APPENDIX VIII

THE MUGHAL COMMUNITY IN CALCUTTA

"The name Mogul [Mughal] should properly mean a person of the great nomad race of Mongols, called in Persia etc. Mughals; but in India it has come, in connection with the nominally Mongol, though essentially rather Turk, family of Baber, to be applied to all foreign Mahommadans from the countries on the west and north-west of India, except the Pathans. In fact these people themselves make a sharp distinction between the Mughal Irani (who is a Shia) and the Mughal Turani of Turk origin (who is a Sunni)." Hobson-Jobson (1968 ed.), p. 570.

Aurangzeb, in Anecdotes, refers to their unique position in Mughal India as kinsmen of the ruling dynasty and as an unusually strong people to be carefully watched, because of their ambition. Even though the Gujaratis, Khatris and Oswals were the premier merchant communities in 18th century India, the Mughals probably enjoyed the aura of the mercantile aristocracy, mainly because of their aggressive militaristic qualities and cosmopolitan cultural and linguistic association.

A consciousness of their privileges prompted the Mughals in the army of the former ruler of Oudh to send a Paper of Articles to a British commander on the question of continuing their services in the armed forces of the East India Company.

(1) The Company should in every respect regard as its own the honour and reputation of the Mughals, who are strangers in this country, and make them its confederates in every business. (2) They should be granted a proper place in the country for the habitation of their families and dependants. (3) Whereas sixty rupees a month have been fixed for all but Jamadars, Hawaldars, and Dafahdars, there are several privates who have always been distinguished and have received from one to three hundred rupees a month. (4) Whatever Mughals, whether Irani or Turanis, come to offer their services, they should be received on the aforesaid terms. Moreover, a present of Rs. 100 per head should be immediately given them and a month's pay advanced them. (5) At present there should not be raised any difficulties as to
the size of horses. (6) Whenever a Mughal is killed in battle or
dies a natural death, his son or relation should be received in his
place. . . . (8) Should anyone be desirous of returning to his own
country, his arrears should be immediately paid. [Trans. P.L.R.
1763-64, no. 246, pp. 491-92] Calendar of Persian Correspond-
dence, vol. 1., pp. 342-43 No. 2423; Paper of Articles sent by the
Mughals to Major Munro.

The Mughals were the only prominent group of Muslim mer-
chants in 18th and early 19th century Calcutta—a group mainly
connected with the traditional Asian trade in its progressively
attenuated form in the context of western dominance. (N. K.

Even if the wealth of the Mughals was much less striking than
that of the Bengali landlords and gold merchants in mid-19th cen-
tury Calcutta, the community still attracted the attention of the
Bengalis because of its certain exotic quality and historical asso-
ciation. Aga Karbalai Muhammad, “the Prince of Merchants”,
the leader of the Mughal community in Calcutta, held a com-
manding position in the city. The highly orthodox Hindu journal
Samachar Chandrika published the following editorial after his
death:

“We regret to announce the death of Aga Karbala Muhammad,
the famous octogenarian merchant, last Monday. No other
Muslim [in the city] was wealthier than him. He arrived in this
country from his native land [Persia] with 35 lakhs of rupees and
started living here, building a mansion. He used to have the life
style of a Nawab Subah, maintaining all kinds of servants and
maids, including many of his Mughal kinsmen who for that rea-
son paid him deep respect. The Mughal community was entirely
obedient to him. In the event of a disturbance almost all the
Mughals would assemble at the place of disturbance and were
bound by word to lay down their lives for him. Not free from
the racial trait of quickness of temper, he observed the festival of
Muharram in the true style of Islam and on that occasion spent
five to seven thousand rupees on food, hospitality and illumina-
tion. Hindus, Muslims and Englishmen thronged to see the illu-
mination of his house and the [Muharram] procession which
issued from there.” (Translated from the editorial in Samachar
Chandrika, 28 July, 1856, as printed in B. N. Bandopadhyay,
Sangbadpatre Sekaler Katha, 1956, p. 423.)
All praise be unto God who is immortal and whose creatures are mortal and mercy and peace rest on the Chief among the Prophets—and on the son of his Paternal Uncle (who is the best of "Wussees" or Guardians) and on his holy and immaculate Race and Descendants to the day of "Yuzzah" or Retribution—

After which, I the sinner before the Throne of the Bestower of bounty and the sincere dependant on the Imans who are Guides of the true Faith—do in the possession of sound understanding and in a condition to give effect to all legal acts without force or coercion make the following "Suhee" or right declaration and lawful announcement—that whereas every living creature must of necessity taste the liquor of death, and depart out of this perishable world into the world of eternity according to the "Ayut" or sentence, "That every mortal must taste death", therefore before that happens I do hereby appoint the high in dignity, the token of honour, the best among the Hadjees, Hadjee Zuyn-ul-aubdeen, Merchant of Sherauz, at present an Inhabitant of Calcutta and the light of my eyes my son, Akah Mohomed Alley, better known as Akah Jaun, separately and jointly as my "Wussee-ai-Shurruce" or lawful executors and my "Kyemmo-kaum" or Representatives and "Mooktears" or managers—that whenever I, the "Moosee" or Testator, depart from this transitory world to the world of Eternity, my said "Wussees" or Executors mentioned above, considering God as present, attend to every matter and to my Infant children and others—In the first place—In relation to the monies in trust of persons in Velyut [his own country] that have come to my hand formerly and latterly and lately—the best of Hadgees, the said Hadgee Zuyn-ul-aubdeen, will therewith using great diligence and exertion make Purchases pursuant to their letters—and will ship and transmit the same to the "Sahaibaun" or owners or to the "Vakeels" or agents; that the same may not be lost and that the "Mallickaun" or proprietors of the Goods, may not sustain loss—In the second place—The demands that I have against different persons, he will realize and take—The Debts that I owe to different persons according to my "Duftur" or books... and whatever "Usbaub" or things there are
in the “Zunnanah Khonnah” or Female apartments he will give the whole of that to the mother of my Infant children—he will not misapply anything—but he will take my wearing apparel and some shawls that are in the “Khonnah” or House and the wearing apparel of my wife and Golden articles that are in the “Tussurroof” or use of the “Wallidah” or Mother of my “utfaul” or Infant children—I have given up the whole of those to her—Further—on account of the Marriage Portion of my wife I am indebted in the sum of two hundred and fifty Rupees—adding two hundred and fifty Rupees more to that he will deliver over to my “Zoujah” or wife 500 five hundred Calcutta Sicca Rupees—of the whole of my Property consisting of my “Surmuyah” or Capital stock and my “Usbaub” or articles and things in Calcutta and my wearing apparel and my Household effects and my House and Garden that are in Sherauz and all my demands and ready money and Mercantile Goods unsold that there are, having collected together and made an account of the whole my Wussees or Executors mentioned above, deducting and reserving one third, the remaining two “Sooloos” or thirds they will divide according to “Shurrah” among my Warris or Heirs consisting of two “Zukkoor” or Males and three “Oonaus” or Females—And out of my own Sooloos or one third they will “Owullum” or in the first place give to the high in rank the best among the Hadgees my “Mukhdoom” or Master Hadgee Mahomed Bagda-dee at present an Inhabitant of Calcutta the sum of 1000 one thousand Calcutta Sicca Rupees—that the said Hadgee may himself go on “Huj” or pilgrimage on my behalf—and also give the sum of 1000, one thousand Calcutta Sicca Rupees...to his “goonaub” or honour, my Mukhdoom or Master, Suyud Akah Meer Mahomed Alley Ispehannee, at present an Inhabitant of Calcutta, that he on my behalf may go to the lofty “Utbaaut” or Shrine and to all the holy places and on a Pilgrimage to the Mushuaddai-Mookuddes—and from my Sooloos or one third the light of my eyes my son Akah Mohamed Alley will go on to take for Prayers and Fasts for Fortyfive years at Sherauz and Ispe-haun and if it be possible let my corpse be conveyed to the “Utbaute Atleat” or lofty shrine—but if that cannot be done now it is befitting that my bones be sent there hereafter—what more shall I urge—And in relation to the “Umaunut” or Deposits of the different Persons—it is expedient, that good and suitable
purchases be made therewith that he ship and transmit the same in season and that proper care be taken of the "Utfaul" or children—and as long as the Mother of the children looks after her own children and take not another husband he shew her attention—but if she goes away—she knows best—you have then connection with her—Further the accounts that exist with the "Sircar" of the pride of merchant his honour my Sahaib and "Wolley-Neamut" or benevolent lord Akah Kurbullahee Mahomed Khaun Sahiab are written in my "Dufur" or Books—which I mention for the purpose of making the same known—

