn my friend Mr. Binnie who lives with me. We have scores of his drawings at my lodgings, and if you will favour us by dining with us to-day and these gentlemen, you shall see that you arc not the only person -caricatured by Clive here."

There are still in existence some scores of scores of drawings by Chinnery (more than twelve hundred pencil sketches, in one lady's possession), most of them with notes jotted on the back in strange characters. Years ago one of these was sent to me with a request to pronounce whether the writing was Tamil or shorthand. I certified it to be not Tamil: and it was this introduction to the artist that put me on his track, and on it I have been ever since.

Comparatively little is hitherto known about Chinnery. There are brief Accounts in DietiuuuriuH of Artists but, one notice is copied from Another, and the most recent .French work by Benizet conveys no now knowledge, save the names of some of his most prominent works, where they are and the price* fetched at sale.

George Chinnery was born 150 years ago on the 5th January 1774 in London. He was the son of William Chinnery of Fort St. David who owned the Chinnery Factory at Cuddalore, and there are some pencil and sepia sketches by the son with his titles " Our Factory in Cuddalore " and " the Chinnery Factory," the buildings being the same in each. There was about 1800 a well known Agency House in Madras of the name of Chase, Chinnery and Macdowell, subsequently changed into Chase, Chinnery and Sewell. The founder of the firm, Thomas Chase, one of my grand-maternal ancestors, had been a Madras Civilian who, as not unusual in those days, retired from the service to enter into business and associated with himself his brother-in-law Henry Sewell formerly a post-captain in the Navy. The firm failed in 1822.

George Chinnery had a younger brother John in the Madras Civil Service who spent much of his life as Assistant Commercial Resident and then Commercial Resident at Cuddalore. India of to-day has forgotten that there were such things as Commercial Residencies, but there is in the Library of the British Museum a Calendar of Fort Saint George for the year 1785 with MS. notes by Earl Macartney, in which special attention is paid by his Lordship to these posts and the persons who held them at now deserted places like Ingeram, Madepollam and Bandamoorlanka. John Chinnery died on the 15th November, 1817, aged forty, and lies buried in St. Mary's Cemetery,

Madras. He was thus three years younger than his mora distinguished brother.

Amusing references to the family of John Chinnery are to be found in the "Memoirs of George Elers, Captain in the 12th Regiment of Foot, 1777 to 1842 " (published in London in 1903). A lively account is there given of his voyage from England to India in 1796 on board the *Rockinyham,* 798 tons, Captain the Hon. Hugh Lindsay, afterwards Director of the Company for 30 years (1814 to 1811) and M.P. for Forfar. She left Portsmouth on the 27th June 1796 and reached Madras *vid* the Cape on January 9th, 3 797.

> We had among our passengers four ladies, two very fine girls, the two Miss Smiths, about seventeen and nineteen, just come from the-fashionable schools of London, Queen Square and Bloomsbury (they were the daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Petrie, the second in Council at Madras); a Miss Peyton and a Miss Chinnery, her friend—the first a very handsome old maid about thirty-six, the other a good tempered but very plain girl about my own age [nineteen]. The superiority of the two Miss Smiths was very obvious. Jemima was a most incorrigible flirt, very clever, very satirical, and aiming at universal conquest. Her sister, Henrietta, was more retiring and I think more admired; at least, I know Colonel Aston was much struck with her pretty little figure and lovely neck, and she afterwards made a conquest of the future hero, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, who arrived at the Cape with tho 33rd Regiment a few months before us. Mamma Payton. too, Lad her admirers. She was very quiet and matronly, and rolled about her fine black eyes at dinner in every direction. Without Leing absolutely vulgar, she had no polish or refinement, and had evidently not been used to fashionable company, like the two Miss Smiths. As to poor Miss Chinnery, no one ever thought of her. Poor soul! She had neither beauty nor talent; but she was good natured and inoffensive and thankful *when* she received attention.

Though Elers does not mention it, John Chinnery evidently found "Mamma" Payton more attractive than he did, for he married a "Miss-Mary Payton " on January 19, 1797, ten days after, the arrival of the *Rockingham* in Madras Roads, the witnesses to the marriage being T. Chase, Henry Sewell and Henry Brown. " As to poor Miss Chinnery," she soon found a husband in John Duncan, a Company's Surgeon who died at Madras on April 10, 1819, as third member of the Medical Board, in the 58th year of his age and the 30th of his service. The records show that he was married at Mariangeoopam (Cuddalore) on the 27th April 1797 by John Kenworthy " Justice " to Frances Hughes Chinnery, the sister of John and George.

In March 1805 by the H. C. Ship *Marquess Wellesley* (Captain Charles Le Blanc) there proceeded home from Madras: Mrs. Chinnery, Misses E. and M..

Chinnery and Master W. and Miss E. Duncan. The Chinnerys were Mrs. Jahn and her daughters Elizabeth and Matilda([1]) and the others were her sister-in-law's children.

In Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists George Chinnery is identified as an exhibitor of crayon portraits at the Free Society in 1766. The notice in the Dictionary of National Biography by Louis Fagan, doubts this identification. Had the date of his birth been known, the error might have been avoided, for the future artist was not born till 1774. In 1791, he was living at No. 4 Gough Square, Fleet Street, and from there sent miniature portraits to the Royal Academy. Headers of Sir Charles D'Oyly's " Tom Haw " may remember among the notes to canto V the following:—" Mr. C. originally practised in miniature, but nature alarmed at his prototypic progress and. fearing he would come up to her, robbed him of one of his visual organs and rendered the other too weak to admit of his following this branch of the art."

As a young man Chinnery made rapid progress and ia 1798 he was residing in College Green, Dublin and much patronised by the Lansdowne family. In 1801, at an exhibition held in the Parliament House at Dublin, he had eleven pictures, six portraits and five landscapes. For five years he practised in Ireland and became a member of the Royal Hibernian Academy, which explains the letters R. H. A. so often found after his name. Ip the Hall of the Royal Society at Dublin is an oil-painting by him of a lady seated, considered to represent Maria Marchioness of Lansdowne.

In April 1799 Chinnery married Marianne Vigne, a sister doubtless of G. T. Vigne whose Views of Cashmere are so well known. Among his best works is a portrait of his mother-in-law, whose maiden name I have not been able to discover. There were two children of the marriage, a son and a daughter. Matilda, born in October 1800, was married on the 1st October 1820 in Calcutta by the Revd. Dr. Corrie to James Cowley Brown of the Bengal Civil Service,([2]) a son of the famous Dr. David Brown of Calcutta and brother of the still more famous Madras civil servant Charles Philip Brown, better known as Pundit Brown, whose Telugu Dictionary is still a standard work. His house at Masulipatam stood on the site of the present hospital.

The son, John Eustace, was born in September 1801 and died unmarried at Berhampore (Murshidabad) on the 10th June, 1822, aged twenty years and ten months. The grave has gone, but the following inscription is to be found on a tablet fixed in the north wall of the cemetery: " Erected to the memory of a most beloved and affectionate son by his disconsolate, affectionate and most afflicted father as a tribute to that worth, those principles and amiable dis-

([1]) The Madras almanacks record the births of two children of John Chinnery and his wife, a son Charles who died an infant at San Thome on 15 Jan. 1800 and a daughter born at Madras in May 1801. Matilda married Captain (afterwards Lieut.-Colonel) Samuel Irton Hodgson on September 28, 1822, who died on December 27, 1836, in camp at Naugaum (Goomsoor). Mrs. Chinnery died at Cheltenham, April 28, 1847, aged 76.

([2]) James Cowley Brown served thirty-eight years in Bengal, and died at Calcutta on January 15, 1862.

positions which had it pleased the Almighty to have spared him to the world would have been the honour of his own life and the happiness of a family left inconsolable by his premature death."

By 1802 Chinnery had returned to London and he exhibited at the Royal Academy of that year a family group in oil. From that date his name as an exhibitor in the British Isles disappears for another 28 years. In 1802, he proceeded to Madras. I am indebted to Mr. "William Foster, C.I.E., for the information (which he has obtained from the Court Minutes) that his first application to the Directors for leave to proceed to Fort Saint George was refused on the 13th May, 1802, but, upon the request being renewed, was granted six days later.([3]) His letters on these occasions have not, however, been traced. In the East India Registers in the Madras Record Office he is entered among the European Residents at Fort St. George as " out of employ " in 1804, and in 1805 and 1806 as a portrait painter. The India Office Lists of European Inhabitants of Madras from the 1st January, 1808, to the 1st January, 1808 include his name.

On October 4, 1804 another of the Miss Paytons, Elizabeth, was married to a civilian, Samuel Peach Boutflower, at St. Mary's in the Fort, and George Chinnery was the last of the four witnesses who subscribed their names to the Register. He wrote in a fine flowing hand. This signatuie is of special interest, as it is believed to be the only one in Madras, and it is worthy of remark in this connection that he invariably neglected to sign his portraits. Many of his sketches, pen and ink and pencil, are however initialled and dated with notes added in shorthand.

In the year 1807 was published a little slip of a book entitled "Views in Madras." It is excessively rare. The copy in the Imperial Library at Calcutta has lost its title page and was evidently bought at a sale in England, for it is priced 10_8. On the second blank page is written : " Edw. Orme sent him by his Brother from Madras." The Madras brother was Robert, an attorney; but they were not related to the historian. A pious hand has pencilled on the back of the page " Save this."

The booklet contains seven wood engravings, six of which are by Chinnery (Geo. Chinnery delt. et. aqua f. 1807) and one by Gantz (J. Gantz, delt. et. sculp. 1807). The first plate represents a South View of the Sea Custom House Madras (commenced in April 1803 and completed in May 1804), and the second (by Gantz) a View of the Northern Front of the New Bridge near the Government Gardens. To the description of this Bridge (built on a plan furnished by Colonel Trapaud, Chief Engineer, and under his direction by Lieutenant

([3]) " The Directors have no objection to an Artist going, but have to guard against persons going with other views but under the name of Artists." Such was the information given by Mr. Richard Twining, the " India Director," when he applied to Joseph Farington, R.A., on June 26th, 1811, for particulars regarding " a young man named Haynes who had applied to the Court for leave to go to India as a portrait and miniature painter." The extract from the Farington Diary will be found in *Begal Patt and present,* Vol XXVI, p. 175.

Fraser, Superintending Engineer at the Presidency, and opened to the public 'in October 1805) is appended a note: " No ship having arrived from Bengal since our last, we are unable to perform our promise of furnishing Two Plates with our present Magazine—not wholly to disappoint our Patrons, we have procured an Etching from another quarter for the present month([4])."

Apparently two plates at a time were originally presented by Chinnery with a periodical known as the *Indian Magazine,* and the etching from another quarter is the plate by J. Gantz, a well known local artist, and a fine specimen of his work.

In the description to Chinnery's " View of the Banqueting Room and Part of the Government House, Madras " are a number of interesting details not found elsewhere.

> The Banqueting Room at Madras is situated in the Government Gardens and is the place where on Public Nights, Entertainments are given by the Governor. It is ti very large Building of the Doric Order, built by Mr. Goldingham during the administration of Lord Clive, (now Earl Powis) and is said to have cost upwards of Two lacs of pagodas. It has been stated to have been built on the model of an ancieut Athenian Building, as also from a Building at Nismes called La Maison Carree, but these accounts are erroneous. The Intorcalumniation, and Pediment in the front of the Building, are taken from Richardson's Architecture; tho basement story is wholly modern. The Government House, the present residence of the Right Honourable Lord William Bentinck, was originally on a very small scale, but has been added to by various Governors since the time of Sir Archibald Campbell. The most extensive improvements were made by Lord Clive. The Building to the right hand of the Plate is a small Bungalo occupied by Captain Troyer of the Military Institution.([5])

Another plate gives a " North East View of Fort Saint George," with a three page account of Madras, " which in point of climate may certainly be called the Montpelier of India." In the centre of the plate is the Flag Staff, appearing over the Exchange, with the long blue pennant; on the right the Signal Staff which is over the gate of the Fort Square. " When the signal is hoisted for a fleet of (or a single) Indiamen (the time of so much anxiety and

([4]) Want of paper in Madras was not uncommon about this time. The First Volume of William Urqunart's Oriental Obituary, an " Impartial Compilation " published at the Journal Press in 1809, opens with an advertisement that " Volume II is preparing **and** will be put to press so soon as paper can be procured, at present there **being none in Madras** which could possibly answer the purpose."

([5]) Troyer and the Military Institution have gone long ago but the bungalo stands. **The** only memorial in Madras to any person of his name is a French Tombstone in **the** Tioman Catholic Cathedral Armenian Street to the memory **of Joseph Guillaume Antoine infant son of Mr. Antoine Troyer and** dame **Anne** Dejean **Troyer born the 23rd February 1811 and died at the age of 20 days. His father was a resident of Pondicherry.**

pleasure to Englishmen) a long narrow blue pendant is put under the Uniorr Flag, as seen in the Plate."

The remaining three plates are entitled ".Characters,'' and are numbered TI, I I I and IV in the booklet. *No.* I is missing.

No. II is of the Massoolah Boat: " One of the most extraordinary inventions that Navigation has to boast.''

To all appearance any other kind of Vessel would be safer on the water: on the contrary no Boat of any other kind dare venture over the violent Surf, which breaks along the sea shore at Fort St George. It is unique in its construction equally unlike the solid canoe and the European Invention of caulked vessels. It is flat-bottomed and the planks of which it is composed are literally sewn together with the fibres of the Kyar (corr) rope (rope made from the cocoa tree) and the stitches (if they may be sO called) are so little connected that it should seem there could be no security against its leaking so much as to injure its safety. To prevent any accident of this Nature each Boat is provided with a Baler. These Boats are used to convey Goods and Passengers to and from the ships in the Madras roads, und on their return from the ships they are sometimes thrown with so much violence against the shore that if they did not by their singula! construction yield to the shock they would be dashed to pieces. The Steersman stands on the stern of the Vessel and the rudder is an our simply. The Dexterilty with which he balances himself in the heavy sea is perfectly astonishing, the number of Boats used is 120 and they furnish occupation for upwards of 1,000 natives.

Plate IV represents " Cattamarans."

-The Cattamaran is a raft composed usually of three, but sometimes of four logs of wood, which are fastened together with ropes made from the Cocoa-nut Tree. These are cut to a. point at. one end, whilst the other is left broad and flat; the opposing surfaces at the junction of the sides of the wood are made smooth but the upper and under parts of the raft are rounded off. They are paddled along by the Natives, and by their means communication can be held with the ships in the roads, much quicker than by the Massoolah Boat and in weather when the latter could not venture through the surf. They are managed with great ease and if the men are washed off by the surf they readily regain their station on the raft. On these rafts all species of goods can be conveyed on ship-board, that will not be damaged by Salt Water, and when several Cattamarans are joined together, the heaviest Cannon are transported by them to **and**

from the ships as well as Shot, Anchors, and many kinds of Military Stores.

One is reminded of Mrs. Fay's sprightly observation, twenty years earlier, that " the Madrassees appear the most pusillanimous creatures in existence, except those employed in the water, whose activity and exertions are inconceivable. They will encounter every danger for the sake of reward with all the eagerness of avarice and all the heroism of courage, so that if you have occasion to send off a note to a ship, no matter how high the surf may run, you will always find some one ready to convey it for you and generally without being damaged, as their turbans are curiously folded with waxed cloth for that purpose. So off they skip to their catamarans, for the prospect of gain renders them as brisk as the most lively European.'' As to Massoolah Boats and the Madras surf Mrs. Fay had personal experience. The boat on which she embarked on 18lh April, 1780 was a common cargo boat with no accommodation for passengers and her only seat one of the cross beams. " It was what is called a Black Surf and there were some troments when I really thought we were gone."

Most curious is the description appended to Chinnery's Character Plate I I I of the Torney Ketch. " The Water Woman or Torney Ketch is a figure so frequently seen in this country, as to form a great characteristic in the population. They are peculiar from their persons being ofter of a very fine shape; and the elegant manner of their carrying the Pots of Water on their head, does not fail to strike every observer. The simplicity of the dress they wear, and the style in which this is put on, gives a great similarity of appearance in them to the Antique Figures, and they are, speaking generally, very picturesque."

The three subjects of Ohinnery's pencil in 1807 are graceful girls and two of them carry pots on the head, one on the top of the other. But the modern use of the name Tannicutch (as it is now spelt, and not Torney, the Tawny of our friend Mulligatawny) is confined to the female water-carrier in the kitchen. The Torney Ketch at the village well and the heavy cannon transported on triple Catamarans to the East Indiamen flying the Company's flag in the roads have gone, while the Madras surf which Warren Hastings compared to that at Margate, no longer beats up to the houses and the walls of the Fort but has receded an immense distance.

Few if any of Chinnery's paintings are discoverable in Madras. On slender authority Col. H. D. Love in his descriptive List of Pictures in Government House (1903) ascribes to him the portrait of Wallaj ah and Stringer Lawrence, and the original of the full length of Azim-ud-daula, tenth Nawab of the Carnatic. This last is a copy made by Thomas Day in 1820 from an original which was presented by the Nawab in 1803 to the second Lord Clive (first Earl of Powis and Governor of Madras from 1798 to 1803) and carried by his Lordship to England. Chinnery had only just arrived in Madras, and

the artist is more likely to be Thomas Hickey who practised in Madras from 1800 to 1806. The picture of Stringer Lawrence and Wallajah is made up of two pictures pieced together, with a vertical seam down the middle of the canvas. E. A. Ezekiel's engraving (published in 1795) of Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture of Lawrence, painted for Sir Robert Palk in 1767, and one of George Willison's portraits of Wallajah are said to have served as guides.

The late Sir Malcolm Morris in his privately printed " Annals of an Anglo-Indian Family " makes mention of an excellent portrait by Ohinnery of his ancestor Peter Cherry, a famous Madras Civilian (1773-1823) and father of the three beautiful Miss Cherrys. In it his hair is shown as so grey that it was generally supposed he wore powder, but in a letter to his daughters dated the 27th March 1819 he writes, " I have let my hair grow to be able to send each of you a few locks of it. It is quite grey, but I am 46 and must expect it."([6])

Another of the interesting portraits painted by Chinnery during this period was that of the two children of Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick, Resident at Hyderabad (1797-1805) by Khair-un-nissa Begum, the daughter of a Hyderabad grandee. The picture is now at Torquay in Mr. Paul Phillips' house. It was formerly kept in the Rung Mehal or zenana, which James Achilles built at the back of the Chudderghaut Residency. This building fell into disrepair and was finally pulled down by Sir Geoige Yule in the sixties. The two children are represented in Oriental dress. Their names were Catherine Aurora and James George. Catherine is the " Kitty Kirkpatrick " of Carlyle's Reminiscences, and according to some, the " Blumine " of his *Sartor Resartus.* She married Captain James Winsloe Phillips of the 7th Hussars, and died on March. 2, 1889, at the Villa Soirento, Torquay. Her brother died young. leaving a widow and three children. The picture must have been painted before 1805, as on September 10 of that year the two children were sent to England on board the *Lord Hauckesbury* (803 tons, Captain James Timbrell) with Captain George Elers as a fellow passenger. " We had on board," he writes in his memoirs, " a Mrs. Ure, wife of a Dr. Ure of Hyderabad([7]) who had two fine children of three and four years old under her charge, the children of Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick, by a Princess,

([6]) Peter Cherry acted as paymaster to the forces at the capture of Seringapatam in 1799, and received the medal. He made his name as Collector and Judge of Ganjam (1800—1806) and was killed in a carriage accident at the Cape of Good Hope on November 26, 1823. His eldest brother was George Frederick Cherry of the Bengal Civil Service, who was an artist of some merit. A portrait by him of Tippoo Sultan hangs in the Finance Committee Room at the India Office. It bears the following certificate signed by the donor, Prince Gholam Muhammad, a son of Tippoo, who died in Calcutta in 1877: "This portrait of Tippoo Sultan was painted by Mr. Cherry, Lord Cornwallis's Persian Secretary, who was afterwards [January 14, 1799] assassinated at Benares by Vezeer Alie: and was by Mr. Cherry himself presented to the Begum, mother of the Sultan, during his mission to Seringapatam in 1792." Another brother, John Hector Cherry, was Member of Council at Bombay, and died while holding that office on June 4, 1803.

([7]) George Ure, Surgeon to the Hyderabad Residency, married a Miss Blair in 1798 and died on January 7, 1807.

to whom report says he was married. Her Highness would not part with her children until £10,000 had been settled upon each of them. They were a boy and a girl, and they had a faithful old black man, who was very fond of them to attend upon them." It was Elers' fortune, as he adds, to have " this black and white party " consigned to his care on landing at Portsmouth, and he handed over his charges two days after arrival (February 17, 1806) to their uncle Colonel William Kirkpatrick in Nottingham Place.

In 1808 Chinnery moved to Calcutta and in the Bengal List for 1810 at the India Office he is shown as residing at Dacca. It is stated in the entry that he arrived in India in 1802, that his " local license " is dated June 1808, and that he had " resided in the district " from July 15, 1808. Sir Charles D'Oyly was then (February 1808 to May 1812) Collector of Dacca: and in his correspondence with Warren Hastings refers to the advantage he had, ill 1808, of continuous instruction from " a very able artist of the name of Chinnery." It was no doubt at this period that Chinnery look the sketches for the charming vignettes of local scenery which are to be found in the letter press to D'Oyly's Drawings of Dacca {4 Vols. folio, 1814, 1817, 1826, 1827). The next list is for 1812 and shows him as resident at Calcutta, Jiving to the " eastward of Messrs. Fairlie, Ferguson and Co." The lists for 1816, 1817 and 1819 at the India Office exclude Calcutta and, possibly for this reason, do not contain his name.

Chinnery remuined nevertheless at Caleutta, for seventeen years And became a favourite portrait painter with all classes. In Government House there hung, in days when the Viceroy reigned there, a three-quarter length by him of the first Lord Minto (now at Belvedere), and a full length of Saadat Ali, Nawab Vizier of Oudh from 1784 to 1814. The authorship of the latter which has been transferred to Viceregal Lodge, Simla, has, however, been attributed to Home. The High Court possesses his portraits of Sir Henry Russell, the uncle of Rose Aylmer (puisne Judge 1797-1806, Chief Justice 1806-1813) painted in 1812, and of Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten robed in red (puisne Judge at Fort St. George 1809-1815, Fort William 1816-1825) painted in 1824. According to the Government Gazette of the time, " this production is one of the finest specimens of Mr. Chinnery's talents, which are universally acknowledged to be rare and splendid."

Maharajah Bahadur Sir Prodyat Coomar Tagore owns a number of works by Chinnery including a portrait (which hangs in Tagore Castle) of Babu Gopi Mohun Tagore, second son of Durpo Narayan, the banian of Edward Wheeler, who succeeded Colonel Monson as Member of Council. It is said that Indians were at first unwilling to sit to Chinnery, on the ground that the process would entail on them a premature death. Though his brothers held back, Gopi Mohun consented to sit and so did his sons Nanda Kumar and Kali Kumar. The collection comprises two landscapes by Chirnery; one a View of the Esplanade and the Ochterlony Monument (38 by 24) and the

other of Calcutta as seen from the river (26½ by 18); also a charmingly painted little picture (12 by 9) of two Chinese coolies.

Among the lost portraits by Chinnery is one of that entertaining individual William Hickey, whose memoirs published by Messrs. Hurst and Blackett are attracting universal attention. We have it from Hickey himself that his likeness was painted by George Chinnery at Calcutta in February 1808 (apparently soon after his arrival) and presented by the artist to Sir Henry Russell and " hung in Russell's dining room in the Court House at Calcutta." A quotation from Lady Nugent's Journal (1811-1815) shows that Russell did actually reside at one time in the Court House. "February 22nd, 1812, Sir H. Russell, with whom we dined to-day, is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and has very excellent apartments in the Court House which is a handsome stone building, and the verandah is said to be the finest in India." A month later Lady Nugent meets Chinnery himself.

> March 27, 1812, Good Friday, Mr. Shakespear introduced Mr. Chinnery (the miniature painter). Saw Chinnery's paintings—the likenesses excellent. Prevailed on Sir George to sit for me.
>
> June 1st, Sir George sat for his picture at 7 this morning for the first time.
>
> June 17, Sir George sits twice a day before breakfast to Chinnery. Went in the evening to see his miniatures, which are very good indeed.

These extracts are of interest as showing that, contrary to the footnote already quoted from " Tom Raw," Chinnery was still painting miniatures. He painted yet another Commander-in-Chief in the person of Sir Edward Paget who writes to his wife Harriet from Calcutta in February 1823 that Chinnery had made a miniature of " his darling group " and hung it himself in Belvedere which Paget was then occupying. In May 1825 he writes, " Chinnery is so uncertain a fellow that I have no dependence upon his promises. He likes landscape painting a thousand to one better than portrait painting, except when he gets so fine a subject (tell that to Caroline) as myself. Then he gets quite inspired."

Chinnery also painted Major General Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie (1766-1814) and there is a reproduction of the picture in Beveridge's Comprehensive History of India (Vol. Ill, p. 12).

In 1838 a portrait by Chinnery was produced in Court as a witness for the prosecution in a celebrated criminal case at Hooghly. About the year 1820 he had painted Raja Protap Chand, the son of Maharajadhiraj Bahadur Tej Chand of Burdwan, who died in the following January. Fourteen years later there appeared on the scene an individual claiming to be the Raja. He was put upon his trial on charges of personation and rioting: and the picture was brought down from the Palace at Burdwan and kept in a room adjoining the Court, where it was shown to the witnesses who came forward to testify

to their acquaintance with the original. The picture, a full length, **and** a fine composition, is now in the Banqueting hall at Burdwan: and a photograph of it has been presented by the present Maharajadhiraj Bahadur to the Victoria Memorial Hall: where also there may be seen an original water-colour drawing by Chinnery of the Palace of the Nawab Nazim at Murshidabad.

There is a portrait of himself in the Asiatic Society's Rooms in Park Street, thus described in Dr. C. R. Wilson's Descriptive List (1897). " A half-length, representing an oldish man with light ruffled hair and a rather self-assertive nose. His face is clean shaven. A pair of old fashioned spectacles is on his nose, through which his light blue eyes look away to the right of the spectator with un eager ready glance. He wears a dark brown coat and a white shirt and cravat. A yellow curtain hangs behind him. Size 15 by 12 inches."

From " Tom Raw,Griffin " we learn that Chinnery lived—

In Garstin's Buildings, opposite the Church,
Formed by the overplus of Town Hall brick,
And just behind the houses of John B-ch,
Up a vile lane whose odour inakes one sick.([8])

A rhymed description follows of his studio, an " olio of oddities " which contained " charcoal dashes of sudden thoughts, imitative keys hung on a nail, various coloured splashings, shapes of frames, houses, horses, trees, prismatic circles, five dot effigies and notes of shorthand." The reference te keys and five dot effigies are allusions to the fact that Chinnery was fond of representing by a few touches of charcoal a key hanging on a nail, shadow and all, and that it was his habit to ask his visitor to make indiscriminately five dots on a piece of paper. Out of these he would draw a figure, the dots forming the top of the head and the ends of the legs and arms.

Chinnery's next greatest pleasure to painting was to sit in smoky meditation (a hookah always at his side) over the canvas he had just finished. In conversation he was an incorrigible punster and Sir Charles D'Oyly gives examples of his puns with many apologies for their quality.([9])

([8]) John Brereton Birch was Cheriff of Calcutta in 1812, and is humorously described in the notes to " Tom Raw," as " a gentleman of considerable weight in Calcutta." He was for many years Police Magistrate and died at Barrackpore in 1829. Garstin's Buildings were " two ranges of buildings erected to the north of the Church by the late Chief Engineer, in each of which there are six houses adjoining each other." The " Church " is St. John's Church, and " the late Chief Engineer " is Major General John Garstin, the architect of the Town Hall, who died in Calcutta in 1820.

([9]) " Your friend desires to sitP—Pray, does he draw?
' Tis a great art—and always practised with a claw!' (eclat).

" We must beg our readers to excuse the string of had puns which we have been obliged to introduce in this canto, as there would be no chance of portraying the character of the eminent painter without them: and the worse they are, the more faithful will be thelikeness."—(Canto V, note 4.)

He is said to have talked loudly, been very boisterous, and fond of singing while at work. At this time he wore his hair long and kept it in place with a semi-circular tortoise shell comb that had " once graced the swell of crinal horrors that adorned an Indian belle."

" Laugh as you please." continues Tom Raw, " you will see in this atelier the ablest limner in the land." There is no question that Chinnery was an artistic genius of the highest order, but he had some of the infirmities of genius. Although his earnings in Calcutta amounted to Rs. 5,000 a month, his prodigality was such that he largely exceeded his income and was generally in debt. The late Mr. John Clark Marshman used to say that he could rarely be induced to finish his portraits. After having satisfied himself with a masterly representation of the countenance, he would turn to a new subject. Hence when he left Calcutta more than 20 (some say 50) of his portraits were sold unfinished. Had he employed an assistant to complete the figure and fill in the drapery, he would have made a much larger income.

In 1825 Chinnery, to use his own words, " had to bolt for China for about £40,000 of debt." With an interval of two years spent in Canton, he took up his residence at Macao, living in the same house until his death from apoplexy on May 30, 1852. The East India Company then had a flourishing Factory at Canton with an agency at Macao. An admirable pencil drawing by Chinnery of the Agent's House at Macao is extant, initialled and dated 1829. In Commander Robert Elliot's *Views in India, China and the Red Sea* (published 1831) is an interesting account of Macao in the thirties written by Miss Emma Roberts, who makes reference to the curious ordinance of the Chinese debarring European ladies from entering China. " During the great part of the year the settlement dull at all time3 is rendered still more so by the absence of the heads of families, who take their departure to Canton, where their wives and daughters are not permitted to accompany them. An attempt to resist the strict regulations of the Chinese in this respect nearly occasioned a serious breach between the two governments." When therefore Chinnery's wife threatened to follow him to Macao, he temporarily removed to Canton, remarking " Now I am all right. What a kind Providence is this Chinese Government that it forbids the softer sex from coming and bothering us here."

William Hickey describes Macao as a miserable place in 1769, but in Chinnery's time it boasted a large European population. Chinnery's life was a constant financial struggle, but yet a happy one, and contemporary writers speak of his charming and genial disposition and the affection in which he was held. Mr. William C. Hunter in " Bits of Old China " has a curious detail. " During the twenty-seven years Mr. Chinnery passed amongst us, he had been remarked for two characteristics, one of being an enormous eater, the other of never drinking either wine, beer or spirits. His sole beverage was tea, oftener cold than hot."

His output of work was tremendous. His great delight was in sketching, and every morning of fine weather found him out at dawn painting the

sampan girls or boat women, the junks at anchor, the creeks and harbours, the river and street scenes. His oil paintings of the Hong merchants are remarkably good, the best known being that of How Qua (1769-1843). This man was immensely wealthy and held in the highest esteem by all foreigners, which accounts for his waxen counterfeit in Madame Tussaud's Exhibition, one of the oldest in the collection.([10]). It was the fashion among European firms in China to possess a Chinnery, like a piece of plate or old furniture The great house of Jardine, Matheson and Co. in particular, owns a fine collection of his works. Sir Hobert Buchanan Jardine, Bart., has about forty pictures, principally oils, comprising both portraits and scenes of India and China. At the Dr. George Morrison Library in Tokio, Japan, are two volumes of Chinnery's works, one containing 206 pen-and-ink and pencil sketches, and the other 39 finished water-colour drawings and 84 sketches.

In 1830 Chinnery renewed his connection with the Royal Academy by sending two portraits, " Dr. George Morrison translating the Bible into Chinese " and ″ A Hong merchant.'' He was again in 1831 a contributor of four and in 1835 of five portraits. The last portrait he exhibited at the Academy was one of himself in 1846. At the South Kensington Museum in 186T was exhibited his portrait of Hugh Hamilton. The British Museum print-room possesses 36 sheets of his drawings, mostly pen and ink and pencil sketches, and four engravings of pictures, including the Morrison portrait. Also a small and very scarce quarto volume of etchings dated 1839-1840, entitled " A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads," and purporting to be published by William Thacker and Co., Calcutta, but, according to my information, not published by that firm. The Victoria and Albert Museum has three miniatures and a water-colour of " A Coast Scene" signed ″ Geo. Chinnery 1801." In the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society in London is a small oil painting of " A Brahminy Bull," presented by Mr. R. Clarke in 1832. According to the Dictionary of National Biography (1908), there are at Knowsley Hall, two oil paintings " A Chinese Landscape, the English Factory and the Town Bay of Macao " and " a view of Macao."

The National Portrait Gallery in Trafalgar Square, London possesses a self portrait of Chinnery presented in February 1888 by his friend John Dent on behalf of his uncle Lancelot Dent, long resident in China (No. 779). The dimensions are 2 ft. 3¼ by 1 foot 9¼ and the following description appears in the 1888 catalogue, now out of print:

> A full length figure on a small scale, seated towards the left, at an easel on which is an oil painting of an Indian mosque. He wears a dark brown frock coat with velvet collar, white trousers, slippers, white necktie and high collar. He rests his right arm on the back of the chair and holds his palette and brushes in

([10]) The picture was painted for Mr. William Henry Chicheley Plowden, president of the Select Committee at Canton from 1828 to 1830, and Director of the East India Company from 1841 to 1853: who died in March, 1880, at the' age of ninety-three.

the left. His legs are crossed, the right over the left; his face is seen in three-quarters to the right, his black (P blue) eyes looking intently at the spectator over his spectacles. His high-brushed hair and bushy eyebrows are quite white. His cheeks are smooth, the lower lip projecting and very red. On the wall and facing the spectator is a framed 'view of the " Praya Grande " (Grand Parade) at Macao. Above in left hand corner is a rich red curtain and below a small table with cups and bottles; a port-folio and papers rest against the stem of the table.

Mr. Dent called on to answer a letter about Chinnery, writes on 5-3-88: Chinnery went to India on account of the Irish rebellion about 1801—2, told Mr. Dent he had been 50 years in the East, never went with Lord Macartney([11]) went to Madras and Calcutta, then had to bolt for China for about £40,000 of debt.

Chinnery, as has been said, excelled in every kind of art. He etched splendidly and was equally skilled in oils and water-colours. He painted miniatures, portraits, figures and landscapes but he was pre-eminently a portrait painter. His portraits have a singular charm; and the colours he used were mixed and ground in his own studio and have stood the test of time well. His sketches were in the manner of the time, carefully done with pencil and then tinted.

He had a strong and impressive personality. The story of the aversion which Indians had to be being painted by him on the ground that it would entail premature death is capped by the Chinese myth that he lived to be a hundred and died in 1873.

([11]) This corrects the statement made in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that Chinnery accompanied Lord Macartney's mission to Pekin in 1793.

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A Note on the Maratha Records relating to the History of South India.

(By Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.)

The Indian Historical Records Commission deserves to be congratulated upon the one happy result, namely, the enthusiastic interest that has been created by its annual deliberations at each of the Presidential towns and the attention of the public that it has been able to attract in a larger degree towards the importance of old Historical records and the necessity of their research and preservation. This year Madras is fortunate in having the honour of receiving the learned members of the Historical Records Commission and witnessing their interesting discussions over the ancient lore of Southern India, and I trust it will be in the fitness of things if I venture **to** present a few remarks on the Maratha Records relating to South Indian History.

Madras is well known in history as the sanctuary of Oriental learning'. It has produced some of the greatest kings, scholars, poets and statesmen. It was in the Madras Presidency that the largest and most extensive collection of Manuscripts bas been made and preserved by Raja Sarfoji, an illustrious Maratha King of Tanjore. It was in this Presidency that the famous historiographer of the East India Company, Robert Orme, worked zealously in the field of Historical research and brought forth his monumental volumes on the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindustan and presented his most valuable Manuscripts to the East India Company which at present adorn the shelves of the India Office Library in London. It was here that flourished the great research scholar, Colin Mackenzie, who was first selected by Lord Cornwallis to examine the geography of Tipu's territory including the Deccan in 1792, and who afterwards rose to the position of Surveyor-General of India and discovere 1 the largest number of Manuscripts in various languages, which are now known as " the Mackenzie Collection."

Looking to the ancient connection of the Marathas with Southern India, it may be claimed that Madras Presidency has been in a way the home of Marathi Language. As is generally believed, the Modi script in Marathi was brought into Maharashtra from the South by Hemadri or Hemadpant who hailed from Southern India and flourished in the reign of Ramdeva, the famous King of Devagiri (A.D. 1272-1294). Marathi subsequently rose even to the position of a Court language in Southern India during the time of Shahaji, the father of the great Shiva ji, the illustrious founder of the Maratha Empire. This family exercised a very powerful influence over the destinies of Southern India and rightly secured a place of distinction amongst the ruling dynasties of that country. Shahaji, when he was entrusted with the administration of the Carnatic under the Bijapur Government in 1636 37, changed the old system of revenue accounts established by the kings of Vijayanagar, and introduced an altogether new and better form of administration which earned for him a great reputation as a sagacious and wise'

administrator. It may therefore be said that the Marathi Language made its way into the State Records of the South from Shahaji's **time.**

After the death of Shahaji, his second son, Vyankoji, succeeded to his *Jayir* at Tanjore which continued in the family till A.D. 1848. Shivaji, the elder son, carved out an independent kingdom for himself in the North and is therefore aptly termed " Shivaji in the North " in one of the Palace portraits at Tanjore. He led his invasions to the South in 1676 and capturing the strong fortresses of Jinji, Arni, Vellore, etc., established the Maratha rule in the South. Vyankoji tried to oppose Shivaji but owing to the strong army and supreme *genius* of his elder brother, he was overpowered and ultimately left undisturbed in the possession of his ancestral *Jagir* at Tanjore. The conquest of Shivaji in the South eventually helped the growth of the Maratha rula and the Marathi Language in those parts and a number of Maratha families came into prominence whose descendants are still in existence and are enjoying the grants* of Shivaji and his son Rajaram. The Maratha Jagirs at Arni, Gooty, Sondur mostly owe their existence to Shivaji and Rajaram, and arc still considered as historical remnants of the old Maratha rule in the Madras Presidency.

The political connection of the Marathas with the Madras Presidency continued even after Shivaji's death, Rajaram after the capture and death of his elder brother Sambhaji, went to Jinji and established himself in that impregnable fortress, for more than eight years, successfully carrying on the Maratha administration to the wonder and astonishment of his Muhammadan opponents. The heroic siege of Jinji and the gallant efforts of the Marathas to save their Kingdom are fully narrated in Maratha History and it is sufficient for our present purpose to mention that the glorious success of the Marathas firmly established their rule in South India and strengthened their power in those parts. The expedition of Rajaram as well as subsequent invasions of the Marathas into the South led by Raghuji and Fattesing Bhonsle *in* 1741 gave ample opportunities to the Marathas to display their martial spirit and wonderful gallantry which can only be found recorded in the original papers of those days. The Marathas later on, had to deal with Nizam of Hyderabad, the Nawabs of the Carnatic, the English, the French" and other smaller States and Zamindars in Southern India, and all their political negotiations were conducted mostly in Marathi and Persian languages and if the original documents could be traced and discovered from Government archives and the descendants of the Maratha and Muhammadan families who took part in those transactions, they would be found extremely interesting and useful.

In the 18th century the Maratha power extended right up to the Southernmost part of the Peninsula and according to the information which is now

* The grants or Sanads issued by Shivaji and other Maratha rulers are still in existence in Southern India. I learn that Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantalu, a retired Deputy Collector of Madras, possesses a silver plate grant of Shivaji to one of the descendants of the Vijayanagar family. There are also Sanads conferred on the sacred temple such as Shri Shailya Parvatam, Shri Rangam, Kartik Swami, etc., by the Marathas.

available, Maratha Governors actually held their sway over Trichinopoly and Madura. It appears from reliable information that in 1741 the famous Morar Rao Ghorpade of Gooty was the Governor of Trichinopoly and Appaji Hao, his Assistant Commandant, held the Governorship of Madura. This shows that the Maratha power, though centred at Poona, had its branches reaching far and wide, and from the list of their envoys which has now become available it proves beyond doubt that it had spread a vast network of ambassadors throughout India. The correspondence carried on regularly by-these persons was obviously in Marathi and must have contained full and graphic accounts of the political events that took place in Southern India in the latter part of the 18th century. Tho names of the Maratha Vakils at different Courts in Southern India were as follows: —

Name of the Vakil.	Place.	Year.
1. Appaji Ballal	Bedil ur	1741-44
2. Anna ji Govind	Advani	1754-55
3. Govind Shamrao	Arcot	1765-67
4. Govind Ballal Kunto	Na wab Nasirjung	1733-39
5. Janardan Shivaram	Chennaputtam	1776-77
6. Jiwaji Ambaji	Kadappa	1764-65
7. Tam maji Chandu	Annagondi	1754-55
8. Trimbak Girinaji	Kamooi	1764-65
9. Dhondo Govind	Nasirjung	1754-55
10. Narayan Rao Appaji	Nawab Salabatjung	1763-68
11. Baburao Malhar	Aurangabad	1732-33
12. Balaji Ram	Sonda	1739
13. Bala ji Mahadeo	Portuguese	1733-39
14. Bajaji Yadav	Trichinopoly	1744-57
15. Bhimrao Shripat	Kamooi	1774-75
16. Ramrao Jagannath	Trichinopoly	1751-52
17. Rajo Daso Vakil	Arcot	1765-67
18, Venkaji Ram	Arcot	1739-40
19. Vithal Narayan	Goa	1792-93
20. Vithal Shankar	Nizam Ali	1773-74
21. Venkaji Raghunath	Bellary	1754-55
22. Shamrao Yado	Bhaganagar	1751-52
23. Shamrao Yado	Arcot	1752-53
24. Shamrao Yado	Pondicherry	1754-55
25. Shripat Vithal	Kadappa and Karnooi	1736-50
26. Shivaram Narayan	Trichinopoly	1756-57
27. Sadashiv Gopal	Tanjore with Tulja Raja	1774-75
28. Sadashiv Vishwanath	Gboty	1767-68
29. Govindrao Kale	Hyderabad	1790-95
80. Krishnarao Narayan	Seringapatam	1791-92

If the original correspondence of these Maratha statesmen could be unearthed, there is no doubt that much interesting history would be brought into light. Some of the letters written by these ambassadors to the Peshwas have been recently discovered in the Peshwa's and other private Daftars, and they are sure to prove most interesting to the students of history. Letters written by the Maratha ambassadors at Hyderabad, Madras, Arcot, Trichinopoly, Seringapatam, Pondicherry, Goa, Tanjore, etc., are of supreme importance and deserve speedy publication. They will, I am sure, make a valuable contribution to the history of Southern India. On the previous occasion I have made a reference to Janardan Shivaram, the Peshwa's Vakil at Pondicherry. Some of his letters have been now published in the volumes of the " Itihas Sangraha," and they testify to the ability and statesmanship of the writer. Unless these letters are translated into English, they will not be of much use to students of history not knowing Marathi. I would therefore suggest the Commission to arrange for the translation of these valuable documents. They are equally important as, if not more than, the diary of Anand Ranga Pillay, the interpreter of Dupleix, which the Madras Government have recently published in English.

A considerable part of the Maratha History having been played in the Madras Presidency, and soma old Maratha *Jagirs* such as Sondur, Ami and Tanjore being still in existence there, it is very probable that the old records of these States may contain valuable historical papers in Marathi. The Ghorpades of Gooty and Sondur, just mentioned, above, were counted among the most brave and fearless Maratha soldiers, and especially the name of Murar Rao, though his State is long gone and forgotten, is still cherished in Southern India. Some original letters of Murar Rao have been discovered and it is likely that there may be more Marathi papers yet in the possession of the present *Jagirdar* of Sondur; but since the Marathi, and especially the Modi script, has long lost the favour of the Court there, the work of a careful research of these papers must be undertaken by some research scholars from the Maharashtra. The Royal family at Tanjore now exists only in name and much of their family records is said to have been destroyed owing to the various adversities the family has gone through. It is, therefore, idle to expect much hope from that quarter. However the fact that some original letters of Shiva ji were discovered there sometime ago, leads one to hope that some other equally important and rare documents might have similarly survived the hand of time and ravage. Unfortunate, though it is, that the Tanjore records should thus be completely lost to the student of history, we are fortunate in still possessing the remarkable and most valuable collection of old Manuscripts made by the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore. This collection displays their taste and love for learning and is known as the Tanjore Palace Library. Br. Burnell, an eminent scholar, had prepared some years ago a catalogue of this Library but it cannot be said that the collection is yet well assorted and arranged. Together with many valuable Manuscripts in Sanskrit and other languages it also contains some rare ones likely to shed new*

light on the Maratha history. It is happy to note that some Maratha scholars -from this part have recently directed their attention to this collection and attempts are being made to publish some of the books contained therein. Two of these books—" Parnal-parvatgiahanakhyanam " and " Shiva-bharat " 'पर्नाल पर्वतगढख्यानम्' 'शिवभारत relating to Shivaji's period—have been just published. Thanks to the generosity of the Royal Family at Tanjore that this Library has now become a public property and the Madras Government have entrusted its management to a select body of literary students, which is at present carrying on the work of classifying and cataloguing the collection.

One cannot help making a special reference here to the illustrious Royal personage to whom belongs the credit of collecting this almost unique and invaluable collection. His name as already mentioned above was Raja Sarfoji whose marble statue by Chantrey honours the old Darbar Hall of the Palace at Tanjore. His high attainments and love for learning carried his fame to the Royal Asiatic Society in London which conferred upon him the distinction of its honorary membership. The original English translation of the letter which Sarfoji wrote to the Hon'ble Sir Alexander Johnstone, the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, is in my possession and bears the signature of John Fyfe, Resident of Tanjore, who forwarded it to London. I cannot resist the temptation-of quoting it here as I feel sure that it will be found most interesting: —

" SIR,

" The letter which you did me the favour to write to me together with '" the bust of the late admiral Lord Nelson, and the Diploma appointing me '" the first Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society' of Great " Britain, reached Tanjore in safety some time ago, and were delivered to "me by the Resident. I must beg that the delay which has occurred in " acknowledging their arrival may not be considered as any proof that I am "indifferent about such nattering marks of distinction; on the contrary, I "request that you will assure both the Royal Asiatic Society and the Hon. " Mrs. Darner, that I fully appreciate the compliment which they have " respectively been pleased to pay to me.

" I wish I could persuade myself that these compliments were well merited, " but I am sensible that I am indebted for them to the partiality of your repre- " sentations. It is true, indeed, that I have always taken great pleasure in " endeavouring, by the establishment of Free Schools, and every other means " i n my power, to promote among my people the general diffusion of useful " knowledge, and the study of such Arts and Sciences as I thought might '"be conducive to their temporal advantage or more improvement; but it " would be wrong to say, that from what little has been done, much good has " already resulted. The character and manners of every people are neces- *" sarily, in some degree, modified by circumstances, which, though certain

" in their result, are more or less slow in operation. In the present state " of India, while knowledge is unprofitable, few can afford to become wise,, "or to devote themselves, whatever predilections may exist, to any particular " study or pursuit which does not hold out a fair prospect of a livelihood; but " the British nation must, ere now, have seen enough of their Asiatic subjects " to know that they are natuially clear-sighted to their own interests, and " keen and persevering in the pursuit of them; they will therefore very readily " cultivate such talents as are likely to find profitable and honourable employ- " ment, and better their actual condition in life, as well as their understand- " ings. For a long time to come these two objects must of necessity go hand " in hand; but concluding that a liberal and enlightened Government, anxious " for the happiness and prosperity of its subjects, will not be sparing in the " requisite incentives to laudable ambition and honourable exertion, I hope " it will be found that the moral and political improvement of the people, the " development of useful talents and good qualities, and their progress in " Literature, Science, and the Arts, will keep pace with the encouragement " held out to them, and the confidence bestowed upon them by those rulers in " whose hands Providence has placed their destiny.

" I must again repeat my acknowledgments to your relation, the Hon. " Mrs. Darner, who at so much personal trouble has sent me a very beautiful " specimen of an elegant art; and I beg you will do me the favour to assure "the Royal Asiatic Society that I trust their labours may tend to make " Europeans and Asiatics better acquainted with each other, and be regarded " with the other benefits and advantages contemplated by its illustrious and " enlightened founders.

" TANJORE, " What can I say more?

" 11th October 1828. "SHREERAMPRETAUP."

The following extract from another letter which the Raja wrote to the Society after his receiving their first volume will also p*t>ve interesting: —

" I had the pleasure in due time to receive through the means of Captain John Fyfe, the Resident of Tanjore, your letter of the 19th March 1828, accompanied by the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Regulations of that Society, and the List of the Members. I request that you will do me the favour to convey to the Society my best acknowledgments and thanks for the first fruits of their labours and assure them that it would afford me great satisfaction if I should in any way, as far as my knowledge will permit, be able to facilitate the Researches or promote the objects which this most enlightened Body has in view.

" TANJORE, " What can I say more?

" 27th January 1829. " SHREE RAM

It is worth noting here that a scion of the Royal family of Tanjore **had** offered his hearty co-operation for the cause of historical research a century ago.

It is also necessary here to add a word of tribute to the praiseworthy efforts of a European Scholar) Colin Mackenzie, who **has** so nobly done the work of collecting a mass of records relating to the history of Southern India. The remarkable collection at the India Office in London, known as " the Colin Mackenzie Collection ", is the fruit of his great labour and industry. A catalogue of this collection is at present under preparation in England, the first part of which has been recently published by Mr. Blagden. The Marathi part was undertaken by the late Mr. J. S. Cotton, uncle of our worthy President, but unfortunately owing to his loss., the work has been long delayed. When the catalogue is out, it is hoped that it will be immensely helpful to scholars. About the Marathi Manuscripts of the Mackenzie Collection it may be mentioned that some of the valuable Bakhars are wrongly classified **with** Tamil Manuscripts and have been locked up in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, and some have found their way to the India Office. Some years ago I had an occasion to make inquiries about them at Madras through the Government of Bombay and the reply the Curator had sent is not clear enough to aid the student to ascertain their historical value. I would therefore suggest this Commission to kindly devote their attention to this matter. I conclude with a hope that the Government of Madras presided over as it is by a noble-minded and sympathetic Governor like His Excellency Lord Willingdon, will take the credit of preparing and publishing a descriptive catalogue with the help of experts.

Maratha Historical Records.

(By R. *K.* Ranadive, .M.A.)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am standing before you, not to recount the results of any independent researches carried out by me personally, but merely to acquaint you and, through this Commission, the rest of India outside Maharashtra with the work in the field of historical research which has so far been achieved in that province, and to put forward a few suggestions as to the manner in which the remaining work should be carried out. A similar paper was prepared by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis for being read before the session of this Commission held in Bombay in January 1921. But owing to his unavoidable absence, the paper could not be read by him. It was, therefore, published in the proceedings of the session in question. The Commission had asked the Rao Bahadur to narrate what he himself had done in the sphere of historical search. In the above paper, he, therefore, referred to the work of other scholars only incidentally. Moreover, the session of the

Commission at Bombay did not attract the attention it deserved, and it is doubtful whether the paper has come to the notice of the public in general. Anyway, the tale I have to unfold will bear repetition, and, indeed, it is by persistent repetition alone that the work done in Maharashtra will become more generally known outside the province. If, therefore, I fail to tell you anything which you did not already know, or which you do not find interesting, I request you to have an eye to my object, and forgive me for taking up your time.

To turn to the subject—In the preface of his well-known work on the History of the Mahrattas, written in 1826, Captain James Grant Duff has referred to the difficulties which then confronted authors wishing to write on Mahratta History, and contrasts the facilities which he himself fortunately possessed for writing his own work. On the subversion of the Peishwa's Government, the most important of their public and secret correspondence were made over to him by Mr. Elphinstone, who was acting, under the orders of the Marquis of Hastings, as sole Commissioner for the Settlement of the conquered territory in the Deccan. Captain Henry Dundas, then Collector of Poona, with Mr. Elphinstone's sanction, allowed confidential Agents employed by him to have access to the mass of papers which were found in the apartments of the Peishwa's palaces. The Revenue and State accounts of the Mahratta Government were examined and extracted for him by Captain MacLeod, who was First Assistant to the Commissioner. 'The records of the Satara Government were in Grant Duff's own charge, and many original papers of historical importance, the existence of which was unknown to the Peishwas, were confided to him by the Raja. Grant Duff had, besides, free access to the records in the Bombay Secretariat and of the old Surat Factory. The Viceroy of Goa furnished him with extracts from the records of the Portuguese Government. The Court of Directors, too, allowed him partial access to the Records in the India Office in order to authenticate a variety of facts derived from purely Mahratta sources. Besides the important papers mentioned above, Grant Duff caused the records of temples and in private repositories to be searched for him, and family legends, Imperial tind Royal deeds, public and private correspondence and State papers in the possession of men once high in authority under the Poona Government, law suits, and law decisions and manuscripts of every description in Persian and Marathi which had any bearing on Mahratta History were procured from these quarters at great cost. Grant Duff states that upwards of one hundred of these manuscripts, some of them histories as voluminous as his own work, were translated for him. His personal acquaintance with many of the Mahratta Chiefs and with several of the great Brahmin families in the country, some of the members of which were actors in the events which he attempted to record, secured to him facilities which few historians could enjoy.

All these materials collected by him were deposited by'Grant Duff with the now defunct Literary Society of Bombay. When, however, the late

Mr. Justice Newton, and afterward Mr. Justice Telang, searched for them in the archives of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the successor of the Literary Society, they were not to be found anywhere in the library of that Society. The searches made elsewhere, too, have proved fruitless, and we have now only to live in hope that by some chance or accident this wealth of material which has remained hidden in the obscure corner of some State or private archive will once again see the light of day, and add to our first-hand knowledge of Mahratta history.

Grant Duff avowedly wrote for his own. countrymen, and it is natural that considering the materials made use of by him, none of them should have suspected that his narrative did not form the last word in the history of the Mahrattas. His work began to be read by the people of Maharashtra in the last quarter of the 19th century, when English began to be understood by those who had received education in the schools and colleges established in the province. A note of dissent gradually became audible that Grant Duff's narrative was not exhaustive in certain particulars and was inaccurate in places. For instance, Grant Duff has omitted an account of several of the expeditions and measures undertaken by the third Peishwa, Balaji Bajirao, personally or through his Agents during the eventful period from 1751 to 1761 and lent confirmation to the view put forward first by Mr. Elphinstone that that energetic Peishwa loved to stay at his capital in comparative indolence. As an instance of inaccuracy, we may mention the fact that setting aside the authority of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, he has given the date of the overthrow of the Moghul authority in Gujerat as 1755, whereas General "Watson and Mr. Raj wade have independently arrived at the conclusion that the correct date was 1753 as given in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi. Again, Grant Duff had not appreciated the inner meaning of Mahratta institutions. He had often seen only one side of the shield. He failed to grasp the real significance of the system of Mulkgiri adopted by the Mahrattas from their predecessors in the conquest of Hindusthan, *i.e.*, the Moghuls. According to an English writer, this system formed for ages a constitutional and regular method of enforcing the sovereignty of the country, and he has narrated how it was subject to certain fixed laws and provided for the maintenance of peace in the country laid under contribution. Not realising this aspect of the Mahratta system, Grant Duff has failed to apprehend correctly the great moral which the History of the Mahrattas possesses for all ages. He has, therefore, lent colour to the view prevalent until recently that the rise of the Mahrattas was due to fortuitous circumstances, and has compared this rise to the sudden conflagrations which often occur in the Sahyadri mountains. Mr. Justice Ranade has abundantly demonstrated how mistaken such a view is. It is needless, therefore, for me to deal with the point. What is more relevant to my subject is that the criticism which Grant Duff's history evoked served to create a patriotic interest in Mahratta history among the people of Maharashtra, and a band of earnest workers like Mr. Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar and Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayen Sane

came forward to collect and publish materials on which a more authentic and a more complete history of the Mahratta nation could be based. In the journal named *Kavyetihas Sangraha,* which they started, they published a number of Bakhars or Chronicles in Marathi preserved in the private collections of ancient families in Maharashtra, most of which had been used by Grant Duff for his work. About 42 such Bakhars have been published, and they narrate the histories of Shivaji and his successors, of the Peishwas, individually and collectively, and of some of their Sardars and Generals. A few relate to important battles such us those of Panipat and Kharda. There is a chronology called *Pant Pradhan Yanchi Shakavali.* The value of these Bakhars as original material is not, however, great. Most of them were written after the events, sometimes long after the events, by men who did not care for chronological sequence or accuracy of narrative or who could not resist the temptation to exaggerate. Of far greater importance, however, are certain original letters and Memoranda published in the *Kavyetihas Sangraha* and in other places. It is by means of such letters, etc., that the truth of the narratives given in the Bakhars is to be tested and the chronological sequence of the events described in them is to be corrected. About 500 such letters and Memoranda are printed in the *Kavyetihas Sangraha.* But a far greater collection of such materials has been produced by Mr. Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade in his 22 volumes of " *Marathynichya ltihasachi. sadhanen"* (Materials for the history of the Marattas). *20* of these volumes contain letters to or from personages who made Mahratta History what it is. They thus form contemporary records of the utmost historical value. The remaining two volumes (2nd and 4th) contain Bakhars and chronologies respectively. The editing of these 22 volumes so far as the printing of the texts of the various documents and arrangement in each individual volume go is most scholarly. But otherwise the collection exhibits no settled programme or chronological arrangement. The reason is that Mr. Rajwade printed the papers as and when he found them. The prefaces attached to some of these volumes (some contain no prefaces at all) are very critical, and most helpful for the study of the materials exhibited.

Of equal importance and much more methodical is the work of Mr. Vasudeo Waman Khare of Miraj—more methodical because he found the collection more or less in one place. He has brought out eleven volumes of letters covering 6,000 pages in print (Demi Octavo) from the Duftars of the great Patwardhan Chiefs of the Deccan. His work commences from January 1760 and has been brought down to February 1800, and he means to carry it on to 1818, the year in which the Peishwa's Government was overthrown. The letters printed with great care in these eleven volumes narrate the successive events as they happened from day to day in Maharashtra and in what is now the Madras Presidency, though some also refer to events in other parts of India. Much of this material has a bearing on the history of the Madras Presidency during the period covered. This will show how great

must be the value of this collection to students of Mahratta History from original sources.

Rao Bahadur Dattatraya Balwant Parasnis is another indefatigable worker in the field of historical research. He is well known to the public as the author of standard biographies of Bramhendra Swami, Ranis Laxmi Bai of Jhansi and Baija Bai of Gwalior and authoritative works on the chivalrous deeds of the Mahrattas, on the Nawabs of Oudh, the Navy of the Mahrattas, etc., in which he has used the inexhaustible historical material which he has been able to unearth by the labours of a life-time. But his work which is of greater interest to the historical student consists of the large collections of letters, Memoranda, Bakhars, etc,t published by him in his two monthly Magazines—the B*haratvarsha* and the *Itihas Sanyraha.* The first had a short career of two and the second of seven years from August 1907 to August 1916. The material printed in these two magazines is of great variety and interest. Volumes 10, 10 and 22 of Rajwade's materials were printed in the *Itihas Sangraha.* In the same Magazine, we find large collections of letters, mostly of the time of the younger Madhavrao, relating to events at Delhi, Jodhpur, Maheswar (the head-quarters of Holkar), Chinapatam (Madras) and other places. The correspondence of Ali Bahadur and the letters of Govindrao Kale, the Vakil of the Peishwas at the Court of the .Nizaim, of Purshottnm, Mahadcv Hingne and Lala Sevakram (the Peishwa's Vakil with Warren Hastings and Lord Convwallis) are also there. The chief source from which he drew such materials of rare historical value is the private collection of letters belonging to the great Minister Nana Fadnavis preserved in his Duftar at Menaoli. Rao Bahadur Parasnis says that about 7,000 original letters from out of this collection were taken by General Briggs to England with a view to writing a biography of that statesman, but that these are not now traceable anywhere. Rao Bahadur Parasnis' pictures of prominent persons who figured in Mahratta History are a great speciality, and it is mainly through his endeavours that we are able to know how these personages looked and dressed. Rao Bahadur Parasnis has founded a Museum at Satara, where he keeps the rare manuscripts, pictures, maps, coins and other relics collected by him. The great value of this museum to the historical student will be realised from the description of it as the " *Mecca of South Indian History* " by our friend Prof. Jadunath Sarkar. In short, whenever we speak of Historical research in Maharashtra, the name of Rao Bahadur Parasnis comes prominently to our mind.

Among other materials mention may be made of the works published tinder the auspices of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, a Society started in Poona with the object of advancing historical research. Most of the work hitherto done by this Society, however, falls into the category of poetical and literary research, rather than historical research. There are, however, many critical essays which are helpful to the study of History, and some documents of historical value have been published in the proceedings of the

Mandai. Some papers have also been published in such Magazines as Itiha and Aitihasik and Prabhat. It will interest the present audience to know that among the papers published in the last named Magazine is a Bakhar of the Bhosle Kings which is engraved on the stone walls of the Brihadishwar Temple at Tanjore in this Presidency. Prominent mention must also be made of the materials available in English in the monumental collections of Sir G. W. Forrest, Orme, Owen, etc. But with these,, as well as with the Persian sources, we are not concerned in this paper.

All the above material has been made available by the efforts of private individuals or groups of individuals. But, the Government of Bombay have not failed to add to it by permitting the Deccan Vernacular Translation Society, Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis and Sheth Purshottam Vishram Mavji to publish certain selections from the Poona Duftar prepared by the late Rao Bahadur G. C. Wad, Alienation Assistant to the Commissioner, Central Division. These consist of 9 volumes of the Diaries of the Satara Raja and of the Peishwas, and four other volumes as follows:—

1. Kaifiyats, Yadis, etc, containing historical accounts of certain families of renown in the Deccan and Southern Maratha Country under the Mahomedan and Maratha Governments (1908).
2. Decisions from the Shahu and Peishwa Duftars, containing Watau Patras, Nivad Patras, etc. (1909).
3. Sanads and Letters from the same (1913).
4. Treaties, Agreements and Sanads from the same (1914).

The Diaries contain summaries in English. Others have no such summaries.

The selections were prepared many years ago, and do not show that the compiler had the requirements of the Historical student in view. The Diaries contain many documents of no great use, while other important ones seem to have been omitted. The collection of treaties is not exhaustive and many important engagements have evidently been omitted. The editing, too, is not free from shortcomings. The Glossaries appended to some of the volumes are incorrect in places. As an extreme case, I may refer to Vol. VI of the Diaries, wherein the meaning of the word Mubarakbadi is given as "condolence"! Yet, the value of all these selections is naturally very great.

In this manner, has the loss sustained by the misplacement of the copies translations and original papers made use of by Grant Duff been retrieved in Maharashtra by private and Government endeavour.

In this manner has the less sustained by the misplacement of the copies, are more voluminous than those of Grant Duff, and it is possible to base thereon an authentic narrative of Mahratta History in all its aspects and to write correct biographies of the chief actors in the scene in the seventeenth and eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries. Attempts in this

direction are already being made. So early as in 1900, Justice Ranade based his " Rise of the Mahratta Power " on such material as was available ta him. Mr. Sardesai of Baroda has almost completed an exhaustive History of the Mahrattas in the Marathi language. Mr. C. A. Kincaid, M.V.O., and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis propose to bring out a History of the Mahrattas in 3 volumes of which two are already published. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar has made USG of the relevant portion of the Marathi materials mentioned for his works on Shivaji and Aurangzebe, and Prof. N. N. Sen has brought out a valuable work on the administrative system of the Mahrattas, Our friend Prof. B. K. Thakore wishes to recast his book on Madhaorao I in light of the new materials. Many excellent lives of Statesmen and Warriors like Nana Fadnavis, Mahadji Scindia, etc., have been published in Marathi, in which full use has been made of the latest information available.

But it is not easy to fully utilise this great mass of materials. It is scattered in innumerable books and often scores of volumes have to be consulted for the narrative of a single year's events. Moreover, most of this valuable material is in the Marathi language, This is a great handicap to scholars outside Maharashtra who do not know that language. Even scholars in Maharashtra often find a difficulty in understanding the language of the historical papers which differs in style and construction from modern Marathi. It is full of Persian words which have now gone out of vogue. Again, the deciphering of the Modi script in which all the documents are written, is a fruitful source of mistakes in the printed texts. These mistakes occur mostly in transliterating words taken from the Persian and names of places outside Maharashtra. Wazarat Maha for Wazarat Maab, Rahe Muski for Rah-i-Khushki, Jawapur for Nawapur, Batafata for Bawapyara, Surat in south Gujerat for Sorath in Kathiawar, Hankar for Halar are mistakes of this type. They mar the value of the publications and increase the difficulties of the inexperienced reader. Now that people outside Maharashtra have begun to take a genuine interest in the History of the Mahrattas, this state of things must, in my opinion, be improved. It is unfair for scholars from Madras, Bengal or the TJ. P. to be made to learn the Marathi language in order ta understand these materials. Maharashtra owes a duty to them in this respect. We may admire the patience of Professors J. N. Sarkar and N. N. Sen in learning the Marathi language in order to make use of the materials referred to for their works. But the time lost by them in doing so is a great national loss. It is, therefore, very necessary to make all these materials available for perusal and reference in English. All are almost agreed as to how this can best be done. The Bakhars or Chronicles can be translated into English and brought out on the model of Elliot and Dowson's Serial History of India as told by its own Historians. Prof. Sen has already made a beginning in this direction. He has under the auspices of the Calcutta University translated into English a Bakhar of Shivaji known as the *Sabhasad Bakhar* (which had formerly been translated by Mr. Mankar).

It is, however, not possible to edit the other records which mostly consist of letters, Memoranda, Treaties, Sanads, etc., in English in the same manner. They will have to be chronologically arranged, and a short abstract in English of each document will have to be given. The important documents alone can be published in a translated form *in exten&o.* Our friend Prof. B. K. Thakore suggested at the first meeting of this Commission that a source book on Mahratta History should be prepared. The idea is an excellent one, and has been referred by the Commission to the Government of Bombay for ascertaining what pecuniary assistance they would give. The work is, however, one that would be best done by the University of Bombay. A considered programme of the work to be done will have to be drawn up before undertaking it. But I fear that Prof. Thakore's idea to include all that is of first rate importance in about 6 volumes of 700 pages each will not be quite practicable.

Another suggestion that has been made in order to facilitate the use of these materials is to prepare an authoritative glossary of the Persian, Arabic, English, Portuguese, Gujerati, Hindi and Archaic Marathi words used (often in corrupt forms) in them. This is meant for the use of those who wish to study the papers in the original Marathi. But much time will be saved if this glossary is prepared along with the source book, as most of the subsidiary work done by those engaged on that book could be profitably utilised for it. The same may be said of the suggested Biographical Dictionary of persons who have figured in Mahratta History. A scheme for a source book should, therefore, preferably comprehend the preparation of the glossary of unintelligible words and the Dictionary of Biography.

Besides the above facilities, an elaborate index of the contents of the original records published is a great desideratum. Mr. G. S.Sardesai has prepared such an index in three or four parts in order to facilitate his own task. He is very kindly giving the public the benefit of his labours by publishing it in the Sahvichar quarterly, which is the organ of the Sahvicharini Sabha of Baroda.

But the index is in Marathi, and not, therefore, of much use to those who do not know that language. But a similar index in English can be prepared from it, when the source book is ready.

A most important measure to be undertaken in connection with these published records would be an attempt to collect together in one suitable building, the originals of such of the papers as are not in the custody of Government or of Indian States. In passing, I may add that most of these papers would not require any extraordinary care for their preservation, now fhat their value is realised by their proud possessors. They probably are written on Ahmedabadi or Muradshahi Indian paper, which resists the effects of time to a greater degree than any other paper. The ink too in which they are written is unique so far as preservation of impression goes. I have seen treaties consisting of English, Persian and Marathi counterparts written in

juxtaposition, in which the ink of the English version has faded considerably while that of the Marathi or Persian engrossment is yet almost bright. Turning again to the project of collecting the materials in one place, the difficulty is in inducing the owners of these rare documents to part with their possession of the same. Many suggest Governmental action in acquiring such papers in the public interest and taking steps to preserve them. But this is hardly possible or expedient. In the Bombay Presidency, there is no law similar to Regulation IX of 1822 of this (Madras) presidency, Section 9 of which is said to give some powers over records of public use in private custody. Apart from this, the records have remained in the possession of their present owners for more than a century. They can, therefore, be permanently assembled and preserved in one building only by the courtesy and with the consent of their owners, who must be given the most unqualified assurance that their proprietary right over these treasures will not in ony way bo affected by the arrangement. It behoves the leading historical scholia's in Maharashtra to concert measures towards this laudable object. Rao Bahadur Parasnis has already. founded a Historical Museum at Satara, and such an institution may well form the nucleus of the proposed repository. The Rao Bahadur has given reasons why such an institution should be in Satara. But, from a broader point of view, Poona would obviously be the best place for it. The Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandai can be trusted to carry on the management in the utmost interest of historical research. Part of the funds collected for the Shivaji Memorial founded by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales cannot be better utilised than for facilitating the starting and maintenance of such an institution.

These considerations apply with equal force to the records which though discovered remain yet unpublished, including the few volumes of selections from the Poona records, which are ready, but have not so far been printed. But the work of the future mainly concerns the unexplored portion of the Poona Duftar. This Duftar, as you may be aware, consists mainly of the original Marathi records of the Peishwa's administration, which were taken over by the British Government at the time of the Conquest. From Captain MacLeod's report dated 15th September 1819, we find that after the occupation of Poona in November 1817, the records were found in different places in a state of the utmost disorder, but, considering all circumstances, tolerably complete for a period of 88 years, *i.e.*, from A.D. 1729 up to 1817 A.D., with the exception of a blank of about seven years from 1757 to 1763, of which moat records were burnt when Poona was taken by the Moghuls. About the contents of the records MacLeod states: —

" The general contents of the Duftar under the Peishwas may be described as follows:—*viz.*, all accounts rendered to the Government of the revenue and expenditure of the districts, with the settlements of them by Government : -the accounts of districts rendered by the hereditary district officers: and those of villages by the village officers, of farms, of customs, etc.,

accounts of all alienations of the public revenue, whether Surinjam, Inam, or otherwise: of the pay, rights, and privileges of the Government and village officers: accounts of the strength and pay of troops, and the expenses of all civil, military, and religious establishments. In the Rozkirds were registers of all revenue transactions generally, together with all grants and payments, and more particularly the accounts of all contributions and ex* actions levied on foreign States: The whole of which were considered and exhibited in one comprehensive view in the Turjumas.* * *"

We have also another report made in 1826 by Mr. W. Chaplin, who succeeded Mr. Elphinstone as Commissioner of the Decean, from which we can indirectly judge of the wealth of material contained in the Duftar. Both these reports and the subsequent writings of officers like Bell, Goldsmid, Mills and Col. Etheridge show that, from the beginning, officers of the Government of Bombay realised the great value of the Duftar. But all these papers also show that importance was attached to the Duftar by Government and its officers only because it contained authoritative information which would assist them in dealing with claims to rent-free lands and cash allowances. In most of these papers, the Poona Duftar has been mentioned in connection with the work of the Inam Commission. Even the selections hitherto printed were prepared by the Alienation Assistant, and his hand is descerniblc in them. Though Grant Duff derived some information for his work from the Duftar, the care that was bestowed on its preservation was due to its containing the means of safeguarding the interests of Government and of the Public revenue.

Since the Duftar was first taken over, it has not undergone any diminution to speak of; but, on the other hand, has been considerably added to. A few papers seem to have been stolen within two months of the accession of the British Government. The Duftar is said to have originally consisted of 14,661 Roomals or Bundles, of which about 2,875 Roomals were transferred to the different collectorates as containing records of local use. These probably have been since re-transferred to the Poona Duftar. Besides the Roomals referred to above, we find mention of seven or eight rooms nearly filled with papers laid in a heap upon the floor which the Amanatdars appointed in 1835 stated to be papers of no importance, or else fragments of papers which could not be arranged. A Committee appointed in 1839 examined some of these, and gave their opinion that, although they were then in a state of confusion, yet care and trouble would probably restore many useful documents to a perfect state, and that, excluding these, all others should be destroyed. The Agent for the Sardars who was the officer in charge of the records was not impressed with the possibility of finding any important papers in this unassorted mass, and recommended to Government that they should be either entirely burnt or sold away after a cursory examination. Such a proposal did not naturally meet with the approval of Government, who directed that the Amanatdars should gradually look over

these papers with the assistance of the ordinary establishment of the Duftar, however long a period this process might occupy. We need not fear, therefore, that anything of importance has been lost to us. Officers in charge of records are very slow to destroy papers and even allow records to accumulate in spite of reprimands. It must have been owing to some " glorious disobedience " of this kind, on the part of some officer of the Poona Duftar, that Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, when he was first admitted into the Duftar, found about 200 volumes awaiting destruction **from** which he could select about 10,000 letters of great value.

Mr. Kindersley mentions the following as the chief subsequent additions to the Poona Duftar:—

(1) The records of the Poona Resident up to 1818.
(2) The Decean Commissioner's Records (1818-1826).
(3) The records of the Agent for Sardars up to 1856.
(4) The Duftar of the Angrias of Kolaba (1790-1840).
(5) The Konkan Duftar from Ratnagiri (1754-1818).
(6) The Duftar of the Satara Rajas (1703-1840).
(7) The records of the Satara Resident (1818-1848).
(8) Certain Karnatic and Gujerat records.
(9) The Jamao Duftar, or papers collected by the Inam Commission.

The additions, it will be seen, are of gieat value, and the whole of the Poona records have come to us as a great heritage preserved by the Government of Bombay with as jealous a care as that of a miser in preserving his hoard. Experts are agreed that the examination of this Duftar will yield most valuable results. At the session of this Commission held at Delhi, Mr. Sardesai moved that the Government of Bombay should allow a Committee of Scholars to examine the Duftar, and the proposal is being considered by the Government of Bombay. In connection with this proposal, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay stated that his Government had every desire to facilitate Historical research. We are thus on the eve of a great addition to our first-hand knowledge relating to the History of the Mahrattas, and we must be ready to turn this prospective addition to the best advantage. For this purpose, we must profit by the lessons of the past, and obviate any necessity of having to do the work over again. The work should be done from an All-India point of view. It can best be done by the Government of Bombay by appointing a trained historical scholar to study the records purely from a historical standpoint and to publish them in an approved form. This Commission can do no greater service to the cause of Historical research than by using their good offices with the Government of Bombay in making some such arrangement.

And Ladies and Gentlemen, I have an appeal to make to you also, and, through this Commission, to the larger audience to whose notice this paper **may** come. Hitherto Scholars in Maharashtra have catered **for** the needs of their own Province. It is only latterly that the view that the History **of the** Mahrattas has lessons of abiding interest for all nationalities alike, has found acceptance, and it is, therefore, that facilities for research of the nature I have indicated have become necessary. Scholars like Professors Sarkar and Sen are taking interest in the study of this History. But a much wider interest must be awakened before these facilities can come into existence. The law of demand and supply comes into play here also. T, therefore, exhort you to take a keener interest in the doings of your brethren in Maharashtra in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and thus assist in the cause of historical research which is dearest to us all.

Some Currency Reforms of Hastings.

(By J. C. Sinha, M.A.)

Currency always a voxed question.

The problem of currency is even at the present day the despair of administrators in India. It must have been much more perplexing to their predecessors 150 years ago. The science of Money was then in its infancy. The servants of the East India Company had but an imperfect acquaintance with it. But they had to face currency questions of great complexity. As expected, the Imperial Records at Calcutta throw considerable light upon this topic. Only a few of the many interesting facts to be found in these Records can be briefly stated in this short paper.

Its chaotic state in under the Mahomedans.

Under the Mahomedans, Bengal had no uniform currency though the silver rupee was the chief measure of value. On the eve of the British rule there were three mints in the province, at Patna, Dacca and Murshidabad. The rupees coined in these mints were treated as different species of coins. Even the rupees issued from the same mint in different years did not exchange at par. This was due to the imposition of a discount or *batta* on coins, depending upon the period of their use. This discount was charged by the shroffs even on old coins *which had not deteriorated at all.* The favourable balance of her trade brought into Bengal a large number of rupees issued from mints in other parts of India. Arcot rupees of Madras circulated freely in Chittagong and Dacca. Gradually some of these species became the established currency of each district, and other kinds of rupees coming into the district were either rejected or only received at a discount. To add to the currency trouble of the province, most of the coins in circulation were in different stages of debasement. This chaotic state continued right up ta the time of Warren Hastings.

India Office Consultation 1771, a copy of which is to be found in the Imperial Records, shows that the first attempt to have uniform currency in Bengal was the Regulation of 26th August 1771, according to which the siccas struck in 1770 and after, were all to pass as siccas of the current year. This was only a few months before Hastings became the Governor of Bengal. The Regulation however, proved a dead letter, as it did not make any provision for marking all future siccas with one invariable date. Hastings saw that the first step towards uniform currency was to maintain the standard weight and fineness of the sicca rupee and to abolish the discount on coins of previous years.

Regulation of 1771, aimed against *batta,* proved ineffectual.

In paragraph 7 of the letter from the Mint Committee, dated the 4th August 1792, it is stated that " in 1773 the Patna, Dacca and Murshidabad mints were abolished. This measure had the same object in view as the Regulation of 1771. It was hoped that by keeping open only the Calcutta Mint and by continuing the 19 *sun* (year) upon all rupees which might be subsequently coined, the 19 sun sicca would become the general currency. This arrangement, however, so far from producing the desired effect appears to have increased the disorders in the Currency." Paragraph 3 of the letter indicates that Hastings also enacted in the same year the important measure that all future issues of rupees should bear one date, *viz.,* the 19th year of the reign of Shah Alum. This date (1773) of the abolition of the minta and of the 19 *sun* measure, as given by the Mint Committee, has been repeated by subsequent writers.

Error in Mint Committee's Report repeated by subsequent writers.

But a careful examination of the Imperial Records leads one to the conclusion that the date is wrong.

I have not been able to trace any paper except the letter of the Mint Committee already referred to, dealing with the actual date of the closing of the mints at Patna and Dacca. Mr. C. Keating, Superintendent of the Murshidabad Mint said in his letter of the 10th January, 1776 that he did not know when the Patna and Dacca mints were abolished. But a letter from the Chief and Council at Patna dated the 7th May, 1772 shows that the Patna mint had already been closed. It appears also from 0. C. 4 of May 4 and 0. C. 7 of May 22, 1775* that both the Dacca and Patna mints were closed at the time. Though 0. C. 5 and 14 of June 19, 1775 seem also to suggest that the Murshidabad mint had been closed in 1775, this is definitely negatived by the letter of Mr. Keating dated the 1st May, 1777. In this he says that in obedience to the orders of the Governor General and Council of the 7th April of that year, " the coinage of gold mohurs was immediately discontinued. The coinage of rupees was continued up to the 30th ultimo."

It is not clear whether coinage at Murshidabad was solely on Government account from the year 1773. In any case it is certain that Hastings's

No single mint till April 30, 1777.

* O. C. stands for Original Consultation, Imperial Records.

Current date for the 19th *sun* measure inaccurate.

plan of a single mint for Bengal became an accomplished fact not in .1773 but after the 30th April 1777.

There is also much confusion as regards the time when the practice of one invariable date, the 19th year of Shah Alum, on sicca rupees was first introduced. It appears to me that this practice was not introduced in 1773 at all. So far as I know, there is no paper relating to this important measure among the Public Department Records of 1773 in the Imperial Record Office. Nor is there any mention of it in Colebrooke's *Digest of Bengal Regulations.* The year 1773 again could not possibly be the 19th year of the reign of Shah Alum. His father Emperor Alamgir II was assassinated on the 28th November, 1759, and even if there was no interregnum, the 19th year of Shah Alum's reign could begin with 1778 A.D. at the very earliest. Harrington suggested that there was probably a mistake about the date 1773.*{Analysis,* Vol. 2, p. 609, footnote.)

India Office Records and coins at the British Museum.

A few months ago, I enquired about this matter of Mr. S. C. Hill, formerly Keeper of Imperial Records, Calcutta and of Mr. Foster, Keeper of Records at the India Office. Mr. Foster has.kindly searched for me [he India Office Records for the year 1773, but he has not come across any orders of the kind referred to by the Mint Committee. Mr. Allan, the well-known expert on Indian coins, has done me the favour of examining the set of coins (probably a complete set) in the British Museum. He writes that there is no sicca of the 19th *sun* before 1778 and that all the siccus coined from 1778 to 1791 though marked 19th *sun* bear the correct Hijra date.

Faliurt of the Regulation.

It seems that the practice of marking all siccas with the 19th year was probably introduced by the fourth article of Hastings's Regulation of 29th May, 1777, though it did not actually lay down that the date of rupees then to be coined, was to be retained in future. This Regulation is in fact the first measure of Warren Hastings *to* attain uniform currency in Bengal. Strangely enough, this important Regulation has not been discussed by any writer. Colebrooke includes it in his Digest but his date is inaccurate. Like the previous Regulation of 1771 this also failed to accomplish its object. For, even as late as 1793, there were at least 27 kinds of rupees including the 19th *sun* sicca circulating in the province.

Paper Currency.

Three years later, Hastings proposed a Paper Currency. The following interesting draft of an advertisement is to be found in the Records: —

Curious Advertisement.

" Whereas the Governor General and Council did cause to be deposited in New Fort William in the month of June 1777, a sum in treasure equal to thirty lacs of Sicca Rupees for the purpose of answering extraordinary Exigencies, in the event of any interruptions happening to the Collections of the Publick Revenue, from War or any other great calamity, and have continued the same in Deposit to this time and whereas it is their desire to perpetuate this Fund for the said purposes, and at the same time to remedy the Publick inconveniences, which have arisen or may arise to the Govern-

ment and Commerce of these Provinces, from the want of so considerable a portion of the Current Specie thus withdrawn from **Circulation**— **They** do hereby give publick notice, that it is their intention to issue notes from their Treasury either for ready money which shall be tendered, or in payment of demands on the Treasury, to such persons as may chuse to receive them in lieu of ready money, which notes shall be signed by the Governor General and Council and sealed with the Seal of the Company, and be made payable on demand, either to the Bearer or order, at the Option of the parties receiving them, and shall be granted for any respective sum, not less than 100 Current nor more than 10,000 Current Rupees—The Deposit in the New Fort William will remain as a Security for their collective amount. The form of the notes will be as follows: —

Form of a Note payable to Bearer.

Form of proposed Notes.

No.

Seal of the Company. Calcutta. th, 1780.

We, the Governor General ,and Council of Fort William, do, on behalf of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies —promise to pay at our Treasury in Calcutta on Demand to. . . . . .or Bearer, the sum of Current Rupees. . . . .for value received.

* " or order " in case the Note was payable to Order."

This is probably the curliest scheme of Government paper Currency in thiy country. The deposit of 30 lacs in the new Fort was to win and keep public confidence in notes issued by a foreign company. This would act as a psychological reserve. It seems that there was to be an additional reserve of 66 per cent, against the notes actually issued to the public. No safer scheme of paper money ensuring full convertibility could be devised. From this abundance of caution, what a great change in our days! It is not clear whether this plan of paper currency was actually given effect'to by Hastings.

Ample Reserves.

In 1781 copper was introduced as subsidiary currency in Bengal. Prior to this, *cowries* were used for all small transactions. As late as 1776, even the revenue in Sylhet was estimated in cowries. The Company entered into a contract with one Mr. Prinsep for the supply of copper coins. On the 24th September 1781, the Governor General in Council notified that " in order to establish it as a necessary division of a sicca rupee, and a convenient medium of exchange between silver and cowries in the purchase of common necessities of life ", four kinds of copper coins would be issued. It was also stated that these copper pieces would be received at the Treasury to the extent of ten rupees in every thousand. (0. C. 28, September 24, 1781. This O. C. is in print.) These new coins did not meet with popular favour. They had a tendency to come back to the Treasury, and this must **have been due** to **their over**-valuation.

Copper money not a success owing to over-valuation.

Reasons for failure in currency

Thus in spite of his elaborate efforts Hastings was unsuccessful in **all** his currency reforms. If the sicca rupee was to be made the only current coin of the country, he should not have shrunk from the heavy cost of re-coinage. But his unwillingness or inability to incur this essential expenditure led to the adoption of a half-hearted policy—a mere tinkering with the currency—which only intensified the hardship of those who were the least able to bear it. It may be noted that at this very time the entire gold currency of England was being recoined at state expense, and arrangement had been made by an Act of 1774 for the regular recoinage of the light coins of that country.

Company's policy.

If Hastings and his masters had looked at the currency problem of Bengal, not from the narrow standpoint of a foreign trading concern, they could have conferred on the people a blessing which they had not enjoyed in 'the palmiest days of the Mughal Empire. The Company itself would also have been directly and indirectly benefited to a considerable extent. From the point of view of traders, the problem of Bengal Currency in those days was similar to the problem of International Exchange of to-day. Bengal was then divided, as it were, into different groups with different currencies, and the fluctuating exchange among these groups caused considerable loss in trade. The English East India Company was at that time the chief trader in the country. The Company would undoubtedly have been the greatest gainer in the long run by properly carrying out a measure which would have stabilised the exchange. But this broader outlook was wanting, and Bengal had to wait for a decade more, in order to secure the benefit of *a uniform currency.

Famine relief in Madras 150 Years Ago.

(By S. V. Chari.)

The subject of this paper relates to the period between 1770 and 1800, remarkable for famines in the Carnatic, which on account of their frequency and virulence mark this period as one ,of the most dismal epochs in the history of the Carnatic. Only fragmentary accounts are found in the Imperial Records relating to this period, and it is difficult to obtain a connected record. The materials used in this paper are collected from many volumes, letters, proceedings, etc., of the Public Department between the years 1770—1800. The year 1782 witnessed one of the most acute famines in the Carnatic and it also witnessed the birth of a social organisation, perhaps one of the earliest if not the earliest in the history of the Madras Settlement. It is with regard to this organisation founded for the relief of famine that this paper deals mainly. This organisation has not been mentioned by Mr. Dodwell in his " Report on the Madras Records " obviously for lack of connected information regarding an institution, which had its origin at a period during which the Carnatic

was a hot bed of internal wars. It played a long and glorious part in **the** Madras Settlement and must therefore be of considerable value in the social and economic history of the early days of the East India Company. Its composition—which was entirely unofficial—furnishes a striking example of the close co-operation that marked the relations of the European settlers and the native inhabitants of Madras in those days. Its object being the relief of distress consequent on a devastating war between Hyder Ali and the English, the measures adopted at such a remote period furnish an excellent idea of the economic and social aspects of famine relief in Tndia at a period, when the absence of railways and telegraph in the country rendered contact between the different provinces a problem of no ordinary difficulty. I may incidentally refer here to the references made to the humanitarian work done by the Christian Missionaries of the Madras Settlement, whose mission of help during periods of fire, flood, famine or any widespread calamity forms one of the brightest pages in the history of British India. The solicitude of the East India Company's Governor and his Council for the success of these relief measures, their efforts to supplement private charity by official aid to cure the ills of unemployment and consequent starvation, the generous response from Bengal and Bombay are interesting features of this movement. The minutes entered in the consultations of proceedings of the Council in those days in discussing controversial matters furnish an indication of not only a full and free discussion but also the motives underlying every proposal.

The organisation I am referring to in this paper was known as "the Committee for the management of the native Poor Fund in Madras." That this Committee was in existence even earlier than 1782 is evidenced by the following fact. During the war with Hyder Ali in 1782, an order was issued by the Government of Madras that all buildings within a certain distance of the Black Town wall should be "thrown down". The place called the " Monegar Choultry " had previous to that order been allowed by its proprietor to be appropriated to the accommodation of the numerous paupers whom the miseries of the war, aggravated by those of famine, had driven to the presidency town. At the instance of the Poor Fund Committee and " in consideration, of the useful and benevolent purpose " to which the Choultry was applied, the Government was pleased to admit an exception in the case of the Monegar Choultry. The Choultry had after that period continued to be occupied by such paupers, as were not in a condition to obtain the necessaries of life.

In the year 1782, a general subscription was raised for the relief of the dreadful famine with which the Carnatic was afflicted during the war with Hyder in 1782 and the relief of the native poor of this settlement. It was most liberally encouraged as well at Madras, as by the Supreme Government, and inhabitants of Calcutta. A Committee for the appropriation of the money thus subscribed was elected consisting of the ministers, and Church wardens for the time being, together with some of the most respectable Bri-

tish, Portuguese, Armenian, and native inhabitants of Madras. Under the management of this Committee the funds of the charity were applied to the purchase of all the grain which could possibly be procured. Many thousands of distressed natives found immediate relief and upwards of 2,000 remained, and for the space of several months, were daily fed at the Monegar Choultry. The first number of the minutes of this Committee containing their proceedings from 1782 to 1784 are, with some other papers said to have been in the possession of one Mr. Andrew Ross, " a zealous and reliable member of the .Committee ". After the death of Mr. Ross, enquiries were made respecting them but did not lead to their discovery.

The institution of the Poor Fund was, it is found, not only intended to relieve famine but also to form the nucleus of many of the charitable asylums that are in existence at the present day. By the treaty of peace with Tipu Sultan in 1784, it was stipulated that the natives of the Carnatic, who, during the war of 1782, had been carried captive into Mysore, should be allowed to return to their own country but the encouragement afforded to these people by Tipu to settle in the kingdom of Mysore on the one hand and the difficulties arising from the want of adequate means to return, as well as the exhausted and uninviting state of their own native provinces on the other, rendered the benefits of this stipulation nugatory. As an object of great public utility the Poor Fund Committee were earnestly solicitous to remove these impediments and Mr. Dighton, then Superintendent of the Company's Jaghir in Mysore received *at various* times during the years 1784, 1785 and 1786 large sums of money—it was 2,800 pagodas at one time—for distribution among the ryots, weavers, etc.

" Donations thus judiciously distributed in money or implements of husbandry, had the effect of inspiring with new life and hopes numbers of helpless and desponding beings, of restoring many valuable manufactures to the Company and finally of contributing to the recovery of those provinces from the desolate and depopulated state into which they were thrown by the combined evils of war and famine."

On the establishment of the asylum for female orphans under the auspices of Lady Campbell in 1786, the assistance of the Committee, to promote that benevolent institution, was solicited and an amount of 6,000 pagodas was given. In 1788, when a male asylum for the Military on the East Coast was established a sum of 8,000 pagodas was earmarked for it and the interest therefrom utilised for the asylum. In 1788, Bengal was threatened with famine. The Committee forwarded 822 bags of rice to Bengal and although further supplies were arranged, these were happily rendered unnecessary by the removal of every apprehension of scarcity.

In 1792, the attention of the Committee was directed to the means of affording accommodation and subsistence to people in distress, many of whom had been compelled to seek refuge at Madras from " the outrages of a party of predatory horsemen belonging to the enemy. The rest were those who had

emigrated from the Northern Circars, which at that period were **a prey** to **a** desolating famine" In 1799, the Committee again contributed 400 pagodas to the Native Infirmary projected by Mr. Underwood.

Although not connected with the subject of famines, I may here refer to an interesting field of this Committee's activity. Until the introduction of vaccination into India, it was the practice to inoculate for the small pox. In order to encourage inoculation among the natives, the Committee offered a reward of one pagoda to the parents of each child that should be inoculated during that season at Madras in 1801.