Written on this 11th Eleventh day of the Month of Mohurrum-ul-Haram, one of the months of the Hijree year 1265.

[What follows is written on the margin.]
Again, as follows—The Garden of Auzooree Eahoodee that I have rented out to the Sircar of the Judge Sahaib wherein he has now lived for a long time has been in my hands as a Mortgage for the sum of 46 Fortysix thousand Sicca Rupees—which said Garden I have sold to the hands of the "Hindoo" Mootee Seal for 43 Fortythree thousand Rupces...

Signature of Mahommed Ibrahim Sherauzee

A true Translation of the Annexed paper No. 610—in the Persian and Arabic languages and characters—Read by Moulovee Ubdool Jubbaur

Signature of attestation
Sd/- W. D. Smith 16th Dec. 1848.

Ref.: O.W. 18404
Aga Kurbalai Muhammad Khawn Saheb

The object of writing these words directing towards a good end and safety is that the sublime in dignity, the exalted in rank, the united to prosperity and honour the glory of merchants Kurbuli Mohammed Khawn Saheb... in a sincere and faithful manner appear before some of the orthodox followers of the Prince of Prophets who are his confidential men and in their presence appointed the most noble and respectable Aga Mohammed Hossain Saheb Son of the Asylum of Mercy Hajj Abdul Razak Chhalaby and Moonshee Kooban Ally Saheb Moottsuddy who is...
his faithful servant and Mean Sootan Saheb a dependant in the Sirkar of the Glory of Merchants, his absolute executors and the legal representatives... the above executors shall collect and put together the goods and effects of the testator consisting of ready money and furniture and house and possessions and household effects and outstanding dues and so forth properties; and except ready money, they shall sell the whole whatsoever there are even the fixtures on the wall, save the things belonging to each of his wives and bond maids and children... they shall sell by public auction and convert into ready money... and one third of the money to which the Testator is entitled they shall set apart and make over the rest to the heirs; and the lawful heirs of the above mentioned glory of merchants consist of his two permanent wives who are endowed with children and who are the veiled and highly respected Muzzummait Fatima Begum Saheba, the Daughter of the Asylum of Mercy Aga Meer Hossain—may whose grave continue moist and fresh—and the veiled and highly respected Ameenutuz Zuhra, Daughter of the Asylum of Mercy Haji Abdur Razak Chhalaby and four sons [names follow] and seven Daughters [names follow]... and the executors above mentioned after collecting together the assets, shall in the first apply one third thereof being share of the testator to expedient and established charitable purposes according to the list under written... .

Whatever shall remain of the third share shall be invested in the purchase of some landed property and with the produce thereof the expenses of different religious ceremonies to be defrayed... ; and the Sacred Books and other miscellaneous in manuscript and print shall remain for the use of the male children; and as regards my kept mistress consisting of female slaves etc., such as (their) children shall be allowed ten rupees per month for the expenses of their maintenance out of the shares of their children so long as they continue with them in the house... [children to have their full shares of the proceeds of the sale of effects, houses etc., when they come of age] Hijire year 1272.

A true translation of the Persian Will—4th August, 1856.
APPENDIX IX

EURASIANS AS AN ETHNIC GROUP IN CALCUTTA—SOME JUDICIAL DOCUMENTS

I

The last will of Sophia Yeandle, 2nd April, 1778

I give and bequeath unto my natural daughter Ann by Harry Verelest Esq.* now in England and to her heirs, executors, administrators and assignees for ever the two several brick dwelling houses with appurtenances hereinafter mentioned and expressed, that is to say all that one house and ground situated in Calcutta in an alley fronting the great road, to the eastward of the house formerly belonging to Warren Hastings Esq. now to Mahmed Reza Khan, containing six cottahs and eight chuttacks more or less by the said Harry Verelest granted ... for my sole use and benefit for ever and also all that one other dwelling house built and executed on the before mentioned six cottahs and eight chuttacks of ground.... As my said daughter Ann is as yet too young to manage the bequest it is my desire and request that the said bequests and legacies be given unto David Killican in trust for the said Ann until she shall attain the age of sixteen years. To my god-son William Rank the son of one rank (?) butcher in Calcutta I bequeath the sum of one thousand current rupees. To the Church wardens of the Portuguese Church I likewise bequeath the sum of one thousand current rupees.

II

Will of John Bean, 1st May 1778

I John Bean, late of Ash in the county of Kent, purser of the good ship Peacock... As neither the state of my finances nor my profession in life would enable or allow me to marry necessity obliged me to take a girl into keeping, according to the custom of the East—this girl is a native of Bhio and now resides in Bengal... [John Bean left almost everything to her and to the "Child that was born of her body ..."]

* Henry Verelest was Governor of Bengal during 1767-1769.
III
Will Register 1822, H.C.O.S., page 46

Name of the testator: Elizabeth Rebeira, alias Bebee Diana, Inhabitant of Calcutta.