The last time mention is made of this Committee is in the years 1806-1807. It was at that period when the province of Madras was suffering from the effects of the failure of the seasonal rains in 1806. Referring to this period, the following passage occurs:

" The extensive territory lying between the Kistna and the Coleroon had sustained almost an entire privation of this chief source of fertility and plenty. Apprehensions of a future famine gave rise to an immediate artificial scarcity. The price of grain became enhanced and numbers deprived of their accustomed agricultural employments, resorted to the presidency in the hope of obtaining a livelihood by other exertions of their industry."

The measures adopted for raising funds were many. Private benefactions were asked for, A charity sermon was preached at St. Mary's Church and collections made. Appeals for subscription were sent to Calcutta and Bombay. The Government determined to afford employment to all those who were able to work both at Madras and throughout the affected districts. Referring to this action of the Government, the Committee said in one of their minutes: —

" This wise resolution, while it tended to relieve the Poor Fund from the obligation the Committee otherwise would have conceived themselves under and affording these poor creatures the means of subsistence, restrained in a great measure emigrations to the presidency town and thousands were usefully and advantageously employed who must either have perished from want or proved burdensome to the community. The pay which they received while it was adequate to their support, was so far below the ordinary rate of labour as to prove that the benevolence of Government would not be liable to abuse and that those only would avail themselves of its liberality who were objects of compassion and unable to obtain employment elsewhere."

An idea of the extent of the relief undertaken by the non-official public may be gained from the fact that in 1807, about 4,050 men, women and children were fed daily at the Monegar Choultry, and in the vicinity of the powder mills. The amount of the fund at one time was 18,343 pagodas, 26 fanams and 49 cash.

Among the names on the Committee are noticed the following:-

R. H. Kerr.		John D'Fries.
E. Vaughan.	J.	D'Monte.
W. Webb.		John Shamier.
J. Baker.		Natty Andah Chitty.
J. Tullop.		Arnachellum Chitty.

It was during this year *(1807)* that Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, became patron of the Poor Fund.

During the severe famine of 1807, the Poor Fund Committee requisitioned supplies of grain from Bengal Government and these were brought in the ships of the Company. According to a detailed statement of relief given in March 1807, the number of poor fed was 5,147 men, 8,906 woman and 11,814 children or in all a total number of 25,867 souls at a cost of about 760 pagodas. The measures adopted by the Government were numerous. The engineering department of the Company were ordered to carry out new works in order to give employment to as many as could work. They purchased rice at the exorbitant rate of 110 pagodas per garce (a garce was equal to 300 marakkals). That even these measures should be considerably increased was pressed on the Governor by Mr. Thomas Oakes, a member of the Council, in a minute which reads: —

" The increasing number of famished objects requires larger means that it (Poor Fund) possesses and places should be multiplied at which rice should be distributed. All doubt of this fact must be removed by the wretched spectacles of misery which present themselves in every street of Black Town and neighbouring villages—numbers die daily for want of food and the calamity rapidly increases. I would therefore beg leave to propose, subject to any better mode of relief that can be devised, that in each of the principal streets of the Black Town, a small house be hired and a certain quantity of boiled rice and conjee be distributed to such persons as evidently require that assistance for the support of life. One bag of rice will subsist 100 persons for one day—by this may be calculated the extensive benefit that might be diffused at a comparatively small expense. The exigency is so pressing that not a day should be lost in adopting this or some other plan of relief in which the policy, no less than the humanity of Government is deeply interested.

The proposal was only partly accepted by Lord William Bentinck, who, however, objected to the proposition to serve out rice in every street on the following grounds mentioned in his minute:

" 1 . That the expenditure is out of all control—it may be given to the undeserving as well as the deserving. The same persons who may be fed in the streets will be again fed in the Choultry.

2. That it would increase to a great extent the swarms of beggars already too numerous in the Black Town. By which reason, while the poor are fed,

the town is still encumbered with them and another consequence Is that those who will go to the Monegar Choultry and return again to beg in the streets, occupy the private charity that might be extended to those who from superior caste may be unwilling to go to the Choultry."

It may be mentioned in this connection that Lord William Bentinck was keen on retrenchment. He was even censured by the Court of Directors for this reason as the following letter written by him will show. The original of this letter is preserved in an album of autograph letters in the Government House, Madras. It was exhibited in the Historical Exhibition held at Madras during the sittings of the Historical Records Commission with the permission of His Excellency Lord Willingdon. The letter reads:—

" The abruptness of my removal from the office of President of the Council of Fort St. George prevents me from personally presenting to the Board the remaining propositions respecting the general reduction of the establishments as well as some other subjects which have undergone much of my consideration and which it was my intention to have submitted to Council. Notwithstanding the condemnation that my services have received from the Hon'ble Court of Directors, no circumstances ought and I hope ever will release me from the obligations by which every Englishman is bound to his and by which in particular am bound to the East India Company, never to relax in my humble endeavours to promote their interests ********** "

(Sd.) W. Bentinck.
(Fort St. George.
Sept. 11, 1807).

The minute of Lieutenant-General J. F. Cradock, then Commander-ip • Chief of the Madras Army is a remarkable document for the pure and generous sentiments expressed and I have extracted it below in full:—

[11] This most interesting subject of all others, the relief of the poor at a season of extremity, demands the attention of every person and more especially of those, who make a part of the Government. Though I know, that it has been the subject of conversation with each member, yet I am much gratified by the Minutes of the Right Hon'ble the President and Mr. Oakes, in circulation, as they cannot fail to lead to the adoption of the best measures, that can be pursued upon a point of so much importance..

I have already expressed my opinion, that the special means of relief should be applied to the interior for I belive, it is admitted on all sides, that the objects, who appear in the greatest distress, or those, who resign their being before our view, at Madras, come from thence. It therefore seems to me, that no problem in mathematics is more clear, than that assistance should be transported to the places from whence these unfortunate persons emigrate: I must allow, that this will occasion some expense, but I am

persuaded that no cold calculation will be held justifiable while the lives of our fellow subjects are at stake.

On the consideration of the present subject, it should always be kept in view—that Government possesses the means to keep these people from starving " they have the rice." It is no famine where resignation to the calamity is all that can be exercised—what is now required is ingenuity, good management and some experience—the latter, within proper bounds, cannot, in my opinion for a moment weigh, as there is no person so'uninstructed in policy or human nature in any country, as not to feel to what amount, in the affections and respect of the People Government will ever gain, by happy exertions, upon such a subject, as the present.

I take the liberty to repeat my opinion against any reliance being placed upon a meeting of the subscribers to the private charity for truly efficacious measures, the received idea that " what is the business of every person, becomes that of no one" must ever prevail. I therefore anxiously incline to the appointment of a special committee of the most approved characters, at the earliest moment, to consider and adopt, under the sanction of Government the measures that appear iminently necessary and such as partake of the spirit of a great and enlightened state."

Robert Orme and Colin Mackenzie—Two Early Collectors of Manuscripts and Records.

(By Professor C. S. Srinivasachariar, M.A.)

Robert Orme (1728—1801.)

Robert Orme, who has been denominated the British Thucydides and the Father of Oriental History,* was born in 1728 at Anjengo, the southernmost English factory on the Malabar Coast celebrated also as the birth-place of Sterne's Eliza. He was the son of Dr. Alexander Orme, Physician and Surgeon in the Bombay Service who subsequently rose to be chief of that settlement. Young Robert was taken to England even as a babe and sent to Harrow when only 6 years of age. In 1741 he became an apprentice in the office of the African Company with a view to getting acquainted with mercantile accounts. In the next year, though but 14 years of age, Orme was sent to Calcutta where he entered the house of Jackson and Wedderburn, a prominent firm at that time. After a year's stay at the counting-house, Orme entered the Company's service as a writer. He was from the first, unlike the average writer of those days, ardently devoted to a close study of the institutions, manners and customs of the people. He began to write as early as 1751—52, when he composed the first and second books of his

*** J. Forbes—*Orient al Memoirs*—Vol. I. (1834), p. 215.**

" General Idea of the Government and People of Indostan " which was later on published in his *Historical Fragments* (1782). This first essay formed, according to Orme's anonymous biographer, " the germ or foundation of his greater work."* His intimate knowledge of the Indian habits and character secured quickly a reputation for him; and in 1752 the Calcutta Council desired him, though he was then only 24, to set down his views on the reform of the police and municipal administration of the Presidency.

In the course of his first visit to England (1753—54) Orme was much sought after by those persons whose interest in India had been roused by the recent triumphs of the English in the Carnatic. Lord Holdernesse, one of His Majesty's Secretaries of State, had a long correspondence with him extending over several years, on the subject of the Eastern settlements of the English. Part of this correspondence is now preserved among the *Orme Manuscripts* in the India Office,† Orme's views as regards the terms of a satisfactory and final peace with the French may be compared, as Mr. Hill suggests, with the paper describing his opinion on the idea of a final treaty with the French drawn up in 1761, at the request and with the assistance of Lord Clive and sent up by him to Earl Bute. ‡ Orme had consistently maintained that even as early as 1749, there was evidence to show that the French were definitely animated by imperial ambitions.§ It was his persuasion of Lord Holdernesse that enabled the British ministry to perceive the necessity of interfering vigorously to stop the ambitious projects of Dupleix. The same attitude of determined prosecution of hostilities is observed throughout his work.

Orme returned to India in the course of 1754, having been appointed to a membership of the Council of Fort St. George. When news reached Madras of the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-Daula, it was Orme who convinced the Council that nothing short of the most vigorous hostilities would induce the Nawab to make peace or proper reparation. It was again Orme that secured with the generous support of Colonel Lawrence the appointment, to the command of the expedition, of Clive " as the person in all respects best qualified for the undertaking. " In all the deliberations of the Madras Council relating to military operations between 1754 and 1759, Orme took an active part. His abilities were so warmly appreciated by the Directors that they appointed him to the succession to the Governorship. His superior literary abilities, rendered acuter still by his close study of classical literature, were utilised by the Council; and he was frequently called upon to draft important public letters.|| In this capacity he was, after his retirement to England, of great use to Clive and to the Court of Directors; while the

* Page IX, Memoir of Orme in the *Historical Fragments* (1805).

† *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the European Languages in the India Office,* Vol. II, Part I. The *Orme Collection* by S.C. Hill (1916): pp. 24-29-(17 Orme Manuscripts O. V.).
X Ibid, p. 281 (II, 53, Orme Manuscripts India).

§ *(Catalogue of Manuscripts in the European Languages in the India Office,* Vol. II, Part I. *The Orme Collection* by S. C. Hill (1916), p. 282.

|| *Vide* p. 289 Hill's *Cat. The Orme Collection* (58, 59 of Orme Manuscripts India).

inscriptions on **the** monuments to Colonel Lawrence and Sir Eyre Coote were composed by him.* Orme was proud of his literary abilities and his friends played upon his vanity by dubbing him Cicero. He was a kindly and generous friend; and his *History* as well as his private correspondence shows " how quickly he was fired to admiration by any tale of gallantry or daring-whether its subject was English, French or Indian."† His regard for General Bussy was reciprocated by that able commander who supplied our historian with copies of his various marches in the Nizam's territory and with particulars of other military and political transactions of his period of command in India. One of his letters dated July 4th, 1757‡ praises the great military reputation of Yusuf Khan, the able native conmandant, and describes an instance of his great gallantry; in another place, in the course of a letter to Lord Holdernesse Orme wrote of Yusuf Khan as " the bravest among the sons of Muhammad in India ". There is not seen much of personal bias in his works; nor do we see any unpleasant animus displayed by him against the French in whose hands he was actually a prisoner for some time. He always wrote of Dupleix with great respect, though he rejoiced, naturally enough, in the downfall of the ablest and most dangerous enemy of English dominion in India. Such impartial writing as was his, was rare in an age when vituperation was the rule and was largely indulged in by bis contemporaries like Colonel Smith and Colonel Lawrence.

But there were dark spots also in his character. To facilitate his rise in official favour he did not scruple to criticise his seniors, especially Governor Pigot, in private letters to John Payne, the Chairman of the Court of Directors; Payne no doubt was the prime sinner, but Orme had to be the greater sufferer by this action. Suspicions of Orme's conduct soon leaked out; he was subjected to a kind of social ostracism; charges of corruption were brought against him; and he had to resign his post and leave the country at the very moment when his succession to the Governorship had been sanctioned by the Directors. The only extenuating plea in favour of Orme's action is that such unholy alliances were then only too common between the Directors in London and their servants in India. Colonel Davison Love describes the charges of corruption against Orme and also shows how even after his return to England, the Directors expressed themselves assured that he had extorted large sums from the Nawab.§

Orme's original friendship for Clive decayed probably also from some defect of his own. But as late as 1764 we find our historian continuing on intimate terms with the hero of Arcot and Plassey. Orme was supposed by many to have held the pen for Clive when the latter published his famous *Letters to the Proprietors of the East India Stock* in that year.||

* *Hiftorical Fragment** (1805), pp. XLVIII and LIII.
† Hill. *The Orme Collection*, p. XXI.
‡ Hill—*Yusuf Khan*, p. 271.
§ *Vestige** *of Old Madras*. Vol. II, pp. 514—518. (Fort St. George Consultation P. C. Vol. LXXVIII) and p. 519.
|| *Historical Fragments* (1805), p. XXXIII.

Orme arrived in England in **1760** and settled at London where he assiduously collected an elegant and valuable library of choice editions. **He-also** seriously set himself soon after his return home to the task of the publication of his *magnum opus—History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745*—which he had long before-planned. He began collecting materials both printed and manuscript even from the moment when he entered the Company's service. The first volume of the *History* was published in 1763; and the second volume in two parts-was not issued until 1778. The first volume was republished twice in the-course of 18 years, on the latter occasion with a very ample index which first appeared in 1775. Both the volumes were illustrated with numerous maps, plans, views of towns, battles, etc., many of them improvised from the" actual marches of the British and French armies. The preface to the first volume was a " Dissertation on the Establishments made by Muhammadan Conquerors in Indostan " and was based on Orme's own observations of Hindu practices and study of the writings of d'Herbelot and others. Orme even then lamented the want of a good collection of manuscripts and printed" books in England, which, he observed, would be a national honour; and he declared that a full shjpload of original and valuable manuscripts of historical importance might be collected in the English settlements **in India.**

According to Macaulay, Orme's work is inferior to no English historical book in style and power of painting ; but it is prolix and minute even to tediousness. Sir William Jones complimented the author on the publication of his first volume and thus wrote to him; " Your *History* is not one of those books which a man reads and then throws aside for ever; there is no-end of reading and approving it. " The historian, Dr. William Robertson, was equally generous in his praise.

The fifteen years that elapsed between the publication of the first and that of the second volumes found Orme busy gathering much additional material and more accurate knowledge about India—profiting from Colonel Dow's version of Ferishta and incidentally defending its authenticity which was doubted by Dr. Johnson, Mr. Burke and others. Even during Olive's second Governorship of Bengal, Orme was urging him to send him materials; and we find Clive promising to send Orme plans in abundance, and very exact charts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and of the Mughal Empire as far as Delhi and maps of the Ganges and other rivers.* The historian maintained a busy correspondence with his old Madias friends, Du Pre, Robert Fletcher, Sunka Rama Junior who was his former Dubash and others who supplied him regularly with reports of all transactions.

In 1782 appeared his most laborious, though not the best-known work—*Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes and of the English concerns in Indostan from the year 1659.* It was written after great labour involving the stuly and interpretation of printed books and old

•Forrest. *The Life of Lord Clive,* Vol. II, pp. 308.

records, many of them being in the Portuguese, Dutch and Italian languages. From Sir Charles House Boughton, for some time Chief Secretary to the Board of Control, who had a high reputation for Oriental learning, Orme got many pieces of translation from the *Ain-i-Akbari,* the *History* of Ferishta and other Persian manuscripts including a compendium of Hindu and Muhammadan history written by an intelligent Brahmin and called *Mizan Danish* (Balance of Knowledge).

The improved edition of *The Historical Fragments* published in 1805, contained much additional material. Orme's anonymous biographer says that " if his health had permitted, he would, from the records of the Company, the British Museum and other sources have greatly enlarged his *Historical Fragments* which he intended to have divided into three sections and made an invaluable work on the History of India from the time of Aurangzebe to the commencement of his *Military Transactions* in 1744. "

The great difficulty confronting Orme was the obtaining of material. While in India his position as a member of the Madras Council gave him access to all the English records in that Presidency and also to the correspondence with Indian princes and chiefs. After his return to England Orme got permission to study all similar papers at the East India House connected with the other parts of India and the East. His maps were drawn, as already noted, from the marches of different armies, many of them by John Call who was Chief Engineer at Madras; and he actually went over to Paris in 1773 to get from Bussy information relating to the geography of the northern parts of the Deccan. The maps and plans that Orme collected testify to the zeal that he displayed in the improvement of the geographical knowledge of South India. He also took particular pains to ascertain the situations of the different inland markets of the early British factories on the west coast. At the time of the publication of his *Frament*s Orme had intended to bring out an atlas of the Indian Peninsula to consist of about 10 or 12 sheets. This plan did" not bear fruit owing to the improvements gained from the publication shortly afterwards of Major Bunnell's *Survey of Bengal and the Marches of the British Armies in India.* But the name of Orme should be remembered alongside those of D'Anville who published his maps of Asia and India in the years 1751—52 and of the Company's surveyors like Captain Huddart, Colonel Fullarton and others who collected much geographical matter relating to South India.

Orme always preserved very carefully all maps and plans secured by him. One collection is thus entitled; " an orderly list of plans and maps in my house, written by me years ago, which is very obscure, but preserved lest it should be hereafter of service." In another volume of the *Orme Various* (49) there is an index which gives the distance in miles of many of the less known places of the region of Madura and Tinnevelly from places already marked on the maps.* Had the whole of Orme's extensive correspondence

* Hill's *Catalogue,* p. 98.

been preserved, we should now be able, as Mr. Hill says, to quote chapter and verse for every one of his statements; but "either too much has been lost or else Orme trusted to his memory .for many details of which his papers furnished no corroborative evidence." Even as it is, his preserved correspondence is immense in quantity and varied in interest. It includes many interesting papers, *e.g.,* Ray asam Papiah *Account of the Justice adminstered in the Cornatica* and *History of the Province of Arcot* from the year* 1710 drawn up at the request of Orme in 1752. Extracts from this latter manuscript were made use of by Colonel Love in his *Vestiges of Old Madras.* Another account contains a description of Madura and Tinnevelly by Rayal Pandit, the agent of Mahfuz Khan who was in their charge and by Colonel Donald Campbell.†

Orme's fault while at Madras was condoned by the Diectors and he was appointed in 1769 Historiographer to the Company on £400 per annum and remained so till his death in 1801. Though he had accumulated ample materials and had access to all the records in England he did not care to continue his work beyond 1761. He lived in India in an age of heroes and wrote about their glorious deeds. When these were succeeded by men of meaner stature and lowjier ideals, he did not deign to continue the narration. Thus he wrote in November 1762‡—"It is these cursed presents which stop my History. Why should I be doomed to commemorate the ignominy of my countrymen? and without giving the money story that has accompanied every event since the 1st of April, 1757, I shall not relate all the springs of action." "He had lived among heroes in an Age of Iron and had told their story in language which did honour both to himself and them. It was not fitting that he should describe how lesser men thought that in the misery of the country they had found an Age of Gold."§

The method that Orme adopted in dealing with the materials for his History is explained by himself in various places in his own manuscripts collection. He regularly and methodically extracted all information relating to his own purposes from letters written by Government and by officers in the field to which he had access; he even made elaborate copies of and extracts from material which he did not care for greatly *(e.g., Memoirs de Lolly* Manuscripts). He submitted a portion of his account of Bengal to Lord Clive with a particular request that no one except Colonel Richard Smith and Mr. Edmund Maskelyne should be allowed to see it. As an illustration of his methodical care, the following extract from his letter to Clive, dated May 8th, 1858 may be quoted :—"I shall write your history; but it must be done at your elbow; and so must that I have already wrote be revised by you, for John Call gave me the other night a description of the battle of

* *Orme Manuscripts 0. V.* 15, 2 and 3.
† *Orme Manuscripts 0. V.* (49, 1 and 2).
‡ *Orme Manuscripts 0. V.* (222, 189), p. 201 of Hill's *Catalogue.*
§ *Ibid,* p. XXXV.
|| *Orme Mss. 0. V.* 293, 10—Hill's *Catalogue,* p. 245.

Covrepauck, which was as like my battle of Covrepauck as I am to the Mufti of Constantinople. I write to write truth, not to flourish periods. To comprehend the truth well is in all circumstances a work of labour, but that accomplished all the rest is as easy as to write a letter to your taylor."

"Orme bequeathed all his manuscripts, charts, maps and papers concerning the East Indies to his friend John Roberts by whom they were handed over to the East India Company. Their details were first entered in the *Daily Account of Books and Curiosities received into the Library* and published in the *Asiatic Annual Register for* 1802* in connection with a memoir of their collector. Another list of this collection was given in the 1805 edition of the *Historical Fragments* in the introduction to which quotations are given from Orme'a letters which do not form part of the existing collection. The manuscript portion of the collection was catalogued on two occasions, once in 1811† and again in 1822 possibly on the occasion of a transfer of the bulk of the material from the Library to some other department of the India Office. The second catalogue was meagre giving only a brief designation for each item. The manuscripts collection consists of 3 items; *viz.* (1) 231 volumes chiefly [bound in vellum containing a vast body of information on India in copies which Orme had permission to make from the records and collections of others •and in original documents, commonplace, etc., with many useful indexes, (2) 8 bundles of letters chiefly from Madras and Bombay upon the subject of the Company's affairs in India, and (3) 17 rolls of maps and plans chiefly the originals of those engraved for his works.

In the course of the transfer of the collection in 1822, a few volumes became missing, but fortunately they -would appear to be of relatively small value, according to Mr. Hill's conjecture. The whole forms only a portion of the material accumulated by Orme for his works.

Mr. S. C. Hill, the latest cataloguer of the collection, divides it into 2 parts (1) the *Orme Various* or *O.V.* volumes about 200 in number containing chiefly originals or duplicates; and (2) *The India* volumes containing almost entirely copies of manuscripts the originals of most of which are to be found in the Orme Various, though some, *e.g.*, the Eyre Coote Journals, were copies of manuscripts which Orme returned to their owners. Mr. Hill conjectures that Orme, judging from the fair copies which he caused to be made of his manuscripts, might have had in his mind " the preparation of a set of volumes of important papers, which though unprinted, might serve as a kind of appendix to his History, of the same nature as the *Pieces Justificatives* attached to French *Memoires*"‡ The *O. V.* volumes are not all of equal value. Many of the papers appear to be merely notes or indexes which illustrate the writer's laborious industry and care in collecting material, but add nothing to the general information. Again a large number are copies

* Characters, pp. 54, 55, signed Charles Wilkins.

† In this catalogue the collection is divided into two sections—India Volumes I—XIX and O. V. 1—332.

‡ Catalogue, pp. XVII and XVIII.

and extracts from official papers which can still be consulted in the original. The positive value of these is however still great. In the first place they contain a large number of documents, especially military journals, which should be of great use to the student of military history and biography and give information regarding the geography of the land as well as the customs and habits of the people. The period covered by these papers comes down to well beyond 1770—nearly a decade longer than that actually covered by the *History.* In the second place the collection contains copies of some official and semi-official documents now lost. Such documents were then treated as the private property of their recipients and frequently lost or destroyed. Thus we get in some of the papers much information regarding the secret history of the first war with Haidar Ali which Mark Wilks might have found usefukfor his own monumental work; and the list includes several letters from Colonel Smith regarding his military movements in the course of his campaigns against Haidar.* Lastly the collection gives us valuable glimpses into the personality and character of Orme himself, his motives in writing the History and the methods adopted by him.

The second part of the collection, *viz.*, the India Volumes, does not require any detailed mention as to its value and scope.

Orme appears to have been a poet also. One of his poems written at Madras on the death of his friend Admiral Watson in 1757 was penned on a blank leaf in one of his printed books, which was unfortunately sold among other books in 1796. The recovery of that poem would be of some use. Orme lies buried in the church yard of St. Mary's, Ealing. His bust by Nollekens adorns the India Office Library and " watches over the historian's voluminous manuscripts which are there preserved. " " To the less serious frequenters of the Library it is known as *The Great Orme's Head* "† One naturally wishes that we in India had access to this mass of records and accounts and maps in the original and not in the form of a condensed catalogue that alone we have now access to.

Colin Mackenzie. 1753(?)—1821.

Even as a youth Mackenzie displayed great avidity for mathematical * knowledge and was on that account employed by Lord Napier of Merchistoun who was then engaged in writing a life of his ancestor, John Napier, the inventor of logarithms. Young Mackenzie was set to the task of collecting all available information regarding the knowledge that the ancient Hindus had of mathematics and of the nature and use of logarithms. After Lord Napier's death Mackenzie went to India and joined the Madras Engineers in 1782. He was invited to Madura by Mr. Johnstone the son-in-law of Lord Napier and the father of Sir Alexander Johnstone who became Chief Justice of Ceylon and one of the founders of the Royal Asiatic Society.

**0. V.* 33 (4, 5, 7), 64 (1, 2, 4-8), 78 (1-3).
† *Love—Vestiges of Old Madras,* Vol. IT, note p. 519.

It was during his stay at Madura in the company of the Johnstones that Mackenzie came into intellectual contact with the Brahmins and Pandits of that place and began to realise what a vast store of material lay ready for the historian in the antiquities and the existing literature of the country. It was then that he formed " the plan of making that collection which afterwards became the favourite object of his pursuit for 38 years of his life and which is now the most extensive and most valuable collection of historical documents relative to India that ever was made by any individual in Europe or in Asia.*

For the first 14 years of his stay in India till 1796, Mackenzie had no good opportunities of pursuing his cherished aim. During this period, we have but a bare record, barren for our purposes, of his professional duties of surveying in the regions newly conquered from Tipu and in Southern Deccan. It was in the latter year that as Mackenzie himself generously acknowledges in a letter to Sir A. Johnstone,† that he came to appreciate the genius of Hindu, and in special of Brahmin scholarship which proved so helpful to him in his tasks. He thus writes of Kavali Venkata Boriah (Sooriah) who was his first Pandit—"The connection that I then (1796) formed with one person, a native and a Brahmin (Boriah), was the first step of my introduction into the portals of Indian knowledge..... From the moment the talents of the lamented Boriah were applied, a, new avenue to Hindu knowledge was opened; and though 1 was deprived of him at an on early age, his example and instructions were so happily followed up by his brethren and disciples than an establishment was gradually formed through which the whole of our provinces might be gradually analysed by the method thus fortuitously begun and successfully followed $0 far." Thus Mackenzie was the pioneer to kindle the lamp of historical and antiquarian research in the Indian mind as well as the founder of the peripatetic parties for the search of manuscripts, and the discovery of archaeological finds.

In the course of his official duties in the Mysore country and its northern and eastern frontier which lasted till 1810, his collection began to grow apace, and the quantity of grants, *sasanams* and manuscripts that he acquired enabled him to secure valuable information, among other interesting subjects, on the following topics : —

i(1) The discovery of the Jaina religion and philosophy and its distinction from that of the Buddha.

(2) The different ancient religious sects of the country and their subdivisions like the Lingayat, Saivam, Pandaram Mutts, etc.

(3) The nature and use of *sdsanams* and inscriptions on stone and copper, especially with reference to the light that they throw on Hindu tenures.

* Sir Alexander Johnstone's evidence before the Select Committee of the Commons in 1832—quoted in W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonnie of Oriental Manuscripts,* Vol. I. Introduction pp. II and III.

† W. Taylor's *Catalogue Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts,* Vol. I. Introduction, pp. III—IX.

(4) The design and nature of monumental stones- and trophies like *Virakal* and *Mastikal* which illustrate some of the ancient customs of the land.

(6) A descriptive account of the discovered sepulchral tumuli, mounds and barrows of the primitive inhabitants of the land.

Of authentic inscriptions alone he was able to collect over 3,000. The 'value of the whole collection was first perceived by Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Wilks who thus acknowledges* his obligations to the collector and the collection:—"Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie has devoted to this pursuit the leisure which he has been enabled to snaieh from a long course of meritorious and active service; and has formed under numerous discouragements a stupendous and daily increasing collection of all that is necessary to illustrate the antiquities, the civil, military and cligious institutions and ancient history of South India; and 1 trust that he will in due time communicate to the public the result of his extraordinary perseverance.....I am obliged to.....Mackenzie for several valuable communications on particular periods of history written expressly for my aid and information in arranging the materials of the present work; and 1 cannot acknowledge in terms of too much gratitude how largely I am indebted to an ultimated access to the study of the collection.....and to anI intercourse entirely unreserved, with its worthy possessor and his large establishment of learned native assistants for whatever knowledge I possess of the ancient history of the South of India."

Mackenzie became Surveyor-General of Madras in 1810, hut was soon afterwards called away to Command the Engineers in Java (1811— 15i). While in Java, Mackenzie took great interest in the Batavian Society and contributed some valuable notices to its organ—including an account of a visit to the ruins of Brambanam.† He rose to be Surveyor-General of India in 1816 and died near Calcutta, May 8, 1821. Mackenzie carried to Calcutta his literary and antiquarian collection and along with it a few of his devoted South Indian assistants. He had in occasional snatches of leisure published several articles‡ in The *Oriental Annua! Register* and in the volumes of *the Asiatic Researches.*§ The subjects were varied in interest and included an account of the life of Haidar Ali, of the history of the Anegundi or Vijayanagar Rajas, of the Bhats or bards, of the temple of Srisailam, of Tain monuments and establishments, of the architecture and sculptures of the west and south coasts of Ceylon and of translations of several inscriptions.

Mackenzie had intended to present himself a condensed view of the whole collection. "It was his design," he wrote, "to publish a Catalogue Raisonnee of the Indian manuscripts and books and give the translated materials such form as might facilitate the production of some parts, should

* *Historical sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the history of Mysore.* (2nd Edition). Vol. I, Introduction pp. XT and XII.

† Wilson's *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Machenzie Collection* (182). Vol. I, p. XIV.

‡Ibid, *pp.* XII and XIII and Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Bioqraphv,* p. 263

§ Vols, for 1804, V, VI and IX.

they ever appear to the public, at least by persons better qualified, if the grateful task be not permitted to his years or *to* his state of health."* When death cut short his useful life, the whole collection was bought by the Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, at the instance of Sir A. Johnstone and with the permission of the Directors; and the task of cataloguing and indexing the whole material in an easily assimilable form fell into the worthy hands of Professor H. H. Wilson, then Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The bulk of Wilson's two volumes was'devoted to manuscripts in the original languages including a few in Persian and Arabic, Javanese and Burmese. An appendix gave short notices of what were called the Local Tracts dealing with particular places, buildings, traditions and usages; and the whole was prefaced by a luminous estimate of the chief results of the collection and the degree in which it would illustrate the literature, history and religions of South India.

Professor Wilson did not get at the whole treasure of what Mackenzie actually collected; for it appears that a considerable portion—including manuscripts in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, Javanese and Burman, and all the maps, plans, drawings, coins, images and sculptures had been despatched to England in two instalments in 1823 and 1825.† He suggested that the portion of the remaining collection consisting of books and tracts in the Dravidian languages might be sent as a most acceptable addition to the Library of the Madras College or the Madras Literary Society. These were accordingly sent over to Madras and deposited in the College Library in 1828. The Madras Literary Society addressed Government shortly afterwards‡ on the desirability of proceeding, under the auspices of its Asiatic Department, to organise, as an initial effort, the papers relating to the Jains and inscriptions in general and extracting and publishing therefrom valuable information. The Society also intimated that the services of Kavali Venkata Lakshmiah, & Pandit who was for 30 years in the service of Mackenzie, were available for this purpose. Though the materials were transferred to the custody of the Society, nothing fruitful was carried out by that body; while the offer made in 183G by Mackenzie's Pandit that he would continue the researches of his late master was turned down by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Committee of the Asiatic Society who declared strangely enough that what was wanted was not so much the collection of new material as the thorough examination of that already existing.

Meanwhile there came forward men who proposed to and did work to some extent on the examination of the different parts of the Collection. Captain Harkness, Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society (1833—1838), undertook to translate and describe a portion of the *manuscripts* in London. M. Jacquet of Paris offered to decipher and publish the bulk of the inscriptions

* "Wilson-Mack*enzie Collection* I, pp. XV and XVI.

† *Vide* Wilson's letter to Government, dated 20th February 1828, quoted in Taylor's; *Catalogue Raisonnfe,* Vol. I, Preface p. IX.

‡ *Vide* letter of its Secretary, dated 9th March, 1830, quoted ibi*d,* pp. XV and XVI

in the collection; while the Reverend W. Taylor, a Madras missionary, published the results of his examination of the manuscripts in *Tamil* in 1835.* The services of Mr. Taylor were secured for the further work of thoroughly examining all the records; and the results of his labours were published from time to time in the issues of *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science* in a highly interesting series of analytical reports. His final *Catalogue Raisonnee of Oriental Manuscripts* † in the Madras College was undertaken at the instance of the distinguished Sir Walter Elliot, archaeologist and numismatist, and dedicated to him. This *Catalogue* included in its scope a survey of the collections of manuscripts made by John Leyden and C. P. Brown known as the East India House Collection and Brown Manuscripts respectively. The Leyden Collection was made by John Leyden (1775—1811) who was a noted linguist and a collaborator with Sir Walter Scott and best known in Oriental circles as the translator of Babar's *Memoirs.* After qualifying himself as a preacher and a doctor, he went over to Madras in 1803 and was employed as Surgeon and Naturalist to the Commissioners who were appointed to survey Mysore under Mackenzie (1803—6). Leyden then drew up many useful papers on the geology and products of the Mysore country while quickly making himself proficient in Sanskrit and amusing himself in his leisure hours by translating tales from Persian and Urdu. " Wherever he went " his biographer, the Reverend James Morton writes, "he visited the temples and remarkable buildings on his route, copied and translated the ancient inscriptions and in every place sought after materials to illustrate the history, the customs and the religion of the natives."} A short stay at Penang was enough for him to prosecute an inquiry into the peculiarities of the Malay race which was subsequently published as an essay.§ At Calcutta whither he went in 1806 he published a treatise on the Indo-Persian, Indo-Chinese and Deccan languages which led to his appointment as Professor of Hindustani at the College of Fort William. He subsequently rose to be a Judge and Assay Master at the Mint; but died prematurely when in Java acting as Malay Interpreter to Lord Minto's expedition to that Island (1811). " His early death was deplored by leading literati as a loss to Oriental learning and literature; " and Sir John Malcolm despaired of ever seeing his equal in the power of assimilating ancient and modern languages and of interpreting from all available material the history of the land.

Leyden's valuable collection of manuscripts in the Indian languages was purchased by the Company. Mr. C. P. Brown (1798—1884) who was in the Madras Civil Service from 1817 to 1855 and became an ardent student of Telugu, catalogued these manuscripts which numbered 2106. To these

* *Oriental Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil Language.* Translated with annotations—2 Vols. (quarto).

† In 3 volumes, Madras, 1857.

X Biography of Leyden by J. Morton, 1819, quoted in Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonnee,* Vol. T.

§ *A Dissertation on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations* (in the *Asiatic Researches* X).

II Page 97—*Journal of the Madras Literary Society* for 1847.

Mr. Brown added his own collection which in point of numbers was the richest of the three. Most of the Brown manuscripts were written in the Telugu character and in the Sanskrit and Telugu languages.

All these three collections constituted a rich unexplored mine of knowledge and information, affording ample scope for translation, interpretation and research. The comprehensive *Catalogue Raisonnee of* Mr. Taylor is a monument of tireless industry and labour; it is prefaced by an introduction explaining the leading features of the various groups of subjects and thought to which the collections refer. Thus historical and other material for the paucity of which India has been blamed has always been forthcoming in abundance to intelligent and enthusiastic searchers. Good points may be culled even from the most trivial looking accounts and notices which are ordinarily brushed aside either as romance or as being too trashy to receive serious notice. The amount of information which can be gleaned from the historical portions of these collections has not yet been fully availed of. It is good for us all to bear in mind the caution given by Mr. Taylor:—" The absolute non-existence of historical records and our not being acquainted with such as do exist are quite different propositions. It is best to suspend a judgment on the former point until positively certain that all possible materials have been thoroughly sifted, and found to yield dust and no diamonds. "* Mackenzie, Leyden and Brown acted to the full truth of this and accumulated materials so far as was possible in their days; and they shine as beacon lights to all succeeding collectors and researchers.

Some Original Sources for a Biography of Begam Sombre.

(By B. N. Banerji.)

[Begam Sombre of Sardhana—near Meerut—was a most prominent figure in the reign of Shah Alam II. She married Walter Reinhardt—*alias* Sombre—a German adventurer, and became a Roman Catholic. From a lowly position she rose to eminence as a warrior-princess and is still remembered for her extensive charities. Being without issue she adopted David Dyce, a Scotchman, as her heir around whom interesting history sprung up.]

The leading events of the famous Sardhana Princess Begam Sombre's life,(c. 1752-1836) can be gleaned from Sleeman's *Rambles,* Francklin's *Shah-Aulvm,,* and the *Military Memoirs* of George Thomas, who for some time held the post of her principal military officer. We have also the accounts left by several European visitors to the Begam's Court—such as Major Archer, Thomas Bacon, Major Thorn, Capt. Mundy, Mrs. A. Deane, etc.—but they have recorded mostly bazaar-gossip and are reliable only when they describe

*Note on Historical Manuscripts in the Introduction.

BEGUM SAMRU IN OLD AGE.

(From a Painting—now in Allahabad Government House—drawn by Melville, a contemporary arList.)

the actual condition of the Sardhana Principality, and the Begam's mode of living and character. Later writers, *viz.,* Atkinson *(N.-W. P. Gaz,* ii), Rev. Keegan *(Sardhana),* Keene, Bailie Fraser *(Mily. Memoir of Lt. Col. J. Skinner, O.B.)* and others—have largely drawn upon the sources mentioned above.

But a modern student of history cannot rest content unless he has access to the original contemporary sources of information for his subject. 1 have been engaged for some time in the compilation of an authoritative biography of Begam Sombre, and as a result of my labour, I have been able to unearth some valuable materials, as briefly described below.

ENGLISH

(1) *Imperial records.*—The searches, conducted by me in the Imperial Record Office, revealed at least one hundred Political Consultations and Despatches to the Court of Directors between the years 1800 to 1839, having direct references to the Begam. A careful perusal of these documents recompensed my labour, as they throw a flood of light on her jagir, her administration, her private possessions, the exact strength of her army, duty detail, the annual income of her principality—the transit duties levied in her possessions both on land and water, her charitable bequests, the names, dates of entry, amounts, etc., of those officers, relations and dependants who enjoyed her pensions or stipends, etc., etc. I have even been so fortunate as to have had a look at a number of original letters from Her Highness, as well as from her adopted son and heir—Dyce Sombre. With these valuable materials it has become easy to construct the history of the latter part of her life.

(2) *Punjab Secretariat Records.*—All letters, exchanged between the Begam and the Company, generally passed through the Resident at Delhi, who used to preserve copies of them in the Residency. Soon after the Sepoy Mutiny it was found necessary to transfer all records in the Delhi Residency to the Punjab. After a prolonged search elsewhere I have at last been able to trace, among the records of the Punjab Secretariat, a copy of the Begam's Will, which is a very important document, giving full details of the disposition of her vast personal property. Attached to the will are stated to have been four " engagements or wills " but these I have not yet been able to get bold of.

I have reason to believe that further searches among the Secretariat records may lead to the discovery of more useful information.

(3) *Refutation.*—The author of this rare book, Mr. Dyce Sombre, was the adopted son and heir to the Begam who had no issue. A couple of years after her death Dyce Sombre repaired to England and married the daughter of an English peer. Shortly after the marriage a commission of Lunacy was taken out against him and, in order to escape the effects of this commission,

Dyce Sombre secretly fled to Paris, where in August 1849 he published this voluminous book of 582 pages.

In some respects this book is an invaluable help to every student of the Begam's biography as it contains such valuable documents as her "Will, her Deed of Gift, her Agreement with the Company, an account of her personal landed property and its income, and several other important matters. There are in it copies of a considerable number of the E. I. Company's despatches which I could not trace even in the Imperial Record Office.

In the foot-note to page 334 of his book Dyce Sombre writes:—" Some notes I had made of Her late Highness the Begam's memoirs with some intention of publishing them hereafter, and which I had collected with great care; but unfortunately they were taken away from me with some other papers." It is highly probable that this manuscript diary written on loose sheets of paper may be found preserved somewhere in England, and if they are traced they will no doubt bring to light many important facts relating to her life.

MARATHI

(1) *Delhi Ethil Marathanch in Rajakaranen.*—Hingane and other Maratha envoys of the Peshwas used to reside at Delhi permanently. The despatches, forwarded by them to their masters from time to time, have been collected and published by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. The letters of these writers, conversant as they were with contemporary events, are of great help in composing a history of the Upper India as it was at the time. The Maratha power was then dominant in Hindustan and the value of these Marathi papers cannot be denied.

These news-letters disclose the cause which led to the resignation of the Irishman Geo. Thomas, the General of the Begam, the deliverance by Her Highness of Col. Stuart of the British army from the hands of the Sikhs by offering them a handsome ransom, and such other important matters which go to show that she was a leading political personage of the age.

PERSIAN

(1) *Ibratndmd.*—(Prof. Sarkar Pers. MS.) The author, Fakir, Khair-ud-din Muhammad, was a contemporary with the Begam. He was an influential official and a constant companion of Mirza Jahandar (Prince) Jawan Bakht, the son of Shah Alam I I. Khair-ud-din was an eye-witness of several of the occurrences described in his work.

A detailed description of the fruitless attempt of the Prince Jawan Bakht to liberate the Emperor from the clutches of the Marathas is given in this work. In this matter the author was sent by the Prince as his supreme minister to negotiate with Begam Sombre, who promised to espouse this noble cause. The *Ibratndmd* also describes in detail how the spirited exertions of

the Begam in defence of the King's authority scared away the rebel **Ghulam** Qadir, the Rohila ruler of Saharanpur (1787); how the valiant lady with the assistance of her European drilled battalion rescued the imbecile monarch from imminent destruction before the walls of Gokulgarh, then held by **a** refractory chief named Najaf Quli Khan (1788).

(2) *Waqia-i-Shah Alam Sani* (Prof. Sarkar Pers. MS.)—This is **a** diary of events kept from day to day. There are many gaps in it, but from what is left of the manuscript we find a brief recital of the events from 1739 to 1799, *i.e.*, from the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah to the eve of the British entry into Delhi under Lord Lake. The writer was an inhabitant of the city, and his work is an absolutely contemporary chronicle of the events and rumours of Delhi.

From this Persian MS. we come to know of sundry matters in relation to the Begam's life.

(3) A biography of the Begam written in Persian verse will be found in the British Museum (Dr. Rieu's *B. M. Cat of Persian MSS.*, ii. *124a,* **Add.** 25830). It was composed by Lala Gokul Chand, the *Khas Munshi* of the Begam, in 1824. The author writes to say that he thought it necessary to compose this book as the biography of the Begam in prose by *Munshi* Jai Singh Rai had been lost. I had a facsimile taken by rotary process of the first four pages of this manuscript, but this portion reveals nothing of any historical interest. We should not however pronounce a judgment on it before examining the remainder of the MS.

In conclusion, I would be glad and grateful for any historical information sent to me regarding the life of Begam Sombre as a help in my attempt to keep back from oblivion the pious memory of a wonderful woman who played no inconspicuous part in the later history of India.*

14 Parsi Bagan,
Calcutta.

* I shall be thankful if any reader informs me where I can consult the following books which I have not yet been able to read: —

(1) *A Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindustan between the years of 1804 and 1814,* by A. D. [Mrs. A. Deane]. London, 1823.

(2) *The Heirs of Dyce Sombre V. the Indian Government.* , The History of a suit during thirty years between a private individual and the Government of India, Westminster, 1865. 8°.

(3) Sombre *(Hon.* Mary Ann Dyce). Afterwards FORESTER (Mary Ann). *Baroness Forester.* In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Dyce Sombre against Troup, Solaroli intervening, and Prinsep, and the Hon. East India Company, also intervening. In the goods of D. 0. Dyce Sombre,...deceased. Scripts — pleadings — answers — interrogatories — minutes — and exhibit (Depositions of witnesses.) 2 vols. 8°. [Privately **printed**:] **London** [1855?]

<4) *Reports of Revenue Settlement,* N.-W. P., **Vol.** I.

The Bargi Invasion of Bengal.

(By Professor J. N. Samaddar.)

The invasion of the Danes in England has always been considered with the greatest aversion for the atrocity, murder and rapine it caused there and so is the incursion of the *Barqi* in Bengal.(1) So far, however, as the treat: ment of the two incursions is concerned, there is a good deal of difference, for, we have no Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to record the -latter and in the matter of materials also, we do sadly lack in. The Nagpur Marathas have left us no historical records and therefore, there are no Maratha sources. Neither there are any letters in Marathi, at least to my knowledge, on the subject, as these raids were undertaken by the now defunct house of Nagpur *(2).* Mr. Hill in his *Bengal in 1756-7* has given us a brief summary of the English Factory Records of Fort William, though the old records of the East India Company may, if thoroughly searched, afford good material. Perhaps the time demanded for this is beyond our dreams. Besides this and occasional references here and there, there are, of course, three other books which can be profitably consulted for the purpose—Saliinulla's *Tarikh-i-Bangla,* (8) *Riyazu-a-salatin a*nd *Scvr Mataqherin.(4)* This practically finishos our list of authorities for studying the subject, so far as they are available to the general student.