Distribution of property: She gave to Bebee Susana her “one pair of gold Joomkah-ornament for the ears” and her “old shawl together with all her wearing apparel”. Next she said, “I will that my houses and premises situated in Moonshee Tank near Chandney Choke remain in the hands of my Executors herein-after named and the rent and income thereof collected and held in trust by them till such time the debt to which the said houses and premises are subject, be liquidated when I desire the said houses and premises be disposed of . . . and the proceeds thereof, equally divided between my adopted daughters Johanna Almeida alias Jane Thomas and Helen Lewis her daughter respectively.”

She also mentioned “a piece or parcel or ground measuring about seven cottahs, be the same more or less, with godowns thereon in the front situate in Chandney Choke . . .”

Date of the will—19th February 1821.

IV
Will Register 1822, H.C.O.S., page 137
Will of Bebee Lucy

This is the last will and testament of me Bebee Lucy of Taul-tullah Bazaar in the town of Calcutta. I give and . . . all that my messuage tenement, brick built dwelling house situated lying and being at Taul-tullah Bazaar in the said town of Calcutta unto Charles Phillips his heirs and assignees for ever and I give and bequeath unto the said Charles Phillips his executors administrators or assignees all my other property of whatsoever nature kind or condition the same may be. I appoint Meer Mooksood Ally of the said town of Calcutta executor of this will. I hereby revoke all former wills by me made. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal this fifteenth day of August in the year of Christ One thousand eight hundred and twenty-two.

The mark of Bebee Lucy
Appendix IX

V
Will Register 1826-30, H.C.O.S., page 121.

I give to my daughter Mrs. Amelia Eaglestone, the wife of Mr. Eaglestone, the sum of Sicca Rupees 2000/-. to my grandson, George Alexander Eaglestone, the sum of Sicca Rupees 2000/-. to my Consamah Burkootoollah now living in my service Sicca Rs. 1000/- and I give to my tenant Alla Bux Breadman...to Shaik Budderuddy of Durramtollah Street in the town of Calcutta coach-maker...my two adjoining lower roomed houses in Dingabungah and a piece or parcel of ground thereunto belonging measuring ten cottahs...upon trust not to sell or dispose of the same...and to pay and expend the rents...towards keeping up annually my funeral rites and giving charity...to indigent people of my caste....

[Shaik Budderuddy was made sole Executor of the will.]

Date of the will—18th March 1830.
File on 5th May, 1830.

Bebee Nancy her mark

VI
Will Register 1818, H.C.O.S., page 109

Name of the testator: Bebee Bivan, inhabitant of Calcutta.

She gave to her only son Robert James (Durie) the sum of sicca rupees 3600 and "a certain piece or parcel of ground situated in Bolee Gungee [Ballygunge] consisting of twenty-five cottahs of ground more or less."

She directed that "after my decease the household furniture, jewels, and other property [were] to be sold and after paying [for] my funeral rites, and ceremonies according to the Mahomedan religion..."

Date of the will—15th September 1815.
APPENDIX X

SOME MATERIALS ON THE LOCAL HISTORY OF SUTANUTI—
PAPERS MAINLY RELATING TO THE SOBHAJABAZAR
RAJ FAMILY

The following paper was discovered by W. K. Firminger, Editor
of Bengal, Past and Present and reproduced in “Leaves from the
Editor’s Note Book” of the same journal (June 1916, pp. 253-57).
He discovered this from a bundle of papers in his possession
when he purchased the MS materials got together for Volume IV
of Dr. Wilson’s Early Annals of the English in Bengal. The
paper, he observes, contains some information of value and is
well worth preservation and future comment. The paper is re-
produced here in an abridged form.

MEMORANDUM

Sutanuti, Govindpore and Calcutta were three ancient villages
which constitute the present City of Calcutta.

In 1698 Mr. Walsh, one of the servants of the Company trading
to the East Indies, was sent to the Camp of Prince Azim-us shah,
grandson of Aurengzeb (then appointed Governor of the Pro-
vinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa) to procure from his Highness
a grant of the villages of Sutanuti, Govindpore and Calcutta.
The Letters Patent of the Prince gave permission to the Com-
pny to purchase from the Zamindars, the said villages with the
reservation to himself of an annual revenue of Rs. 1195-0-0 which
the ground used to pay to the Nabobs of Bengal. These villages,
which in virtue of the Prince’s Letters Patent or Nishan had been
purchased from the Zamindars thereof, extended about three
miles on the eastern side of the river and about one mile inland.

In 1717 A.D. the English, through the influence of Dr. Hamilton,
who had given the well-known medical aid to the Emperor
Ferroksere, obtained from his Majesty a Farman or Imperial
mandate confirming all former lands to the Company in which
among other things it is stated that the rentings of Sutanuti,
Govindpore and Calcutta in the Parguna of Amerabad, etc., in
Bengal were formerly granted them and bought by consent of
the Zamindars from them and are now in the Company’s posses-
sion for which they yearly pay them a sum of Rupees 1195-6 ans.

In 1758 the East India Company received from the Subah or Governor of Bengal the free tenure of the lands included in Parguna Calcutta; in the enumeration of these lands is mentioned Sutanuti yielding a rent of Rs. 1506-0-15-3.

On the 12th August 1765 Shah Alam granted the Dewani to the Company and confirmed their Zamindary rights.

From 1758 to 1772 the Company continued to derive revenue from the said villages by letting them out to Farmers.

The East India Company as original Talukdars of the said villages enjoyed the following rights and privileges.

The land therein of which they had Khas possession they dealt with them as absolute owners and if they allowed tenants to occupy them these tenants were tenants at will.

The bulk of the holdings, however, were in the possession or permanent occupation of tenants from whom they (the Company) could buy only rents fixed in perpetuity. These may be called properly Talukdari lands. The Khamar or common or waste lands were also the absolute property of the Company and were sold, granted or let to applicants for building purposes. The Escheat lands were also of this description. There were also Lakheraj or rent-free lands. The Company by granting Mourasi Pattas which brought to them certain emoluments converted Khas and Khamar lands into Talukdari lands, and in the case of these last class of lands fresh Pattas were issued whenever there was change of proprietorship.

In order to prevent encroachments on waste lands and persons holding more lands than they paid rents for, a rule was made that all lands should be remeasured and fresh Pattas taken out every ten years. In cases of waste lands the occupant was required to pay the value of the excess (Khamar Beshi) before his possession was recognised and a Patta granted for it.

In 1774-75 or 1181-1182 B.S. Sutanuti was measured for the last time on behalf of the Government and Chittas and Jama-bandies were prepared. According to the Jamabandi the Company continued to levy the rents of Sutanuti up to the time they remained Talukdars thereof. Attached to the Taluk of Sutanuti were two minor villages of Bagbazar and Hogulcurrea which came to the possession of the Government in the same way as Sutanuti.
Maharaja Navakrishna Bahadur after having been appointed Agent to the Council in political transactions with the Country Powers, was for the many valuable and essential services he had rendered to Government, rewarded among other things with the grant of a certain Zamindary called Nawpara, which he took possession of, under the authority of Muhammad Riza Khan sanctioned by the Khalsa, but in 1777 its former proprietor Abdool Wahid resumed possession of it under a Decree of Court.