There is fortunately, another very important and at the same time con-temporary record(5) which is very little known, though it throws floods of light on the situation and which, what is more, is also historically correct to the minutest details. This being in Bengali and very little known even to all Bengali scholars is not easily accessible.(6) It was first brought to our notice in an exhibition of Bengali manuscripts in 1904 and was subsequently published in the Journal of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parisad.(7)* This manus-cript, named *Maharastra Purana,* is a poem composed by the poet Gangaram,

(1) For an explanation of the term *Bargi,* see Irvine: *The Army of the Indian Mughals,* pp. 37, 47 and 171.

(2) A book in Marathi on the subject was published some ten years ago, but if we are to rely on the review of the book in the *Modem Review,* we have to reject it as a useless modern compilation for accurate historical purposes.

(3) This is now easily accessible in Gladwin's *A Narrative of the Government of Bengal,* reprinted by the *Bangabasi,* while the *Riyazu-s-salatin* has been well translated into English by Mr. Abdus Salam.

(4) A new edition of the English translation of this important contemporary book, edited by the writer of this article is just out, published by Messrs. R. Cambray & Co. of Calcutta.

(5) As is well-known, the *Seir* is also a contemporary record. Attention may be drawn, so far as this topic is concerned, to Vol. I, page 375. The author's father was the first to receive the information regarding the arrival of the Marathas.

(6) I have translated it into English and hope to publish it shortly with notes, etc.

(7) Calcutta, Volume I I I .

who, however, is very little known as a poet, and otherwise also. But though as a poet Gangaram is little known, really he is known at all, the service which he has rendered to the students of History is incalculable. The poem deals with the Maratha incursion of Bhaskara Pandita into Bengal and I propose to deal here with this topic and to give a short summary of its contents. Most unfortunately, only the first Canto of this historical poem has been traced.

This *Maharastra Purana* begins with the question of realising the *Chauth* (8) from Bengal and ends with the treacherous murder of Bhaskara Pandita the leader of the first batch of the Maratha freebooters, by Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal. As I have already observed, though we must express our deep regret that up to time only the first Canto has been discovered and considering that fur nearly twenty years no other portion of the *Purana* has been traced and therefore, the first part can only be considered as extant, we must express our deep debt of gratitude to the poet Gangaram Deva(9) for having given us a satiety of details which not only throw floods of light on the incursions of the Marathas, their modes of living, methods of predatory warfare, cruel methods of torture, the sufferings to which they reduced the people of Bengal as well as their Nawab, but also to a certain extent on the inner life of the Bengalees of those days and generally on the condition of the decadent Mogul power.

The date of the poem, at least what appears at the end of the extant first Canto of the manuscript, is given as *Sakabda* 1G72, Bengali 14th *Paus*, Saturday, 1158. This date corresponds with 1751 A.D.(10). It may be taken as the date of the composition of the poem and as is well-known, it is six years before the memorable battle of Plassey. Alivardi ruled from 1741-1756, while the date of the first Maratha incursion is 1741-1744. Gangaram's *Maharastra Parana* may be, therefore, considered as really contemporary evidence and as such of very great value, making us familiar with an important period of the history of the momentous times in Bengal.

Maharastra Purana is modelled after the *Puranas* of ancient India, at any rate, that was what the author perhaps intended to do. As such the author's ambition may be considered as very high. It begins with describing the condition of the people of the world, full of sins, so much so, that its burden became intolerable to *Prithi* (world) who, therefore, approached *Brahma*, the Creator, who took her to *Siva* (the Destroyer) (11). The god

(8) *Vide Seir*, 1, 294, from which it appears that the King of Delhi had already promised *Chauth* to the Marathas.

(9) *Vide Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika*, Calcutta, Vol. XV, p. 249.

(10) The present Bengali era is 1330. If we subtract 1158, the date given at the end of the manuscript, we have a difference of 172 years. And thus 1923—172=1751.

(11) It is difficult to understand the connection as to why Siva should be sending his messenger particularly to Sahu and to put the idea of *Chauth* in his brains.

Siva after mature consideration sent one of his attendants to the " South City "(12) to King Sahu (lines 1-46).

Sahu, in his turn, asked Raghuraja to send a messenger to the King of Delhi for realising the *Chauth* from Bengal. The King, who was then no other than Muhammad Shah, on receiving a very " short letter " from the King of the Marathas explained his unenviable position to the Maratha messenger and through him requested Sahu to do the needful himself. The messenger returned to Satara where Sahu was holding his court and it was then and there decided He in his turn commissioned his *Dewan* Bhaskara to do the needful (lines 47-92).

Then follows the march of Bhaskara. He started from Satara, passed Bijapur, Nagpore, and Panchcote where his messenger brought him information that the Nawab of Bengal was then at Burdwan. On the 19th of *Vaisakh*, keeping Birbhum on the left, the *Bargi* horde reached Burdwan and surrounded the Nawab, altogether without his knowledge. Alivardi came to know of it the next morning and sent his vakeel to Bhaskara enquiring of the cause of this hostility without notice. The vakeel was informed that it was for the *Chauth* that the Marathas were there. Alivardi replied that *Chauth* had never been previously realised from Bengal and he, therefore, advised Bhaskara to go to Delhi but he retorted that it was under the orders of the Emperor himself that he was there (lines 93-134).

Nevertheless, the Nawab still tried to induce Bhaskara and drew the attention of the vakeel of the Maratha general to his power and the brave Bengal army he had under him. Bhaskara evidently knew better and perhaps the Nawab was hesitating what to do, but his commanders strongly advised him that instead of paying hush money to the Marathas, the arrears of pay to his own sepoys may be paid off, an advice accepted by the Nawab, who ordered for the preparation of his soldiers to fight (lines 135-152).

(12) According to the *Seir*, Vol. I, p. 294, it was Nizam-el-Mulk who was the contriver and director of this trouble. The Emperor promised to pay the *Chauth* to the Maratha general, who, however perceiving the pusillanimity and cowardice of the grandees of the Court and sensible of the want of discernment of the Minister made a treaty with both parties and kept fair with both the court and Nizam-el-Mulk. *The Raiyazu-s-salatin* (Abdus Salam's edition, p. 337), however, refers to the fact that Mir Habib, the commander-in-chief of Murshid-Quli-Khan, after Murshid's defeat went to Raghoji Bhoslah and incited him to the conquest of Bengal. Raghoji taking advantage of Aiivardi's insecure position sent his Dewan Bhaskara Pandita who was accompanied by Mir Habib. This, according to me, does not seem to be correct. First, Nizam-el-Mulk's name does not occur anywhere else, though Mir Habib's playing a conspicuous, though ignominious part in this incursion is correct. Secondly, the *Seir* mentions on page 384 (vol. I) that Mir Habib was still then with the Nawab. Again, on page 387 we find Mir Habib was also in the Nawab's camp. At any rate Mir Habib was playing a double game and it is quite likely that Mir Habib's secret instigations as well as the unsatisfactory position of the Nawab made Raghoji send his general, Bhaskara. The Emperor Muhammad Shah, also might have thought fit to get rid of the Marathas by inducing them to go to Bengal. The wretched condition of the Delhi monarchy warrants us in coming to such a conclusion.

Then follows a long list of the officers of the army of Bhaskara (though no mention is made of similar officers of the Bengal army), who on being ordered to proceed, stopped all " commissariat " of the Nawab, whose army was reduced to extremities, so much so, that his soldiers(13) had to subsist on the roots of the plantains and even the Nawab himself had to follow suit. This state of starvation continued for full fourteen days and the Bengal army was forced to fight on its way to Cutwa, suffering from all sorts of difficulties and distress and losing a large number of men at the hands of the intrepid freebooters. Cutwa and its neighbourhood had already been ravaged before Alivardi could reach there, but fortunately Haji Ahmed(14) the Nawab's brother sent in rations in boats which relieved the furnished Bengal soldiers (lines 153-190).

Then the poet describes the atrocities committed by the Marathas on the people. No one escaped. They were no respector of persons. Learned Brahmans, Rajputs, males and females all forsook their hearths and homes, but there was no escape at the hands of the *Bargis.* Houses were set on fire, villages after villages sharing in ihe same misfortunes; fire, rapine, sword and atrocities were shared by *Pergannus.* Swiftly passing through a large number of villages, they reached Murshidabad, leaving the Nawab far behind. The provincial capital seemed to be more or less undefended, at any rate, no. serious attempt was made to defend it and even the house of Jagat Seth, evidently the richest in the Capital, was plundered. The Nawab followed the Marathas in all haste, but before he could reach his capital, the *Bargis* had left it with rich plunder (lines 191-250).

This was followed by the destruction of another lot of villages, but as the rainy season set in, Bhaskara unable to move further, decided to celebrate the *Durga Pujha* at the village of Daihat and he made elaborate preparations for the same(15). While he was thus engaged and had not completed the *Pujha,* the Bengal army under its energetic Nawab who was goaded on by his son-in-law Zainuddin marched against the free-booters. A bridge of boats over the Ganges broke and caused destruction of a large number of men(16), but the mischief was soon repaired and the Marathas being severely handled, were forced to leave Bengal for the time being (lines 251-335).

As soon as the rainy season was over, Bhaskara again made his appearance in Bengal. Furious at his defeat last time and evidently chaffing at his not being able to celebrate fully the *Dasahara* festival, he issued what evidently appears to be more stringent orders to his followers, and this time none escaped —Brahmanas, and Vaisnavas, Sannyasis, and house-holders—all had the same fate and even cows were massacred along with men. This was, of course, too much what the " goddess " could tolerate and she ordered her attendants

(13) It is wonderful that *Riyaz,* p. 340 uses these very words, *viz., "* to avert death by starvation, human beings, ate plantain roots."

(14) Cf. *Seir,* 1, 392 and *Riyaz,* p. 341. Both these two tally with the Poem.

(15) No mention of this celebration is made either by the *Seir* or the *Riyaz,* but Salimulla refers to it. *Vide* Gladwin, Bangabasi edition, p. 112.

(16) Cf. *Seir* 1, 403 and *Riyaz,* 345 where this accident is also mentioned.

to help the Nawab. In spite, however of this godly help, Bhaskara at Cutwa went on and Alivardi at last decided to entrap the Marathas. The massacre of Bhaskara with most of his generals took place at Mankara and it is interesting that here also the details given by the poet tally fully with what the *Seir(l7)* observes (lines 336-376. End of Canto 1).

Thus ends the first Canto of the *Maharastra Purana.* As we have already observed, the only extant portion is the first Canto and we cannot but regret that the rest of (Gangaram's *Purana* has not been discovered. We have, while summarising the contents of the poem, mentioned how in every detail, it tallies with the *Seir* and the *Riyaz.* It is indeed an extremely valuable contemporary record by one who could not be biassed in any way or other. He was evidently not an actor, as he does not mention anything of the kind. Either he was an eye-witness or even if he depended on reports, he must be admitted as a wonderfully accurate compiler, narrating in details only facts which actually happened and rejecting others. His unvarnished language, clear statement of facts and want of emotion all attest the importance of this unique historical document.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has given us full details of the Danish Invasions. Here we have also an account of another equally ghastly event of harrowing talcs which, as we have already observed, equal, if not surpass the savage and brutal Danish raids and in one sense, at least, it surpasses the other, for while the Danes came from another country situated outside England and therefore, they might claim some justification, so far as the Marathas are concerned, they had not such justification. India, Bengal, at any rate, had no other such record of barbarism committed on defenceless men, women and children so much so that just as the name of Napoleon was used as a lullaby by English mothers, the utterance of the word *Bargi* had a similar soporofic influence on the children in Bengal as we find in the couplet, even now current:—

Cheley ghumolo, pada jurolo, Bargi elo desey,
Charai pakshite dhan kheye gelo Khajna dibo kishey?

or

The child is sleeping, the world is at rest, the *Bargis* have come here.
The sparrows have eaten up the paddy, how is the rent to be paid?

Madurai~Talavaralaru.

(An account of the temple of Madura.)

(By Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D.)

This document professes to give an account of the temple of Madura, in all the vicissitudes of the political history of the place. This recording of

(17) *Seir* 1, 431 ff.

history, it does only incidentally; its main purpose being io record not history but the various grants and donations made to the temple from time to time by various parties, state as well as private. The series of donations made to the. temple from time to time, or a great many of them, were celebrated in verse composed for the occasion in a large number of cases, though not all. Such verses are found recorded in various parts of the temple, not only in Madura but also in other large temples of the same character. They suffer from the disadvantage that they are detached pieces, and give but little hint as to the actual position of the persons or bodies concerned. This prose account however attempts to give a connected narrative or chronicle history of the temple as a preliminary to a record of the donations made to the temple from time to time. As such it is of great value as a historical document, while the verse part of it could be made use of to check or confirm this account.

2. This document brings the history down to the assumption of the Government of Madura by ihe East India Company in 1801, and therefore must have been compiled about that date. It is a narrative written in quaint popular Tamil, and falls far short of the demands of Tamil classical prose. This sometimes makes a literal translation difficult, but adds perhaps to its value as a historical document, as it gives evidence of composition by people whose object was not the production of literary documents, but a true record of the benefactions to the temple. It readily challenges comparison with another document of a similar character which the Revd. William Taylor translated from the local records collected by Mackenzie and entitled the " Panc two documents may be regarded as one, as in fact it was stated to be; but there are characteristic differences of expression, notwithstanding the quaintness of language, which makes this a document distinct from the other. Both of these seem to be based upon the same anterior material which must have been records preserved in the temple. During the administration of the great Viceroy Tirumala Nayaka a record like this seems to have been preserved in the temple, which he ordered should not be removed from the Treasury Chamber of the temple, even to be produced as evidence. Further he seems to have taken care that the record be brought to-date and extracts be given when demanded without removing the main document from out of the chamber, in which it was to be carefully preserved, special provision being made even against possibilities of accidents by fire, etc. These two documents therefore seem to have been based on documents preserved in that fashion, and written up from time to time and brought up to-date. This character of the documents therefore gives them great value as historical documents.

3. Both of these documents pass over the first thirteen centuries and a quarter, without any specific details of history other than that from God Siva himself and his son Ugra, have expired 465,650 years to the time of Kula-

sekhara, apparently the Kulasekhara, who succeeded to the throne in 1268 and ruled till 1311. It may however be a later Kulasekhara, who followed in the second generation after him. Anyhow, the account in the chronicle begins with a date equal to Salivahana Saka 1256, which would be the equivalent of A.D. 1324 and with the invasion of Madura by a Muhammadan described under the name, *the first Sultan Malik Nemi.* He is said to have been the founder of a dynasty of Muhammadan rulers of Madura although the first ruler of the dynasty is described as Ulapati-Khan the Tamil form of Ala-ud-din Khan. The chronicle, however, seems to confound between the first two rulers Jalal-ud-din and Ala-ud-din, as it describes both of them by the latter name, and is also otherwise in error by a period of about 5 years as it anticipates the foundation of the sultanate by actually dating it with the Muhammadan invasion under Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. It is these documents among the country records that actually mention the Muhammadan sultanate of Madura, and give as many as 8 rulers of whom the first is a mere invader, and the remaining 7 were actually rulers of Madura. In the form in which this dynasty is described in these records, it was difficult to write a consecutive history of this dynasty in detail. From the study of the coins of the Sultans of Madura already made by Dr. Hutlzsch, for about 20 years Epigraphist to the Government of Madras, the history of the dynasty referred to in the Tamil records could be restored. As a mere chronicle summary, it does not offer much information about the dynasty, except a mere succession; but one thing it makes clear, the complete destruction of the Madura temple and palace of which we get a vague hint in the account of Ibn Batuta, who was for a couple of years in south India as the guest of the 4th ruler, whose wife's sister Ibn Batuta had married in Delhi. We have so far had, however, no clear account of the kind of destruction that Madura underwent under the Muhammadans, and these records make it clear for the first time. The destruction was so complete that it was only the sanctum of the god and the goddess that were left undestroyed, the gods themselves having been removed to Nanjinadu in southern Travancore for safety.

4. Hindu rule was restored in Madura according to this document in A.D. 1371 by Kampana Udaiyar, commander of the guards of the Mysore ruler, from the point of view of the writer of the record in its final form; but at the time the Mysore ruler was Vira Ballala I I I , the last great Hoysala ruler of whom we get a very good account in Ibn Batuta. Kampana Udaiyar is otherwise known from inscriptions and other records as the son of Bukka, one of the two brothers to whom the credit of the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire is popularly given. The relation between the two brothers and the Hoysalas was hitherto unknown, at any rate not specially stated anywhere. This, for the first time, makes it clear that they were officers of the Hoysalas, for which there are a few hints in Ibn Batuta and the Burhan-i-M'asir both of which have been used to establish this position in " South India and her Muhammadan Invaders " by me. Kampana Udaiyar was Viceroy of the Mulbagal Maharajya, and had for his sphere of office all the south.* Madura

came into his possession, which he restored, as he did the great temple at Srirangam an account of which we get from other records. Kampana's son Hemana and his nephew or son-in-law Porkasu-Udaiyar between them ruled from A.D. 1371 to A.D. 1402. From 1403 to 1408 Lakkana and Madana, two Brahman brothers, the first of whom was the great minister of Devaraya I I , referred to as the great Dannayak by Abdur Razak, held it as their fief. Lakkana had also the title and perhaps the charge of the * lordship of the southern ocean' Here we find an interesting detail, which had not hitherto been known, in this document. It is this Lakkana Nayaka that brought out of exile at Kalaiyarkoil the illegitimate son of tbe late Pandyas by name Sundarattol-Mavali-Vanadirayan, and installed him as the ruler of Madura. Three or four generations of these ruled in succession. Almost at the end of the century, in fact (A.D. 1497), Narasa Nayaka, the general of the usurper Narasingha and father of the great ruler Krisnadevaraya, came on his southern invasion and Madura thereafter became his fief. Various other officers of the court held the position of Viceroy of the south almost to the end of the reign of Krisbnadevaraya when the relations between the Viceroy appointed from headquarters and the local Pandya holding charge of Madura became intolerable. This seems ultimately to have led to the foundation of the Nayakship as an independent family. Several persons seem to have held the office, among them Visvanatha himself for a short while, till at last in A.D. 1559 Visvanatha Nayaka took charge of it permanently, and thereafter Madura continued in that family, till 1739 when the last scion of this family was dispossessed and the territory actually passed into the possession of the Nawah of Arcot under Anwar-ud-din. His sons Mafus Khan and Muhammad Ali, were successively rulers of Madura, although it was Chanda Saheb's perfidy that actually drove the-last queen to commit suicide, and led to the setting aside of her nominee. The remainder of this story is more or less well known from other sources, excepting of course the details regarding donations to the temple.

5. The narrative presents a sober account of the whole except that it relates the occurrence of a miracle in two places. The first is when Kampana, after having overthrown the Muhammadan garrisons, occupied Madura. He is said to have come to the temple and ordered the sancta to be opened when he was surprised to discover the lighted lamp burning and the garlands remaining fresh as though both of them were put in position the previous night. The second occasion when a miracle is resorted to is at a particular period of anarchy when Madura belonged to the government of Mafus Khan and Muhammad Ali. A Muhammadan fakir is said to have come and occupied the narrow space between the new colonnaded hall built by Tirumala Nayaka and the main portal of the temple. He erected his little tent there and began putting up a brick wall to plant his flag on, which is a habit of the fakirs. There was no government in the country to prevent the illegal possession, and all the remonstrances of the people proved unavailing. The citizens had no alternative but to shut themselves up in the temple when a statue of Bhadra Kali

in the north-eastern corner of the inner-hall began to open the eye-lids wluch remained open on the following two days. This occurrence became widely known, and people from various localities came to witness this miracle. A short time after, Madura passed into the possession of Yusuf Khan and when the matter was represented to him he chased the fakir out of the town, and gave possession of the temple back to its owners, restored its grants and introduced order. Barring these two instances there is no indulgence in relating the unbelievable. "What happened to Madura in the interval between 1748 and 1751 was so far as our other sources are concerned not made clear. I believe this document, for the first time makes it clear that the garrisoning of the fort was made over to one Abdul Khumu Khan. This Abdul Khumu Khan seems to stand for Abdul Rahim Khan, who is referred to as a brother-in-law of Muhammad Ali in Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary. There is an Abdul "Rahim Khan, a brother of Muhammad Ali also. It was on this occasion that Alam Klian, a brother-in-law of Myana with 2,000 horses, took forcible possession of Madura apparently in Chanda Saheb's behalf. This Alam Khan had to be turned out of the place before Madura could be taken possession of when Chanda Saheb had been defeated. In the meanwhile Myana who held Madura in ike interests of Chanda Saheb sold it to the Mysoreans and returned to Tirumohur. That was how the Mysore forces got ossessiori of Madura from which they were turned out by the combined Hindu furces of the Setupali and the Zamindar of Sivaganga. Otherwise the narrative is verifiable from other known sources and gives a roliable account, though brief, in chronological order of the transactions relating to the viceroyalty.

The chronicle itself is translated and annotated, and is under publication as appendix E to the " History of the Nayaks of Madura " about to be published by the Madras University as " Madras University Historical Series No. I I . " A copy of the same is appended to this Note.

APPENDIX E.

" MADURAITTALA-VARALARU."

(Account of the Sacred city of Madura.)

After Siva and his son Ugra, Kulasekhara obtained the throne on the expiry of forty lakhs, sixty-five thousand and six-hundred and fifty years. Thus from the days of Kulasekhara-Pandya to the days Parakramapandya ' who sleeps with the wakeful sword [1] the place enjoyed the Pandyan rule. During the Kaliyuga, Salivahana Saka 1246, five hundred and one years after the destruction of Kollam in the

[1] The expression is queer, and may be an erroneous transcript of a well-known title of Jatavarma Sundara Pandya '*Valal-valitirandan* ' . , . he that opened the way with the sword. *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders,* p. 53 Note i.

month of Ani of the year Rudirodgari [1], the Adisultan Malukkunemiyan came from Delhi, and having captured and sent Parakramapandya to Delhi took possession of the place. For a period of three years from Rudirodgari Avani to Krodhana the region from the Himalayas to Setu was under Muslim sway, (tulukkaniyam), and after a state of hostility without anyone's gaining a clear ascendency, Ulapatikhan came in the year Akshaya, and ruled for a period of six years till Prajotpatti (A.D. 1326-31). Then Ulapatikhan ruled the place for a period of three years from Angirasa to the year Bhava (A.D. 1332-34). Then his nephew Kudipatik ruled from the year Yuva to Pramatlicha. (A.D. 1335-39.)[2]

After this one Nagalatik ruled from the month of Adi in the year Vikrama to the year Vijaya (A.D. 1340-53). Then Savaudmalukkan and Attumarugan ruled from the year Sarvajit to the year Vilambi (A.D. 1347-58). After this Pungatik Malukkan ruled the kingdom from the year Vikari to the year Sadharana (A.D. 1359-70). For a period of forty-eight years from Saka 1246-93 the place had been under Mussalman sway ; the god of the place went to the Nanjilnadu and the Panjaksharatirumadil, the enclosing wall named after the five letters, the five mystic letters composing the name of Siva, namely *Om Namasivdya,* and the fourteen gopuras (gateways) as well as streets were pulled down. The sanctum of the Nayagar (Lord) temple, the *ardhamandafam* (the inner hall), and the *rnahamandapam,* (the outer hall) alone escaped destruction.

Thus when the land was under the Muslim domination in the year 1293 current Virodhikrt, A.D. 1371 Kampana Udaiyar, commander of the guards of the Mysore

[1] This corresponds to the year A. D. 1323-24, the month Ani would make it the year 1323 A. D. June-July. This would correspond to K.A 498 whereas the date given is 501 current.

[2] The dates are in error being earlier than the actual years by about five years. The name of the second ruler Kudipatik leaves little doubt that the dynasty under reference is that founded by Sharif - Jalalu-d-din Ahsan-Shah. He ruled for five years A.D. 1335-40 and was followed for a year by Alau-d-din Udauaji. Then Qutubu-d-din for forty days in A. H. 740 (1339-40). The two Ulapatikhans of the Tamil accounts seem to stand for the first two. The length of the reign of the three is wrong separately. The difference is made up with the third.

THE SULTANS OF MADURA.

I. Sharif Jalalu-d-din Ahsan **Shah**
coin. Jalalu-d-dunya Wa-d-din dated A. H. **738** also **739 and** 40.

II. Alau-d-din Udauji or **Uduji**
Alau-d-dunya Wa-d-din, Udauji Shah, date A. H. 740.

III. **Qutbu-d-din Firoz Shah, A. H. 740.**
Qutbu-d-dunya Wa-d-din.

IV. Ghiyathu-d-din Muhammad Dama-ghan Shah, date A. H. 741.

V. Nasiru-d-din, Mahmud Ghazi Dama-ghan Shah, A. H. 745.
Break, 745-757.

VI. Adil Shah, A. H. 757.

VII. Fakhru-d-din Mubarak Shah. Muhammad Mustafa, legend Nasifu-n-nabi, date 761-770 A.H.

VIII. **Alau-d-din Sikandar Shah ; A.H. 774-9.**

J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 667-683.

ruler [1], having defeated and driven off the Mussalmans, took possession of the king-, dom and opened all the temples of Siva and Vishnu. When he opened the door of the sanctum of Tiruvalavayudayianayanar, however, he noticed with surprise that the lamp lighted (before the temples were closed) and the garland (placed on the images) were exactly like those that they placed on the God only the previous night. As soon as Kampana Udaiyar saw this miracle he slapped himself on the cheek as an expiation for the offence, and after much devotional worship to the God granted several *Tiruvilaydtfal* villages (villages granted to the temple), several jewels, and grants for the daily offerings. Thus he and his son Empana Udaiyar (Hemanna) and his nephew (or son-in-law) Porkasudaiyar ruled for a period of thirty-three years from the year Virodhikrt to the year Chitrabhanu (A.D. 1371-1102). During their days they made many a provision for all the Siva and Vishnu temples for jewellery and daily offerings for the Gods.

Then from the year of Subhanu of Saka 1327 current to the year Vibhava (A.D. 140348) Lakkananayakkar and Madana Nayakkar ruled for a period of forty-seven years.

Then in the year Sukla, 1374 Saka current, Lakkana Nayakkar brought out of retirement the son of the concubine of the Pandyan king, Abhirami of Kalaiyar-kovil, Sundarattol-Mavalivanadirayar, Kajiyar Somanar, Anjadaperumal Mutta-rasar, and crowning him in the days of Tirumalaimavali-Vanadirayar as the son born of the Pandyan king with the deference due to the ancient royal family, gave him possession of the kingdom for forty-eight years.[2]

Then in the year Pingala [3] (A.D. 1497), Vaikasi of Saka 1422 current, Narasay-yanayakkar came, offered worship at Rameswaram and also captured the fort. Tennanayakkar ruled for fifteen years from the month of Avani of this year, Angi-rasa, A.D. 1512. Then from Srimukha (A.D. 1539) of the year Saka 1437 current to Dhatu (A.D. 1517) for a period of four years one Nachiapillai ruled the kingdom. Afterwards Kurukuru Timmappanayakkar ruled from Isvara to Vishu for five years (A.D. 1517-21). Then from Saka 1446 current from Chitrabhanu to Subhanu, for two years A.D. 1521-23 Kattiyam Kamaynayakka ruled. From Tarana to Sarvajit (A.D. 1524-27) Chinnappanayakka ruled for a period of four years. Iyak-karai Vaiyappanayakkar ruled for a period of five years from the year Sar-vadhari to the year Nandana (1527-32). From the year Vijaya to the year Vibhava[4] A.D. 1533-42 for a period of nine years Visvanathanayakarayan ruled the kingdom, Varada ruled in the year Subakrt (A. D. 1542-43). Tumbichchinayakkar ruled from the year Subakrtu to the year Krodhi (A.D. 1543-44), Kartigai, for a period of a year. Visvanathanayakarayan ruled from Krodhi Margaji to the year

[1] Mysore, as a state, was not then in existence, but the writer is apparently referring to his time. Kampana's office must have reference to the Hoysala ruler of the time.

[2] This passage is obscure in the original; the first name is that of the illegitimate son of the Pandya; the next name and the next which I prefer to take as one name *Anjadaperumal Muttara-har :* these three in succession ruled for forty-eight years apparently. Lakkana's coronation refers only to his installation of the first.

[3] There is a discrepancy in the date. The year Pingala is,A. D. 1497, and Saka 1422 is A . D . 1500. The Cyclic year is likely,,it seems to me, to be correct and the Saka year wrong.

[4] This ought to be Sobakrit.

Visvavasu (A.D. 1544-45) for a period of a year and seven months. One Vittalraja ruled from Prabava to the year Pingala (A.D. 1546-57). The three kings Timmappanayakkar, Chellappanayakkar and Pattukottai-Virappanayakkar ruled from Kalayukti to Raudri Kartigai (A.D. 1558-60). From Saka 1246 to Saka 1485 (A.D. 1324-63) twenty-seven persons ruled in Madura.

During the Saka 1481 (A.D. 1559) current Raudri (A.D. 1560) Margali Visvanathanayakkar, son of Kottiyam Nagamanayakkar came under the orders of the Rayar to Madura and died after a rule of twelve years extending from Raudri Margali to Angirasa Vaikasi A.D. 1559-72. From the month of Ani of the above year to Vaikasi of Vishu, (A.D. 1572-81) a period of nine years, Krishnappanayaka, son of Visvanathanayaka, ruled and died. From Ani of the above year to the year Manmatha Vaikasi A.D. 1581 to 1595 the son of Krishnappanayaka, Virappanayaka ruled the kingdom for a period of fourteen years. For seven years from the above year to Subhakrt Ani (A.D. 1595-1613) Kumarakrishnappanayakka, son of Virappanayakka, ruled and died. From Purattasi of the year to Plavanga A.D. 1602-07 Masi for a period of five years Visvanathanayaka, the brother of Kumarakrishnappanayakka, ruled and died. His brother Kasturirangappanayakka died just eight days after he came to the throne in the prayer hall *(Sandhydmandapam)* on the other side of the river. -Muttukrishnappanayakkar, son of the above, ruled from Panguni of the above year till Dundubhi Kartigai (A.D. 1608-22) for a period of fifteen and three-fourth years and died. On the seventh of Margali of the year Dundubhi Muttutirumalanayakkaraiyan, brother of Muttuvirappanayakkar, became very deserving of the grace of Minakshisundaresvara and made several gifts of jewellery, built ' the New Mandapa' and a tank for the annual floating festival, constructed a gold-plated throne, an ivory worked car, a great stone seat and a throne set with rubies. He ordered several structures to be made to the seven great temples, gifted land with an income of 44,000 pon for the daily worship, and tax-free villages for the maintenance of servants and managers. He further made his individual daily gift of food and conducted the festivals on a grand scale. He constructed a new car for the Alagar for his Chaitra festival and made the temple celebrated. Whenever he personally came for purposes of worship he used to give a votive offering of 1,000 pon as *padakanikkai* for worship and offerings. If the god be taken in procession in Masividi he used to offer 1,000 pon. In this manner having ruled for a period of thirty-six years from the year Dundubi Masi 7th to the year Vilambi Masi 4th, A.D. 1623-59, he died on the night of the Tuesday of the year Vilambi Masi 4th. From the month of Panguni of the year Vilambi A. D. 1659 to Vaikasi of Vikari for a period of three months Muttuvlrappa Nayaka ruled the place. For twenty-four years from Ani of Vikari (A. D. 1659) Chokkanathanayakkar, son of Muttuvirappanayakkar ruled. He died on the 4th of Ani.

His son Rangakrishnamuttuvirappanayakkar then ruled from Rudhirodgari (A. D. 1683) 17th Arpisi to the year Pramoduta (A. D. 1690) for a period of seven years. Then his son Vijaya Rangamuttuchokkanathanaiyakkariyan being a child, his grand-mother ruled the kingdom for some time, with him in her lap. At this period in the foundation of the Brahman settlements *(agraharapratishfai)* and the founding and patronage of the choultries, divine and Brahmin gifts, she conducted

the administration as in the days of Tirumalanayakka. After the death of Mangamma}, Vijayarangamuttu Chokkanatha during his rule managed the affairs of the kingdom exactly as in the days of Tirumalainayakka. As things were going on in this manner, once, in the course of his round of visits in the city *incognito,* he noticed that the temple worship, offerings, and services were not being properly conducted, and went back to the palace. The next day he sent for all the temple management and establishment *(sthalattar* and *parijanattar)* and others, and enquired why the temple should have become so miserably poor in spite of his gifts of lands yielding 44,000 pon. He grew very angry as no satisfactory explanation was given and confiscated the lands under the control of the temple-management *(sthalattar)* to the government, sent for the mortgage deeds of the temple-management, and settled and gave out of the royal treasury 44,000 pon for the seven temples for purposes of daily worship *(puja),* annual festival, monthly and other festivals, and also ordered the provision of a processional car for the Chaitra festival. He also made grants of tax-free villages as in the days of Tirumalanayakka for management, for worship, for offerings of food, and arranged for the proper' management of the temple affairs.

After having ruled for forty years he died on the night of Sivaratri in the month of Masi of the year Virodhikrt (A. D. 1731). From Virodhikrt Masi to Sidharti Vaikasi (A. D. 1731-39) for the period of nine years Mlnakshi Animal, the wife of Vijayarangachokkanathanayakar, crowned herself and ruled along with her brother,. Venkataperumal Nayakkar.

On the night of Tuesday 30th of Vaikasi Saka 1668 (A. D. 1739) of Siddharti, Vijayakumaramuttutirumalainayakkar, son of Bangaru-Tirumalainayakkar, and Vellaiyan-Servaikkaran of the Setupati's guard moved out on news reaching that Chandekhan-Bacjekhan had captured Dindigul. Immediately after, the temple-management with all the attendants removed the gods Minakshi-Sundaresvara and Kudal-Alagar *(Vishnu)* to Vanaraviramadura *(Manamadura)* and remained there for two years. The Setupati provided for the *Puja* and the daily offering of the god and also supplied the whole establishment with food and drink, and kept them under his protection for a period of two years from Ani of Siddharti to Ani of Durmukhi. Meanwhile Desing-Raja Raja Tej Singh) reached Trichinopoly fort with 60,000 horse, surrounded it, killed Badekhan, removed all the Muslims and appointed Murarirao with instructions to restore the grants as usual, without any disturbance to the divine services, to all the Siva and Vishnu temples. He then retired towards the north. Afterwards Murarirayar who was charitably disposed despatched Appaji Rayar with 2,000 horse, and as he did not like to stay in a city without its God he started for Vanaraviramadura. Having worshipped the God there and obtaining the consent of the Setupati he returned to Madura with the God an hour after nightfall on Saturday the 17th of Ani of Durmukhi year (A. D. 1741).

As usual in the Karnataka days of Hindu rule he provided for the purificatory ceremonies of the temple (santi and samprokshana), and amply provided for the daily worship and services of the god in due form.

In the year of Ruhirodgari, Saka 1664 current (A. D. 1743) the Mussalman Nizam (Nawab-Anvaru-d-din) came from the north, captured the forts of Trichinopoly and Madura, and went back to the north having placed them in charge of two persons Mafus Khan and Muhammad-Ali Khan as Nawabs. They ruled the country for a period of ten years and six months, from Rudhirodgari to the 31st of Kartigai of Angirasa (A. D. 1743-53) as a Muhamadan possession (tulukkaniyam). During this period in the days of Abdul-Kumukhan (Abdul-Rahim Khan ?) of Madura fort, Mayana's brother-in-law, Alam-Khan, came with 2,000 horse through the land of Tondaimãn, and took possession of the Madura fort. He ruled for a year as far as the frontiers of Tiruvacdi (Travancore) and placed Mayana in charge of Madura when he proceeded to Trichinopoly to join the forces of Chandekhan (Chanda Sahib). Almukhan (Alamkhan) himself died in the disturbance that followed. Muhammadan (Muhammad Ali) put to flight Chande Khan's forces and beheaded Chande Khan himself.

Meanwhile Mayana, having sold possession of Madura fort to the Mysoreans so as to round off Mysore territory, retired to Tirumohur. After this Kuhu (or Kuku) Sahib of Mysore [1] entered the fort on the 30th of Purattasi of the Angirasa year A. D. 1752. Hearing that the Mysoreans had taken possession of Madura, Vellaiyan Servaikkaran, commander of the Sctupati's guard and Tanolavaraya Pillai *pradhdni* of the Udayadevar's (Zamindar of Sivaganga) guard, surrounded the Madura fort in great force. Having stood a siege from the 30th of Purattasi to the 26th of Kartigai of the year (A. D. 1,752) Kuhu-Sahib, as a result of arbitration, left the fort in charge of the Setupati and retired in the direction of Dindigul.

As matters were in a stale of confusion from the year Rudhirodgari to the year Angirasa (A. D. 1743-52) in Kali 4853 Sai Saka 1673 current, 16th of Kartigai (A. D. 1651) of the Angirasa year, both Vellaiyan-Servaikaran, the commandant of the Setupati's guard and Tanglavaraya Pillai of Udaya-Devar's guard entered the Madura fort, threw open the temples, conducted the services, and arranged for worship as usual; and as Kuhu Sahib had slaughtered several cows and done other unworthy acts during the siege they ordered the necessary purificatory ceremonies to be performed to the several temples. Being unwilling to see a state without its King, they sent for Vijaya Kumaramuttutirumalainayakka, son of Bangaru-Tirumalai Nayakkaraiyan, from Vellikurichchi and crowned him king on Monday 14th of Margali of the year Angirasa in the sanctum of the goddess *(nachchiyar Sannadhi),* invested him with the sceptre, and took him to the palace.

Then, when he had ruled the kingdom for sixteen months, from the 14th of Masi of Angirasa to the 30th of Vaikasi of the year Srimukha, Mayana, Mahadimiya and Nabikhan,[2] these three sent the ruler out of the fort to Vellikurichchi, took possession of the Madura fort and the country around. As usual they confiscated the temple lands, destroyed the trade of the merchants of the city, the gardens, and the wells. While this was going on Kuhu Sahib of Mysore returned with Vellaiyan

[1] ' Khub Saheb, Jamedar of the Mysoreans' according to the Nawab Muhammadali of Trichinopoly. Country Correspondence No. 422 of 1754. See page 31 N. I. S. C. Hill's *Yusuf-Khan.*

[2] Mahamad Barkey (Mianah of Orme), Mahamad Mainach (Moodemiah), Nabikhan Cattack.

Servaikarãn, surrounded the fort, and closely besieged the place for six months, with their headquarters camp under the banyan close to Panaiyur. The forces of Mayana however, drove off Vellaiyan Servaikaran and Kuhu Sahib, killing them in the affray, and took possession of the fort of Madura, and maintained themselves in it from Ani of Srimukha to the 21st of Masi of the year Bhava (A. D. 1753-55). Meanwhile in Kali 4855 Saka 1675 current, Bhava 22nd of Masi, Mafus Khan Sahib started with 1,000 Europeans and twenty guns from Devanampattanam and coming through the pass of Nattam took possession of the Madura fort. As the Tirumohur temple in which Mayana stayed was used as a fort, the Europeans entered it and took possession of the jewellery of the god and the idols, and returned to Madura.

Then they advanced as far as Tinnevelly and returned to Madura. Finally returning to Trichinopoly they carried the idols of Tirumohur on the backs of camels. On their march to Alagarkovil the native Kallars fell upon them, took possession of the idols, and restored them to the temple. Some time after when Barakadulla otherwise Danishmund Khan *(vide* page 40 of N. 2 S. C. Hill *Yusuf Khan)* was exercising power at Madura in behalf of Mafuskhan, a Muhammadan fakir came and erected his tent *(nisan)* in front of the Pudumandapa of Tirumalai Nayaka ; and as he was making preparations to build a double brick wall with a view to hoist a flag on the platform of the gopura of the temple, the whole body of the temple officials, the local merchants, and other inhabitants, all met together and made every effort to make him desist. In spite of their protest he refused to get down from the gopura as it was a time of anarchy without authority to compel obedience. The temple management then closed the four gates of the gopura, and, entering the temple, remained inside. In this state of affairs the eye of the image of Vadadum Bhadrakali Amman, in the South-eastern corner of the golden pillar of the Assembly Hall (asthana manclapam) opened on the 3rd of Tai, about an hour after daybreak and remained open till about daybreak on the 5th of the same month. This occurrence of the miracle soon circulated in all directions, and people flocked to the place as on festival days, and marvelled at the occurrence. Then in the month of Chittirai of the year Isvara (A. D. 1757), Khan Sahib Commandant who had gone to Tinnevelly surrounded Madura with 1,000 Europeans of Devanampattanam, and the fort was besieged in the month of Chittirai to Âvani. People were put to much trouble and Barakdulla, who remained in the fort, descended the walls of the fort and reached Tribhuvanam[1]. Both Kanusahib (Khan-Sahib) and Muttajagu Pillai, son of Minakshinatha Pillai of Tirisirapuram (Trichinopoly) fort went round the city and the temple gates. He sought the presence of Khan-sahib and impressed him that the temples of the city being very ancient deserved to be treated in customary Karnatic Hindu fashion. Then the lands of the temple were restored to ' the Seven temples', the necessary purificatory ceremonies were performed to the gods and the temple of Tiru-alavai (the great Siva temple). The tent *(nisan)* of the fakir at the Rayagopuram was pulled down and the fakir him-

[1] This obviously refers to the attack and capture of Madura by Caillaud and Yusufkhan in 1757 A. D. But the Mindankhan or Maindan Khan of the Pandvan chronicle is Khumandan Khan Sahib of this and stands for Commandant Khan Sahib which stands again for Yusuf Khan. See Ch. VI of *Yusuf Khan.*

self driven, after sound beating, beyond the mound outside the town. To the daily service of the gods, the processional car, festivals, etc., 12,000 pon was given at the rate of 1,000 pon for a month in addition to the grant of villages for the temple service and food offerings. As it was going on in this manner the Europeans of Pondicherri (the French) and those of Devanãmpattanam (Fort St. David) got into a state of hostility, and as the Puducheri Europeans (the French) were in possession of the Fort St. David territory as far as Trichinopoly, Khan Sahib and Muttalagu Pillai proceeded from here to Trichinopoly and destroyed the French, and took possession of the country in their occupation. On reaching Fort St. David, the captain conferred on them all honours and gave them rewards. They then returned to Madras in the month of Vaikasi of the Pramadi year (A. D. 1759).

From the year Chitrabhanu 1712 the temple managers took charge of the lands and provided 1,000 pon a year for the temple worship. From Subhanu Purattasi, t Purattasi of Tarana, A. D. 1763-64 Colonel Preston of Madras besieged the fort ol Madura with many Europeans and Nawabs Muhammed Alikhan Sahib, and Mafuskhan Sahib, Setupati, Udaya-Devar (Sivaganga), the Tondaiman, and other Polegars. In the 3rd of Aippasi, Tarana of Saka 1684 current, A. D. 1764, Muhammad-Alikhan Sahib entered the fort having captured and hanged Muhammad Yusuf Khan. Then the temple-management and all the principal residents went in a body to meet him. The revenue officer (Amil) Abdul Khan of Madura received orders to provide the seven temples with 7,000 pon a year, and lands and villages were granted likewise, and a sum of Rs. 500 was given for the purificatory ceremony of the temple. In this manner the Government of Abdul Khan Sahib lasted for seven years from Tarana to Vikrti (A. D. 1764-70). From Kara to Hevilambi (A. D. 1770-77), Mohidin-Sahib's government lasted. The government of Mallari Rayar (Malhari Rao) lasted for—(?) Then Dubash Venkatesvara Mudaliyar undertook to provide for the temple worship and conducted the temple services with 6,000 pon.

The government of Kadar Sahib lasted for a year in Vilambi (A. D. 1778). Kayala-Behu-Khan Sahib's government lasted for a year in Vikari (A. D. 1779). From Sarvari to Plava (A. D. 1779-81), Mallari Rayar's government lasted for two years. For three years from Subhakrt to Krõdhi (A.D. 1781-84) in the days of Master Dorien, the temple worship was conducted under the control of Venkata Rayar with 6.000 pon as determined before, and all necessary temple grants and villages were made as before. In the year Visvavasu (1785 A. I>.), Segu Muhammad Sahib carried on the government as a revenue officer on his own responsibility. In Plavanga A. D. 1787 Ramaswami Ayyan enjoyed power. Subbarayar was in possession of power from Kilaka to Saumya, Masi (A. D. 1788-89). From Panguni of Saumya to Sadharana, Âvani (A. D. 1789-90) Ramaswami Ayyan enjoyed power. From Purattasi A. D. 1790 it came into possession of the Company and Master Macleod (Alexander Macleod) till Virodhikrt 1791. During his days things were conducted according to the *parvana* of the Nawab. Then Kadar Sahib excercised power in the year Paritapi (1792). For the next two years from Pramaticha to Ânanda 1793-94 Ramaswami Ayyan exercised power. For the next two years Rakshasa and Nala 1794-95 Treasurer Venkatarayar exercised power.

For two years Pingala and Kãlayukti (A. D. 1797-98) Ramaswami Ayyan exercised power. In the yeafSidharti 1799 A. D., Ravo Pandit was in power. In Raudri Narayanarayar was in power. Till then the temple was conducted as usual with regard to villages granted for expenses for general management and those for food supply. From Raudri Âni to Durmukhi Âdi 23rd, A. D. 1801 Rangarayar exercised power on behalf of Mir Astekhan Bahadar. They also conducted religious worship according to custom. Then from 24th Âdi of Dunmukhi (A. D. 1801) the Honourable Company obtained power and conducted things according to *mdmul.*

In Saka 1723 Kali 4 (90) 2, Dunmukhi Âdi, 24th, the land coming under the possession of the Company, Collector Melur Artis Sahib (Thomas Bower Hurdis) came to Madura. Sub-officer M. R. Ry. Kyana Sahib and Peishkar Bhima Rayar, and Narayana Rayar, Peishkar of Madura, came to the place. Division officer Kyana Sahib arrived on the 25th. As the whole land was in the possession of the company Kyana Sahib held court in the Palace Hall. Everyone paid respect to them and obeyed their rule.