The Government therefore in lieu of the said Zamindary of Nawpara granted to the Maharaja by a Persian Sanud dated 16th January 1778 corresponding with the 6th of Magh 1184, the Talukdari of the several villages of Sutanuti, Bagbazar and Hogulcurrea with the reservation of an annual revenue of Rs. 1237-13-10.

On the 1st June 1778 the Maharaja applied to Warren Hastings for an English Lease of the Taluk, and Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General of India, and R. Barwell, Philip Francis, and Edward Wheeler, members of Council of the Presidency at Fort William in Bengal, by a certain Deed of Indenture dated the 28th April 1778 devised, gave and granted the Talukdari of Sutanuti, Bagbazar and Hogulcurrea to the Maharaja, his heirs, executors administrators and assignees for ever subject to the yearly payment of the said sum of Rs. 1237-13-10 to the Bengal Government. By this grant the Governor made over to the Maharaja all the Talukdari rights and privileges relating to the said villages which appertained to the East India Company as such Talukdar thereof. The grant mentions that it conveyed to him all the produce, issues and profits of the said Talukdari, all rents, tolls, taxes, commons, Khamar lands, waste lands, lands forfeited or to be forfeited, Patta Salamies, perquisites, benefits and advantages whatsoever arising from the said Talukdary; the Government also thereby authorized him to enforce the payment of the rents thereof by all such ways and means as would or could in the like case have been lawfully exercised by or on the part of the said East India Company.

Along with the grant the Maharaja received copies of the said measurement and assessment papers in 1774-75 the originals of which are still forthcoming in the Calcutta Collectorate.

* A search made by me for these papers proved futile, whatever the reasons.
Appendix X

The Maharaja entered into possession of his right according to the said Persian Sanud.

Subsequently some of the influential tenants of Sutanuti, piqued at the good fortune of the Maharaja, prayed Government to be allowed to pay their quota of rents to some servants of the Government and not to the Maharaja, but the Government informed them that it was the will of Government that the dues of the Company which have been transferred to the Maharaja, shall be paid into his hands as the immediate proprietor, instead of being paid as heretofore into the hands of an Agent of the Company, and to this their obedience was required. A second petition of the said tenants met the same fate.

From 1778 to 1790 the Collector of Calcutta assisted the Maharaja in collecting the Jamma of the Taluk, the former reserving the Chowkidari tax and remitting the Maal Mulherrifa and Kutwali to the Maharaja.

The Maharaja continued to enjoy the Talukdari right up to the time of his death which happened on the 22nd November 1793. Besides the old rents of the Taluk-the Maharaja received Salamies by the grant of 617 Pattas to diverse tenants.

Soon after his death disputes between Raja Gopeemohan, the adopted son, and Raja Rajkrishna, the son of the body of the Maharaja, commenced several proceedings in the Supreme Court: the disputes ended in an equal partition of his Estate by order of the Supreme Court.

In the Bengali year 1214 or 1807 A.D. a final settlement and an equal partition of the said Taluk, Sutanuti, etc. took place between the said Raja Gopeemohan and Raja Rajkrishna and two lists of allotment in shares of the Taluk were prepared and executed dividing the same into two Lots marked respectively No. 1 and No. 2. Raja Rajkrishna made choice of Lot No. 1 and Raja Gopeemohan of Lot No. 2.

Although the said Deeds gave the Talukdars full power to enforce the payment of their dues by the tenants, yet great difficulty has been experienced by them, specially of late years, in realising the same from refractory tenants, on account of the various salutary laws which have been passed by Government from time to time for helping the mofussil Zamindars not applying to a Taluk within the jurisdiction of Calcutta. Various efforts had been made by both branches of Maharaja Newakissen's
[Navakrishna's] family to move the Government to rectify the anomalous state of things, whereby the Talukdars were obliged to pay the Government Revenue punctually, but were left without proper provision for the levy of rents from their tenants, and in 1859 at the instance of the then Lieut.-Governor of Bengal and on the motion of Mr. Sconce the Legislative Council ordered the draft Bill prepared by the lawyers of the Talukdars to be printed. The departure of Mr. Sconce to England which soon followed and the retirement for good of Raja Radhakanta stopped all progress of the Bill.

The Raja Rajkrishna having obtained a moiety of the Taluk exercised during his lifetime the rights of a Talukdar and enjoyed its income. He issued 78 Pattas. After his death his Estate came into the hands of the Receiver, and from that time there has been a considerable diminution from the income from the Taluk it being now scarcely sufficient to pay the Government Revenue which after remission on account of lands taken up for public purposes is now Rs. . . . The heirs and representatives of Raja Rajkrishna up to a certain time issued 141 Pattas.

It appears that in 1264 B.S. [1857 A.D.] there was realised from Raja Rajkrishna's moiety Rs. 372, in 1265 [1858] Rs. 330 and in 1266 Rs. 200. . . . The collections from Raja Gopecmohan's moiety though larger exhibited considerable falling off year by year.

II
Supreme Court in Equity, 1835
Henry Shakespear and others
Vs.
Gopecmohan Deb

To H. Shakespear, I. W. Hogg & I. H. Chippendale Esqr.
Gentlemen

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your clerk's letter of the 21st instant enclosing me a copy of the Resolution passed by you regarding my property at Neemtollah in my Talook Sootanooty and beg in reply to submit my objections thereto, that it would affect my Talookdary Right if I agree with any narrow limit or boundary of the land in question which being subject to gradual encroachment and eroding by the river I can
hardly comply with the Resolution unless I am allowed to possess all the Khamar or alluvial lands which are now or will be hereafter agreeably to the Talookdary Grant.

In further objection I beg leave to state that in the cold season the high water will go back at a great distance from the present high water mark, leaving a large quantity of land on my Talook, and that Hutcollah and Coomartooey in my Talook Sootanooty have suffered a great disruption in the river's course and they are still in the same state and that if I do not obtain the land which has been or is to be added to my Talook by the gradual recess of the river my Talook will of course be subject to ruin and I to a heavy loss. It is therefore customary in every country that the lands encroached on and left by the river are the loss and profit of the zamindars and not of the Public.

In further objection to the proposed resolution I implore permission to represent that the ground to the westward of the line marked by Mr. Blachynden has been with other lands in the peaceful possession of my father and myself for a period of nearly 40 years during which time my under-tenants have been peaceably and quietly landing their articles, and building, repairing and breaking up boats on the premises close to the water without stopping the navigation of any boats whatsoever which I can prove by several credible witnesses and that if my tenants are compelled to remove their boats &c. from the ground in question they will meet with great difficulty in consequence to carry on their business of that description thereby resulting in a considerable loss to the source of Revenue to Government.