N. B.—This chronicle in quaint Tamil was translated in the first instance, by Mr. R. Gopalam, M.A., University Research Student. I revised it throughout, and added the notes.

Some Jesuit Records and their Historical Value.

(By R. Sathyanatha, Ayyar, M.A., L.T.)

It is now nearly three quarters of a century since a French edition of some Jesuit records relating to South India was published in Paris. These records are contained in volumes I I, I I I and IV of *La Mission du Maduri,* and a few of them are the same as those found in the *Lettres edifiantes et aurienses, ecrites per des inissionaires de Ia Compagnie de Jesus,* brought out in 1829-32. They were originally written in Italian, Portuguese and Latin, but were rendered into French and edited in 1848-54 by Father I. Bertrand of the Society of Jesus. They were composed with the object of reporting on the religious activities of the Jesuit Missionaries to their superiors in Europe, and of bringing to the notice of the latter the character and needs of the situation which confronted the former in South India. Thus these Jesuit records are the progress reports of the missionary society working in this part of the country.

Though these documents owed their conception, form, and guiding spirit to religion and religious requirements, and though their authors were enthusiastic and courageous propagandists of religion, they exhibit a commendable chronicling tendency of the definitely historical variety. As to the qualifications of the missionaries as historical observers it is unnecessary to dilate. Their general culture and their intimate knowledge of the country and its inhabitants gave them the essential requisites for producing good historical documents. One special circumstance is worthy of note. Some of them

possessed diplomatic talents of a high order, and were therefore able to come into close touch with kings and prominent officers of state and secure a favourable atmosphere for their work. Such diplomatic triumphs are described in their records. Thus the value of their labours compelled them to be alive to the political fortunes of the country. So far the history of South India in the 17th century pre-eminently, the Jesuit records constitute a veritable mine of information.

Last decades of the Vijayanagar Empire.

The records contribute much to a proper understanding of the political facts and tendencies which led to the extinction of the empire of Vijayanagar. The strange and tragic vicissitudes of Sriranga I I I, (IV, according to the epigraphists quoted by B. Sewell), the last known sovereign of that empire, are brought out clearly, and the failure of his efforts to infuse life into the fast decaying imperial system is explained in relation to the attitude of the two major feudatories of the empire, Mysore and Madura. The conclusion is drawn that the want of concerted political action in the face of the imminent danger to South India from the southern expansion of the Muhamnvadan powers, and the uncompromising spirit of provincialism rendered a Hindu empire impossible. Such a refreshing analysis of the political situation is a good commentary on the profound historic sense of missionaries.

The Nayahs of Madura.

The documents pay particular attention to the fortunes of the rulers of Madura from Tirumala Nayaka down to Mangammal. The story of these Nayaks in the second half of the 17th century is much indebted to the observations of the Jesuits. The relations between Madura and the Vijayanagar empire from the commencement of that century are given some consideration, and their marked and decisive change in the latter half of Tirumala Nayaka's reign is noted. The political storms which gathered in the last years of that Nayak ruler, the more serious events of the reign of Chokkanatha Nayaka, detrimental to the integrity of the kingdom, and the restoration of the fallen fortunes under the latter's successors, especially Mangammal, are all pictured with a wealth of details. The affairs of the neighbouring kingdoms of Tanjore and Mysore, principally their connections with Madura, are well described though we may regret the *Lacunae* caused by the loss of some of the documents.

Sivaji's Karnatik Expedition.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar is not unaware of the existence of these records as he incorporates in his work on Sivaji the fragments translated in the South Arcot District Gazetteer; but they do not seem to have received the

full attention of this indefatigable lover and collector of original records. It is superfluous to remark that South Indian sources cannot be neglected by historians of Sivaji's life. Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Maratha History and Literature, Calcutta University, on my drawing his attention to the Jesuit records bearing on Maratha history, went through my translations of the same, and was pleased to write to me recently as follows:—"The Jesuit account of Shivaji's Karnatak expedition agrees substantially with the Maratha account. It is interesting to note that like the Marathas the European Jesuits also indiscriminately used the term Moghul for all Muhammadans, and students of phonetics may be interested to learn that the word Adil was translated as Idal by the Marathas also.'*

Religious and Social conditions.

The Jesuit letters clearly indicate that religious toleration was general and persecution of Christianity exceptional. "With regard to other religions no ebullitions of popular feeling are recorded. In times of peace the Christian missionaries enjoyed greater liberty than in times of war. The kind and honourable treatment frequently accorded to them is acknowledged, and it is clear that the progress of Christianity was largely facilitated by the enlightened views on religion which the Hindu rulers held. The kings and the great majority of their subjects were Hindus with strong religious convictions and were highly conservative in religious and social matters.

Generally speaking, the testimony of the Jesuit writers is confirmed by other sources of information. In cases of conflict of evidence, it is not often necessary to dive beneath the surface of these documents.

Note: —Extracts from the Jesuit records are not quoted in this short paper as they have been translated in English and given in full in the forthcoming volume II of the Madras University Historical Series.

The historical value of the Mackenzie Manuscripts with special reference to the Pallava documents in the collection.

(By R, Gopalan, M.A.)

The subjects covered in the shape of historical papers and documents in the invaluable collections of Col. Colin Mackenzie, the indefatigable Surveyer-Geieral and prince of all record collectors in the last century, are so vast and varied that it is almost impossible to convey any adequate idea of their exact historical value in the compass of this paper. Such an attempt would involve an elaborate and complete examination of these documents not only in India but also in London. I therefore propose to confine myself to briefly indicate the value of some of these collections only that I have examined and which are connected with the early

history of the Kingdom of the Pallavas known popularly to the Tamils as Tondamandalam.

Before doing so, I should like to allude to the large number of other historical documents in the collections bearing on various dynasties of Southern India and distributed in the several languages namely *Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese,. Persian* and *Malayalam.* Professor Wilson's catalogue alone enumerates no less than 200 documents connected directly or indirectly with the various periods of south Indian history. Even the most casual glance at the list of these enumerated in the catalogues of Messrs. Wilson and Taylor is sufficient to show us that they are by no means confined to modern times alone but several of these records go back to much more ancient times, such are for example the accounts connected with the foundation of the Tondamandalam, the exploits of Mayuravarman, the founder of , the Kadamba rule at Banavasi, etc. The largest number of the documents are however connected with the medieval and modern history, being connected with the dynasties of the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Kakatiyas, the Vijayanagar family, the Naiks of Madura, the members of the Mysore family, the Maharatta notables, the history of Tanjore, etc.[1]

The titles of the most important historical documents in the Mackenzie collections me ;—

' A history of the Kongu country,' (Vol. I, p. 1-47), ' Ancient narrative of the Pandyan kings' Vol. 3, p. 15,'Chola-purvapattayam,' ' Historical memoir of the ancient dynasty of the Kadamba kings,* ' History of the Rajas of Vijayanagar,' ' Account of the Sivaji Raja and his war with the emperor of Delhi,' ' An account of the ancient Rajas of Warrangnl,' 'Account of the city of Poona,' ' Historical account of Srirangapatam 'Accountsi of Ramaraja and Krishnadevaraja'' Au account of Pratuparulra the Kakatiya king, etc'

The documents relating to Tondamandalam or the region comprised by the districts of Chenglepet and the two Arcots (and forming the ancient kingdom of the Pallavas) in the Mackenzie Manuscripts consist of large numbers of *mahdtmyas* local account and Kyfeits of various kinds as well as professedly historical accounts. These fall into three divisions, the first consisting of accounts relating to the state of the region in the dawn of history and its inhabitants, the second relating to the conquest of the tract by the Cholas under Tondaman or Adondachakravarthi while the third class of accounts relates to miscellaneous events and local history. Among these the following accounts are representative (1) ' The ancient history of Tondamandalam and its earlier inhabitants' (2) 'Account of Tondaman-Chakravarthi in the district of Kanchi' (3)' An account of Tondamãn Chakravarthi and his war with Visvãvasuraja ' (4) ' The actions of the former Rajas of Pandimandalarn, Choamandalam and Tondamandalam' (5) ' Ancient kings of Pallavaram (6) ' Legendary account of Mahabalipuram' (7) ' The details of the caves and sculptures of Mahabalipur' (8)' The division of Tondamandalam into 79 *nattams.'*

Without giving all the details enumerated in these accounts I shall point out their substance somewhat in the following words :—In the earliest period of history the region which in after times became known as Tondamandalam was a big belt of forest inhabited by wild beasts. There arose here long afterwards a class of people known as the Kurumbar who were at first destitute of any civilisation but who in course of time evolved a rude organisation and agreed to abide by the decision of one among themselves called Kammanda-Kurumbaprabhu whom they made their

ohief. **He is credited with having divided the region inhabited by the Kurumbas** into 24 districts with a fortified stronghold in each of these.[8]

[8] This represents the earliest division of the region into administrative divisions and probably was effected many centuries prior to the times of the stone and other records of the region where they begin to figure from about the 7th century A.D. onwards. -About ten of these are mentioned in these collections. The complete list is as follows :—

1-Pulalkottam, 2-Ikkadu, 3-Puliyur, 4-Sengadu, 5-Peyur, 6-Manaiyur, 7-Eiyil, 8-Damal, 9-Urrukadu, 10-Kalattur, 11-Sembur, 12-Amur, 13-Venkunram, 14-Palgunram, 15-Ilangadu, 16-Kaliyur, 17-Sengarai, 18-Paduvur, 19-Sendirukkai, 20-Kunravattanam, 21-Kadihur, 22-Vengadam, 23-Velur, 24-Sethoor.

The head-quarters of this chief was at Pulai near the modern Red-hills near JMadras. During this period (2nd century A.D.) there was an active commerce between these parts and the merchants at Kaveripattinam. It was shortly after this that the Chola prince or according to some accounts the illegitimate son of the contemporary Chola king invaded the region of the Kurumbas, then known as the *Kurumbahhumi*, presumably on behalf of the Chola kings. Two battles of this campaign against the Kurumbas are recorded, one at Pulalur itself the head-quarters of the Kurumba chief and the other at Tirumullaivasal near Saidapet. In the former encounter the Chola prince is said to have sustained a defeat. In the battle at Tirumullaivasal he is credited with having completely routed the Kurumbas with the aid of the god Siva who is said to have helped him.[4] He is then recorded to have set himself as the ruler of the region with his head-quarters at Kanchipuram. The region was since then renamed as Tondamandalam, and marly inhabitants were brought to settle there from different parts of the country, who included several agricultural classes.

[4] This is alluded to in the hymns of Sundaram urthiswami who thus confirms the tradition of the Chola conquest of the region by Tondaman. See Verse 8 of the hymns of Tirumullaivasal by Sundara in the Devaram collections.

It is now necessary to examine the historical value and bearing of this account of the foundation of Tondamandalam and the rule of the first Tondaman in Kanchipuram. There are indeed scholars who have tried to underestimate the value of this traditional version of the origin of Tondamandalam. (See Salem Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 46 note). According to these scholars the account is supposed to be a late Chola invention. Others such as Sewell have ascribed the event to the days of Kulottunga Chola in the 11th century A.D. (See List of antiquities by Sewell, Vol. I, p. 177.) But there are many difficulties in our way in ascribing the events connected with the conquest of the region around Conjeeveram to a period as late as the 11th century A.D.

In the first place the state of society and government portrayed in these manuscripts is too primitive to apply to a period like the 11th century A.D. as it is impossible to think that after nearly eight or nine centuries of enlightened rule by the Pallava kings the region could have remained in a semi-civilised condition as depicted in the manuscripts. On the other hand the earliest copper-plate charters issued by one of the Pallava kings from the city of Conjeeveram about the' middle of the third century A.D. exhibits an elaborate governmental organisation which must have come into existence only since the coming of the Pallava kings. **From the** evidence of Tamil literature belonging to the Sangam period we learn that **(about** the 2nd century A.D.) Kanchi was under the occupation of one of the Chola **princes**

Tondaman-Ilamtirayan who was probably one of the earliest if not the first Pallava-kings of Kanchi. It is also clear from earliest Tamil literature that the region around Kanchi and the borders of the Tamil country, were inhabited by a class of people known to the Tamils as the Vadukar, Aruvãlar and Vadavar, etc., who in all probability corresponded to the Kurumbas and Vedas of the Mackenzie manuscripts. (See The Pallavas in Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's Calcutta University Readership lectures)

These and other considerations lead us to the conclusion that the picture that we obtain from the Mackenzie Manuscripts as regards the early history of the region really belongs to the epoch of the pre-epigraphy Pallavas. Neither Sivaskandavarman the earliest known Pallava King of Conjeeveram nor his father claim to have acquired Kanchi or set up the Pallava power for the first time. It is therefore probable that the Adondachola of these manuscripts, who is presumably identical with the Tondaman-Ilamtirayan of the Tamil classical authors, was the earliest Chola-Pallava Kings who ruled in the city of Conjeeveram before the days of the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters in the third century A.D. This hypothesis is all the more confirmed by the fact that the word ' *Tondaman* ' like the other Tamil words ' *Tondayar'kon,*" and ' *Tondayar-Marugan,'* is almost synonymous with the Sanskrit term Pallava sovereign. (See A. S. R. for 1906-1907, page 220.) We do not at present know the actual relation between the Pallava kings of the Prakrit and the Sanskrit charters with those of Tamil literature but the probability of the accounts in the Mackenzie Manuscripts relating to Tondaman-Chakravarthi being a member of an earlier Pallava family has been indicated.

It is not necessary to examine the other documents in the collection as they mostly relate to local history or as in the cases of the papers on the Seven-Pagodas, to matters of archaeological and epigraphic interest. It should have become clear from what has been said in the above going paragraphs that the collection of Col. Mackenzie's Manuscripts in the Madras Oriental library contains many valuable records, which if properly used and carefully interpreted, would throw much valuable light upon many a dark corner in the history of the country. The papers relating to the Pallavas by themselves may not be classed as first class historical records, but they represent, at any rate, valuable traditional accounts of a period of time in the Pallava history of which very little is known even now namely the period before the days of the Epigraphy Pallavas. The value of the other documents relating to the medieval and modern times is however even greater than these, and they deserve to be more extensively used. The preparation of a new descriptive catalogue of these valuable collections in the light of the researches carried on in South Indian history since the old catalogues were published would go a long way in stimulating interest among scholars in these records.

A Hindu Tradition on St. Thomas.

(By P. J. Thoma, M.A., B.Litt.)

The tradition of St. Thomas's apostolate in South India is not confined to Christians, as is often supposed, but is shared by their Hindu neighbours

as well. The Brahmins, both in Malabar and on the Coromandel, have their own accounts of the Apostle's work([1]). The following is a summary of the Hindu tradition on the East Coast, as handed down from some early age. It was published in a Tamil Journal called " Sumitren " in 1900, and ha3 been translated into French. It is a narration of St. Thomas's doings in Mylapore (which it calls Tiru-Mayila). Its antiquity cannot be definitely ascertained; yet as its contents agree more or less with the versions of the tradition given by mediaeval European travellers (see notes) it evidently cannot be regarded as a recent fabrication. It appears to be a document of some value in connection with the origin of South Indian Christianity.

The accounts runs thus:—" In the days that Vikramaditya([a]) reigned in India people from the land of the Firanghis([b]) came to us to trade. The city and country of Tiru Mayila([c]) was ruled in those days by Candappa Rajah, of the fishermen caste. Among these Eiranghis was one named Thomas, who, with his disciples, fixed his abode on our mountain. He was also called " Saint Thomas ", because he was consecrated to God and lived entirely detached from the world. So from that time Tiru Mayila has been called " St. Thomas's Mount " or " The Mountain of the Firanghis ". As Thomas was a foreigner and a Christian, the Hindus of high caste generally refused to have anything to do with him, but a certain number of the lower people embraced the religion of Christ, and through the love which they bore to their *guru,* Thomas, they came and settled in the lands near his dwelling-place.

Some time after this there was seen one day from the summit of the mount an immense piece of wood floating out at sea towards Madras. King Candappa hearing this ordered the fishermen to man their boats and to make for the castaway and bring it to land. Hundreds of fishermen obeyed the rajah, but all their efforts were in vain. The Christians having told this to their priest, St. Thomas, the latter replied: " If the King desires, I will very soon put him in possession of the floating wood ". This offer was reported to Candappa Rajah. He sent for the man of God and asked him to do him this service. Thomas entered a boat and when he reached the spot where the flotsam was, he simply sailed round it and touched it with his holy hand, then returned to the shore. Then, wonderful to relate, the wood without being towed started itself and followed Thomas's boat as a dog its master([d]). Candappa Rajah could not contain the joy in his heart. Learning by this sign that the man of God had the power of miracles, he wished to attach him to his person and entrusted him with the education of his son. So Thomas took possession of the apartments prepared for him by the rajah in the fort close by the palace, and made use of the influence which his high station gave him to build several Christian churches, one of which still exist at Tiru Mayila in Fort Street and bears the name of Thomeyâr Côvil (Thomas Church).

([1]) See on this subject the writer's paper at the Centenary Meeting of the Bdyal Asiatic Society ("Record Volume).

The ministers of Rajah Candappa, much annoyed to see that the prince himself and his son had fallen into the snare of the Firanghi priest, realised that they must oppose his designs by all possible means, as otherwise there would be an end of the Hindu religion in Tiru Mayila. At first they plotted all kinds of intrigues to oblige the man of God to leave the country and to force the rajah to send him away. Their efforts in this direction were fruitless. They then conceived an atrocious plot and carried it into execution without delay. One day, as the prince was returning from his preceptor's house towards nightfall they fell upon him unexpectedly and beat him to death. Then running to the palace, they shewed the rajah the inanimate body of the young man and said: '' The teacher whom you have given to your son is more ferocious than the tiger of the jungle. He has beaten him so cruelly that he is dead. Behold! "

Candappa believed the words of his ministers and flew into such a rage that he ordered Thomas to be seized and put to death before his eyes. The holy man was led before the rajah, who reproached him bitterly with his supposed crime. The saint said: " I will restore your son to life: you may then ask him if it is I who murdered him ".

Saying these words, he spread his hand over the corpse and said : " Young man, arise!" As though awaking from a profound sleep, the youth rubbed his eyes and sat up. Candappa, mad with joy, pressed him for a long time to his bosom, then said: " 0 my son, whom I love as the apple of my two eyes, speak: who killed you? " The young prince's only reply was to point Lis finger at the murderers; then he explained to his father the black motives that had driven them to the crime.([1])

Canda Raja had them all put to death, after which he and his son embraced Christianity. The Hindus of Tiru Mayila conceived a violent hatred of St. Thomas and determined to get rid of him at all costs. One day that the rajah was absent, they attacked the man of God and beat him severely. The Saint, in order to save his life, fled and hid himself in the jungles of Sinna Male (Little Mount). It is said that the Muni Bharadvaja was at that time living there and took the saint under his protection. What is certain is that a chapel was built at Sinna Male (Little Mount) in memory of the event. An annual feast is still celebrated there and pilgrims are shown the impression of the feet of St. Thomas in the rock.

However, Candappa Rajah at last discovered the holy man's retreat and brought him back to the fort. But the hatred which the Hindus had conceived against the Christian priest soon blazed forth again, like a fire which has smouldered under the ashes, and they swore to put him to death. One day, whilst the man of God was at prayer, his enemies came in great numbers to seize him. He had only time to escape by a back door and, unknown to

([1]) A similar tradition is recorded by the Portuguese historian D. C. Barros (Dec. III, ch.III ff.). But the murdered boy was the son of the Brahmin and not of the king. And that very Brahmin was the accuser.

them to take refuge in a church which he had built to the west of Tim Mayila. On his arrival, as he was now very old, he fell down from fatigue. This church still exists: it used to be called " The Chapel of Exhaustion "it is now called " The C long. The approach of his enemies forced him to fly. This time he went towards the north, where there was a very dense jungle, not far from the sea. He succeeded in reaching it, but perished therein from fatigue and privations, to the great joy of the Hindus. (•)

Now, some time after this event it happened that a ship from the land of the Firanghis was running before the wind during the night off our coast. The pilot on board was not thinking of anything, when all of a sudden he saw a strange light which rose from one spot on the shore up into the sky. Wishing to know the cause of this strange phenomenon, he landed and followed by some natives, made his way to the spot where the light was shining. Now this was the very place where Thomas had died. The pilot found the saint's bones and, as he knelt to venerate them, a voice from heaven was heard saying: " Thou shalt build a chapel on this spot, then thou shalt carry the relics of the saint to the land of the Firanghis, where thou shalt bury them ».(')

Obedient to the command of the Deity, the pilot built on the very spot where he had found the bones a chapel, called to this day Our Lady of the Woods, where pilgrims are still shewn the hair of the saint and some of hi* relics ".([g])([h])

NOTES.

+(a) THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA.

More than one king in Ancient India seem to have assumed the title ' Vikramaditya ' However the best known king of that name was a ruler of Ujjain, who is intimately connected with the foundation of the Vikrama Era (58 B.C.). Some scholars *(e.g.,* Kielhorn) think that no such king reigned in Ujjain at that time; but Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has proved on the authority of the Jain Chronologies that there lived two Satavahana kings of that name in the first century before Christ, and that one of them ascended the throne in 58 B.C., from which dates the Era([1]). This also agrees with the known facts of Graeco-Roman trade; and is therefore very significant as a datum.

(b) " FIRANGHII. "

The term Firanghi (Malayalam, 'Parunki') was used in South India for the Portuguese and for their local descendants ([2]). It originated from the Arabic word Faranji (Frank), the well-known name by which the people of

([1]) Indian Antiquary, 1917, p. 151; 1918, p. 112.
([2]) Yule and Burnell, Hobson Jobson, p. 269.

Western Asia called the Europeans. The term, however, is here used to denote the people of Western Asia as well, but such use is very rare. Perhaps this is an anachronism, due to the quite natural identification of all christian peoples with the Farangis (or Europeans).

(c) " TIRU-MAYILA. "

It means 'Sacred peacock.' The modern name Mylapore means peacock town. Mylapore is often identified with Ptolemy's Manarpha. Marignoli (circa. 1350) calls it 'Mirapolis'; Conti (c.1440) has Malepur; and the Portuguese writers call it Meliapor. It was an important port and town in early times.

(d) THE LOG INCIDENT.

The story of the log is narrated by mediaeval European travellers, John de Marignoli, Duarte Barbosa (1518), J. de Barros, Mandelslo and others. Marignoli's version is more elaborate than in the Hindu account above. According to him, the tree was cut from Adam's Peak by St. Thomas's servants and he himself pushed it to the sea and commanded it to go to Mylapore! Ultimately the wood way used for building a church at Mylapore.([1]) Barbosa gives the story as having taken place at Coulam (Quilon, in Travancore) and adds that the Apostle worked the miracle after having been assured that he will have the wood for himself.([2]) Barros connects it with Mylapore; and so does Mandelslo and other writers of the century. The mention of Adam's Peak is interesting, because there is an old Malabar song which connects St. Thomas with that mount (Adampa mala). Some Portuguese writers *(e.g.,* Couto) suggests that the footprints on that mount are those of St. Thomas, who, according to tradition, preached in Ceylon also.([3])

(e) THE APOSTLE'S MARTYRDOM.

The various accounts on the death of St. Thomas do not agree on its mode; but there is great similarity between the versions. Barros mentions that the Brahmins assaulted and stoned the saint, and that while he was lying on the point of death he was pierced with a spear and killed. The Malabar version *(i.e., '* Thoma Parvam ' and other old songs) agrees with this.([4]) However the view that St. Thomas died a natural death finds support in the account of Heracleon, the Gnostic teacher of the second century.

In East Coast legend and in the accounts of mediaeval travellers like Marco Polo, Marignoli and Barbosa, the death of the Apostle is, curiously enough, connected with peacocks; and this has found its echo also in Malabar legend. But the actual details of the incident differ in the various accounts. Marco

([1]) *Cathay and the Way Thither* (Hakluyt Soc.) ITT. 250.
([2]) Barbosa, Edited by Longworth Dames, Vol. II, 126.
([3]) J. Riberio, *Ceilao,* p. 138. See also Ceylon Antiquary, Jan. 1923, p. 190.
([4]) Fr. Bernard, *Christmas of St. Thomas* (Malayalam.) I passim.

Polo simply says that the Apostle was shot accidentally by a " Govi" who was shooting peacocks([1]) Marignoli mentions that St. Thomas wore a mantle of peacock feathers (in memory of which, I fancy, Malabar Christians specially venerate peacock feathers and make it the principal adornment when acting their mystery play, Margamkali, which contains an account of St. Thomas's doings) and retired at night to a place where there were many peacocks and there he was shot. Yule and Dames think that there is a hiatus in this story. Barbosa has a queer account. One day a hunter, with an arrow, shot an exceedingly beautiful peacock from among a great number. All the peacocks flew away, but the wounded one after a short flight fell down and died. On approaching, the hunter found not a peacock but the body of a man ; and it happened that the dead body was that of St. Thomas !([2])

This peacock story has tempted some writers to attribute a Buddhistic origin to the legend, but this is a mere conjecture of little historical value.

() THE TRANSLATION OF KELICS.

This account of the translation of the Apostle's bones is very. valuable, and agrees with the tradition of the Syro-Chaldoan church that in the third century A.D., a merchant (called 'Khabin' in the Syro-Chaldean calendar) transported St. 'Thomas's relics to Edessa where it rested for a long time.([3]) St. Ephraim who lived in the fourth century composed a poem on this event. This story, however, was unknown to the mediaeval travellers. They believed that the Apostle's body lay in the tomb at Mylapore. Barbosa ([4]) relates that the Chinese cut off one of his arms in order to take it to their land as a relic, but that the Apostle himself appeared and drew it back to the grave.

The travellers' accounts are necessarily mutilated versions of the tradition; because the Christian Community that preserved the tradition had practically died out by about 1500 A.D. Marco Polo, Nicolo Conti and other early travellers found a scattered Christian people there, but Barbosa found none except pilgrims from Malabar. The keeper of the tomb was himself "a poor Moor ", and the church was in ruins. The place was in this state when the Portuguese came. Hence the fantastic stories of later writers, who must have received them from ignorant lips. Hence also the mistakes of the Portuguese enthusiasts. Barbosa's statement that the Chinese came to claim a portion of the Apostle's relics is interesting in the light of the Malabar tradition that St. Thomas sailed to China from Mylapore and preached Christianity there. The Syro-Chaldsean breviary of the Malabar Church states that " By St. Thomas the Chinese and the Ethiopians were converted to truth ". The old Malabar song, *Thoma Parvam,* also mentions this. On the connection of St. Thomas with China, see the ambitious but inconclusive

([1]) Yule and Cordiar (1903), p. 355.
([2]) Barbosa, op. cit., Vol. IT. 128.
([3]) Medlycott, India and the Apostle Thomas, p. 23.
([4]) Op. cit. p. 128—29.

work of E. A. Gordon, *Asiatic Christology and the Mahayana,* Maruzen & Co. (1921).

(g) THE SHRINE OF ST. THOMAS.

The story about the Church built over the tomb of the Apostle finds ample corroboration in the writings of early travellers. It rests on far more secure foundations than were known to W. R. Phillips, Milne Rae and other critics. Gregory of Tours in the sixth Century writes of a pilgrim, Theodorus, who " had been to that part of India where lay the body of Apostle Thomas, where also he saw a monastery and church of striking proportions ". This monastery is mentioned in Syriac writings of the same century. A Persian monk, Zadôe, is called head of the monastery of St. Thomas in India.([1]) King Alfred's embassy must have visited the shrine in the ninth century. Muhammadan travellers of the same time knew of it. From the thirteenth century we have ample records of the church in Mylapore. Marco Polo and Friar Odoric speak of the Church and those who kept it. Conti, in the following century, found a 'large and beautiful' church where 'St. Thomas lies buried! Many other mediaeval travellers speak of the size and beauty of this Church; and their accounts agree very well with the description left by Theodorus of the sixth Century. However, when the Portuguese came to the place, the church was in ruins.

(h) THE PROBLEM OF GONDOPHARES.

The most important problem arising out of the Hindu account is whether it throws any light on the identification of the king, Gudnaphar([2]), mentioned in the *Acta Thomae* as the patron of St. Thomas in India. A few decades ago an inscription and many coins of an Indo-Parthian King, Gadaphara (or Gudaphara) were found in the Cabul region, and some scholars rushed to the conclusion that they had found the clue to the riddle of St. Thomas. Yet no vestiges of Christianity have yet been found in that region, and no fresh light has been thrown on the question of early Indian Christianity.

South India is the region to which immemorial tradition points as the field of St. Thomas's activities. According to accounts preserved by the Malabar 'Christians of St. Thomas', it was a king of the Chola Country (i.e., Coromandel) that was instrumental in bringing St. Thomas to India. Ill Malabar, the name of that king is not remembered; but in East Coast tradition, the king is known as Candappa (or Canda). There is still preserved in Mylapore a stone with a representation of what is locally believed to be Candappa Raja on one side with one of St. Thomas on the other. Can this be the original of the Gûdnaphar of the Acta? We have as yet not sufficient data to decide.

It will, of course, be argued that the Hindu account given above originated from the *Acta* itself. Those who agree with Milne Rae will naturally

([1]) Labourt, " Le Christianisme dans PEmpire Perse," 1904, p, 306.
([2]) This is the form of the name in the Syriac Acta, which has been judged as the original. In Greek, it occurs as ' Gondaphoros.'

hold this view. But a comparison of the two accounts will show that there little in common between them. The dream-vision and the palace-building story—which form the very core of the *Acta*—do not occur in the Hindu account.

On the contrary, it seems more likely that the Edessan author of the *Acta* got the story of St. Thomas and of the Indian king from the original Indian tradition, of which the Hindu account above quoted is but a fragment. Because, after all, the events narrated in the *Acta* are said to have happened in India, and information on them must of course have come from that country. Usually such traditions were spread abroad by travelling traders. Besides we know of many embassies of Indian kings to the Roman Emperor in the early centuries of the Christian Era; ([1]) and we further know that Bardaisan (151-223), the reputed author of the *Acta,* has himself written a work on India (' Hypomnemata Indica ') from information gathered from Indian ambassadors passing through Edessa on their way to Rome.([2])

It is also necessary to remember in this connection that the *Acta* itself is not a historical work or chronicle but a romance, written with a propagandist object. This is the view of those who have made the closest study of the work. Hardly any of its characters have Indian names; and Bishop Medlycott's attempt at finding in it Indian manners and customs has had little success. It cannot possibly have any historical value except to affirm that the Indian tradition of St. Thomas is one of hoary antiquity.([3]) But the tradition itself must have been derived from India; and the original must be sought in that country. South India with its ancient Church and lithic remains is the fountain-head of that tradition; and it would be unreasonable to say (as did Milne Rae) that the whole tradition was transplanted bodily into South India.

The question whether the Gûdnaphar of the *Acta* is to be identified with the Indo-Parthian king Gadaphara or with the South Indian king Candappa will not be easily decided. Nor does it matter very much, seeing how low the historical value of the *Acta* is. Besides the various versions of the *Acta* do not agree on the name of the king. The Greek and Syriac forms vary, as already shown. The Ethiopic versions ([4]) differ from both. One of them speak of a " King of Gôna " ([5]). Another version gives his name as ' Kantu Koros ' Again was ' Gadaphara ' of the Coins really an Indian King? The Grseco-Roman Geographers of the first centuries A.D. do not include in the term ' India ' the regions west of River Indus.

It is not claimed that the Hindu account above quoted can be accepted as historical. But it may have some value, if taken along with the Christian tra-

([1]) Priaulx, in J. R. A. S. XVII 309; also 1861, p. 345; 1862, p. 274.
([2]) Rae, *Syrian Church in India,* p. 40.
([3]) The Acta existed at least from the 4th century. If not Bardaisan, others of his school must have composed it.
([4]) W. R. Phillips, I. A. (1903) p. 156.
([5]) Can it be equivalent to CholaP

dition and the monumental remains of Malabar and Mylapore. At any rate it shows that the South Indian tradition is of some antiquity and has a value independent of what Syriac writings have to say on it.

The Will of Mehdi Ali Khan Bahadur of Oudh.

(By Ram Prasad Tripathi, M.A.)

Hakim Mehdi was born in Kashmir some time between 1743-44. His father Mirza Khwaja Sakhi is said to have come from Tabriz to Kashmir where he settled down finally. His elder brother was Mirza Hadi Ali Khan.

The early life of the Hakim is enveloped in darkness and nothing whatever is known as to why and when he came to Oudh and what start did he get in life. According to Sleeman he was employed in the diftrict of Azamgarh under Boo Ali Khan in the year 1801, and when that territory was annexed to the British Government he returned to Lucknow.

The Hakim now requested through Ikram Ullah Khan for Mustagiri or contract. Nawab Saadat Ali Khan was pleased to appoint him Nazim of Chakla Mahumdi on a contract of 311,000 in 1804, and in 1807 he got a contract of Khairabad for 5 lacs. These two chaklas were so successfully managed that after paying the state dues a balance of about 4 lacs was left in favour of the Hakim, while the territory flourished and the peasants were happy.

His efficiency and alertness attracted the attention not only of the Nawab but also of Major Baillie, the Resident, who invited his services in supporting, with men and material, the military operations of Colonel Mac Grath against some of the rebellious zamindars and officials in the district of Bahraicb. The officers were extremely pleased with the Hakim for **his** valuable assistance, and it was proposed to place the management of the conquered forts in his hands. He was even employed to carry on negotiations with the Government of Nepal for delivering up the political criminals who had fled to that country. His efforts were pretty successful.

These services raised him in the esteem of the Nawab who was disposed to depute him to settle the confusion which prevailed in the districts of Sultanpur and Pratapgarh. Major Baillie while admitting that the Hakim was " an active and zealous servant of your Government," and " has hitherto regularly paid the revenues of the several districts which he farms " was opposed to consign to his charge additional districts, being " apprehensive that the trust will greatly exceed his capacity." Only three days after writing his opinion he changed his mind probably as a result of his conference with Colonel Palmer, and on the 23rd September, 1810, requested the Vazier to depute the Hakim for collecting necessary supplies and organizing intelligence for the troops operating in those districts. The Vazier refused to entrust that work to him. At this Baillie explained his

position by pointing out that those were not the only services required him but he would be called upon to ascertain "the capacity of the lands, with a view to their just assessment, as the Hakim is an intelligent and active officer." The Resident went so far as to write on 19th October that " I know none of Your Excellency's servants of greater ability than Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, nor indeed any so well qualified as he is for the performance of the duties which I have mentioned.' The Nawab extricated himself out of the difficulty by procuring a written statement from the Hakim regarding his inability to attend to any other businesa except that of his own districts where it was alleged disorder had set in.

The disapproval of the Nawab's proposal to send the Hakim to Sultanpur and Pratapgarh, coupled with intrigues going round the Vazier and the Resident, strained the relations between them and extremely displeased the Resident with the Hakim. During the months of May and June the Resident came to believe that the Hakim was opposing the introduction of the reforms in Oudh and was the chief obstacle in his way. On June 20, 1811, he wrote to Edmonston that he had reasons to believe that His Excellency the Vazier, " misled by the pernicious and interested councils of his present sole adviser, Hakim Mehdi, to whose advice he has seemingly abandoned himself during the last two months, had determined on evading a reply to my letter of the 20th ultimo." He was declared to be " the enemy of reform," " a traitor " and after suffering chastisement and disgrace was banished.

His removal did not improve the matters and the question of Reforms remained where it was. As soon as Lord Minto who was a strong supporter of the Resident retired, and Lord Moira who was believed to be well disposed towards the Vazier took over the charge of Government, the Hakim was recalled (November 1813). From that time till the death of Saadat Ali Khan, July 1814, he continued to exercise enormous influence over the Vazier who was believed to act in all matters " in concert with him."

Hakim Mehdi was not against reform in the administration; but he disliked the encroachment of the Resident on the internal affairs of the Government, for he. believed that it would ultimately place the state under full control of the British. The initiation of the proposed reforms by the Resident was in his opinion directed towards that end, hence he opposed it. The Hakim would rather like the Vazier to take the initiative himself or get it done through his own agency. In the words of Lord Moira " Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan is said to have instilled in His Excellency's mind that Major Baillie was seeking personal objects in urging the immediate introduction of the reform and was endeavouring by its means to establish his own authority in the affairs of Oudh and to increase his patronage and reputation." This the Governor General was not disposed to believe and attributed it to Baillie's suspicions.

When Ghaziuddin Haider came to throne the Hakim persuaded him to his own views and advised him to represent his case to the Governor General.

Lord Moira directed the Resident not to interfere with the Vazier's affairs. He might have even recalled Baillie had not Agha Mir exploited the fears of the Vavier and " frightened him into withdrawing all his charges against the Resident " in spite of the advice of Hr. Law and his other European friends.

When Agha Mir became the Naib he directed his energy in uprooting his possible rivals. Mehdi Ali Khan was one of the most formidable among them, for he had not yet lost his influence over the Vazier. He was asked to give an account of a sum of several lacs standing against him, but Agha Mir was disarmed when the Hakim remitted the whole amount at once. Taking full advantage of the initial success Mehdi Ali applied for a grant of the contract of Bahraich promising to pay 1 lac more than what the then Amil paid. Nothing could have pleased Agha Mir than his request for voluntary exile from Lucknow; consequently it was granted.

About the end of 1816 or the beginning of 1817 it was rumoured about that Hakim Mehdi was responsible for the murder of Amar Sinha, the late Amil of Buhrciich as he wished to lay his hands on his property which was valued at fifteen to twenty lacs or because he was believed to be a supporter of Agha Mir. It is difficult to say definitely how far the allegations were true, as the evidence is too flimsy to be relied upon. Agha Mir would have availed himself of this opportunity to crush his rival had the Hakim not silenced his opponents and officials by bribe. But when the term of contract expired, in 1819 Agha Mir increased the value of the contract by five lacs. Realizing that he would not be able to pull on with Agha Mir he gradually removed all his property to Shahjahanpoor which was near Mahumdi, and settled down there. As the Sunni atmosphere there was too thick for him he shifted finally to Fatehgarh.

It was not till the death of Ghaziuddin in October 1827 that the Hakim could think of once more returning to serious politics. Nasir Uddin, the new ruler, had suffered much at the hands of Agha Mir, while a prince, and it was believed that he would soon squeeze himself out of his influence.

Meanwhile Hakim Mehdi set his net in order. He sent forged letters under the seal of the king to the Governor General representing the grievances the King had against Agha Mir, and his helplessness to touch him because of the close friendship which existed between him and the Resident, and praying to His Excellency to save him from the Mir who was thirsting for his blood. Two letters of this nature were believed to have been written but they did not produce immediate results, as the king was not willing to acknowledge them as his own. Besides, he procured the services of Faizunnissa, sister of Mir Fazl Ali the reputed father of Faridoon Bakht, to set the mind of Badshah Begam against Agha Mir. This smart lady had not only saved the life of Nasiruddin from the revengeful anger of Badshah Begam, after the assassination of his mother Subha Daulat, but had even persuaded her to bring him up as her own adopted son. But

his real opportunity came when he won the sympathy of Lord Combermere whom he met at Allahabad in 1827, and persuaded to grant a strictly private interview to the Nawab and inquire into the allegations.

The upshot of the intrigues **and** adventures **was that Agha Mir was** arrested in December 1827. Saheb Rai, one of the managers of **-Hakim's** state, has given the date in an amusing chronogram.

The fall of Agha Mir was not followed by the installation of Hakim Mehdi. Fazl Ali the daring adventurer and one of the chief agents in the intrigue, was chosen for ministership. But the Hakim did not relax his ettorts. After two slight disappointments his turn came when he had won the courtiers of the king and the sympathy of Badshah Begam, and Lord W. Bentinck had strongly warned the king against allowing the administration to deteriorate so precipitately. It was universally believed that the Hakim was the only and the fittest man to save the state from utter ruin. He was invited in June 1830 to take the office, but it was not till November that he received formally the robe of Niyabat even against the wish of Mr. Maddock, the Resident.

His straight talk and business-like manners had an air of roughness about them, hence in high circle and flattery loving atmosphere they began to speak ill of him. The Resident, Mr. Maddock, also conceived a thorough dislike for him, regarded him as " decidedly inimical to English influence " and wished either to drive him out or rule over him. He wrote volumes of complaines to the Governor General but that lover of peace the genial **Lord "William Bentinck would not attach more importance than** they **deserved.** On the other hand, in his Minute of July 1831, he wrote " I believe of no such hostility on the part of the minister. He is indisputably one of **the** ablest men in India, and is not surpassed by any other individual whether European or Native as a Revenue Administrator. . . . . My **hope** has **always** been and is, that able as he certainly is beyond all other men to reform **the** administration. . . . . he will be equally willing to accomplish this **great** object." Ultimately Maddock had to vacate the office for Major Law.

Hakim Mehdi had won the favour of Lord Bentinck by at once paying off the arrears of the salaries of Government servants which had been held up for three years, and disarming, through his able Kotwal Raja Darshan Sinha the people of Lucknow in one day, a task which many before him had attempted but none accomplished. Freed from worries **and** anxiety caused by the attitude of the late Resident he turned his attention to reform. He began with retrenchment **at one** hand **and reform** at **the other. He** mercilessly applied his axe to all unnecessary expenditure **and superfluous** establishment, systematized revenue collection, embodied **the regulations for the administration in a book, reorganized the civil courts and police, punished**

corruption and suppressed defiance of law. Heber says his policy was to establish the system of zamindar collectors of revenue instead of public farmers, and to introduce the Amani system throughout the kingdom. He was even prepared to appoint European Aumils but the Government of Calcutta which had seen enough of that experiment in Bengal simply disallowed it. The energy which he exhibited and the measure of success he achieved won for him the praise of the Resident who pronounced him to be " The most able and efficient minister that this state (Oudh) has possessed during last twenty years."

But he was not destined to enjoy the office for more than four years. The causes of his fall have been serially described by Nasiruddin Haider in his letter of 22 Rabi I, 1248 Hijri, to the Governor General. These charges covered a wide ground including cruelty, corruption, misappropriation of public money and high treason; but they are obviously exaggerated. There is no doubt that at one time he wanted to take a contract of the whole state for 1 crore and 1 lac for five years, and at another laid a hereditary claim to 5 per cent, of the income and 5 per cent, of the expenditure of the state, which clearly show the extent to which his cupidity could go. But the chief causes which brought about his downfall were the drastic measures which he hud adopted to cut down the expenditure of probably the most luxury-loving and licensious ruler of the luxurious kings of Oudh. It is alleged that he would not allow, even for king's own dress, cloth costing more than 10 or 15 rupees per piece, and would give him handkerchiefs of Khasa cloth which was sold several yards for a rupee and is now ordinarily used in hospitals for bandage! He equally displeased Malikai Zamani by interfering with her Jagir, and by his arrogance alienated the sympathies of Badshah Begam. His retrenchments had made him unpopular and had hardly left a man to deplore his fall. He might have still continued to sway the destiny of Oudh, probably for her good, but Lord Bentinck true to his declared policy did not move his finger to save the minister from ruin. He was dismissed on the 7th August 1832, but was spared the indignity, which usually followed such catastrophe, on account of the British intervention. In March (1833) he was allowed to retire to Fatehgarh to brood over his misfortune and the unhappy consequences which the short-sighted king of Oudh was inviting over his head.

After his retirement he began to spend money for public purposes. No beggar returned from his door disappointed. He built an iron suspension bridge at Khodaganj, and other bridges elsewhere, rehabilitated a town in Kashmir which had suffered terribly from an earth-quake, built an imambara in Kashmir, with a view to provide employment for Kashmiri artisans he opened a shawl factory, and above all made an endowment of 535,000 rupees for charity and religious purposes which still continues under the care of the premier family of Lucknow the Nawab of Shish Mahal.

About the fag end of his life on 24 September 1837 the octagenarian administrator was invited by Muhammad Ali Shah to take over the ministership again. He could not keep the reins of government in his hands long for he was played out, and in a couple of months died on 25th December after an illness of a week at the good old age of 94 years. His nephew, Ahmad Ali Khan, known by his official title Munawwaruddaula built a tomb for him to the east of Golaganj where it stands as a melancholy witness of the ravages of time.

This *in* short is a rough sketch of the life of the executor of the will. The will is in the possession of Mr. E. Burn, a member of the Board of Revenue in the United Provinces and a well-known man to the students of numismatics. He sent the manuscript to Dr. L. F. Rushbrooke Williams, the then University Professor of Modern History in the University of Allahabad, for transcription and translation. The latter was pleased to entrust that task to me which I did though not to my entire satisfaction. The manuscript was written in running Shikasta style and was badly mutilated by worms, hence in spite of all the pains taken some words remained doubtful and undeeiphered.

The importance of the will lies in the fact that it enables us to fix with pretty certainty the dates of Hakim's birth and death. It is just possible that the Hakim who was then in his seventieth year might have thought it proper to take advantage of the renewed confidence of Saadat Ali Khan as the will was executed in 1229 Hijri (1813). It gives us his estimate of his nephew Ahmad Ali Khan, known as Munawwaruddaulah, who was destined to hold the ministership of Oudh for two years and also of his nephew's worthless son Muhammad Ali Khan whom he calls illiterate and stupid. This stupid man, according to Nasiruddin Haider's complaint, when of four years was presented to him with a request to adopt him, as his own son! As the Hakim had no son he bestowed his warm affection on his nephews and other relatives and in this will we find the order of importance he gave them. About Mumtaz Begam, his wife, he gives us some interesting information, and it is really amusing to read the detailed instructions about dress, etc., which she was required to follow after his death. About the interesting and useful endowment known as Raddi Mazalim the will has the following :

" From my property and possession about five or six lacs nay even up to ten lacs should be spent for my immunity, charity, Khums and Zakat. Every year or after a few years (money, etc.,) should be sent to Kashmir, Lucknow, Karbala just as I do." Similar other inferences can be drawn from the Will which I leave to speak for itself.

Translation of the Will.