Having stated my objections to the proposed measures I beg leave to represent that should you think proper to enforce the Resolution of the 21st inst. you may be pleased to give me a previous notice of the same, that I may prepare to try the question on the Supreme Court to preserve my hereditary right.

I remain with due respect
Gentlemen
Your most obedt. & humble servant

May 1821 Gopeemohun Deb
Some Materials on the Local History of Sutanuti

III
Some Pattas or Title-deeds granted by the Sobhabazar Deb Family

(a)
Shreec Shree Hari
(Persian Seal)

To Sreejoot Ramhurry Takoor
This is an auspicious deed of Pottah for lands to the following purport. I do hereby grant unto you a Pottah for (5.12) five cottahs and twelve chattaacks of exchanged ground in the Mehal of Brindavan Bysack situated in my Talook Mouza Sootanooty for the purpose of your dwelling and by paying the annual rent of sicca (13-16) Thirteen annas and sixteen gundahs you may happily reside at and occupy the same. Under this condition I grant this Pottah. Dated the 26th Shraban in the Bengal year 1190 corresponding with the 8th August of English year 1783.

For Pottah Salamy ... 1 - 4 - 0
" Fees " ... 5 - 0 - 0

6 - 4 - 0

[It may be noted that Ramhurry Takoor was a Brahmin. Was he exempted from paying the price of land for that reason?]

(b)
Shreec Shree Hari
(Persian Seal)

To Krishnachunder Roy greeting with benediction
This is an auspicious deed of Pottah for grounds to the following purport. I do hereby grant unto you a Pottah for fourteen cottahs of Ground in the Mehal of Ameerchinder Baboo and for four chatacks of jubd besi ground (or ground in excess of measurement) making in all fourteen cottahs and four chattaacks situate in my Talook Mouza Sootanooty for your dwelling and by paying the annual rent of Sicca (2-2-4) Two rupees two annas and four gundahs you may happily reside at and occupy same. Under the condition I grant this Pottah. Dated the 13th Choiter of the
Appendix X

Bengal year 1200 corresponding with the 23rd March of the English year 1794.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Rs. 4291</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punchutherah</td>
<td>214 - 8 - 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pottah Salamy</td>
<td>6 - 4 - 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of 4 chatacks of jübö besi ground</td>
<td>76 - 10 - 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>297 - 6 - 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c)

Shree Shree Doorga Sharanam
(Persian Seal)

To Doorgachuran Mitter

This is an auspicious deed of Pottah for lands to the following purport. I do hereby grant unto you a Pottah for (4%) four and three quarter cottahs of Khamar lands of the broken Posta or Embankment situated on the north of the pucka or brick built Ghaut of Nimbollah and lying within my Talook Mouza Sootanooty, for the purpose of your dwelling and by paying me the annual rent of Sicca (11-8) eleven annas and eight gundahs you may happily dwell upon and occupy the same. Under this condition I grant unto you this Pottah. Dated the 17th Cartick in the Bengal year 1186/1779.

IV

Hustbook Income or Estimation of rents &c. of Khamar land of Nimbollah from 1210 to 1241 of Bengal year 30th Srawan [1803-1834].

There are eight (8) heads in the table: viz. (1) Golah or store place of timber per annum, (2) Golah or store place for durma or mat per annum, (3) Golah or store place of bechly or straw per annum, (4) House holders per annum, (5) Ijarah for Ghaut per annum, (6) Breaking boat and sloops and for landing goods per annum, (7) Arutdaree Mehal per annum, (8) Dhoba or washerman Mehal per annum.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bengal Year</th>
<th>Total amount per annum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1210 B S.</td>
<td>Rs.  549 as. 6 gs. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1211 ,,</td>
<td>Rs.  624 as. 6 gs. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1212 ,,</td>
<td>Rs.  862 as. 12 gs. 2½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1213 ,,</td>
<td>Rs.  836 as. 12 gs. 2½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1214 ,,</td>
<td>Rs.  922 as. 15 gs. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1215 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 1051 as. 2 gs. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1216 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 1136 as. 10 gs. 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1217 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 1190 as. 10 gs. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1218 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 1369 as. 0 gs. 0</td>
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<td>Rs. 1480 as. 7 gs. 0</td>
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<td>Rs. 1602 as. 11 gs. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1222 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 1913 as. 11 gs. 0</td>
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<td>1223 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 1913 as. 11 gs. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1224 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 2032 as. 1 gs. 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1225 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 1987 as. 1 gs. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1226 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 1735 as. 1 gs. 0</td>
</tr>
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<td>1227 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 1825 as. 1 gs. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Rs. 1963 as. 1 gs. 0</td>
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<td>1232 ,,</td>
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<td>Rs. 3453 as. 0 gs. 0</td>
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<td>1239 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 3452 as. 0 gs. 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1240 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 3139 as. 0 gs. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1241 ,,</td>
<td>Rs. 3001 as. 0 gs. 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX XI

THE HINDU JOINT FAMILY AS A HOUSE OF CARDS
— NEMAICHARAN MALLIK’S WILL CASE

The following extract from the *Memoirs of William Hickey*, (edited by Alfred Spencer, vol. IV, London, 1925, pp. 348-49) and the copies of Nemaicharan’s wills reproduced here show Nemaicharan’s deep concern about the family unity and his ideological conviction that his two eldest sons could maintain that unity. The extract from the *Memoirs* follows.

I
[Nemaicharan Mallik]

This man had acquired an extraordinary efficiency in our laws, so much so that he had for many years been the adviser of all those who had anything to do with courts of Justice and was competent to tell them whether they had sufficient merits in their cases to justify the commencement of or the defence of a suit. He was also perfectly conversant with the distinction between an equitable and a legal title, and was in the practice of sitting every evening in his own house for a certain number of hours to hear the statements of the various persons that attended for the purpose of consulting him, for which, by the by, it was said and I have no doubt truly, that he made those suitors whose causes he espoused and patronised, amply repay him for his trouble and his time by exacting a very high percentage upon whatever the amount recovered or saved might be. Yet this shrewd and uncommonly clever fellow, notwithstanding he knew so much of Law for others, fell into the very error it had been the principal object of the last dozen years of his life to avoid, and using every precaution in his power to guard against by so arranging as to make it impossible for his sons to enter into any litigation or dissension with each other after his death. With this in view he drew out three different papers in the nature of wills, the second and third being altogether explanatory of the first. His last illness was a long one, and he went off very gradually. During the progress of the disease he over and over again sum-
moned all his sons, being eight in number, the youngest of whom was upwards of eighteen years of age, into his presence, when he equally exerted his persuasive powers and his parental authority in endeavouring to make them promise that they would continue friends when he was no more; but above all that they would abide by the settlement and provision he had made for them respectively. He further pressed that the six juniors would consent to the management of the estate after the fortunes of the six were paid. Thus the six juniors without hesitation and in the most peremptory terms refused to accede to, telling their dying father that they considered themselves most unjustly dealt by, in as much as so unequal a proportion of the estate was given to their two elder brothers. The death of Nemychurn Mullick being expected every month, the Advocate-General recommended that a Bill in Equity might be prepared against the old man’s two eldest sons praying on behalf of the six youngest children an equal distribution of the estate with their two elder brothers. The suit continued during the remainder of my residence in Calcutta. It would in itself have proved a little fortune to me could I have waited for its conclusion. As it was it yielded a very considerable profit.

II

Supreme Court Records and Annual Register, 1807

To Ram Gopal Mullick, my eldest son, and Ramtanu Mullick, my middle son... with benedictions.

Sri Sri Ramji

After my decease these eight persons [names of sons] shall receive each 3,00,000 three lakhs of rupees. The money which you two have taken [two sons as executors] for to trade with, and what you will take you will return to the estate with interest and the money which those six have taken for to trade with and what they will take they will return to the estate with interest. The gold and silver ornaments and plates, and ornaments set with precious stones, and clothes and apparel which I have given to the eight sons respectively and which I have given to their wives, sons and daughters and what I shall give, have no concern
with the estate and will belong to those eight persons respectively. Besides this, whatever estate shall remain, consisting of houses, ground, talooks, cash, Co's paper, bonds of individuals, apparels, gold and silver plates, effects and jewels, will remain under the charge of you two, you two are the managers thereof ... and from the estate perform my obsequies and those of my wife & constantly perform religious acts in a suitable manner. ... The 24th Magh 1213.

Sd/Sri Nemaye Charan Mullick

B

It is my desire to perform some work at Sri Sri Brindaban and Sri Sri Juggennaut and to make a ghaton on the bank of the Ganges and to cause Srimat Bhaugbot, the Sri Mahabharat, the Valmichec Puran and Choitanya Mungal to be chanted... The cash which stands in my accounts for the worship of Sri Sri Juggennaut Deb Jec at Mahes and for the worship of Sri Sri Radhabullab Jee at Bullabporc, and for the worship of Sri Sri Crishna Royjee at Canchrarapara in the names of these deities respectively, will remain under the charge of you two, and you will after my death defray the expenses of the monthly worship of the deities from the interest thereof... The money given by mother for the purpose of making a bower at Sri Sri Brindaban stands in my account... it is my wish to make a temple for the Sri Sri Mchaprabhu Jee at Ombica....

[Will disputed but established after tedious proceedings till 1817]

III

In the month of Kartik 1214, Baboo Nemae Churn Mullick departed this life, and within three days, the six brothers filed a Bill in the Supreme Court against the other two. An answer was then filed, witnesses were examined, and it was decreed that the will and codicil made by Nemae Churn Mullick was in conformity with the Shasters and was to be deemed; that the three lakhs of rupees left to each of his sons should be paid them, and that all the religious performances he had ordained should be completed by his two sons.

That which might be left after these actions had been performed was to be the property equally of the eight sons, but was
to remain under the charge of the two.

When this allotment had been made (by the court) the master was ordered to send in his report without delay. But when in accordance with the wishes of Nemae Churn Mullick, his two sous had expended more than seven lakhs of rupees in the first Shraddha, and offering the funeral cake, the six brothers objected to the sum saying that seventy thousand rupees would have sufficed. When the witnesses of each party had been examined the Master made his report in favour of the six brothers. The two executors filed their exceptions, which were heard in the court, the report was rejected, and it was ordered, that if proof could be given of the sums actually expended in the Shraddha, they should be allowed. Though these sums were proved by the men who had made the payments, yet the Master, by cutting and clipping the account, reduced it to 2,05,100 rupees which was the sum he reported to have been laid out in the Shraddha. To this both parties made exceptions which were heard in the Court but the report was confirmed. Dissatisfied with the result, both parties appealed to England. But as the documents and papers of the two executors had by some accident failed to reach England, the appeal was heard ex parte, and the judges considering the sum excessive, ordered the Master again to examine the matter. The six Baboons, upon this, have now given a statement to the Master, with the view of reducing the amount said to have been expended in the Shraddha, and other religious duties. In September last in consequence of the petition of the six brothers, an order was passed that the two brothers should pay into Court all the money in their hands belonging to the estate of Nemae Churn Mullick together with the funds appropriated to religious duties. The two brothers petitioned that the 2,05,100 rupees destined for their mother's shraddha, might remain with them instead of being paid into Court as she was then very old and very ill in health. The Court, however, ordered that it should be [paid in, but] kept separate and paid out when necessary. But when the mother was dead, and the two executors had petitioned for the money the Master began a reference and examining the last proceedings and taking the evidence of Pundits and some rich men, made a report two or three days before the Shraddha, that only one lakh of rupees should be allowed for this ceremony.
Let the reader then judge, this suit of the Mullicks' has been between twenty-two and twenty-three years in the Court, and is not yet settled, the expenses incurred by both parties cannot have been much less than eighteen or nineteen lakhs of rupees. What advantage is there in this? These men are wealthy and have therefore been enabled to contest the matter to this day, which others could not have done.

From: *John Bull*, June 22, 1830

IV

The patrilineal ideology underlying the Hindu family organisation, however, continued to persist. As a sentiment in literature and as a reality in legal documents it emerged with curious persistence. The following excerpts are from the will of Raja Kashinath Ghosal, belonging to one of the foremost families of Calcutta and its immediate suburbs. In his will Kashinath describes himself as the eldest of seven brothers. After mentioning some down-to-earth details about his "self-acquired wealth", etc. Kashinath observes, "Faith is living and [it] will maintain my family."

"In the present age youth of tender years upon attaining their majority and running into various extravagances waste their patrimonies... and becoming ultimately involved in debts obliterate the honour and good reputation of their ancestors, like Neelmony Haldar..."

"It will on no account be proper that these my two sons [entrusted to the care of his brothers, the executors of the will] be married before they respectively attain the age of sixteen years..."

"If peradventure my sons die married and sonless, or unmarried, then their wives, daughters and daughters' sons shall not on any account get the above mentioned established wealth, as many of them as there shall be, shall each receive for food and clothing at the rate of 20 twenty rupees per month. The said principal wealth that shall be forthcoming at the time in Company's Paper the whole of it shall be divided between my six younger brothers and their sons in equal shares and they [meaning his sons' wives and their daughters] will not get the same."

[Will of Kashinath Ghosal, the year 1828, Ref. O.W. 11064]
APPENDIX XII

AN IMPERIAL FIRMAN FOR A CALCUTTA BANKER FAMILY

Mahammud Tawazzan Shah Mirza Khuram Bakht Bahadur (may his prosperity last for ever, O God!)