" It is certain that every living creature will have to taste (the syrup of) death. This humble creature, who by the grace of God has got all his senses healthy and intellect sound, who in spite of physical troubles possesses

healthy Sensory nerves **and** strength of body and soul in tact, has reached his seventieth year. It is a famous saying that " my followers shall live between seventy and eighty," and therefore, for the sake of precaution **and** future I write my will; so that no quarrel may arise after my death between those who survive. All my friends, relations, officers and learned men of the Shiaite way, will bear the testimony to this will, and no one will have any grievance and quarrel in the matter of my property, goods and stock. I had no son from my own seed, and therefore throughout my life I supported the children of my absolved brother and sisters, and loved them more than I would my own children. Mirza Ahmed Ali Khan, I have particularly fostered with greater care than I could have shown to my own son, and he had thus, as if it were, no business with his father and mother. I have spent lacs of rupees in his marriages and on his children, have never separated him even in my tours, and have allowed him freedom and independence in all the family affairs as I could have given to my own children. By the grace of True God he got a son named Muhammad Ali Khan whom, from the day of birth, I have fostered under my own care, and in whose marriage I have spent lacs of rupees. Nay, I have even transferred to his name many papers and documents relating to estate and property, while as a matter of fact their keeper and ? is Mirza Ahmed Ali Khan, Muhammad Ali Khan from his childhood even up to this time, when he has become a father, has got no experience of worldly affairs and no acquaintance with reading, writing and worldly (religious?) matters. I have therefore, made Ahmed Ali Khan the owner and possessor in my place-*(i.e.,* my Successor) after my death, so that he might take care, after my demise, of my dear ones, relatives and children of my sisters just as I take-care of them, following my treatment towards them. And when I pass away from this world he should follow the same course in matters of offerings and burial ceremonies that I adopted after the death of my respected brother, should appoint for me Quran reciters and Hajja pilgrims just as I did for my brother, and should bury me in the tomb in which my brother is buried. Care of the reciters of the Quran and assemblies (^JU'*) at Imam Bada should be continued. From my goods and property and costumes all that might be serviceable to the faithful and the Sayads should be distributed. From my property and possessions about five or six lacs nay even up to ten lacs should be spent for my immunity *f* **JUa*** o» \ (expiration of sins) in charity, Khums and Zakaat. Every year or after a few years it (money, etc.) should be sent to Kashmir, Lucknow and Karbala just as I do. After distributing monthly allowances to my dear ones and relatives who receive it in my lifetime from the interest of the papers of the Company, whatever remains should be spent on charity and good works. He (A. K.) should maintain his expenses, even horse and elephants according to my dignity and position. After my death he should treat my dear ones and relatives just as I do. To Muhammad Ali Khan especially, who is his son, and whom I have brought up, he should give every comfort. In

marriages, calamities and the marriages of daughters and sons, he should do just as I do. He should also provide them with dress and clothes **.just** as I do: **I** mean, their pleasure should be kept in the forefront and they should not be alienated. His women (concubines), however, should be turned out and he should be separated from them.

Mir Saiyad Jan should receive to the end of his life the monthly allowance which I give him. As there is no hope of his living longowing to his ill health every month fifty rupees should be given ? ? and the rest of his allowance should be spent on the Haj and pilgrimages (زیارت), for his wife would not do anything. The wife of Mirza Rafi Ali Khan should receive sixty rupees monthly. As the son and the daughters of Mirza Rafi Ali Khan have been married to the children of Mehdi Ali Khan, whatever may remain from the allowance of Mirza Rafi Ali Khan should go to these children, *viz.*, the daughter and the son of Mirza Rafi Ali Khan.

My wife Mumtaz Begum, whose parentage I enquired thoroughly, has descended from the Afghans of Jaipur and is married to me by Nikah. Nidhan pandit who is an inhabitant of the same village of the same state knew her. Her relatives are still living. Some woman had brought her to me as a scrvantmaid, when she was of twelve years, and as she belonged to a respectable family (طفله اشراف بود) T married her, and was much pleased with her services. It is incumbent on him, therefore, that after my death he should consider her in place of his own mother, and should respect her and have a greater regard for her honour, dignity and position than for his own mother. He should not lay his hands upon the cash, goods and ornaments, which I have given her; and I hope that after my death he will not treat her improperly. If he does not approve any of her actions he should represent the matter to her with a spirit of obedience.

He should regard Ambar Ali Khan, whom I have given great honour, as his own son, and allow him to have full freedom just as I give him. He should pay no heed to anything said against him and allow him to live just as he does in my presence. To Mumtaz Begum, who was more affectionate and well-disposed towards him than myself, he should show the same obedience. In case of his obedience to and respect for her, he will eventually become the proprietor of all that she has. If, God forbid, by insinuations of women he happens to do anything against her it will be a source of disgrace: the wife of such and such person, he who was like a son could not keep satisfied. It would be wise if the household affairs should be allowed to run in the way I follow in my lifetime. As I have to give much in the shape of khums, Zakat and immunity (رد مظالم) I give it in my life and he should continue it. "Whatever property Mumtaz Begum has should be spent in the name of God for my and her own immunity for she has no son, and he is like her own son.

From the interest of the Company's papers 1,000 should be sent to the people of Najaf, through a Mujtahid; 1,000 be sent to Kashmir, through

honest men; 1,000 monthly to be given to the people of Karbala and 1,000 monthly to be spent on the strangers (pilgrims); and lastly 500, every month, should be given for the expenses of Imam Bada and my tomb. For whatever is given as Khums, Zakat and immunity will be helpful in obtaining my salvation. He should take account of the value of notes, and whatever remains of it (?) after his own expenditure he should spend according to my will.

Asharfis, golden and silver vessels and woollen clothes also should be used in the same way as they are done in my time.

I write with instance that all dear ones and relatives, Muhammad Ali Khan, men of my household, and Mumtaz Begum, should be duly satisfied, that nothing should be done against them and that they should be left free to themselves. The course of life which he has adopted during my life-time should be completely given up; even his new wife and children should have a regard for them all, so that none of them may be dissatisfied. It is proper that my own conduct towards them should be adopted so that my soul may remain happy. If it is done otherwise I shall call them to account in their after-life. He should, moreover, have a greater regard for the pleasures of dear and near ones and Mumtaz Begum, than he has for his own wife. If his own wife and sons bacoma dissatisfied no one will blame him, if after me he shows disregard and discourtesy to them (his relatives, etc.) all will blame him. If he has any regard for my soul and wants that I should remain satisfied with him even in my after-life he should do according to my will and wishes so that after my death none, particularly, Mumtaz Begum, who had amassed large wealth through me, should remain dissatisfied with him. No one should interfere with her ways and possessions. If after my death he treats her as his own mother and superior and allows her freedom, whatever she has, will eventually go to him as she has no son. It is wise that he should not go beyond her wishes, and obey and respect her just as he does in my life time, nay, he should not deflect from the right path by the insinuations of the defective-minded women. I have great apprehensions from the side of Mirza Abu Talib Khan, for, be it not, that he should win over to his side Muhammad Ali Khan or Nawab Bhoora, as both of them are stupid. It is therefore necessary that the said Mirza should have no hand (in affairs). He should deal with every one as I have been doing. In the name of Abu Turab who is his relative I have written an allowance from the notes of the Company.

I have not fixed any allowance for Mirza Abu Talib Khan in view of the fact that at Lucknow he was my agent (deputy?) and in that capacity he has earned lacs. (I have dismissed him from my agency (post)). Moreover he was once taken a prisoner, and as I could hardly tolerate his confinement I gave two lacs and fifty thousand rupees to officials for his release and thus got him free. I hoped that in the periodoi my deputyship he would pay back 2 lacs and 50 thousand which I had spent for him, but he

gave me **not a single rupee. I therefore do not write anything in his nam.** In spite **of all his secret dealings,** the affection **which I had for him should** be continued by him (successor) as **usual. He has already large wealth,** and besides the two lacs and a half which I spent **for** him.

All my property has been earned by me alone in my lifetime without the partnership of any one else. As I fostered him (successor) as my **own** son I make him the owner of it all. From his goodness I expect that he will adjust his course of life according to my own, so that no one might say afterwards that his dear ones and relatives have quarrelled and broke up like other men of wealth. Like rich men he should keep some selected horses and choice elephants and other things. He should adopt such an accommodating attitude that all the relations may obey him and no one may remain dissatisfied. He should remember that though all my relatives were displeased with me and exhibited faithlessness, yet I never ceased from supporting them and in their marriages and distress I gave them assistance beside their usual monthly allowance. He should also do the same. Never, never he should proceed against them or take them to task. With the property **I leave behind ho should live like a rich man. In** marriages of the daughters of Muhammad Ali Khan Bahadur and in dowries he should spend ten thousand. He should realize back all that I have given to others. All the papers that are in my name he should consider as his own without any share, and those which are in the name of Mir Sayyad Muhammad Khan (Jan ?) and others according to the given details (the paper is with the accountant) should be continued in their names. My costumes should be given to Muhammad Ali Khan Bahadur and others according to their needs, and should be used at his discretion and bestowed upon the Saiyyads and the faithful according to their fitness. My silver and golden vessels should be spent for my immunity according to the details which I have given. If the interest of the notes be not sufficient all the woollen goods should be sold and spent on it, so that my after-life may be happy. This depends on him. *

He should on proper occasions spend money on the erection of Masjids, hospitals, caravanserais and bridges, etc., as I did in my own time. **As** in my lifetime Saiyyads and the faithful (مومنین) were busy in reciting the Qoran day and night, they should do the same by my grave, **and** no interference should be done with it.

Be it known to Mumtaz Begum that after my death she **should wear** white dress and follow the course of a widow. She should avoid social pleasures (or the society of pleasure) as far as she can. As **is** the duty of the elders, she should be affectionate to Ahmad. **Ali** Khan, who considers her as his own mother, and whom she considers as her son. She should consider herself independent and free **in all** matters, **for** besides **him** she **has got no heir, and** she **should not adopt any course which may seem unsatisfactory to** her.

For my immunity and happiness proper expenditure should Be made on Sayyads and the faithful according to my instructions. In the world she has received good treatment from me, therefore, she should help me in my after-life, so that I may be happy. She should not forget them in her engagements of life. She ought to remember my rights throughout her whole life.

Notes of the Company to the value of nine lacs, I have put in her name. She should spend from it according to her needs, as it was done in my life-time, and, if, anything remains of it she should spend on my after-life in consultation with Mirza Ahmad Ali Khan Bahadur. If she wants to see any one of her relatives or dear ones she should use an embroidered cloth (veil) or men will talk ill of her. She should allow one or two men to (see) her in case of leisure but should not appear before any one or call anyone in the inner apartment, for men will speak ill of her. Although I have generally found her good yet after my life she should avoid suspicion of men. She should not quarrel with anyone, but Behave in such a way that every one may consider her as a superior. She should think Mirza Ahmad Ali Khan as her own son.

MEHDI ALI KHAN BAHADUR,

Muntazimuddaula.

This will has been written beyond doubt from the beginning to the end by the hand of his lordship.—Sd. Hakim Zafar Ali.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Statement of all the property (Estate) excepting mint, Kotwali, high court and Nuzul. The income of rural areas in the estates at the time of writing this paper .	1,48,75,331	11	3
Amils, etc.	1,32,00,747	2	3
(In charge) of Raja Bakhtawar Sinha Amil-dists Salon, Manikpur, Fatehpur, etc. . . .	27,12,018	7	0
Income from Majhanagary Tahsil, Huzoor . . .	1,704	3	3
Income realised from Mom mouza, Biryawan and Baksarawan, and all that may accrue afterwards may be added.	27,10,314	3	9
Ahmad Khan Amil Baiswara.	20,30,675	8	3
Manzai villages.	19,39,782	14	9
Taluqa Shingrampur.	90,892	9	6
Fariduddin Amil Bangar.	4,10,157	0	0
N .B.—Realized revenue from all the four areas of Sultan-pur in the general treasury on 1286 Hij or 48 Fasli .	15,50,877	12	6
Asafali Khan.	7,48,619	12	0

	Rs.	A.	Jr.
Makhdum Beg	8,12,258	0	6
Mahals of Sandi under Mugal Bahadur	94,050	2	0
Durga Parasad Amil	1,10,559	10	0
Anant Rai, contractor, Malgunj	100	0	0
Ajodhia Parsad, contractor, Eta	110	0	0
Contractor of the lands of Darab Ali Khan	5,822	0	0
Ashiq Ali, contractor, Ice factory and stores	3,000	0	0
Contractor Nakhas	5,100	0	0
Husain Bukhsh, contractor of the land and garden Ashraganj . . .	100	0	
Bah? Earn, contractor, Tikaitgunj .	150	0	
Anwar Khan, contractor of the gates of the holy Najaf	50	0	
Rai Jagannath, contractor, Jaohari Bazar	13,541-	0	
Sabzimandi, Kaladag and Chowdharana	33,357	0	
(a) Sabzi rnandi	-3,282	0	
(6) Ghaoharana	1,155	0	
Hamd Allah, contractor, Chhapaparcha	3,48,890	10	3
(a) Johari Bazar .	88,736	8	3
(*b*) Accounts ( )	4,324	4	3
Saligram, contractor, Karnailgunj .	12,297	13	3
Zamboori Beg, etc	338	12	3
Vazier? Ali, contractor of the banks of the Gomti	100	0	0
Tika Ram, contractor	98,108	0	0
(a) According to list	37,780	11	3
(b) Duties and Taxes (سائر)	6,927	5	0
(c) Sultanpur Distillery (?) .	11,114	7	3
(d) Duties	26,668	4	0
Rai Sahib Ram, farmer, lands of Shah Jahanabad	17,221	12	0
Anant Parashad garden of the late Shahzadi .	187	0	0
Jagannath, farmer, Kundla	3,227	0	0
— :————————————?	76,430	11	3
Balkrishana: Gunja Rakab Nager Halla (?) .	14,520	11	3
Entered in the general treasury	67,508	0	0
Beni Pershad Amil: Karawan	97,903	0	0
Balmukand Amil: villages, Barabanki .	95,620	0	0
Alopi? Ram Amil Rasulabad, etc. .	3,71,889	11.	0

	Rs.	A.	P.
Baqar Ali Khan and Sarajuduala	17,55,587	8	9
Dina Nath Amil, Kori	3,125	0	6
Wife of Mohan Lall farmer, Sasedi	58,686	0	0
Wife of Govardhan: farmer, Saron	43,000	0	6
Pargna Sidhore—according to 1227 Fasli	99,884	0)	0
Pargana Bijnor and Gosainganj	2,70,787	0	0
Mahals of-Saifpur, etc	2,34,952	0	0
Bahauddawalla Amil Khairabad	13,59,357	5	3
Estate of Bondi and Nanpara land revenue for 1227 Fasli	6,690	0	6
Tahsil Huzoor	16,74,583	0	0
Tahsil Amani	1,25,75,866	12	6
List concerning the Diwani department	4,60,431	15	0
For Baharpur in Bahrampur under Tassadduq Husain	43,435	4	6
Realized from Mahals of Sultanpur	4,16,990	10	6
Muhammad Jafar, farmer	6,419	0	0
Husain Bakhsh, farmer, Barasa, etc	24,367	0	0
Rai Jagannath	7,97,448	7	3
Adabuddaula Bahadur	4,60,138	5	3
Basant Lall farmer, Alipur	10,090	0	0
Musamamat Safra farmer, Alipur, including realized money	72,435	4	6
Ashiq Ali farmer, Shirazgunj	3,39,405	2	6
Muhammad Baqar farmer, Hujumganj	50,934	14	9
Murli Mahohar Taluqa, Namganj	70,391	0	9
Hardeo Bakhsh farmer, Bansi	11,265	4	0
Raghunath Parasad farmer, Badarka	25,593	12	6
Accounts of salaries of personal attendance and auxiliaries at			
?	39,000	0	0
?	7,30,663	7	6
Sawars, 11,993?	66,211	**14**	9
Tark Sawars, 877	9,034	14	0
Camel riders, 50	636	**0**	**0**
Camel riders, **11,505**	67,628	**13**	3
Camel riders, **35,400**	**1,50,436**	**10**	**3**
Camel riders, 3,908	**17,619**	**1**	**3**

	Rs.	A.	p.
Artillery men, 170 .	1,283	15	3
Archer, 5 .	37	0	0
Camel keepers, 249 .	4,142	12	0
Servants, 840 .	17,338	5	6
Nizamat (officials) 2,072	12,284	12	0
Servants (menials) 9,068	40,980	5	9
Attendants (حاضر رکاب)	1,50,424	11	6
Maali Mumlikat, 33,734 .	1,18,322	14	3
Kuroaki (Auxiliaries), 8,945	55,631	2	0
Nizamat, 72	12,284	2	0

A page from the **Auto-Biography of Mir Nur-ud-din Khan Bahadur** ' Shuja **Jung Aide-de-Camp to the Commanders-in-Chief, Madras.**

(By Mir Zynuddin, Bar.-at-law.)

I have much pleasure in presenting before this distinguished gathering of Historians and Archaeologists who have assembled here from all parts of India, a few extracts from the auto-biography of my great-grandfather Mir Nur-ud-din Khan Bahadur "Shuja Jung " who was an Aide-de-Camp to the Commanders-in-Chief of Madras, from the time of His Excellency Sir Thomas Hislop, the grandfather of the Earl of Minto of the Morley and Minto Reforms, down to the time of Sir Jasper Nicolls.

A short biographical note of the distinguished soldier who played not a small part in the building up of the British Empire at a very early period of its history, will not be out of place here.

In the days of the East India Company, military pursuit was considered to be an honourable vocation by the Indians and especially the Muhammadans whose past tradition and military prowess had not had time to sink into oblivion, and many young men of good ancestry flocked in numbers to the military ranks and rejuvenated their old traditions by distinguishing themselves in the field, and the East India Company, in the grandeur and plenitude of its power and magnanimity, encouraged military pursuit and amply rewarded valour by not only placing distinguished Indians in high and responsible military ranks but also by grants of *jagirs* and other emoluments on a liberal scale. One such instance is to be found in the person of Mir Nur-ud-din who after a meritorious and distinguished service for an unbroken period of 60 years (1780-1840) was granted a hereditary *jagir* which is still enjoyed by his descendants., He. was also rewarded

with a Palankeen with an allowance for its support, and obtained the honour of the *Naubat* and received the title of Nur-ud-din Khan Bahadur ' Shuja Jung ' accompanied by a magnificent gold medal studded with diamonds and other precious stones. The silver *Naubat* which is one of the exhibits in the Exhibition here and the gold medal are still among the cherished heirlooms of the family. Some idea of the high regard and esteem in which he was held by his Commanding Officers can be gathered from the following inscription found on a presentation portrait, given to him by His Excellency Sir Thomas Hislop, the first Commander-in-Chief, who selected him as his Aide-de-Camp. The inscription which is in Persian when rendered into English is as follows: —

" *Nawab Mualla Alkab* Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop Bahadur who was the Commander-in-Chief of the victorious army of the *Darul Wakumat-i* Madras, out of great kindness and regard and as a token of affection presented his portrait to Subadar-Major Nur Sahib who was his faithful courtier, truthful and loyal companion."

Nur-ud-din's father Mir Muhammad Said entered the service of the East India Company as an officer in the 12th Baltalion and was present at the siege of Pondicherry during the time of Monsieur Francois Belgoond and fought many battles which it is unnecessary here to detail. Nur-ud-din's early life was spent in the company of his father while he was engaged in fighting the battles against Haidar Ali on the one side and the French on the other. While he was quite young he witnessed the attack of Haidar Ali on the British forces between Nagoor and Negapatam where his father's battalion was stationed. Haidar Ali's forces were driven back on the first occasion but a renewed attack by him proved irresistible and the British forces had to withdraw and sail away. Nur-ud-din was with his father at this time. On the high seas the British forces were attacked by the French fleet, but the timely arrival of the British warships saved the situation by driving the French fleet out of sight and safely landing the British force at Madras. So during the early years of his life Niir-ud-din had the opportunity of watching both military and naval operations, which must have exerted considerable influence on his young mind and inspired in him a desire to adopt the profession of a soldier which eventually led him on to such a distinguished military career. Following in his father's foot-step Nur-ud-din joined the Army while he was sti gradually worked his way up until he reached the highest position which in those days an Indian could aspire to, *i.e.*, Aide-de-Camp to a Commander-in-Chief.

His auto-biography was written in Urdu in 1838 at the request and desire of His Excellency Lord Elphinstone, the then Governor, and His Excellency Sir Jasper .Nicolls, the Commander-in-Chief of Madras, and contains an account of the battles and military operations in which he played an important part.

The simple and unpretentious manner in which he has chronicled the events leads one to imagine that the writer was himself unconscious of the magnitude and importance of some of the episodes in which he was one of the chief actors. For instance he treats the siege of Srirangapatam (1799) and the death of Tipu Sultan as an ordinary occurrence without a suspicion that a page of Indian History had been turned and similarly he makes no direct reference to the important part played by him at the battle of Mahidpur, 1817, which brought him into prominence, raised him to the position of an Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief and won him a medal of distinction.

Nur-ud-din started his military career at a very young age. Being always in the company of his father he was personally known to the several Commanders under whom his father served. Even at the beginning of his career he was marked out for great events and his early exploits were under the guidance of the famous General Sir Eyre Coote against Haidar Ali's forces. He had already had a foretaste of that great warrior's onslaught while with his father; but on this occasion he was actually serving in the second battalion, during the attack against Haidar Ali's forces at Porto Novo (1781) under the command of Haidar Ali's brother-in-law the Mir, who while charging the British troops was struck down mortally wounded, an event which turned the table against the enemy whose troops retreated in great confusion. Haidar Ali who was then encamping at Moat Palliam, on the receipt of the news of his brother-in-law's death, was greatly perplexed and retreated when pursued by the British forces although he had an army larger than the British. " If the Mir had been alive," says Nur-ud-din, " we would have had great difficulty in overpowering the enemy." The British forces then pursued the Mysore troops and chased Haidar Ali until he reached Sholinghar where a severe encounter took' place. Mir Nur-ud-din says, " We fought a battle there and Haidar Ali again retreated; we then chased him through Sholinghar, Thipaul, Cuddalore and some other villages and arrived at Madras. After a few days we heard that Haidar Ali had died," and it is a matter of history how Haidar Ali's death was kept concealed from the Mysore Army as well as from the British forces till Tipu Sultan could, from Malabar, rejoin the Army.

The Mutiny among the troops of the Nawab of Carnatic.—Qn the death of the Nawab Walajah of Carnatic, 1795, Nawab Umdat-ul-umara was proclaimed his successor, but the army of Nawab Walajah broke into a mutiny and Nawab Umdat-ul-umara was wounded by a bullet fired by his own men. British troops were sent to quell the disturbance. On the death of Umdat-ul -umara in 1801 his son Ali Husain who did not accept the British terms was replaced by Nawab Azam-ud-daulah and on this occasion a similar disturbance took place and Nur-ud-din assisted General Bowser in suppressing the disturbance and restoring order and peace.

Siege of Pondicherry.—Nur-ud-din took part in the siege of Pondicherry under the command of General Broadfoot. In this siege his battalion fought for two or three months and after severe losses on both sides succeeded in capturing the fort. In this engagement Nur-ud-din was wounded by a shell. His description as to how Major Maule met with his death is of some interest. ' Major Maule of the Engineering Department got into his Palankeen and went near the walls to look out for a place for the battery with a lighted lantern about half past six in the evening; the French observing a lighted lantern discharged a cannon from their fort which killed Major Maule, and the bearers leaving the Palankeen fled."

Siege of Srirangapatam, 1790.—Nur-ud-din took part in the siego of Srirangapatam, 1799, under General Harris. After taking small forts of Tipu Sultan one after another the British Troops attacked the fort of Karur which was manned by about 4,000 troops and after a severe fighting this fort was also captured. The British troops then proceeded to Srirangapatam and Mir Qamar-ud-din Khan who came out with a large force finding the superiority and strength of the British troops retreated and after a few days the fort of Srirangapatam was taken. Here Nur-ud-din says, " At the time, the army of Tipu Sultan was away from *the* fort and was stationed near Calicut under his sons Sultan Muhiuddin and Path Hyder. Tipu Sultan was in the fort and was killed by a shot and T found him lying dead at the wicket gate; had he been out of the fort with his army there would have been a great battle. Mir Sadiq of Tipu Sultan's army came by the gate near the guard and the Head Daffadar questioned him where he was going, and he told him that he was going to his army and ordered him to open the door. The Daffadar got wild and told him that he had behaved treacherously to Tipu Sultan and that he intended to escape. Then he killed him with his sword and dragged his body out and threw it near the gate-way. I saw Mir Sadiq lying dead." After the conclusion of the peace with Tipu's sons Nur-ud-din's battalion remained at Srirangapatam. for some days under General Wellesley and afterwards proceeded to Bangalore and did duty there.

War with Pindaris.—Nur-ud-din took an important part in some of the campaigns against the Pindaris. The Battalion in which Le was serving was attached to the army of Colonel "Walker who was waging war in the vicinity of Nagpur against the Pindaris. In the course of this campaign Colonel Walker's army was stationed at a village near the Narbada and the army of Chitu Pindari about 3,000 strong arrived on the other side of the river through a thick jungle and " their apparel was better than fine Cashmere shawls." Seeing the British forces on the other side of the river the Pindari troops pretended that they came only to give water to the animals and thus prevented Colonel Walker from opening fire on them. They went into the jungles again leaving a piquet of 10 or 15 men on the bank of the rivtr. After a short time, all of a sudden the Pindari horsemen crossed the

river and attacked the British forces but they were soon repulsed. The Pindaris were then pursued from place to place. I need not here detail the numerous encounters which the British forces had with the Pindaris but there are one or two interesting incidents which are worth mentioning.

A detachment of Colonel Walker's army in which Nur-ud-din was present was sent to a place called Budhusur, a small place on the bank of the Narbada. There was a " thick jungle completely infested with tigers and wild animals/' Nur-ud-din describes an interesting incident: " On a certain day a man came to our camp from the river to sell fish but he was a spy sent by Chandrani. We bought fish from him but be appeared to be confused, on account of which we confined him and he told us that there was an army of six thousand robbers under her command and that she had went him to enquire why our army was encamped in such a wilderness and whether we had come to fight with her." Chandrani was a wonderful woman who would lead her band of robbers in the garb of a man riding on horseback. There were other similar gangs making a total of about 12,000 men who were concealing themselves in the marshes on the banks of the Narbada. Nur-ud-din was asked by the Commanding Officer to write to Chandrani and assure her that the British forces were there to fight the Pindaris and not to disturb her, and ask her if she could be of any assistance to them by supplying provisions for the troops. In answer to the letter Chandrani sent the following reply: " Why did you undergo such troubles to fight the Pindaris ? I thought that you came to fight with me; if you wish to fight the Pindaris, I shall do that for you. Many Pindaris have gone towards your dominions and in a few days they will return where you are encamped, and we ourselves are short of provisions, so if you will be so good and send us some provisions it will be a favour. I shall send my Vakil to you in two or three days' time who will inform you what my intentions are. But at the same time there are many besides me, of my caste all around you, so you must be on your guard.'' A few days after her Vakil came to the British Camp and told the Captain that he must send for the other groups of men who were concealed in the neighbourhood and give them plenty to eat and drink. The Captain took the tip and gave Chandrani's men and others sheep, rice, ghee, cloths in great abundance and they were all pleased. After a few days the Pindaris returned and Nur-ud-din's army proceeded from the jungle where they lay hidden and attacked them. He says, " We had a great fight in the jungle and drove them away. Then Chandrani's men killed these Pindaris and plundered them also. In this manner we had to fight with the Pindaris in the wilderness two or three times."

Annoyance caused by the bees.—There is a humorous page in his memoirs which relieves to a considerable extent the monotony of narrating dates and events. Whilst in the midst of actual warfare with human beings there are occasions and incidents when human beings have serious encounters against things beyond their control. After marching for two or three days in the same jungle Nur-ud-din's army encamped in a place without know-

ing that there existed in the vicinity honeycombs on the trees, each of which was as big as a bandy wheel. Here he describes the funny experience which his sepoys had. " All of a sudden a few bees at first came flying towards our pickets and went away. They were red and of a large size, and •again after some time about two or three hundred bees came and disappeared, but subsequently they came by their thousands and began stinging our sepoys. More than one or two thousand bees attacked each sepoy, and these sepoys began beating their hands all over their bodies to defend themselves against the bees, knocked their turbans off, as well as their muskets, and began to run like mad men on all sides and when I called out to them they would not listen to me and one of our men through pain threw himself into a tank, four or five feet deep and the bees stung him whenever he raised his head above water. The bees wounded our camp-followers and sepoys unmercifully. We made war upon our human enemies and never lost our sense but in trying to defend ourselves against the bees, we became senseless and our bravest soldiers could not face them, for, as they .chased us, we begun to run like mad men. After running for about half a mile our sepoys struck the flints and set fire to the dry branches of the jungle and then the bees being afraid of fire left off chasing our men."

The ' White Mutiny'—During Sir George Barlow's Governorship of Madras there was considerable dissatisfaction, especially among the European Regiment. The Military combined in general Mutiny which is known as ' White Mutiny.'Nur-ud-din who had come to Madras from Hyderabad at this time was asked by the officers to warn the Subedars and Sepoys not to join the English troops but obey the Government. Accordingly Nur-ud-din used to visit secretly in the night the Indian Regiments stationed at Saidapet and when the European Officers learnt about his nocturnal visits they determined to shoot him if he was seen again in that camp. On the receipt of this information Nur-ud-din was advised by his officer not to go to Saidapet any more. Nur-ud-din sent letters of advice to the Subedars and Sepoys enclosing a Hindustani paper published by the Government for their guidance.

The Hindustani paper is as follows: —

The Governor in Council thinks proper to inform the army of the following facts: —

" 1. That some of the European Officers in the service of the Company have disobeyed the apparent orders of Government. Therefore we thought proper to remove them from their situations and keep them separate for some days.

" 2. In doing this the Native Army may be apprehensive of fear but it must always think firmly and obey the Government, because it is serving under them and all the orders are issued by Government.

" 3. The good conduct of the Native Army towards the English Sircar will receive the same encouragement and support as were formerly experienced from the Governor in Council.

" 4. We have never intended to make any reductions in the status of the Native Army. We expect that on this declaration the sepoys will always show their faith in the Company and whatever gentlemen the Government shall place over this army must obey their orders. The reports given out by the common people, who create fear in the army reducing their confidence in the Government, are not to be trusted or given heed to. If anything wrong is advised, never agree to it.

" 5. The Madras sepoys, St. Thomas Mount Army, Trichinopoly sepoys, and Vellore sepoys at this time have all shown a good disposition which the Government have much approved of and are much pleased with. The Governor in Council expects in like manner that the sepoys at other stations also will be faithful to the Government.''

When Nur-ud-din's letter with the Government enclosure reached some of the troops in Hyderabad, the European Officers there were greatly enraged, assembled a court of enquiry and declared Nur-ud-din guilty and decided to shoot him on his return to Hyderabad. On hearing the news Colonel Conway did not allow Nur-ud-din to go back to Hyderabad. After the disturbance bad subsided Nur-ud-din went back to Hyderabad but did not join his old regiment; remained with General Sir Barry throughout in his campaign against Mir Khan who subsequently made peace with the British. Nur-ud-din returned to his old regiment. He says, " My regimental officers were displeased with me and resented my return to their regiment. They were looking for an opportunity to kill me but through the kindness of some of the European officers I escaped death. I was sent again to General Sir Thomas Hislop, Commander-in-Chief, to be his Aide-de-Camp." General Hislop was so fond of Nur-ud-din that he asked him to accompany him during his chief campaigns. One such campaign in which Nur-ud-din accompanied his chief was that against Holkar. The British army after having several skirmishes on the way approached Holkar's territories by degrees and arrived near the river Sipparat. Holkar's army under the Command of Raushan Beg with 30,000 infantry and under Ghaffar Khan with 50,000 cavalry was planning an attack upon the British forces. It was arranged that Raushan Beg should begin operations with his footmen and that Ghaffar Khan with his horsemen should all of a sudden charge the British troops. A battle ensued with severe casualties on both sides, but Ghaffar Khan gave no help to Raushan Beg and retreated towards Mandasor; whereupon Colonel Conway with his cavalry made an effective charge and captured Holkar's guns. Nur-ud-din says, " We thought that Holkar's troops would overcome us, but through the wisdom and contrivance of General Hislop we overpowered the enemy . . . Ganpati Rao came from the army of Holkar to our camp and desired peace. General Malcolm, General Hislop, and Ganpati Rao had a consultation and concluded a peace. Our army fired guns of joy." This treaty of Mandasor was signed with Mulhar Rao Holkar on 6th January 1818. Notwithstanding the treaty the

Killadars of the outlying forts **in Holkar's** territories refused **to** surrender and' **Nur-ud-din mentions the case of a Hindu Killadar of the Fort of Talnar who resisted the attack of General Hislop. Talnar** was **a large fort with an army** consisting of Sikhs, Jats, and Arabs. " They were told to leave the fort and take their arms with them, but the Hindu Killadar would not consent to do **so** and ordered the Arabs to fight . . . We went into the fort, and attacked **the 'Arabs and killed them. If it had not been for the Hindu Killadars** the Arabs would not have resisted us. After having made all the arrangements **we hanged the Killadar and went** to **a village called Ellora." It** is **a** well-known fact that General Hislop was blamed for his severity in executing the Killadar of Talnar.

After the retirement of his old Chief Sir Thomas Hislop, Nur-ud-din continued to serve as Aide-de-Camp to successive Commanders-in-Chief and after an unique record of service for an unbroken period of 60 years retired and settled down in Madras where lie died in the year 1853, leaving behind him among others his son Mir Ansar-ud-din who was Presidency Magistrate, Madras, and to whose memory a monument by public subscription Stands erected near Neill's statue on Mount Road.

The Last Will and Testament of Bahu Begum.

(By A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L.)

Bahu Begum, wife of Shuja-ud-Dowlah, Nawab Vazir of Oude, 1754-75, a short account of whose life and whose last will and testament form the subject-matter of this paper, was a conspicuous figure in the history of the later Mughals. Born of a noble family connected with the Great Mughal Court of Muhammad Shah, (1719-47), " nursed in childhood " according to Hoey, ([1]) in the arms of the Emperor of Hindusthan, **married with a** splendour and a magnificence seldom surpassed by any royal marriage in India, except perhaps that of Dara Sikoh, eldest son of Shah Jehan, and blessed with the unusually long life of 88 years, " this august **lady of ladies** " was a witness to a series of thrilling historical events and kaleidoscopic political changes such as, the decadence of the Delhi Emperors from Bahadur Shah to Shah Alum, the practical independence of the Governor of Oudh (Nawab Vazir) from the authority of Delhi (1732-43), the whirlwind invasion of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739, his plunder of the renowned Peacock Throne of Shah Jehan, the three successive invasions of Delhi by Ahmad Shah Durrani, (1748-61), and finally, the ultimate annihilation of the empire which the great Mughal Babur, had reared up on the plains of Panipat in 1526.

0) Memoirs of Delhi and Faizabad by William Hoey, Vol. I I, Allahabad 1889. This is a translation from the original Persian *Tarikh Farahbakhsh* by Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh.

" When at the zenith of her glory she possessed ten thousand troops, horse and foot, scores of elephants and countless horses. No one woman in all the 32 *Subahs* of India could be held up in her day " as her rival in either the grandeur of her surroundings or in the respect she could command. " Even in her death she was great. The sum of four lakhs([2]) of rupees spent on her funeral was considered by Captain J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, " to be modest in the extreme. " She was however accused([3]) by him as possessing "all the bigotry, prejudice and caprice of her religion, country and sex " and was further charged with being " so parsimonious in every branch of her expenditure as to be proverbial for those qualities throughout Oxide." Yet her faithful Minister, Darab Ali Khan, who had every opportunity of watching her closely, assures([4]) us that " though frugal in expenditure of her revenue, she was not only in some cases liberal but was charitable in the extreme; and that a large sum of money from twenty to thirty thousand rupees per mensem used to be distributed by her own hand among the people of her *Mahal* on the first day of each month. " Hoey also pays a tribute to her generosity and says that " the people'who earned their bread directly and indirectly through her bounty must have been more than a hundred thousand and all felt as happy and secure as though they were in* a mother's arms. " She was a model wife and a real partner to her husband and sold a large amount of her jewelleries, giving also her personal allowances to help him after his flight to Faizabad from the field of Buxar([5]) in 1764.

2. Bahu Begum whose full name was Ammat-uz-Zahra was the " only legitimate daughter of the Nawab Mutaman-ud-Dowlah Muhammad Ishak Khan, ([6]) a Noble of the Court of the Emperor Muhammad Shah and distinguished by an extraordinary share of confidence and favour of that monarch whom he served in the capacity of Diwani Khalsa or Comptroller-General of the Public Revenues of the Empire—an office in the civil department subordinate only to that of Vazir." She was married to Shuja-ud-Dowlah in 1746, son of Abul Mansur, better known as Safdar Jang, who was the builder of the city of Faizabad. The Nawab Safdar Jang was also " at this time a person of considerable rank in the Empire and was in high favour of the Emperor Muhammad Shah as well as the confidential friend of Bahu Begum's father." By the desire of the aforesaid Emperor " an alliance between the son of Safdar Jang (Shuja-ud-Dowlah) and daughter of Mutaman-ud-Dowlah (Bahu Begum) was negotiated while the parties were yet in their infancy."

([2]) Secret Cons. 30 April, 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, to J. Adam, Secy., dated Lucknow, 1oth April, 1813 (para. 16).
([3]) *Ibid* (para. 24).
([4]) Secret Cons. 27 August, 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, to the Board, dated Lucknow. 31st July, 1813 (para. 6).
([5]) *Ibid*
([6]) Secret Cons. 30 April 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, to J. Adam, Secy., dated Lucknow, 15th April, 1813 (paras. 2 and 3).

3. The father of Bahu Begum however died before the marriage of his daughter. Her elder brother Nawab Najm-ud-Dowlah, "who on the death of his father had adopted the Begum as his child, (having no legitimate children of his own) devoted the whole of his fortune to her marriage. " The marriage([7]) which took place in the year 1159 of the Hijira or 1746 A.D. was an occasion for the display of " uncommon splendour and extraordinary expense under the personal charge of the Emperor. " Among the presents offered to the bride "there were a thousand cups of silver weighing each a hundred rupees." Moreover she was a recipient of a " *jagir* consisting of parganas of Salone etc. which yielded an annual income of nine lakhs of rupees." It is a fact([8]) worthy of note that more than two crores of rupees were spent on her marriage

4. After her marriage with Shuja-ud-Dowlah in 1746 she lived with her husband in Faizabad where she continued to live even after his death in 1775. Shuja-ud-Dowlah had so high a regard for her that no one dared utter before her the names of his inferior wives or the names of his other sons except Asaf-ud-Dowlah, her own-born. Shuja-ud-Dowlah went so far as to place the seals of his government in her custody and allowed her to enjoy a perquisite derived from " a tax of a twenty-fourth part of the yearly pay of every officer and soldier of cavalry. " Further he granted her an additional *jagir* of the extensive district of Gonda for the payment of the establishments of " the Khas and Khurd Mahals. "

5. On the death of Safdar Jang when Shuja-ud-Dowlah, her husband, became Nawab Vazir of Oude her great influence over him, according to Captain J. Baillie, " occasioned a very rapid increase of the provisions assigned to her brothers, who obtained *jagirs* in Oude in the first instance of three lakhs of rupees each per annum and had those *jagirs* occasionally increased in proportion to the increase of territorial acquisition by the Vazir (Shuja-ud-Dowlah), till at length about the period of Shuja-ud-Dowlah's death the *jagir* of each of the brothers afforded a clear revenue for his support of six lakhs of rupees per annum. "

6. The next Nawab Vazir was Asaf-ud-Dowlah, (1775-97), her son. He quarrelled with his mother and left Faizabad, the head-quarters of his father, for Lucknow. But Bahu Begum continued to live at Faizabad till her death in 1816. This city had risen to a height of unparalleled magnificence under the rule of her husband almost rivalling Delhi. According to Mr. H. R. Nevill, I.CS., " it was full of merchants from Persia, China and Europe and money flowed like water." After the death of Asaf-ud-Dowlah in 1797 his adopted son Wazir Ali succeeded him, whose reign terminated after four months. Nawab Yaminud-Dowlah Saadat Ali Khan, the son of Shuja-ud-Dowlah and the step-son of Bahu Begum, next became Nawab Vazir of Oude in 1798. His name is intimately associated with her " will and

([7]) Secret Cons. 30 April, 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie to J. Adam, Secy., dated Lucknow, 15th April, 1913 (para. 5).

([8]) *Ibid.*

testament. " It was the want of cordiality and confidence between them which drove her to the protection of the British and led eventually to making them the " residuary legatees " of her will.

7. It appears from the records(°) that soon after his accession in 1799 Saadat Ali Khan entered into an agreement with Bahu Begum under the guarantee of the British in which he " promised to show her every degree of respect and attention and to do everything to promote her convenience and comfort." He further consented to grant her " the Mahals of Oude, Puchumrauth and Mangalees situated near Faizabad as *jagirs."* But the subsequent records of Government show that under the garb of friendship Saadat Ali had always kept a covetous eye on her property and that she, also, on her part was not less anxious to secure her property and jewelleries from his grasp. His other acts, such as, the *lt* sequestration of the *jagir* of her nephew Bandah Ali Khan, the placing of soldiers in Faizabad under the pretext of guarding the city," the reduction of her daily ration-allowance from Rs. 400 to Rs. 200, the removal of her old kitchen in Lucknow from the place where her son Asaf-ud-Dowlah had built it for her, and last, but not least, the grant of similar honours to his mother (Bahu Begum`s co-wife) which wore her own monopoly in the life-time of her husband, made her still more indignant.

8. Thus enraged the Begum wrote a letter to the Marquis of Wellesley,. Governor-General, towards the close of 1799.([10]) In that she entreated him to issue instructions to the Resident at Lucknow (Mr. Lumsden) directing him " not to permit any of the relations of her house, except the English, to have any concern nor in any manner to interfere in her affairs. " She, at the same time, sent for Mr. Lumsden at Lucknow, where she was then staying, and expressed to him her intention of " leaving all her wealth to the British Government " and further told him to inform the Council in London of this fact. She appeared before Mr. Lumsden in her " Sedan Chair " and spoke for herself using no medium as her spokesman and without allowing admittance to any one except her Minister, Jawahir Ali Khan, whose death occurred in the same year. This boldness on the part of the Begum highly displeased Saadat Ali Khan. He told his step-mother that he was " extremely ashamed of this unusual proceeding on her part. No stranger had ever heard her voice as long as his father or her son Asaf-ud-Dowlah were living and he would like to know what extraordinary emergency had now arisen that she talked to a stranger with her own lips and not through another person. " Bahu Begum retorted that " it was *his* accession that had driven her to this step and that she did not know how often it would be necessary for her to act in the same way. Moreover, she was her own

(•) Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to the Resident at Lucknow, dated 17th August. 1808 (para. 2).

(10) Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to the Resident at Lucknow, dated 17th August. 1808 (para. 4).

mistress and he should have nothing to say to her. " Thus the alienation between Saadat Ali and Bahu Begum became complete.

9. Mr. Lumsden informed the Governor-General about the Begum's desire and the Marquis of Wellesley sent a report to the Court of Directors in London. They replied that what the Begum had said " was only a verbal expression of her wishes, but in order to prove her sincerity she should furnish a ' will ' duly sealed with a description of her property, money and jewelleries and everything else in detail of quantity and value, with a corresponding list of the monthly allowances she desired to bequeath. " When the Begum came to know of this she in Baillie her " will " dated 14th Rabi-ul-awwal A. H. 1225, but with this no description of her property was given. It appears from the records that Captain Baillie had kept this " will " with him till 1813.

The following is a short summary of the " will " under review: —

(1) 3 lakhs of sicca rupees to be given from her personal money to her Minister, Darab Ali Khan, to erect a mausoleum over her grave.

(2) 1 lakh of sicca rupees to be paid as donation to the shrines of Karbala, Najaf-i-Ashraf and other holy places at the discretion of the above Minister.

(3) Sicca rupees 10,000 the clear *jama* of the villages in the pargana of Puchumrath were assigned to defray the annual expenses of the above mausoleum and the surplus revenue of these villages to be given to the poor and religious men inhabiting the said mausoleum.

The following important names out of the several, who were the recipients of her favour, are mentioned in the " will " under review: —

(a) Darab Ali Khan—her faithful and favourite eunuch Minister. He was a native of Rusulabad in the Salone district. He was reported to be a natural eunuch and was transferred to the Begum as a slave while still an infant.

(b) Mirza Muhammad Taqi, who married the adopted daughter of the Begum, Bibi Sufyan or Lutfunnissa Begum.

(c) Mirza Asghar Ali Khan and Mirza Akbar Ali Khan—the sons of the late Nawab Salar Jang, her youngest brother.

(d) The children of Nawab Zafar-ud-Dowlah, her nephew.

It is further stated in her "will " that it was her wish that " after the fulfilment of her desires the whole of her property of every description should devolve on the British Government. "

([11]) Secret Cons. 12 March, 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie to J. Adam, Secy., dated 27th February, 1818.