In accordance with an august order passed on Sunday the twenty seventh of Jamadiyussani in the fortieth year of His Majesty's reign... His Highness the protector of people, of holy titles, illustrious and powerful prince, best plant in the garden of royalty, choice fruit of the tree of sovereignty, fruitful plant of the orchard of pomp and grandeur, verdant flower of the garden of everlasting fortune, shining star of the heaven of greatness and glory, precious pearl of the sea of fortune and prosperity, first foremost hair on the forehead of religion and fortune, lustre of eyes of country and religion... included in the favours of Solomon like powerful Emperor... lamp of the magnificent royal house, alighting place of the favours of God, rising place of the light of the imperial clemency... His Majesty's truly august son, planter of the flags of victory and conquest, opener of the doors of equity and justice, helper of the various fields of victory, assistant of the crusaders of the world of sovereignty, shining moon of the sky of grandeur, chosen one among the princes of high dignity... It is again submitted for His Majesty's perusal and is written by Hafiz Abdul Ghani the writer of events and least of the houseborn slaves in his Majesty's Court that an order has been issued to the effect that Raja Sooknay be promoted to the title of Maharaja Bahadur and the post of Char Hazaree [command over four thousand men] and be permitted to use a Palkee with fringes around it and that his son Ram Chandra be promoted to the title of Raja and the post of Do Hazaree [command over two thousand men]... Endorsed by His Highness the Prince of the World and its inhabitants...

Seal of Khuram Bakht Muazam Shah Bahadur in the year 35 of His Majesty's reign, son of Jehandar Shah Bahadur heir apparent of Emperor Shah Alam Guzi, in the year 1207 Hijri.
APPENDIX XIII

DWARAKANATH TAGORE’S POLITICAL VIEWS—AN INTERPRETATION OF COLLABORATION

A meeting of the inhabitants, convened by the Sheriff, took place on Saturday evening the 18th June [1836], at the Town Hall, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament against Act XI of the Legislative Council, . . . whereby the British subjects are deprived of their right of appealing to English Courts of Law, against the decision of the provincial tribunals.

SPEECH BY DWARAKANATH TAGORE DELIVERED AT THE TOWN HALL ON THE 18TH JUNE, 1836

“I have much pleasure in rising to second this resolution, and I do hope that my doing so may be the humble means of removing an impression that the natives of this country are indifferent to the subject of this discussion. Here we see assembled a set of intelligent gentlemen, among whom I perceive a number of natives, who I may say are not ignorant now though they were so under the rule of the Mofussil Courts. If we are not so ignorant as our brethren in the Mofussil—and who will say that we are not better informed than they are?—to whom are we indebted for it?—To Englishmen. Twenty years ago, the Company treated us as slaves! Who first raised us from this state but the merchants of Calcutta; and the first among them was the late much lamented Mr. John Palmer? All that time the government servants never took any interest to improve the condition of the natives; though there might have been a few honourable exceptions. It was to those who were called interlopers, it was to the merchants and agents, and other independent English settlers, that the natives of Calcutta were indebted for the superiority they possess over their countrymen of the Mofussil; and to the lawyers, who are ever ready to defend the rights threatened to be infringed, they are also under particular obligation. We are told, the government wish to equalize Englishmen with the natives. But what equalization do they put into practice? The natives have hitherto been slaves; are the Englishmen therefore to be made slaves also? This is the kind of equality the government are seeking to
establish. They have taken all which the natives possessed; their lives, liberty, property, and all were held at the mercy of government, and now they wish to bring the English inhabitants of the country to the same state; they will not raise the natives to the condition of the Europeans, but they lower the Europeans to the state of the natives. If you (addressing himself to the Englishmen present)—if you do not come forward to defend your rights at this juncture, you will repent when it is too late; you will suffer what we have suffered for these last sixty years. Little is to be expected from our countrymen. They are timid in the extreme, and very reluctant to come forward in asserting their rights. They fear that those who rule them will be displeased, and would run them by a stroke of the pen; but the fear is not without cause, for numbers of them have suffered for no other crime than displeasing a civil servant, or unintentionally omitting to make a Salam when they were passing on the road. This is the character of the generality of them,—the few exceptions are confined to those who, like myself, have been spoilt by the ‘interlopers’. The majority of my countrymen say,—’if I have lost one eye, let me take care of the other’. And thus they keep themselves back from public meetings, and are tardy in the assertion of their rights. Do not be surprised that there are so few natives present on an important occasion like the present; their absence is not unaccountable, for they do not understand the merits of the question we are considering. But a time will come when the case will be quite different. Let the Hindoo College go on as it has gone on for three or four years more, and you will have a meeting like this attended by four times your number of natives. I have frequently been engaged in the management of suits in the Mofussil Courts, having property of my own, or relatives of mine, in almost every district of Bengal, and well know the system adopted there, I have also some experience in the Supreme Court, and am therefore qualified to speak upon the merit of both. The costs of the Supreme Court I allow are heavy; but heavy as they are, they are incurred openly, and with proper authority: so that when a case is decided, the winning party gets back all the costs he has incurred. The case in regard to the Mofussil Courts is very different. There the suit costs—the bribes of the corrupt Omlahs amount to,—twenty times the authorized costs, and there, too,
the costs when once given are gone for ever. The fault, however, is not in the persons who preside over those courts; it is in the system, which needs reform. To this the Law Commission should direct their attention. Why does not Mr. Macaulay correct the abuses of the present system? Can anyone find fault with the justice of the Supreme Court? If its expenses are high, they should be lowered. The first and principal judges of the Mofussil Courts are the Omlahs, who lead the inexperienced judges as they please. There is scarcely any law for the realizing of money decreed by the Mofussil Courts. The Collector, perhaps the brother of the judge, is the person to realize the money: but this functionary has more to do than he can well get through in the way of his immediate duties in the collection of the revenue, in attending to the resumption cases, and several other duties which fully occupy his time, and you may go on presenting petitions all your life, but get no money out of the treasury. In the Mofussil Courts, a distraint of property for rent occupies a couple of years. There are no common law or ejectments in the Mofussil; every case must be heard like a regular equity suit. In the meantime, should you let the government revenue fall into arrears, your estate is sold by the tax-gatherer, without any mercy or consideration. There is no doubt that the Court of Directors are desirous of exercising absolute and despotic power in the country: I would call to your attention the case of Mr. Smith, one of the most upright judges the civil service ever had. He, it is well known, refused to accept Company's paper as security in a certain cause, because he conscientiously doubted whether it could afford sufficient and certain guarantee. For this he was threatened with suspension. Even in the times of the Mahommedans, a cazi could not be removed for far greater supposed transgressions; without conviction, he could not be condemned. Such is the system pursued under this government; yet there are some who uphold it. I will let them enjoy those precious blessings, and thank God that my person is in Calcutta, within the Mahratta Ditch, where my life is secure. I have property in the Mofussil, which the judges there, if they choose, may take away; but my person they cannot injure.”