10. In 1813 the Begum being seriously; indisposed Captain Baillie sent to Lord Minto, Governor-General, her " will " on the 27th February ([12]) of that year. On the 12th March next Lord Minto instructed Captain Baillie, according to the desire of the Court of Directors, to visit the Begum and to obtain from her an accurate statement of her personal property and the places of their deposit. He was further instructed to point out to her the utility of " investing her money in the Company's Fund or depositing it in one of the Company's treasuries." The meeting took place on the 18th July and the Begum talked with him from behind a screen.. She " expressed an invincible repugnance " either to part with her property during her life-time or to furnish a statement of it. Subsequently, however, as he convinced her that the terms of her '' will '' could not be carried out by the British Government unless a schedule and other particulars of her property were furnished, she was forced, with the utmost reluctance, to substitute a "deed of disposal, together with a statement of her property " in the place of her former " will." In this new ' deed ' certain modifications were made in the allowances granted to her relatives and dependants. Darab Ali Khan, her faithful Minister, was also made to sign an " obligation " for the surrender of the Begum's property to the British Government whenever required after her death. All these documents were executed([13]) on the 26th of Rajab 1223 Hijira or A.D. 25th July, 1813. When these documents reached the British Government they also executed a corresponding engagement with Bahu Begum, dated the 29th October, 1813, by which they "confirmed and guaranteed the disposal of the Begum's personal property prescribed in her 'deed of disposal' " and further promised " that on obtaining possession of that property the whole of the Begum's directions in favour of her relations and dependants mentioned in the aforesaid 'deed' should, as far as depended on them, be carried into early and complete effect." They also promised that they " would employ their utmost influence to obtain from the Nawab Vazir Saadat Ali Khan the grant in perpetuity of the villages in the Pargana of Puchmurath with a yearly *jama* of Rupees 10,000 in the name of Darab Ali Khan according to the Begum's desire. "

From the schedule of the property submitted by Bahu Begum we find that in her treasury and palace called ' Moti Bagh ' there was at that time 70 lakhs of rupees including ready-money and jewelleries. Some of the money was placed in chests and was buried under the floor excavated for that purpose (1) in the cellar below " Bara-Dari " (2) in the small apartment adjoining the old " Kachahri " (3) in the hall of the old " Kachahri " and (4) in a small apartment of the palace. We also find that she deposited her jewels in a small room of the palace adjoining to that in which she slept and in a large room called " Toshakhana " or Wardrobe. Her utensils were kept in a room of the ' Chini Khana.' From her ' deed of deposit ' it is

([12]) Secret Cons. 12 March, 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie to J. Adam,. Secy., dated the 27th February, 1813.

([12]) Secret Cons. 27 August, 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie to Lord Minto, dated 31st July, 1813.

gathered that " she gave in trust and deposit to the British Government the amount of 70 lakhs of rupees then in her possession together with what she might in future acquire, *i.e.,* from the date of the 'deed' till the day of her death; that with the exception of certain changes in the allowances granted to several dependants and menials, the important items of her original " will " remained unchanged; and that she appointed Darab Ali Khan to distribute the allowances among the persons mentioned in her ' deed.' For a detailed account of her ' deed,' historical students are referred to the records of the Imperial Record Department.

11. It is further gathered from the papers([14]) of the above Department that on the death of the Begum in 1816 the British Government was called upon to determine what course should be followed to fulfil their agreement with the Begum. It was then determined that on Vazir (Saadat Ali Khan) agreeing to pay to the British Government such a sum as was required to enable it to fulfil the Begum's bequests, the whole of her property should be delivered up to him.

" The aggregate amount of the stipends being Rs. 2,96,976 per annum to be paid by monthly instalments, the sum of Rupees 50,11,469-12-8 was required to meet the charge. To this had to be added three lakhs for a mausoleum and one lakh as donation for the holy shrines; in all Rupees 54,11,469-12-8. The Resident, Mr. Strachey, appears to have made provision for the payment by lunar months and to have included in the arrangement certain allowances ([1]

) not originally contemplated; so that the sum paid by Saadat Ali Khan, the Vazir, was raised to—(left blank in the records), exclusive of the four lakhs required for the mausoleum and the shrines. The amount of the Begum's treasure was found to be Rupees 89,48,916 exclusive of jewelleries and other property/'

12. An account of the death of this exalted lady, Bahu Begum, as found in Hoey's translation of the *Tarikh Farahbakhsh* of Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh, amply repays perusal:—About.the year 1816 A.D. " this venerable lady " reached the age of *88* years. *"* She had declined in strength very gradually. She used to go each year to her nephew's house in the first ten days of Muharram to see the 'tazia' of Imam Husain and return when she had recited the Fatiha. " This year she prepared to go as usual but Darab Ali Khan tried to prevent her on account of the fear of a chill in the cold weather; but she was not desirous of breaking her yearly custom. " She went, but caught a cold when returning home and a slight fever ensued, which increased daily, " 'for the Lord of Death with icy breath had entered in to kill.' *"* The day before she died she said that 'the great Nawab'

([14]) Mr. Mackenzie's notes on "Lucknow Stipends."

([15])

	Rs.	
To the families of Mirza Zaman	950	monthly
Zafar-ud-Dowlah	1,000	
Indigent connections	550	„
TOTAL	2,500	

(meaning Shuja-ud-Dowlah, her husband) had come to take her." **She** repeated these words before Darab Ali Khan who was near her and passed away calmly " amidst the tears and cries of her aged and sorrowing servants. "

13. " Darab Ali Khan who enjoyed her perfect confidence carried her venerated corpse to the river and washed it. " She was "borne with great respect and ceremony " to the Jawahir Bagh on the shoulders of the nobles of Faigabad; " around her hier walked servants scattering silver and gold lor the repose of her soul with a lavish hand that enriched the needy and relieved the poor. Darab Ali Khan opened the earth in the 'baradari' at the very spot where she used to sit, spread below her some sacred dust which had been brought from Karbala by pilgrims and laid her on it to rest; a thousand men sat all night reading the sacred texts of the *Koran* till the day dawned And the shadows fled. " *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

Minutes of the proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission—held in the Madras Record Office, Egmore, on Friday, the 11th January 1934.

Present.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E, (in the Chair).
2. Professor JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., I.E.S.
3. Mr J. J. COTTON, M.A., I.C.S.
4. Mr B. K. THAKORE, B.A., Prof, of History, Deccan College, Poona.
5. Mr P. DIAS, Keeper of Records, Bengal.
6. Mr R. K. RANADIVE, M.A. (Baroda, Co-opted).
7. Mr C. W. E. COTTON, C.I.E., I.C.S. (Travancore, Co-opted).
8. Mr C. HAYAVADANA RAO. (Mysore, Co-opted).
9. RAO SAHIB Dr S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., ph.D-, M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S. (Co-opted).
10. The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, C.I.E., I.S.O., President, Legislative Council, Madras. (Co-opted).
11. Dr JOHN MATHAI, B.L., B.Litt., D.SC, M.L.C. (Co-opted).
12. Mr M. RATNASWAMI, M.L.C. (Co-opted).
13. Mr A. P. M. ABDUL ALI, M.A., F.R.S.L. (Secretary).

I.—Review of the action taken on the resolutions of the Commission passed at their fifth meeting.

In this connection a conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India, the local Governments, and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their fifth meeting was laid on the table.

Action taken on Resolutions I to I I I *(ii)* was approved by the Commission.

In regard to Resolution IV passed at the fifth meeting of the Commission, the Secretary pointed out that no reply had been received from the Government of India on the question of the creation of a Record Office in the United Provinces. It was resolved—

Resolution 1.—That the Secretary should remind the Government of India on the subject.

The Secretary informed the Commission that the Government of India were unable to accept their recommendation regarding the grant of travelling

allowance to Rev. H. Hosten to enable him to continue his research at Mylapore. (Res. V of the fifth meeting). Mr C. W. E. Cotton informed the Commission that the Travancore Darbar had agreed to treat Father Hosten as a guest of the State during his forthcoming visit to Travancore for the purpose of continuing his valuable work. A cordial vote of thanks was recorded in favour of the Darbar.

No remarks were called for on Resolution V I I (*i*) of the fifth meeting.

With regard to Resolution V I I *(it.)* the Secretary pointed out that the records in the Original Side of the Bombay High Court prior to the establishment of the Court were lying on the floor for want of racks.

It was resolved—

Resolution II.—That the Government of India be approached at once with a view to urging the Government of Bombay to provide racks for these records.

With regard to the restrictions imposed upon the reading of papers before the Commission (Res. VIII of the fifth meeting) the Chairman pointed out that it was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Papers were not received till the last moment and many were still of a general character. A lively discussion followed and it was derided that in future papers not received by the Secretary at least 3 weeks before the speci-fied date, should not be included in the programme. The number of papers should be limited with a view to stimulate discussion. The Secretary was directed to prepare as far as possible a precis of the papers received for circulation among the members and also for distribution to the public.

With regard to Resolutions I X, X and XI of the fifth meeting the Chairman informed the Commission that nothing more than what had already been done could be done.

II.—Deputation of Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission to the Indian States who want to consult them on the classification, preservation and publication of their old historical records.

The Secretary placed on the table a summary of the correspondence on the subject between the Government of India and the Indian States which showed that at present Kapurthala, Chamba, Alwar, Rewa and Kolhapur Darbars needed expert advice from the Commission regarding their historical records. The Chairman thought that it would be unfair to a State to depute a person to inspect its records who did not know the vernacular in which the records of the State were kept. He was also of opinion that such deputations should not necessarily be restricted only to the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The Commission concurred in the Chairman's view. It was resolved—

Resolution ///.—That deputations to Indian States for examining State records be not restricted to members of the Commission, and that an inquiry be made of the Kolhapur and Kapurthala Barbara as to the nature of their records.

Professor J. N. Sarkar expressed his willingness to go to Alwar and possibly Chamba (climate permitting) and it was decided to invite Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis to go to Kolhapur.

III.—Proposal to start a system of corresponding members in various centres in addition to the permanent and co-opted members of the Commission.

A note by Mr M. S. D. Butler, Ex-officio President of the Commission, on the proposals was placed on the table. At the request of the Chairman, the Secretary explained the position clearly. After some discussion it was resolved—

Resolution IV.—That the Commission should have corresponding members at various centres but such members should not have any voice in the affairs of the Cunmiission.

It was further resolved—

Resolution V.—That the local co-opted members of the sixth session, namely: —

Dr S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PhD., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S.

The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, C.I.E., I.S.O.

Dr JOHN MATHAI, B.L., B.Litt., D.SC, M.L.C.

Mr M. RATNASWAMI, M.L.C.

Mr C. W. E. COTTON, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Mr HAYAVADANA RAO

be requested to become corresponding members for the Madras Presidency.

The selection of corresponding members for the other Provinces of India was left to the Chairman and the Secretary who were to make recommendations to the Government of India after informally consulting members of the Commission and others interested in historical research.

IV.—Inspection of the Historical Records of the Punjab Government consisting of Delhi Agency Records and the Persian Records of the Sikh Government under the charge of Mr Garrett by some members of the Commission.

The Chairman said that any member of the Commission who happened to go to Lahore could inspect these records.

V.—Treatment of the records in Burma.

A note on the proposed establishment of a Provincial Record Office at Rangoon was placed on the table. After some discussion it was resolved—

Resolution VI.—That the Government of India be moved to inquire from the Government of Burma regarding the present position and to recommend that a Curator may be appointed without further delay.

VI •—Miscellaneous.

(1) Discontinuance of the Calendaring of General Letters to and from the Court of Directors and Press-listing of records. The action of Government was approved by the Commission.

(2) Hand-book to the Records in the Imperial Record Department.

A copy of the hand-hook wan placed on the table. The manuscript had been examined by the Hon'ble Mr Cotton and Professor Sarkar before the meeting. The Secretary stated that a suggestion had been made to defer the publication of the hand-book till the sorting of the historical records had been completed. Professor Sarkar deprecated further delay in the matter. He pointed out that the hand-book contained a precis of all the records and enabled a research scholar to know exactly where to get it. In his opinion the hand-book had been very carefully prepared and would be *v* very useful guide. It was resolved—

Resolution VII.—That the Government of India may be requested to sanction the immediate publication of the hand-book as it will materially assist students of history, enable local Committees to give their opinion as to the value of a particular document, and help the Record Office in answering questions relating to the records.

(3) Substitution of the terms " Historical " *(i.e.,* to 1859) and " Current ' *(i.e.,* from 1860) for " Pre-mutiny " and " Post-mutiny " in describing-records. •

A note on the subject by Mr Butler was placed on the table. After some discussion, the Commission agreed to adopt the terms " Company " and "Crown " for the terms " Pre-mutiny " and " Post-mutiny " in describing the records. Mr C. W. E. Cotton suggested thal as time uasses the Crown records may be further subdivided into (1) Historical and (2) Current. This was accepted by the Commission.

(4) Date and place of the next meeting.

The Secretary informed the Commission that Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis had invited the Commission to hold their next session at Satara and Dr Shafaat Ahmad Khan at Allahabad. Professor Sarkar urged that, in view of the important nature of the records preserved in the Peshwas' Daftar, the Commission should hold their next meeting at Poona so as to give an

opportunity to the members to examine those records. After some discussion it was resolved—

Resolution VIII.—That the next session of the Commission be held at Poona and that Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis be requested to bring his collection of exhibits to Poona if possible.

(5) The position of the Madras Record Office since the departure of Mr Dodwell was next discussed by the Commission. The Madras members took a lively interest in the debate. It was finally unanimously resolved—

Resolution IX.—That the Government of India be requested to urge upon the Government of Madras the necessity of appointing at an early date (1) a Keeper with necessary qualifications for research work to the Madras Record Office on such terms and conditions as the local Government deem fit, and (2) that a Persian-knowing assistant be appointed to examine and claseify the Oarnatie Records in the Madras Record Office.

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Fifth Meeting (Calcutta, January 1923).

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of **India.**	Action taken by local Governments or Native States.
Resolution I.—That the Grovernment of India be advised to act upon the report (1) of the Sub-Committee of the Commission on the weeding of pre-mutiny records in the Imperial Record Department.	**The Government of India** accepted the recommendations of the Sub-Committee and appointed a Permanent Standing Local Sub-Committee consisting of the Hon'ble Mr H. E. A Cotton, Dr T. O. D. Dunn, Rai J. M Mitra Bahadur and Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali (Secretary) to advise the Keeper of the Records on matters relating to the weeding of pre-mutiny records.	
Resolution II.—That the Secretary should address the Government of India asking for information on behalf of the Commission as to what action had been taken by the local Government (Bombay) regarding the proposed source-book on Maratha History **and** also to remind the Government of Bombay about the desirability of consulting experts like Messrs Parasnis and Sardesai as to the best method of dealing with the Peshwas' daftar so that a hand-book of these records might be prepared for the guidance of historical students.		

(1) See I. H. R. C. procs., Vol. V, p. 134.

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their ***Fifth*** *Meeting (Calcutta, January* ***1923)*** **—contd.**

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by local Governments or Native States.
Resolution III (i).—That the Commission recommend to the Government of India that a circular letter should be sent by the Political Department to all the Ruling Princes and Chiefs requesting them to inform the Commission as to the nature, date and extent of the old historical materials (prior to 1850) in their respective archives, and also whether they were in need of any expert help for the purposes of sifting, preserving and publishing the same. (Resolution VIII of the 4th Meeting-)	The resolution was brought to the notice of the Governments of Bombay and Madras, Agents to the Governor-General, Punjab States, Central India, Rajputana, and Residents at Kashmir, Gwalior and Hyderabad.	*Rajputana States.*—Alwar requests the deputation of an expert, other States do not need any such help. *Punjab Stales.*—Kapurthala and Chamba request the deputation of some members of the Commission. *Bombay.*—Only Kolhapur is in need of expert help. The old records of the Baroda State have been properly classified and listed and are in a good state of preservation. A copy of a note on these records] is laid on table. *Central India.*—Rewa welcomes expert advice. Bhopal asked for some details which have been supplied. Indore, Dhar, Bijawar will take advantage of the Commission's offer when necessary. No other Darbar] requires expert **help.**

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India ***and the local*** *Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their* ***Fifth Meeting (Calcutta,*** *January 1923)-contd.*

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by local Governments or Native States.
		Take Bhopal, Kashmir and Hyder a bad asked for some details which have been supplied to them.
Resolution III (*ii*).—That the Commission reemnmond to the Government of India the desirability of inviting the States of Hyderabad and Jaipur to send one representative eaeh to the next and succeeding meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.	The reoommendation was brought to the notice of the Resident at Hyderabad for ascertaining the views of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government on the subjeet.	
Resolution IV.—That the Government of India should be asked to remind the United Provinces Government as regards the desirability of creating a Record Department in their Province.		
(Resolution IX, 4th Meeting.)		
Resolution V.— That the Government of India be asked, in view of the extreme importance of the information which is likely to be discovered by the Rev. H. Hosten, to sanction an amount for his travelling expenses not exceeding the sum paid last year, to enable him to continue his inquiries at Mylapore	Owing to financial stringency the Government of India were unable to accept the resolution.	
Resolution VI.—It was reeolved to hold the next session of *the* Commission at Madras about the griddle of January 1924.	The Government of India accepted the resolution.	

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and ***the local*** *Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Fifth Meeting* ***(Calcutta,*** *January 1923)*—contd.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by local Governments or Native States.
Resolution VII.—That the Government of India be recommended (1) to approach his Lordship the Chief Justice of Bengal with regard to the better preservation, classification, arrangement, repairing and indexing of the old records of the Mayor's Court, the Court of Quarter Sessions and the Supreme Court, as has been done in the case of the old records of the Sadar Diwani and Sadar Nizamat Adalat, in view of their historical importance, and .(2) to invito their Lordships the Chief Justices of Madras and Bombay to report on the condition of the records in their High •Courts prior to the establishment of the High Court in each presidency.	The resolution was brought to the notice of the Calcutta High Court by the Government of India.	The Registrar, Calcutta High Court, Original Side, states that the existing staff is inadequate for undertaking duties connected with the classifieation, arrange ment, repairing and indexing of these records. The re-organi Ration of the staff with a view to preservation of records is under consideration.
	The resolution was brought to the notice of the local Governments by the Government of India.	The Madras report states that the records of the Supreme Court are carefully preserved and that the major portion of the records of the Mayor's Court are in the Madras Record Office, etc. The Bombay report states that most of the records in the Original Side prior to the establishment of the High Court are still lying

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Fifth Meeting (*Calcutta, January 1923*)—contd.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by local Governments or Native States.	REMARKS.
		on the floor (probably affected by damp) as racks have not been provided by Government owing to financial stringency. Records on the Appellate Side are in order, well arranged and in reasonably good condition.	
Resolution VIII.— That in future papers to be read before the Commission should deal with records only or with the interpretation of historical records and that they should not be of a general charaoter and that the Secretary should get a summary of the papers intended to be read before the Commission at least a month in advance and accept only such as are relevant in character. (A time limit of 15 minutes was fixed for each paper.)			This procedure is being followed by the Secretary.
Retolution IX.—That the Government of India should be approached with a view to the transfer of the old Dutch records from the District Judge's Oftice at Chinsura to the Record Department of the India Office.			No reply has yet been received from the Government of India.

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Fifth Meeting (Calcutta, January 1923)—contd.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by local Governments or Native States.
Scheme, for a Central Judicial Records Office.		
The Commission approved of the soheme for the establishment of a Central Judicial Records Office in Calcutta where records from the District Judges' offices in Bengal shall be collected and preserved **and** would be glad to know whether arrangements of this kind are being made by the other High Courts in India.		
With regard to 'the records in Collectors' Offices the Commission will be glad to know what arrangements have been made by the various Governments for **their** preservation.	The resolution was brought to the notice of the local Governments.	The replies received from the local Governments show that in Bengal certain rules have been laid down by the Revenue Board for the preservation of records. In Madias proper care is taken of records. Periodical inspections are made. In the United Provinces all official records are kept in *bastas* which we examined j.eriodi cally. In Bihar and Orissa records are kept in good oondition and steps have been taken to prevent their damage by white ants. In the Central Pro-

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Fifth Meeting {Calcutta, January 1923)—contd.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by local Governments or Native States.
		vinces old records which are kept in b*astas 8* have been examined, arranged and listed. These have been lately transferred to the Secretariat record room. There is a Record Keeper in the North-West Frontier Province who looks after the records. In Assam the old records in charge of the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup are being sorted. In Coorg papers on subjects of perennial interest are kept in flat files in almirahs. In Baluchistan original copies of record-of-rights are preserved in District record rooms and duplicate copies are kept by the Patwaris of villages. Revenue Registers of unsettled tahsils are kept in the

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Fifth Meeting (Calcutta, January 1923)—concld.

Resolutions of the Commission,	**Orders** of the Government **of** India.	Action taken by local Governments or Native States.
		tahsil offices. Copies of the letters from the local Governments are laid on the table.
Resolution X.—That the Government of India should be asked to approach the Netherlands Government with regard to taking steps for the preservation of the hatchments of the Governors of Dutch Settlement at Chinsura now hanging in the Church at Chinsura which was formerly used as the old Council chamber of the Dutch Company.	The Government of India while sympathising with the object of the resolution feel that the matter is not one relating to Historical records. They therefore regret that they are unable to take any action in the direction proposed. The matter however has been brought to the notice of the Government of Bengal for any action they may care to take on it.	
Resolution XI.—That the Government of India should be approached with a view to the transfer to the India Office of the Danish Company's records which it is believed are now stored in the Record Room of the Sub-Divisional Officer of Serampore.	The resolution was" brought to the notice of the Government of Bengal.	The Government of'Bengal are of opinion that the records) should remain where they are. They consist of 8 volumes of a Rent Roll (known as the Danish Roll) relating to Serampore and a number of other volumes regarding land tenures and rents. As the records relate solely to local revenue matters] they are required locally for reference in revenue administration.

APPENDIX B.

Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, Paintings, etc., exhibited at Madras in connection with the 6th Meeting of the Indian Historical Records.Commission.

From the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta.

1. Plan of the Territory of Calcutta as marked out in the year 1742 exhibiting likewise the Military Operations at Calcutta when attacked and taken by Siraj-ud-Daulah on the 18th of June 1756.
2. Plan of Fort William and part .of the city of Calcutta, 1753, by Lieut. William Wills.
3. Map of Calcutta and its environs in the years 1792-93 by A. Upjohn.
4. Plan of Bombay, 1758 (References).

(a) The fort.
(b) The naval port.
(c) The port.
(d) The docks.
(e) The hospital.
(*f*) The treasury.
(g) The Arsenal.
(h) The temple.
(i) The Catholic Chapel.
(j) The Government Place.
(*m*) The Staff Officers' quarters.
(n) The house in which the Intendant lives.
(o) Officers' quarters.
(p) The barracks.
(q) The Council House.
(r) The market.
(s) The Fort Dougrie.
(*t*) False gate.
(u) Port called the Island of Old Women.
(*x*) Port Dougrie.

From the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta—contd.

(y) Port called the Stony Hill.

(z) The country residence of the Governor of Bombay at a distance of four miles from the town.

5. Reconnoitring plan of Madras by the gentlemen of the Royal Corps, **21st** December 1758—

(a) Attack of Madras.

(b) At the camp in front of Madras, 21st December 1768. D'urve.

6. Lord Auckland's Minute on the promotion of education among the native? of India.*

7, 8. Lord Clive's proposals for appropriating the legacy of five lakhs of rupees conferred upon him by Nawab Mir Jafar, and the present of three lakhs of rupees made to His Lordship by Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah, to the benefit of the Company's invalid servants and widows of those who lost their lives in the Company's strvice. Among the enclosures are translations of three certificates concerning the legacy of five lakhs (attested 12 January 1767) given by Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah, his mother, *i.e.,* wife of Nawab Mir Jafan, and Maharaja Nanda Kumar.

[Pub. Con., 14 April 1786, No. 2, and 20 Jan. 1767, No. 6.]

9. Farmans relating to the English trade in India, particularly in Bengal and Orissa, 1633-1712. These are grants or orders made by Muhammadan rulers and Governors, and comprise autographs of eight documents obtained from the India Office, with English translation.

10. Treaty with King Christen VIII of Denmark for transferring the Danish Settlements in India to the English, dated 22 February 1845.

11. Communication in Latin from Emperor Joseph II of Austria, dated Vienna, 8 July 1792, to Haider Ali regarding the appointment of Mr W. Bolts as his Consul and Lieut. Imues as Inspector. Bears the signature of the Emperor.

12. From Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Oudh. Complimentary letter written in characteristic Shikastah style. Bears the seal of the Nawab.

[3 November 1784, No. 86.]

13. From Nana Farnavis, Minister of the Peshwa, asking the Governor-General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu" Sultan. Bears the seal of the writer.

[14 November 1785, No. 94.]

14. From Ali Ibrahim Khan, Judge at Benares, reporting that the Marathas have released Shah Alam from the room in which he was confined by Ghulam Qadir Khan after having been blinded by him.

[24 October 1788, No. 501.]

* G. G.'s Pub. Con., 24th November 1839, No. 10.

From the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta—*concld.*

15. From Tipu Sultan, saying that he has sent his vakils to the Governor-General in order to negotiate a treaty of peace with the East India Company. Bears the seal of Tipu.
[12 February 1792, No. 114.]

16. From the Peshwa, Baji Rao II, *on* the subject of a negotiation with Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Peshwa.
[20 September 1798, No. 361.]

17. From Nizam Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad, intimating that he has made over to Captain Kirkpatrick copies of the correspondence which passed between him and Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Nizam.
[10 February 1799, No. 19.]

18. From Maharaja Krishna Raja Wodeyar of Mysore, expressing his gratitude on being released and restored to the kingdom of ancestors which had been usurped by the dynasty of Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Maharaja.
[12 July 1799, No. 198.]

19. From Raja Partab Singh of Jaipur, informing the Governor-General that Wazir Ali Khan has arrived in his country and is now in his custody.
[17 September 1799, No. 260.]

20. A manuscript showing various styles of Persian caligraphy.
[Illuminated folios.]

21. Letter from Warren Hastings to the Council, intimating the cession of Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab Vazir of Oudh in consideration for a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees and also his having settled certain other matters with the Nawab.
[Secret Con., 23 September 1773, No. 3.]

22. A statement of the fifty lakhs to be paid by Shujah-ud-Daulah. A statement of King's Debt to the Company. (It is written in the hand-writing of Lord Clive.)
[Pub., 9 September 1765, No. 13.]

23. Minutes of the Board on Dadney purchases, establishing liberty of trade, and prohibiting any attempt to force advance upon weavers,
[In Warren Hastings' handwriting.]

24. Specimens of dilapidated books and manuscripts which have been restored to a satisfactory condition by special method of repair adopted in the Imperial Record Department.
[Annals of the College of Fort William.]

From the Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia.

25. Farman bearing the seal of Shah Muhammad Shuj a, son of **Emperor** Shah Jahan, granted to Bishanath, son of Raghu Chaudhri, in respect of the taluqs of Islampur and Matyari in the pargana of **Sultanpur,** dated 4 Jamada I I , 1066 A. H. or 30 March 1656 A. D.

i6. Fainian under the seal of Emperor Shah Alam granted to .Kishan Chand of Nadia, conferring on him the title of Maharaja Indrao Bahadur, dated 25 Rabi I, 7 Julus, or 6 September 1766 A. D.

From Mr. Abhiram Mullick (son of Rai Pramatha Nath Mullick Bahadur of Calcutta).

27. One Five Rupee Note of Calcutta Bank No. 990-A., dated 31 August 1824. Bears the signature of Baboo Ramachandra's seal in Bengalee.

28. Histoire Generale Des Voyages—une Nouvelle Collection, 1747. 2 vols. Contains an old Map of Bengal.

From Sahibzada Ahmad Halimuzzaman (of the Mysore Family).

29. Two Portraits of Tipu Sultan.

From Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi.

30. Album of the Portraits of the Emperor and other scions of the House of Timur, beginning from Timur to Bahadur Shah I I , the last Moghul Emperor of Delhi.

31. Painting of Alexander the Great in disguise at the court of **the** famous Queen Nowshawa of Persia.

32. Quran in Arabic, bearing seal of Emperor Alamgir. San 12 Jalus and 1080 A. H.

33. Qasida composed in praise of His Majesty King George I I I on **the occasion** of his birthday by the famous poet Insha-Allah, son of Masha-Allah, wishing perpetuity of the happy relation between Nizam-ul-mulk Bahadur, King of Oudh, and His Majesty.

From Bahu Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L.

34. " Indian Microcosm," published at Madras, 1828, with 22 hand-coloured litho plates and descriptive letter press.

PAINTINGS.

35. Jahangir and Nurjahan.

36. Ahmad Shah.

37. Aurangzeb.

From Babu Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., *BL*—*contd.*

PAINTINGS—*contd.*

38. Akbar I I .
3d. Tamerlane.
40. Shah Alam (Ali Gauhar).
41. Timur Shah.
42. Nana Farnavis (on glass).

From Mr. A. Ghosh, M.A., B.L.

PAINTINGS.

43. Jahangir and Nur Jahan, hunting.
44. Timur in ecstasy. 4
45. Amir Turgai, the father of Timur. (Bears the seals of the Emperora Alamgir and Farrukhsiyar.)
46. Shah Alam.
47. Bahadur Shah in exile.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (Darjeeling).

I.—PRE-PORTUGUESE CHRISTIAN RELICS IN INDIA, CEYLON, BURMA, AND CHINA*

(a) From (Great) St. Thomas' Mount, Mylapore, Madras.

48. Altar-cross stone with Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription about A. D. 650. The inscription contains archaic words of the 5th century. Found at the top of St. Thomas' Mount in 1547 in the foundations of the ruins of a pre-Portuguese church, on the site of which now stands the Church of St. Thomas' Mount.

Inscription (according to Dr. Haug of Munich): "He who believes in the Messiah and in God on high, and also in the Holy Ghost, is in the grace of Him who bore the pain of the Cross."

NOTE.—Dove pecking top of cross; pearls (not visible in photograph) round arch, and swallowed by two dolphins; fleur-de-lis or triple button extremities and final button of the four limbs of cross; step of calvary and leaf decorations above calvary.

This cross shows a strong Persian speaking Christian settlement at Mylapore in A. D. 650; hence, we argue to the existence of another church near St. Thomas' reputed tomb at an even earlier date.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, SJ. (Darjeeling)— *contd.*

I.—PBE-PORTTTGUESE CHRISTIAN RELICS IN INDIA, CEYLON, BURMA, AND CHINA—*contd.*

(b) *From the Valliapalli Church, Kottayam, Malabar.*

49. Altar-cross with Sassanian-Pahlavi inscription similar to that in No. 48.
NOTE.—Dove, pearls round arch swallowed by two "dolphins; triple step of calvary; lotus design in centre of cross. Date : about A. D. 650. (?)

50. Altar-cross with Sassanian-Pahlavi inscription similar to that of Nos. 48 and 49.
NOTE.—Four steps for calvary; double circle in centre of cross; a bust, or hand raised heavenwards, at the top of the cross. Date: about A. D. 650. (?)
A similar cross with a Sassanian-Pahlavi inscription was discovered in the Church of Kadamarram (Malabar) in 1922.

(c) *From Malabar.*

51. Open-air cross from Changanacheri.

52. Open-air cross from Kaduthurutei.

53. Open-air cross from Udayamperur (Diamper).

54. Open-air cross from Mundakkavu. This cross bears the emblems of the Passion on the upright beam: the cross, the ladder, the reed with the sponge, the hammer and the pincers; a bundle of rods crossed; the three nails with the points crossing below; the crown of thorns; the purse of Judas; the four dice; and angel holding Veronica's veil. The pedestal shows a relief scene of the crucifixion with Mary and St. John standing at the foot of the cross; also another scene of the Agony in the Garden, etc. Date: presumably earlier than the heresy of the image-breakers or iconoclasts, *{i.e.,* earlier than A. D. 650).
NOTE.—The elaborate pedestals in three sections of Nos. 51-4; the bas reliefs of No. 52; and the frequent use of the lotus designs.

(d) From the Cathedral Compound near St. Thomas' tomb, St. ThomS, Mylapore.

55. *(a)* Stone with two half-relief statues back to back, representing St. Thomas' and St. Bartholomew (?) found in 1729 near St. Thomas tomb, which is now in the Cathedral, St. Thome; therefore, not disturbed by the Portuguese when they dug into the tomb in 1521-23. Probably buried near the tomb between 1430 and 1500, when the Christians fled from Mylapore. The stone testifies to the cult of St.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, SJ. (Darjeeling)—*contd.*

I.—PRE-PORTUGUESE CHRISTIAN RELICS IN INDIA, CEYLON, BURMA, AND CHINA—*contd.*

Thomas at the place reputed to possess his tomb. Date: anterior apparently to the Nestorian aversion for statues, *i.e.*, before 650 A. D.

(b) Four triangular stones with rope-bordered medallion tops containing 3 crosses fleuries and 1 Maltese cross.

(c) Massive pillar base (one of two) with eight-petalled lotus decoration; not belonging to No. 55 (*a*),

(d) Hollow cannon-ball.

50. Detail of No. 55 *(a)* St. Thomas.

NOTE.—Moustache: beard coming to a tip in centre of breast: stole-winding round left hand; right hand raised in blessing or teaching: girdle, said by the Syrians to have been received from Our Lady after her Assumption, hanging in front.

57. Detail of No. 55 *(a)* St. Thomas: side view to show that the ears are normal in size..

58. Detail of No. 55 (a). Popularly Kandapa Raja (Gondophares?), King of Mylapore, said to have been converted by St. Thomas. Presumably, from the book he holds in his hand, St. Bartholomew, the Apostle, who is said to have also evangelised India.

In A. D. 883, in the time of King Alfred the Great, King of England, " Sighelm and AEthelstan conveyed to Rome the alms which the king had vowed (to send) thither, and also to India to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew." *(Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* transl. by B. Thorpe, London, 1861, I I , 66). A. D. 883. " Asser, Bishop of Sherbourne, died and was succeeded by Swithelm, who carried King Alfred's alms to St. Thomas in India and returned in safety " *(Chronicle of Florence of Worcester,* transl. by Thos. Forester, London, 1854, p. 73). " (Alfred was) very attentive on bestowing alms; he confirmed the privileges granted to the churches which his father had sanctioned. Beyond the sea, to Rome and to St. Thomas in India he sent many gifts. The legatee employed for this purpose was Sigelinus, the Bishop of Sherbourne, who with great success arrived in India, at which every one at this age wonders. Returning thence, he brought back exotic gems and aromatic liquors, which the land there produces." (T. D. Hardy, *Wellelmi Malmesbiriensis libri* 5, London, 1840, I , 187.)

9. Detail of No. 55 *(b).* Three crosses fleuries and one Maltese cross within rope-bordered medallions.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, SJ. (Darjeeling)— *contd.*

I.—PRE-PORTUGUESE CHRISTIAN RELICS IN INDIA, CEYLON, BURMA, AND CHINA—*contd.*

60, 61. Two medallions on the same stone (a door lintel?), showing a Persian King (King Mazdai?, who killed St. Thomas); also a Persian Prince (Prince Uzanes, Mazdai's son?, who became a Deacon).

NOTE.—The diadem of the king and the fillet round the head of the Prince.

Possibly, but less likely, the figures represent King Gondophares (Kandapa, Raja) for whom St. Thomas built a palace in heaven, and his brother Gad. In this case we would expect the difference of age between the King and his brother to be less marked.

If these medallions were made at Mylapore by non-Christians, there was at Mylapore a dynasty of Persian Kings and St. Thomas may have been killed at Mylapore as (tradition says). The King was Mazdai, a Persian name. If they were made by Christians, they would have been connected with St. Thomas considering too that they were found on a Christian site: in this case they would represent the Persian princes named above, and again Mylapore would have had a Persian dynasty in the first century of the Christian era.

Note the tops of Ionic capitals, denoting foreign influence. Depending from the stone, but not seen on the photographs, there is under each medallion a lion similar to the lions (Persian?) of Nos. 50 and 51, which see.

62. Rope-bordered vessel, hollow at bottom. A baptismal font *(?)* The rope-bordered appears in other Christian relics of Mylapore, chiefly in the crosses of Nos. 59 and 87. Compare base of pillar by the side of the vessel with similar bases of pillars in No. 64.

63. Fluted pilaster, one of two, with winged angelheads at the top and at the upper end of the lower half. The hair of the angels is made to stand,on end. Note: leaf design at bottom of pillar, also rope-like band round top, and round upper end of lower half.

64. Massive stone chest (tabernacle? altar?). Note: scallop-shell (a Christian emblem) at top; Ionic volutes of pillars; lotus design at top and bottom of pillars: pattern of branches and leaves issuing from a beautiful urn at bottom of chest. A groove in the stone in the middle of the opening must have supported a wooden (?) shelf: two sets of holes, one behind the other, at the four corners of the aperture, show there w**as** a double folding-door **of stone or wood.**

From the Rev. H. Hosten, SJ. (Darjeeling)—*contd.*

I.—PRE-PORTUGUESE CHRISTIAN RELICS IN INDIA, CEYLON, BURMA, AND CHINA—*contd.*

65. Stone cut in the form of a sixteen-petalled lotus. Perhaps from an open-air cross which must have stood in pre-Portuguese times close to the church near St. Thomas' tomb. Compare with the top stones of the pedestals of open-air crosses in Malabar, Nos, 51—54.

66. Fragments of carved stones.

67. Two massive pillars cut in sixteen facettes, suggesting a sixteen-petalled lotus. Note: a single leaf (lotus petal) at the four corners of top and bottom. "We find this single leaf decoration at the 4 corners of the base of the 4 pillars supporting the ciborium or dais above the main altar of St. Mark's Venice (5th or 6th century).

N.B.—NOS. 55—6H and 64—7 are now in the Bishop's House Museum, S. Thome, Mylapore; No. 55 lies along the Cathedral, South side.

(*e*) *From the Cathedral or St. Thomas' tomb, S. Thorne, Mylapore.*

38. Fragment of an inscription, containing parts of the historical introduction of Vikrama-Chola, in the pavement of the Cathedral. Vikrama-Chola reigned in A. D. 1118, or 174 years before Marco Polo visited the tomb of St. Thomas. Lines 3 to 5 state: "In Kulo...(a subdivision) of (Jayan) Kondasolamandalam. The western boundary is...It is east of the outer garden land...The southern boundary is."...The original church near St. Thomas' tomb existed then, and even earlier than A. D. 650. See argument under No. 48.

(*f*) *From Little Mount, Mylapore.*

69. Three crosses. A is an Armenian cross at the foot of the stairs (A. D. 1666). B is a cross cut in the rock near the perennial spring at the top of the Mount. C is a cross cut in the rock at the entrance to the grotto within the Church, St. Thomas is said to have hidden himself in this grotto from his persecutors.

The Mount was venerated by the pre-Portuguese Christians: for the cross at the entrance to the grotto was considered old in A. D. 1600 and in 1699 and about 1612 there stood at the Little Mount as also at (Great) St. Thomas' Mount, the remnants of an open cross said to have been erected by St. Thomas. At St. Thome and at the foot of St. Thomas' Mount many wells have crosses on cavalries of 3 steps worked in the brickwork of the sides. One well with 20 rings has 2 crosses per ring, or 40 crosses in all. It is suggested that the Portuguese of Mylapore continued a pre-Portuguese custom which they found established on

From the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (Darjeeling)—*contd.*

I.—PRE-PORTUGUESE CHRISTIAN RELICS IN INDIA, CEYLON, BURMA, AND CHINA—*contd.*

their arrival (1522), and that pre-Portuguese Christian settlements might be traced in other parts of India by means of such crosses.

(g) From Nossa Senhora da Luz Church Compound, Mylapore.

70. Two monstrous lions of Persian (?) appearance, similar to the lions depending from the lintel with the two medallions of a Persian King and a Persian Prince of Nos. 60 and 61.

71. Side view of the same. There are no lions in Southern India.

(h) From, Madre do Deas Church Compound , Mylapore.

72. Cross worshipped by two peacocks. A similar cross worshipped by two peacocks is to be seen in the Valliapalli Church, Kottayam, Malabar. The emblem is common in the Christian art of the Greek Church and of the Latin Church from the early centuries. In 1522 the Church near St. Thomas' tomb bore several designs of peacocks. Mylapore or Mayilapur means ' Peacock-Town.'

73. Photograph of estampage of No. 72.

74. Fragments of pillars.

75. Fragments of two pillars with lotus designs.

(*i*) *From Anuradhapura, Ceylon.*

6. Cross on pillar found about 1913 at a depth of 20 feet. The stone seems to have been used as a door-jamb.

77. Drawing and measurements of the same (Pencil drawing).

78. Double or patriarchal cross on door-jamb from excavations at Tyre, Mediterranean Coast, Syria (pen and ink drawing by Rev. Hosten).

(j) From Pagan, Burma.

19. Eight crosses with central cross, from the Kyanzittha cave. Found by Mr. Duroiselle, Archaeological Department, Burma, together with paintings of Mongol soldiers supposed to have belonged to Kublai Khan's expedition against Pagan in 1287. Christian clans fought under Kublai Khan.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (Darjeeling)—*contd.*

J.—PRE-PORTUGUESE CHRISTIAN RELICS IN INDIA, CEYLON, BURMA, AND CHINA—*contd.*

The artist tried to reproduce the grain of the wood of the crosses, which would show the Christian character of these crosses. The disposition of the eight panels round a central design resembles the eight panels round the central design of the frescos in the catacombs (1st to 4th century A. D.). Cf. Dom F. Cabrol and Dom. H. Leclercy, *Diet, d' arched, chretienne et de liturgie,* fase. LV (1928), S. V. fresques, figs, facing cols. 2591-92, 2619-20, 2623-24, 2627-28. The disposition of the Pagan fresco and of the frescos in the catacombs is that of the eight petals of the lotus, the smaller crosses at Pagan being on the smaller petals, the greater crosses on the bigger petals.

(k) From Si-ngan-fu, China.

80. Photograph of the Christian-stele of A. D. T81. Cf. H. Harvet, S.J., *La stele chretienne de Si-ngan-fou (varieties Sinologiqves No. 7).* Chan-ghai, 1895, photograph facing the title. The two monsters (lions) at the top bear up with one of their paws a casket containing the pearl of great price, the pearl of the Law.

81. Rubbing of the inscription of No. 33 (4 pieces). Compare the shape of the cross and its outer buttons with Nos. 48, 49, 50, and 76. The names of some 70 Syrian and Chinese priests are written in Syriac at the bottom and on the two sides of the stele. The inscription is one of the finest specimens of Chinese writing.

82. Full view of the cross of the Si-ngan-fu stele. Compare it with the Vatican Cross of the 6th century in H. Harvet, S.J., *La stele chretienne de Si-ngan-fu (Varieties Sinologiqves No. 20),* Chan-ghai, 1897, pp. 180-81.

83. Three altar crosses found in China in the first half of the 17th centuiy, after the discovery of the Si-ngan-fu stele. Cf. figs. 162, 163, 164 of Fr. L. Gaillard, s.J. *Croix et Swastika en Chine, 2^{m} edition (varieties Sinologiques No. 3).*^ Chan-ghai, 1904, pp. 152-53.

(l) *From the country of the Jats, Punjab.*

84. Two crosses (Manichean?) in a MS *Kshetra-samasa,* obtained from a Jat at Benares before 1808 by Capt. F. Wilford, Cf. *Asiatick Researches.* X, plate ii, facing p. 124.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. **(Darjeeling)—***contd.*

I.—PRE-PORTTTGUESE CHRISTIAN RELICS IN INDIA, CEYLON, BURMA, AND CHINA—*conoid.*

(*m*) *From Malava.*

85. A Malava coin with tree in a railing. See V. A. Smith *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,* Vol. I, Oxford, 1906, pl. XX, facing p. 123, coin No. 5 (obverse).

Compare the Christian crosses with trefoil or triple button extremities, as found in India, Ceylon and China, with the tree on with this Malava Coin, or with the Ujjain symbol of cross and ball extremities of the Ujjain, Eran and Besnagar coins.

86. Different types of Christian crosses in the West. The cross patonce, the cross fleurette, the cross bottonnee, and the cross pommee bear a close resemblance to the Indian crosses from Mylapore, Malabar, Ceylon, and China and it has been suggested that they derive, like the fleur-de-lis, from the Egyptian lotus. They may be compared with the Malava tree symbol and with the Ujjain symbol, and the question arises whether the Eastern Christians derived their symbol, with a different connotation, from the same symbol as the people of Malava and Ujjain, or whether the yet undated coinage of Ujjain and Malava was influenced by the Christian symbol.

II.—CHRISTIAN AND NON-CHRISTIAN RELICS, PRE-PORTUGUESE AND PORTUGUESE, FROM S. THOME, MYLAPORE.

From, Bishop's House Museum, S. Thome, Mylapore.

87.

Top row	I I			C3		A8		L I			C2	C5			D6
2nd row from top	CI		D12				GI				Ml				A9
3rd row from top		E2						HI							NI
4th row from top	A29				C4			A17		A11			A12	A13	
Bottom row				Q2	Q5	Rl			S2		Ql		Q3	Q4	

Arabic inscription on head-stone of Muhammadan tomb. (S. Thome).

C3. Fragment of pillar unearthed on top of St. Thomas' Mount (1922).

A8. Cross unearthed in Cathedral Compound (1922).

L I. Stone (2½ ft. high) with Maltese cross within rope-bordered medallion from a garden at'S. Thome*.

L2. Do. with Maltese cross from top of St. Thomas' Mount.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (Darjeeling)—contd.

II.—UHRISTIAN AND NON-CHRISTIAN RELICS, PRE-PORTUGUESE AND PORTUGUESE, FROM S. THOME, MYLAPORE—*contd.*

C5. Fragment of hoisted pillar unearthed on top of St. Thomas' Mount (1922).

D6. Sun-dial from Madre de Deos Church Compound, S. Thome Jesuit work between 1585-1780.

CI. Indian inscription, not yet deciphered, from the convent at the top of St. Thomas' Mount. It refers probably to the Church which must have stood there in and before A. D. 650. Cf. No. 48.

1)12. Stone with seated naked Jain *(?)* image in nicho from Madre de Deos Church Compound. Several Jain images can still be seen lying about in Mylapore.

G1. Snake coil with two rosaces.

M l. Stone showing a man piercing a lion with two swords; also a dog.

A9. Stone from broken edict pillar, inscribed on three sides in Tamil, and found in the cocoanut garden near, and belonging to the Cathedral, S. Thome. Date: Rajaraja I, who came to the throne in 985 A. D.

E2. Big triangular brick with scroll.

H1. Stone cannon-ball from S. Thome.

N1. Subramaniya with peacock and cobra.

A29. Fragment of twisted pillar, like A23, from the Cathedral compound.

C4. Top and right arm of fleur-de-lis cross, from top of St. Thomas' Mount.

A17. Fleur-de-lis cross in Saracenic niche on both sides of the stone from the Cathedral compound.

A l l. Lower limb of incised cross, from the Bishop's garden.

A12. Upper part of a cross, from the Cathedral compound.

A13. Fragment of twisted pillar, like A29. From the Cathedral compound.

Q2, Q5, R1, S2, Q1, Q3, Q4. Iron Cannon-balls from S. Thome and the foot of St. Thomas' Mount.

(a) From the Cathedral, S. Thome, Mylapore.

88. Arms and inscription on the grave of Dom Frei Paulo da Estrella, of the 3rd Order of Pennace, 3rd Bishop of Mylapore died January 9, 1637.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, SJ. (Darjeeling)—*contd,*

TI.—CHRISTIAN AND NON-CHRISTIAN RELICS, PRE-PORTUGUESE AND PORTUGUESE, FROM S. THOME, MYLAPORE—*contd.*

89. Arms and inscription on the grave of Dom-Gasper Affonso, s.J., Bishop of Mylapore, consecrated August 2, 1693, died November 24, 1708.

90. Arms and inscription on the grave of Dom Joseph Ribeiro, s.J., Bishop of Mylapore, consecrated March 24, 1726, died March 15, 1744.

91. Arms and inscription on the grave of Dom Fret—Antonio Da Encarnacao, (). S. Aug., Bishop of Mylapore, consecrated January 22, 1747, took possession of his see May 14, 1750, died September 22, 1752.

92. Arms and inscription on the grave of Dom Frei Bernardo de S. Caetano, 0. S. Aug., Bishop of Mylapore, died November 4, 1780.

93. Arms and inscription on the grave of Dom Frei Emmanuel a lesu Maria Joseph, O. S. Aug., elected Bishop of Mylapore, January 29, 1787, consecrated April 13, 1788, died January 13, 1800.

94. Specimen of interlaced inscription on a tomb (1698) " Aqvi iaz Ioao Lopes de Faria, natural de Belem/nos arabaldes de Lis/boa, filho legitimo/de Pedro Lopes e de Leonarda de Fazia, e da sva mv/lher Anna da Cv / nha Teixera /e de sevs erdeiros. /Anno de 1698." /(Here lieth John Lopes de Faria, a native of Belem, in the suburbs of Lisbon, legitimate son of Peter Lopes and of Leonarda da Faria, and of (sic) his wife Anna da Cunnha Teixera and of their heirs. Year 1698).

(b) From Madre de Deos Church, S. Thome, Mylapore.

95. Sun-dial with Tamil characters. Jesuit work (1585—1780).

(c) From Little Mount, Mylapore.

96. St. Thomas with carpenter's rule, A. D. 1612.
Inscription: " Este Balvar/te S. T. fes An/to Glz de Ta'ide a sva cv/sta no ano de 1612." /(Antonio Gonsalvez de Taide made this bulwark of St. Thomas in the year 1612.)
The Inscription refers to a rebuilding of the Church of Little Mount, destroyed in the wars before 1612.

(d) From St. Dominic's Church, S. Thome.

97. Carved wooden reredos with the four Evangelists above and below the central pillars, and the 15 mysteries of the Rosary round the central statue. Date of Church, A. D. 1635.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (Darjeeling)—*contd.*

II.—CHRISTIAN AND NON-CHRISTIAN RELICS, PRE-PORTUGUESE AND PORTUGUESE, FROM S. THOME, MYLAPORE—*contd.*

(e) *From Silver Street, St. Thomas' Mount.*

98. Carved lintel of a Christian house with birds, lions, flowers, leaves, two angels, a hart pierced and a lamb. Probably Armenian work of the 17th or 18th century.

99. Do. from the same house: similar emblems.

(*f*) *From the Church of (Great) St. Thomas' Mount.*

100. One of 14 Armenian paintings of Our Lord and the 13 Apostles, including St. Paul and St. Mathias. This picture represents St. Thomas martyrdom: he is speared by four soldiers at the foot of a mount: the King who orders the execution (Mazdai?) is seated on a camel (a Persian idea?) under an umbrella of state. St. Thomas holds a book and a lance.

In the other pictures St. Peter holds the keys and a cross; St. Paul, a book and a sword, St. Bartholomew, a book; St. John, a poisoned chalice; St. Mathew, a book and a carpenter's rule (?); St. Andrew, a book and a St. Andrew's cross; St. James, a pilgrim's staff, a gourd and a script; St. James, a book; St. Thaddeus, a book and a club; St. Phillip, a book and a cross; St. Simon, a book and a saw; St. Matthias, a book and a hatchet.

Ten of the 13 Apostles hold a book. Hence the argument that the figures in Nos. 56 and 58 are Apostles: St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew.

101. Pulpit presented by an Armenian, whose name is on the wooden support. Note: Eight-petalled lotus designs, winged angelheads; a mermaid angel, like a Nagini. Date: 17th or 18th century.

(1) *St. Thomas and San Thome, Mylapore. Altar crosses in Malabar and, at S. Thome.* By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. Reprint from *The Athenceum,* Vol. I, No. 2, 1923.

(2) *St. Thomas and San Thome, Mylapore. Four open-air crosses* * *from Malabar.* By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. Reprint from *The Athenceum.* Vol. I, No. 4, October 1923.

(3) Dom. F. Cabrol and Dom. Leclercy, *Dict, d' Archeologie chretienne et de liturgie,* fasc. LV, 1923, s.v. fresques.

(4) H. Havret, S.J., *La stele chretienne de Si-ngan-fu (Varietes Sinologiqu&s No. 7).* Chan-ghai, 1896.

(5) H. Havret, S.J., same title *(Varietes Sinologiques No. 20).* Chan-ghai, 1897.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (Darjeeling)—*concld.*

II.—CHRISTIAN AND NON-CHRISTIAN RELICS, PRE-PORTUGUESE AND PORTUGUESE, FROM S. THOME, MYLAPORE—*concld.*

(6) L. Gaillard, S.J., *Croix et Swastika en Chine, 2me edition (Vane" tes Sinologiques No. 3).* Chan-ghai, 1904.

(7) *Asiatick Researches,* Vol. X, plate ii, facing p. 124.

(8) V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum,* Calcutta, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906.

From Mr. A. K. M. Zackeriah.

102. *Quran* on a scroll of paper.

A unique copy of the Quran, designed for the use of Shias, written on a scroll of paper about 19½ feet long, and only 3 inches wide. The calligraphy is of the highest order : though ornamental it is simplicity itself. The *Durud,* invoking God's blessings on the twelve *Imams,* runs straight through the scroll, and within the outlines of the comparatively large letters of this *Durud* is written in microscopic ministure the whole of the Quran, making it a marvellous piece of penmanship. The scroll was designed apparently for being used as a charm encased *in* silver or gold inside the head-dress of the wearer.

From Mr. Syed Ghulam Abbas Subzwary.

MANUSCRIPTS.

103. This illuminated manuscript is what is popularly known as the *Pqnjsure* containing 5 chapters from the Quran.

The words of the text are artistically written in a way that they are divided into 6 by 4 square spaces on a page and the lines composing the squares are the parts of the letters that constitute the words. The vowel points are marked red.

104. Another copy of the same, on a smaller scale.

105. Yet another copy of the same on a still smaller scale.

From Mr. S. M. Kasem.

106. Letter of recommendation from Warren Hastings to Nawab Wazirul Mamalik addressed to Mir Sulaiman Khan Bahadur.

107. Letter of " safe conduct " from Warren Hastings to Mir Sulaiman Khan with his seal " Imad-ud-Daulah Jalalat Jung Fidwi-i-Badsha-i-Ghazi Shah Alam."

108. "safe Conduct" from Saiyid Muhammad Riza Khan Mubariz-ul-Mulk Muin-ud-Paulah Khan-i-Khanan Muzaffar Jang Bahadur (with his Rectangular Seal).

From Mr. H W. B. Moreno.

109. Original manuscript of William Makepeace Thackeray, the novelist.

From Mr. Probodh Kumar Das, M A., B.L.

110. Two Palm Leaf Manuscripts in gold writing of *Bissuddhi Maggo,* a book which can very well be termed the *Encyclopaedia* of Buddhist Ethical doctrines. They were secured by the late Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, C.I.E., in 1886 from a Buddhist Monastery in Siam.

From Mr. B. Mustaphi, Registrar, Small Causes Court, Calcutta.

111. *Agreement* entered into between a man named Sonatan Dutt of pargana Mymensingh and Rameswar Mitter to the effect that the aforesaid Sonatan Dutt being driven to starvation from famine and having incurred debts undertakes along with his wife to serve the said Rameswar Mitter for a period *of* 70 years. Should he or his wife run away would be liable to be seized and punished. Bears the seal of Qazi Muhammad Afzal. 39th year of the reign of the Emperor Alamgir (1G97 A. D.), B. S. 1101.

From Mr. A. F. M. **Abdul Ali.**

112. Delhi Durbar, 1803.

From Khan Sahib Mir Riaz-ud-din Sahib Bahadur of Madras.

113. Silver Nowbat awarded by the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council, to Subadar-Major Nur Sahib, A. D. C. to the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Presidency for Meritorious services in 1832.

From the Madras Record Office.

RECORDS OF HISTORICAL OR ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST.

114. Despatches from the Company, 1670—1677.

[Public Despatches from England, Vol. 1.]

The earliest volume in the Madras Record Office.

115. Streynsham Master's Diary and Consultation, 1677—1678.

[Public Consultations, Vol. 2.]

116. Company's Ledgers, 1678—1679 and 1687—1688.

[Accountant's records, Ledgers, Vols. 1 and 2.]

Specimens of earliest Ledgers.

From the Madras Record Office—*contd.*

RECORDS OF HISTORICAL OR ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST—*contd.*

117. Journal of the Company's General Account, 1718—1719.

[Accountant's records, Journals, Vol. I.]

Earliest Journal preserved.

118. Proceedings of the old Mayor's Court at Madras, 1689 and 1716—1719.

[Mayor's Court records, Proceedings, Vols. 1 and 2.]

119. Proceedings of the Committee regarding Bengal, 1686.

[Public Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 2.]

According to Talboys Wheeler, this relates to the Company's-earliest Military operation against the Great Mughal.

120. Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies by Abbe Dubois.

[Political Department, Sundry Books, Vols. 11 and 12.]

These two manuscript volumes in French wore presented to the Madras Government by the author in 1820.

121. Diary in Tamil of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Dubash of Mons. Dupleix, Vol. I, 1786—1745.

[Public Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 151G-A.]

This is in the handwriting of the Diarist.

122. French Correspondence, 1752.

[Public Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 9.]

At pages 93—182- there is a copy of Dupleix's long letter to Saunders, dated the 18th February 1752, commenting on the conduct of the English and Muhammad Ali Khan.

123. Proceedings of the Private Committee, 1755—1756.

[Military Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 9.]

According to Wheeler, this volume unfolds all the intrigues of that critical time, during which Robert Orme, the historian, had. himself a seat in the Council.

124. Clive's Country Correspondence in Bengal, 1756—1758.

[Military Department, Sundry Books, Vols. 10 and 11.]

125. An account of the Revolution in Bengal, 1757.

[Military Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 12.]

From the Madras Record Office—*contd.*

RECORDS OF HISTORICAL OR ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST—*contd.*

126. Journal of the siege of Fort St. George by Count de Lally, 1758—1759.

[Public Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 13.]

In an intercepted letter, dated 14th February 1759, Lally, much chagrined at his failure, writes—" I would rather go and command the Coffrees of Madagascar than remain in this Sodom which it is impossible but the fire of the English must sooner or later destroy if that from Heaven should not."

127. Special Consultations regarding restitution of territories to the French, 1765.

[Military Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 29.]

128. Treaties and grants from Country Powers to the Company, 1759—1771.

[Public Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 12.]

129. Journal of Conferences with Tipu's Vakils, 1792.

[Military Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 106.]

130. Military Correspondence regarding the Fourth Mysore War, 1799.

[Military Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 109.]

131. Journal of a voyage to the north-west coast of America by James Strange, 1786.

[Public Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 37.]

132. A description of English gunpowder with the different modes of proving the same, 1787.

[Military Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 115.]

133. List of Company's furniture at Fort St. George, 1779.

[Public Department, Sundry Books, Vol. 27.]

134. Regimental flags of the Madras Army.

[Madras Army records, Series 3, Vol. 72.]

135. Designs of breast and waist plates worn by certain regiments.

[Madras Army records, Series 3, Vol. 73.]

136. Treaty between the English East India Company and Nawab Walajah on the one side, and Nizam Ali Khan, Subadar of Decean, on the other. Dated the 23rd February 1768.

[Care records, S. A. No. 2.]

From the Madras Record Office—*contd.*

RECORDS OF HISTORICAL OR ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST—*contd.*

137. Treaty between Haidar Ali Khan and the English. Dated the 3rd April 1769.

[Care records, S. A. No. 4.]

138. Treaty of peace between the English East India Company and Tipu Sultan. Dated the 11th March 1784.

[Care records, S. A. No. 8.]

139. Agreement between the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Governor and Council of Fort St. George. Dated the 28th June 1785.

[Care records, S. A. No. 12.]

140. Treaty of perpetual friendship, alliance and security between the English East India Company and Nawab Walajah. Dated the 24th February 1787.

[Care records, S. A. No. 14.]

141. Treaty of alliance between Rama Varma, Raja of Cochin, and the English. Dated the 6th January 1791.

[Care records, S. A. No. 16.]

142. Articles of capitulation by the Governor and Council of the Dutch East India Company. Dated the 16th July 1795.

[Care records, S. A. No. 20.]

143. Treaty vesting the administration of the Carnatic with the English East India Company. Dated the 31st July 1801.

[Care records, S. A. No. 28.]

144. Copy of Letters Patent, issued by King George II, constituting the Mayor's Court at Madraspatnam, etc. Dated the 8th January 1753.

[Care records, S. A. Special Rolls.]

145. Copy of Letters Patent issued by King George III, constituting the Recorder's Court at Madras, etc. Dated the 20th February 1798.

[Care records, S. A. Special Rolls.]

146. Copy of Letters Patent issued by King George III, constituting the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras. Dated the 26th December 1800.

[Care records, S. A. Special Rolls.]

147. Letters Patent issued by Queen Victoria, constituting the High Court of Madras. Dated the 26th June 1862.

[High Court records.]

From the Madras Record Office—*contd.*

RECORDS OF HISTORICAL OR ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST—*concld.*

148. Letters Patent re-issued by Queen Victoria, constituting the High Court of Madras. Dated the 28th December 1865.
[High Court records.]

149. Letters Patent from King William IV, creating the Bishopric of Madras, and appointing Daniel Corrie, Archdeacon of Calcutta, as Bishop of the See. Dated the 30th June 1835.
['Archdeacon's records.]

MAPS, PLANS OR PHOTOGRAPHS.

150. Coast of Coromandel, as surveyed by Thomas Barnard. Published by Alexander Dalrymple, 1778.
[M.R.O. Maps—Survey No. .]

151. The Baraimahal or Twelve Districts. (No date.)
[M.R.O Maps—Survey No. 283.]

152. Passes leading from the Carnatic to Kurnool and Cuddapah as surveyed in 1T92.
[M.R.O Maps—Survey No. .]

153. Passes and Roads on the Carnatic frontier between the Pennar and the Kistna, as surveyed by Captain Mackenzie, 1794.
[M.R.O Maps—Survey No. 112.]

154. Passes, roads and frontier between the Carnatic and the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool, from the Pennar to the Kistna, 1794. By Captain Mackenzie.
[M.R.O Maps—Survey No. 145.]

155. South India from the Kistna to Cape Comorin, according to the Treaty of Seringapatam, 1792. By J. Rennell.
[M.R.O Maps—Survey No. 23.]

156. Boundary line between the Company's and Tipu's territories, 1793. By Captain Allan.
[M.R.O Maps—Survey No. 200.]

157. Dominions of Nizam Ali Khan, including the Subahs of Aurangabad, Berar, Muhammadabad, Bijapur and Hyderabad, and the Mysore frontier, after the Partition Treaty of 1799.
[M.R.O Maps—Survey No. .]

From the Madras Record Office—*contd.*

MAPS, PLANS OR PHOTOGRAPHS—*contd.*

158. Countries ceded to the East India Company by the Nawab of Oudh, by the Treaty of Lucknow, 1801. By Major Colebrooke.
[M.R.O Maps—Survey No. 541.]

159. Ceylon, 1796. By Robert Nicholas Brouncker.
[M.R.O. Maps—Survey No. 468.]

160. San Tome (old Portuguese Fort).
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. 273.]

161. Fort St. George, 1673. (From Fryer's New account of East India.)
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. 274.]

162. Fort St. George, 1710.
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. 275.]

163. Madras, 1733. (Enlarged from Talboys Wheeler's map.)
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. 260.]

164. Madras and Fort St. George taken by La Bourdonnais, 1746.
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. 270.]

165. Fort St. George, 1747. By Engineer Apperley.
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. 258.]

166. Fort St.George, 1749. (Enlarged.)
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. 259.]

167. Fort St. George, 1753. According to Colonel Scott.
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. 257.]

168. Fort St. George, 1754. By Van Payne.
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. 271.]

169. Fort St. George and the bounds of Madraspatnam, 1755. By Conrad.
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. 254.]

170. Fort St. George, 1758, as projected by Engineer Call.
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. 256.]

171. Limits of Madras as fixed at the time of the Recorder's Court, 1798.
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. .]

172. Madras, 1822. By Ravenshaw.
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. .]

173. Madras and its environments. (No date.)
[M.R.O. Maps—Library No. 62.]

From the Madras Record Office—contd.

AUTOGRAPHS OF FAMOUS PERSONS, ETC.

{Mounted on a revolving shelf.)

174. From Robert Clive to George Pigot, etc., Select Committee, Fort St, George, dated Fort St. David, 13th May 1756.

Acknowledging receipt, on his return from Gheriah, of letter dated the 24th January 1756, and proposing to continue his passage for Fort St. George on the *Success* galley.

175. From Robert Clive to George Pigot, etc., Select Committee, Fort St. George, dated Fort St. David, 2nd July 1756, 9 o'clock p.m.

Forwarding a letter from Admiral Watson, enclosing a letter from Monsieur DeLeyrit referring to the alliance with the King of Tanjore and expressing surprise at the conduct of the Governor of Tranquebar in not having applied to the English for their mediation.

176. From Clive to George Pigot, etc., Select Committee, Fort St. George, dated fort St. David, 6th July 1756,

Acknowledging the receipt of two letters, open, for Mr. Watson and one, open, for the Governor of Tranquebar, and referring to intelligence of a serious nature regarding a probable attack from the French.

177. From George Pigot, to Robert Clive, dated Fort St. George, 7th July 1756.

Suggesting in common with the gentlemen of the Committee, the desirability of erecting as soon as possible at Fort St. David one or more batteries as near the sea-side as possible.

178. From Robert Clive to George Pigot, etc., Select Committee, Fort St. George, dated Fort St. David, 10th July 1756.

The dismissal of lascars employed on board His Majesty's squadron.

179. From Robert Clive to (not entered), dated Fort St. David, 10th July 1756.

Regarding certain gentlemen at Fort St. David who live together in a house built at their own expense and who have represented that their separation will cause them inconvenience: with a postscript relating to the rascally conduct of the Poligar of the place.

180. From Robert Clive to George Pigot, etc., Select Committee, Fort St. George, dated Fort St. David, 14th July 1756.

Forwarding a return of the garrison of Fort St. David and another return obtained from Captain Callendar of Dave Cota.

From the Madras Record Office—*contd.*

AUTOGRAPHS OF FAMOUS PERSONS, ETC.—*contd.*

181. From Robert Clive to (not entered), dated Fort St. David, 15th July 1756.

Replying to a letter conveying the melancholy news of the harsh proceedings of the Nawab of Bengal.

182. From Robert Clive to George Pigot, etc., Select Committee, Fort St. George, dated Fort St. David, 19th July 1756.

Forwarding an account signed by the storekeeper of all the provisions, stores, etc., landed from the squadron and furnishing information regarding certain deserters.

183. From Robert Clive to George Pigot, etc., Select Committee, Fort St. George, dated Fort St. David, 30th July 1756.

Certain deserters returned by Monsieur DeLeyrit.

184. From Robert Clive to George Pigot, etc., Select Committee, Fort St. George, dated Fort St. David, 9th August 1756.

The despatch of draft bullocks to Madras and the receipt at Pondicherry of proposals from Syllabad Jung for an accommodation,he being in great apprehension of the "Mahrattas.

185. From Robert Clive, dated Fort St. George, 8th October 1756.

A return of troops ordered for Bengal.

186. From Robert Clive to the Select Committee at Bengal, dated Camp, 20th January 1757.

Stating that he cannot surrender an authority but to those who entrusted him with it and that it does not become him to give his opinion whether the conduct of the gentlemen at Fort St. George **has** been faulty or not.

187. From Colonel Clive to the Select Committee, Fort St. George, dated Camp, 6th February 1757.

Intimating that on the morning of the 5th February 1757 he attacked the Nawab's army of 40,000 men with prodigious slaughter.

188. From Colonel Clive to George Pigot, dated Camp, 11th March 1757.

The revolution at Delhi; the Nawab's request to the English to **join** him and his offer of a lakh of rupees per month for the maintenance of the forces, and the restoration of the Cossim Bazar Factory together with a considerable quantity of goods.

189. From Colonel Clive to George Pigot, etc., Select Committee, Fort St. George, dated camp near Chandernagore, 30th March 1T57.

The attack on Chandernagore and the effect of its surrender **to** Admiral Watson, as well as certain intelligence regarding **Monsieur Bussy.**

From the Madras Record Office—*contd.*

AUTOGRAPHS OF FAMOUS PERSONS, ETC.—*contd.*

190. A general Muster of the troops in the Fort of Chandernagore under the command of Colonel Robert Clive, taken on the 12th June 1757.

191. A general return of the troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Clive on the expedition to Muxadabad, dated 3rd August 1757.

192. A sketch of the Plassey grove surrounded with a small bank.

193. From Mons. Bussy to Mr. Bujot, dated 19th February 1758. Reporting his arrival at Coltour, intimating that he is awaiting an answer to bis letter of the 16th and asking for an escort of sepoys.

194. From the Marquis of Conflans to (not known), dated 19th March 1758. Asking for a passport to proceed to Masulipatam for himself and another passport for Monsieur de Bazin, Captain of Infantry.

195. From Major-General William Medows, to Sir Charles Oakley Bart, etc., Council at Fort St. George, dated Camp near Ma'lwahul, 16th April 1791.

Approving of the erection by the Company of a memorial in the Church of Fort St. George to the merits of so distinguished a character as Colonel Moorhouse.

196. From Charles Oakley (between August 1792 and September 1794).

Minute proposing the discontinuance of the office of Resident at the Court of Tanjore seeing that the revenues of the Tanjore country were under the management of the servants of the Company and that few instances occurred in which negotiations with the Rajah were necessary.

197. From Colonel Arthur Wellesley, dated Nuggur, 23rd October 1799.

Enclosing intelligence from Major Cuppage of the ravages in Punganoor of one Qamar-ud-din, a poligar and vassal of the Nizam and of his directions to Captain Munro to proceed with a force to the frontier of the district to act under the instructions of Captain Graham.

198. From Major-General John Brathwaite, dated 22nd January 1801.

A map of Malabar, Wynaad, Mysore and Coorg.

199. From Major-General John Brathwaite to Mr. Webbe, dated Coimbatore,. 22nd January 1801.

The movements of the army in various parts of the Presidency.

From the Madras Record Office—*contd.*

AUTOGRAPHS OF FAMOUS PERSONS, ETC.—*concld.*

200. Lord William Bentinck, dated Port St. George, 27th June 1806.

Minute regarding the various sections of the Church of Christ established in great numbers on the West Coast; and directing Dr. Kerr to proceed to the West Coast; and report to Government on all the particulars to be gathered of the first introduction of Christianity into India,

201. Lord William Bentinck, dated Fort St. George, 11th September 1807.

Minute on his abrupt removal from the office of President of Fort St. George, in which he requests permission of the Board to bring to a conclusion and submit for their determination certain subjects which but for his removal from office, it would have been his duty to have laid before them.

202. Photograph (a cyanide and a silver print) of plan of Fort St. George and the Black Town. About 1779.

203. Photograph (a cyanide and a silver print) of plan of a proposed attack on the North front of Fort St. George. About 1779.

204. Photographs (a cyanide and a silver print of each) of a description of the works shown *in* the plan of Fort St. George and Black Town.

205. Photographs of old signatures of Lord Clive, George Pigot and others.

206. Letter from Lord Cornwallis to His Highness the Nawab Umdat-ul-Umara, dated London, 14th March 1794, regarding the course to be adopted in the event of his father's death.

(In two mounted albums.)

207. Signatures of the Governors of Madras from 1670.

PERSIAN DOCUMENTS, ETC.

208. Sanad from Muhammad Muhi-ud-din Alamgir Padshah Ghazi to Mansur Khan, granting a khilat for accompanying the King with a large army. Dated 21st Rabiul Akhir 1079 Hijri, 1666.

[M.R.O Carnatic records.]

209. Certificate of merit from Muhammad Muhi-ud-din Alamgir Padshah Ghazi to Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur, for the capture of the Adoni fort. Dated 26th Jamadiul Akhir 1079 Hijri, 1666.

[M.R.O. Carnatic records.]

From the Madras Record Office—*contd,*

PERSIAN DOCUMENTS, ETC.—*contd.*

210. Sanad from Muhammad Bedar Bakht, son of Muhammad Azam Shah, to the Zemindar of Chittaldrug, for erecting the fort of Ramake Sriramandam. Dated 1099 Hijri, 1686.

[M.R.O. Carnatic records.]

211. Certificate of merit from Saiyyid Muhammad Qutb-ud-din Padshah to Daud Khan, for having served the Carnatic Army. Dated 9th Saffir 1119 Hijri, 1706.

[M.R.O. Carnatic records.]

212. Sanad from Shah Alam Padshah Ghazi to Raja Bhermanji Nayak, congratulating him on his embracing Muhammadanism. Dated 1st Jamadius Sani 1174 Hijri, 1760.

[M.R.O. Carnatic records.]

213. Letter from the Company to Serfojj, Maharaja of Tanjore. Congratulatory. Dated the 1st March 1803.

[M.R.O. Carnatic records.]

214. A genealogical tree in Modi characters (with a translation in English) of the progeny of Shahuje Raja: Date not known.

[M.R.O. Carnatic records.]

215. Letter from the Company to Nawab Walajah, regarding the appointment of Thomas Thomas Governor of Madras. Dated the 11th June 1779.

[M.R.O. Carnatic records.]

216. Letter from the Company to Nawab Walajah, announcing the appointment of Lord Macartney as Governor of Madras. Dated the 12th January 1781.

[M.R.O. Carnatic records.]

217. Facsimile of the Magna Charta, 1215 A. D.

SEALS, ETC., WITH IMPRESSIONS IN PERSIAN.

218. A Cornelian signet ring set in silver.

Muhammad Burhan, 1194 (1780).

219. A large silver seal with a centre disc and 6 smaller ones surrounding it all engraved.

The Honourable of the Lords of high dignity; chosen from the Chiefs of great magnitude; Councillor of the affairs of people; Master of

From the Madras Record *Office—contd,*

SEALS, ETC., WITH IMPRESSIONS IN PERSIAN—*contd.*

sword and pen; Prop of Kingdoms; Lord of India; Commander-in-Chief and Subadar of the Country of the Carnatic, 1258 (1842 A. D.).

Shahamat Jang, the 1st Sovereign, 1157 (1744).

Wala-Jah, the 2nd Sovereign, 1163 (1749).

Umdat-ul-umara, the 3rd Sovereign, 1210 (1795).

Azim-ud-Daula, the 4th Sovereign, 1216 (1801).

Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, the 5th Sovereign, 1235 (1819).

Muhammad Ghaus Khan Bahadur, the 6th Sovereign, 1241 (1825).

220. A small round silver seal ornamented with turquoise.

Amir-ul-Hind Wala-Jah, 1258 (1842).

221. A small silver seal ornamented with turquoise.

Unalterable seal of the Sarkar of Nawab Muhammad Ghaus Khan Bahadur, the Prop of Kingdoms, Sovereign of the Carnatic, 1258 (1842).

222. A round silver seal with fluted handle ornamented with turquoise.

The Prop of the Kingdom, Nawab Muhammad Ghaus Khan Bahadur Amir-ul-Hind, Sovereign of the Carnatic, 1258 (1842).

223. A round silver seal engraved with fluted handle.

The Prop of Kingdoms, Nawab Muhammad Ghaus Khan Bahadur, 1258 (1842).

224. A round silver seal engraved with star edge.

Amir-ul-Hind Wala-Jah Umdat-ul-Umara Madar-ul-Mamalik Azim-ud-Daula Nawab Muhammad Ghaus Khan Bahadur Shahamat Jang, 1258 (1842).

225. A large round silver seal engraved with star edge.

The Honourable of the Lords of high dignity chosen from the Chiefs of great magnitude; Councillor of the affairs of people; Master of sword and pen; Amirul-Hind Wala-Jah Umdat-ul-TImara Madar-ul-Mamalik Mukhtar-ul-Mulk Azim-ud-Daulah Nawab Muhammad Ghaus Khan Bahadur Shahamat Jang, the Commander-in-Chief and Subadar of the Country of the Carnatic, 1258 (1842).

226. A plain round silver seal engraved.

The seal of the Istifa Kachhari, established by the Nawab of the Carnatic, 1264 (1847).

From the Madras Record *Office—contd.*

SEALS, ETC., WITH IMPRESSIONS IN PERSIAN—*concld.*

227. A silver signet ring.
Qadir Ali Khan Bahadur, 1265 (1848).

228. A round silver seal with plain handle engraved.
The seal of the Private Secretary's office 1271 (1854).

229. A brass seal with wooden handle.
The seal of the Kachhari of Mir-i-Arz, 1271 (1854).

230. An oval silver seal with fluted handle and name in relief.
Baiz.

231. An oval silver seal with name in relief.
Let it be accepted.

232. A small silver seal with fluted handle.
Correct.

233. A small silver seal with fluted handle.
Finis.

234. A small silver armlet or charm with crystal.
A charm.

235. A long oblong silver seal with 12 compartments.
Servant of People, Muhammad Ghaus.

WAX IMPRESSIONS IN PERSIAN FROM SEALS.

23G. Alexander Dumas, 1704 [?]
Support of the Lords; victorious in battles; as swift as lightning in battles; Marshal de camp; Governor-General of the port of Pondicherry ; Commander of the naval and land armies in the East India; servant of the King of France; Hijri 1117 [?] (1704).

237. Lord Clive, 1765.
The noble of the country; the selected of the country; support of the Lords; Lord Clive Nawab who is always victorious in battles; servant of Shah Alam; King the Conqueror; Hijri 1179.

238. Thomas Graham, 1780.
Selected of the Lords; brave and victorious in battle; Hijri 1194'.

From the Madras Record Office— *contd.*

WAX IMPRESSIONS IN PERSIAN FROM SEALS—*contd.*

239. Lord Hastings, 1816.

Essence of the Princes of the highest rank; Privy Councillor of the noblest and munificent King of England; Noble of the Nobles; Marquis of Hastings; Governor-General Bahadur; Governor of the protected British Company's countries and Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the King and the Company in India; Hijri 1232.

240. John Adam, 1822.

Essence of the Princes of the highest rank; of high rank; of exalted rank; the noblest of the Lords; Honourable Bahadur John Adam; Governor-General Bahadur; greatest of the Governors of the protected countries of the British Company in India; Hijri 1238.

241. Lord Amherst, 1823.

Essence of the Princes of the highest rank; Privy Councillor of the noblest and munificent King of England; noblest of the Lords; Lord Amherst Bahadur; Governor-General Bahadur; greatest of the Governors of the protected countries of the British Company in India; 1823.

242. Lord Auckland, 1835.

Essence of the Princes of the highest rank; Privy Councillor of the noblest and munificent King of England; noblest of the Lords; Lord George Auckland; Governor-General Bahadur; greatest of the Governors of the protected countries of the British Company in India; Hijri 1251.

243. Ghazi-ud-din, 1748.

Khan Bahadur; victorious in battle; disciple of—

244. Ghazi-ud-din, 1748.

Commander-in-Chief; Lord of Lords; Ghazi-ud-din Khan; Administrator of a Country; victorious in battles; servant of Muhammad Ahmad Shah Bahadur; King the Conqueror; Hijri 11(12.

245. Shahab-ud-din Khan, 1752.

Commander-in-Chief; noble of high rank; Administrator of a country ; Shahab-ud-din Khan Bahadur; victorious in battles; Commander of all forces; servant of King Ahmed Shah Bahadur; as powerful as Solomon; Hijri 1166.

From the Madras Record Office— *contd.*

WAX IMPRESSIONS IN PERSIAN FROM SEALS—*contd.*

246. Safdar Jang, 1761.

Minister of the countries; selected of all in the Empire; Prime-Minister; trusted of Lords of high rank; authority of Government; brave among the Lords; Abul Mansur Khan Bahadur Safdar Jang; faithful friend; Commander-in-Chief; servant of Shah Alam; King the Conqueror; Hijri 1175.

247. Nizam-ul-mulk Azim Jah, 1761.

Administrator of the Country; of the rank of Asaf; the minister of Solomon; Hijri 1175.

248. Saiyid Nur-ud-din Khan, 1763.

Persevering among the Lords Saiyid Nur-ud-din Khan Bahadur; chief warrior in battle; servant of Shah Alam Bahadur; King the Conqueror; Hijri 1177.

249. Mir Nizam-ud-din Khan, 1774.

Servant of Shah Alam; King the Conqueror; Hijri 1188.

250. Mir Band-i-Ali Khan, 1783.

Noblest of the Lords; Administrator of a country; a sword in battle-field; Mir Band-i-Ali Khan Bahadur; servant of Shah Alam; King the Conqueror; Hijri 1198.

251. Mir Nizam-ud-din Khan Bahadur, 1785.

A valiant warrior among the Lords; an example of bravery in battle; servant of Shah Alam; King the Conqueror; Hijri 1200."

252. Nizam Ali, 1787.

Faithful friend, hero of his time; as powerful as Solomon; conqueror of Empires of high rank; Administrator of the Empire; Sovereign of Lords; Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur; victorious in battles; Commander-in-Chief; servant of Shah Alam Bahadur; King the Conqueror; Hijri 1202.

253. Nizam Ali Khan, 1790.

Faithful friend; hero of his time; conqueror of countries; son of exalted position; beloved child; as powerful as Solomon; Conqueror of Empires; Administrator of the Empire; Sovereign of Lords of high rank; Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur; victorious in battles; Commander-in-Chief; servant of Shah Alam Bahadur; King the Conqueror: Hijri 1205.

From the Madras Record Office—*contd.*

WAX IMPRESSIONS IN PERSIAN FROM SEALS—*concld.*

254. Husain Ali Khan, 1789.

Chief of the country; fortunate of the Lords; Husain Ali Khan Bahadur; fortunate in battle; servant of Shah Alam; King the Conqueror; year of accession to throne 32; Hijri 1204.

255. Anni Begum, 1795.

I am victorious to gain as high position as that of Haidar; and to sway the whole world under my seal as it is. under sun and moon; Anni Begum under the support of Almighty King; Hijri 1210.

256. Akbar Ali Khan, 1803.

Faithful friend; hero of his time; conqueror of countries; son of exalted position; beloved child; as powerful as Solomon; conqueror of Empires; Administrator of the Empire; Sovereign of Lords; of high rank; Mir Akbar Ali Khan Bahadur; victorious in battles; Commander-in-Chief; servant of Shah Alam Bahadur; King the Conqueror; Hijri 1218.

257. Mir Muhammad Sharif.

Lord of the nobles; brave in the country; best of the Lords; Mir Muhammad Sharif Khan Bahadur; dignified in battle; servant of Alamgir; King the Conqueror.

258. Raja Rao, 1753.

Raja Rao Damodar Mahadeo; servant of Alamgir; King the Conqueror; Hijri 1167.

259. Daulat Rao Sindhia.

The noblest of the Lords; beloved son; of high rank or dignity; Maharajah Daulat Rao Sindhia Bahadur Srinath; conqueror of the time; a deputy having absolute powers; a plenipotentiary invested with full powers; Lord of Lords; noblest son; of exalted rank; Pandit Purdhan Maharajah Dhiraj Seway Madhava Rao Narayan Bahadur; devoted servant of Shah Alam; King the Conqueror.

260. Kesava Rao.

Raja Kesava Rao; servant of Alamgir; year of accession to throne. [...].

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377.	Journal of the Madras Siege, Sundry Series, Vol. 13	1758—1759
378.	Public Country Correspondence, Vol. 1	1740
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382.	Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 1 .	1753
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388.	Political Country Correspondence, Vol. 1 .	1800
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408.	No. 1. Memoir of J. V. Stein Van Gollenesse	1743
409.	No. 2. Memoir of Adrian Moens .	1781

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410. No. 3. Memoir of Frederick Cunes 1756
411. No. 4. Memoir of Johan Gerrard Van Anglebeck . 1793
412. No. 5. Nawab Haidar Ali Khan 1763
413. No. 6. List of Dutch Manuscripts by Groot .
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416. No. 9. Inventory of Establishment Lists— 1743, 1761 and 1780
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418. No. 11. Memoir of Gasper de Jong 1761
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424. Vol. 1. . . . . 1736—1745
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434. Report on the Madras Records—by J. Talboys Wheeler . 1861
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From the French Government.

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557.	1G88.	Parwana from Timagy Quechoa, Subahdar of Gingy permitting the French Company to build a fortress at Pondicherry.
558.	30-9-1699.	Adjudication about the tobacco contract.
559.	8-11-1399.	Contract of marriage of Ollivier Gerbeut.
560.	1701.	Letters Patent of the King of France, Louis XIV, about the creation of the Upper Council at Pondicherry.
561.	22-9-1706.	Monsieur Le Chevalier Martin's (Governor-General of Pondicherry) testament.

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562. 18-5-1731, Letter from Mahe de Labourdonnais to the Governor of Pondicherry about the Viceroy of Goa's request to be supplied with arms and ammunition.

563. 8-3-1737. Treaty between the Imam of Muscat and the French about the supply of troops and ships for the war at Mocha.

564. 6-6-1750. Decision of the King in Council cancelling the deliberations about the villages of Archivak and Taduvanattam.

565. 15-9-1754. Commercial treaty between the Governor of Madras and the French.

566. 15-2-1756. Parwana from Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur Fatteh Singh authorising the erection of a mosque at Kattepalle, attached to Marmaria.

567. 5-8-1777. Rules relating to the Upper Council at Pondicherry.

568. 31-3-1783. Passport issued by Marquis of Bussy to Beaubrun, Agent of the French at, Goa.

569. 14-12-1788. Letters from Tippu Sultan to the French Government.

570. 28-5-1725 to 20-11-1760.) Deliberations of the Upper Council (Exhibit intended to show the signatures of the Governors and the Councillors).

PRINTED BOOKS.

571. Correspondence du Conseil Superieur de Pondichery et de la Compagnie publiee avec introduction par Alfred Martineau. Tone III—1739-1742.

572. Pondichery en 1746.

573. Les Cyclones à 1a Côte Coromandel, par Alfred Martineau.

574. A book containing the portraits of Count de Lally, Cardinal de Beausset, Count du Lauriston, V. Jacquemont, Marquis du Lauriston (Governor), Esprémenil and Goislard under arrest, 6th May 1788.

Societe de l'Histore des Colonies Francaises.

575. État Politique de l'Indo en 1777, par Law de Lauriston avec une introduction par A. Martineau.

576. Les Origines de Mahé de Malabar, par A. Martineau.

577. Dupleix—deux volumes par A. Martineau 1722-49.

Publications de la Societe de l'Histoire de I'Inde Francaise.

578. Revue historique de I'Inde Francaise:

Premier volume 1916-1917. Deuxiéme volume 1918. Troisiéme volume 1919. Quatriéme volume 1920. Cinquiéme volume 1921-32.

579. Les dernieres luttes des Francais et des Anglais dans I'Inde par le colonel Malleson. Traduit par M. Edmond Gaudart, 1911, 1 volume, 230 pages.

580. Letters et conventions des Gouverneurs de Pondichery avec les divers princes indiens de 1666 à 1793. Publié par M. Martineau, 1912', 1 volume, 402 pages.

581. Pocés-verbaux des délibérations du Conseil supérieur de Pondichéry, du 1^{or} fevriér 1701 au 31 décembre 1739, 3 volumes publiés par les soins de M. Gaudart, 1913-1915.

582. Tnvontaire des anciennes archives de l'Indo francaise, dresse par M. Martineau, 1914, 38 pages.

583. Correspondance du Conseil supérieur de Pondichéry avec le Conseil de Chandernagor, du 30 septembre 1728 au 2 février 1747.—Deux volumes publiés par MM. Gaudart et Martineau 1915-1916.

584. Correspondance du Conseil supérieur de Pondichérry avec le Conseil de Chandernagor, du 4 aot 1747 aû 21 avril 1757 (1^{or} Partie) et correspondance avec divers du 18 Janvier 1745 au 10 février 1757 (2^{o} Partie), 1 volume Tome I I I .

585. Résumé des actes de I'Etat-civil de Pondichéry, de 1676 à 1735, public par M. Martineau, 1917, 448 pages.

586. Resume de 1736, à 1760, de ces actes, publié par M. Martineau, 1919, 380 pages, 1 volume.

587. Correspondance du Conseil supérieur de Pondichéry et la Compagnie —Tome I de 1726 a 1730, Tome II de 1736 à 1738, et Tome I I I de 1739-1742, publié par M. A. Martineau.

588. Catalogue des manuscripts des anciennes archives de I'Inde Française, Tome I. Pondichéry 1690-1789, publié par M. E. Gaudart.

APPENDIX C.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort St. George, March 5, 1924 (G. 0. Mis. No. 188, Finance).

No. 58.—The annexed report of Br S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S., Secretary to the Committee formed to make arrangements in connexion with the Madras Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, is published for general information.

2. The Government wish to place on record their appreciation of the services rendered by Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in connexion with the meeting of the Commission and also to convey to him the thanks of the members and Secretary of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

ANNEXURE.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION—SIXTH SESSION, MADRAS-JANUARY 1924.

REPORT OF DR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S.

In pursuance of the resolution of the meeting held on the 18th of December 1923 appointing me Secretary with a Committee to make the necessary arrangements in connexion with the Madras Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, I took charge, from Mr. H. A. B. Vernon, the officer in Charge of the Madras Records, of the arrangements. On inspecting the Museum and the preliminary arrangements, I thought it desirable that the work so well begun be continued and with the approval of the Committee, the arrangements begun were pushed on, having regard to the shortness of the time at our disposal. The Secretary of the Commission arrived in Madras on the 2nd January and during the week before the Commission all the requisite arrangements were made to hold the Commission on the 10th in the Museum Theatre. The Commission placed at the disposal of the Committee Rs. 500 to meet the expenses of the Committee.

2. The Commission held its session on the 10th and 11th of January. On the 10th, His Excellency the Governor opened the proceedings and after a group-photograph the papers presented to the Commission were taken up. Eight of them were read beginning with one on Governor Collett of Madras by Miss Collett, kindly presented by Sir Charles Todhunter. The others about a dozen were taken as read, as some of them were already printed and circulated, and others were papers sent in, the authors being absent. The sitting was over by 4 P.M. and the Exhibition was visited by Their Excellen-

cies and a select gathering of distinguished gentlemen including some of the members of the Royal Commission on Public Services.

3. On the 11th the Commission held its business meeting in the Records Office and adopted a certain number of resolutions. In regard to the formation of a local branch about whieh a resolution had been adopted by the general meeting on the 18th of December, the Commission contented themselves with making the four Co-opted members of Madras a local .Committee,, and resolved that arrangements be made to appoint local correspondents elsewhere in centres where there was likely to be useful information forthcoming in 'conection with similar receords. The formation of a-regular society'sucl as was contemplated in a special meeting of some of the members did not arise;

4. The exhibition was 'thrown open'to the public on the 11th, 12th and part of the d3ih and the number of visitors may be about 2,000, it is gratifying to note that the Exhibition did create some interest.

5: The whole session may be regarded as successful having regard to the shortness of' time at the disposal of the Committee for making arrangements. This success is due to the co-operation of many factors among which I must mention the willing co-operation of 'the Committee, the Superintendent and staff of the Records Office, the Curator and staff of the Oriental Manuscripts Library; the Librarian of the Pondichery Historical Records who brought his,own oxhibits and Mr. R. Srlnivasa Raghava Aiyangar, the Archaeological Assistant of the Museum and the staff of the Museum generally. The special thanks of the Committee are due to Mr. S. T. Srinivasagopalachari, B.A., B.L., Advocate, for having lent a selection of South Indian gold coins from his private collection for the Exhibition. The Committee are particularly indebted to Dr Gravely for his ready courtesy and willing assistance in all matters pertaining to the Exhibition* The Secretary to the Commission has -been furnished with a statement of account with detailed vouchers for the amount of'Rs. 500 that he'had placed at my disposal for the expenses of the exhibition Out of this amount, the anexpended balance of Rs. 44-15-6 was remitted to the Secretary, to the Commission by means of a draft on the Imperial Bank of India.

J. B. BROWN,

Deputy Secretary to Government,

* This should be six *(vide* Resolution V of the Commission).

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