APPENDIX XIV

Obsequies and Marriages in Old Calcutta

It is significant that even Samachar Darpan, a newspaper managed by Christian missionaries of Serampore, devoted considerable space to news of Hindu ceremonies, obviously to make the newspaper popular. The comments were rarely critical. The elaborate marriages and the more elaborate obsequies are vividly documented in Samachar Darpan and contemporary newspapers. (B. N. Bandopadhyay’s Sangbadpatre Sekaler Katba in two volumes contains excerpts from Samachar Darpan and its contemporaries.)

The following extracts, however, have been selected mainly to illustrate the nature and extent of the celebration of obsequies in old Calcutta. While newspaper evidence on early 19th century celebrations of obsequies is profuse, there are few descriptions of such events in the later period. Apart from the development of new preoccupations, the attitudes towards the phenomena of death, hell and the role of a son were possibly undergoing subtle changes.

The last item in the series deals with the festival of worship.

I

(Quotation from the Dattaca Mimansa)

In omitting to adopt a son, an offence is incurred, for the precept enjoining the production of a son being positive it results that the contravention of it is the cause of an offence, and on default of any son in general exclusion from heaven is declared in the text. "Heaven awaits not one destitute of a son", &c. And further, in the following passage also, a son in general is shown to be the cause of redemption from debt. "A Brahmana immediately on being born is produced a debtor in three obligations: to the holy saints for the practice of religious duties; to the gods for the performance of sacrifice; to his forefathers for offspring—or he is absolved from debt, who has a son, has performed sacrifices and practises religious duties." Manu also [says]: "a son of any description must be anxiously adopted by one who has none", for
the sake of the funeral cake, water and solemn rites; and for the
celebrity of his name.

From: Sir F W. Macnaghten, Considerations on the
Hindu Law 1824, p. 135

II

[A vivid description of the sradh ceremony of Raja Nabakrishna's
mother occurs in the pages of a 19th century journal, quoted in
Nabakrishna's biography by N. N. Ghose. The description is
based on current traditions about the event, and, even if it is
exaggerated, its overall significance is confirmed by circumstantial
evidence.]

There were full thirty days between the death and the sradh day
and Nubkissen's countrymen made good this advantage. At first
the beggars, Bhatti, and Pariahs undertook the journey. Next
there were those whose condition oscillated between decency
and beggary. Lastly, men even in competent circumstances,
tempted by large expectations and urged by greedy wives, com-
plied with the small chance of being distinguished in the crowd,
followed.... As presents were given per head the very babies
were brought and when many of them died of suffocation, the
parents preserved them for the occasion and exhibit[ing] them
as if they were alive, added to their incomes....

All the pundits of Bengal and many even of Benares were
invited and came. Nubkissen with all his wealth could ill afford
accommodation for the host. But in all cases where he failed, the
Hindoos inhabitants of the city and the surrounding villages
opened their hospitable doors. The beggars slept in the fields,
under trees and on the roadside. The dietary resources and the
confectionary skill of the whole country were invoked to feed the
motley mass of humanity.... A nation besieging Nubkissen was
too much for him. Some who had travelled a fortnight or twenty
days received nothing at all. But the amahs [Nabakrishna's
family officials] literally made fortunes.... Popular estimation
reckons that sum [the sum spent at the sradh] at nine lacs of
rupees.
III

[In a Supreme Court document of the early 19th century, the following deposition occurs: it seeks to give an idea of the expenditure at the sradh of Nemaicharan Mallick.]

I am about 60 or 61 years of age. I was 15 years of age when I came to Calcutta. I knew Nimychurn Mullick....I made the dan [offering or gift]: by guess I distributed about 14 or 15 thousand rupees. Danotsarga [gifts] consisted of gold, silver, woollen clothes, palanquins, horses ... Kangalis [beggars] numbered about 2 lakhs, coming mainly from outside Calcutta and filled houses from Jaunbazar to Baghbazar. Kangalis got Re. 1 each, ... got Rs. 2 each. Beggars were let into empty Thakurbars [houses for family deities] of the houses....I knew Raja Nubkissen I was at his mother's sradh. There were great numbers of Kangalis....I remember three famous sradhs in Bengal—Raja Nubkissen's mother's, Gangagobinda Singh's mother's, Nimychurn Mullick's Sradh. ... A man performs according to the property he possesses....Upon the performance of Gangagobinda's mother's sradh some say 18 lakhs, some say 20 lakhs were spent. People came from 12 to 15 days journey. I do not know [of] the expenses of the sradh of Nubkissen's mother—some say 4 lakhs, some 5 lakhs.

IV

A Grand Shrad at Calcutta—We learn that last Monday night the lanes and gullies meeting Chitpore Road in the vicinity of Jorasanko were thronged with Kangalis in consequence of a grand shrad performed in the morning by Baboo Pran Krishto Mullick in honour of his mother, when the Baboo presented to the Brahmins a large elephant, a beautiful horse, a nice-looking Palkee in addition to several gold and silver articles and valuable Cashmere shawls.

The Englishman, December 2, 1846

V

The sraddu [sradh] celebrated by Baboo Asootosh Deb, in consequence of the death of his mother, is described by all those who witnessed it as having been conducted on a scale of unusual liberality. As many of our readers have only an indistinct idea of
the transactions on such an occasion, we have gleaned from the various Native papers the following particulars, which will not, we hope, be found totally devoid of interest.

We would premise, that the wealthy family of which Asootosh Deb is now the head, is of modern growth. His father, the well-known Ram Doolol Deb [De], the banian of the house of Ferguson and Co. in its palmy days, who is said to have left nearly a million sterling, was originally a sirkar in the family of the Dutt’s, upon five rupees a month; and it is currently reported, that to the very last, he proceeded monthly to their residence, even after he had become a millionaire, to receive his usual salary, that he might offer a token of humility and gratitude to those who had befriended him when he was poor and unknown.

The Chundrika says that the shraddu was conducted with such unparalleled magnificence as to beggar all description. There were no less than four dawn sagurs, or ocean of gifts, in which is comprised the bestowal of land, and a variety of silver salvers, water pots, vases, receptacles for pan [betel leaf], and other utensils. These were given to the most renowned Pandits who had been invited. The four oceans of gifts are calculated to have cost 40,000 rupees. Besides this, there were two sets of offerings, in which every article of silver included in the “ocean”, was represented in gold. What became of these more precious gifts, we have not been able to discover. Brahmuns [Brahmins] are not allowed, under heavy denunciations, to receive them. It is said that they are sent on some occasions to the shrine at Kalee Ghat; and at others, are received either by the family priest, or by some of the Brahmuns in secret whose love of gold exceeds their fear of the curses in their own holy books. There were also given away elephants, horses, palanquin carriages, and other articles of a similar description.

Regarding the invitations and fees given to Brahmuns, we find that there were five hundred invitations of the first class sent to learned Brahmuns, whose names had been spontaneously selected by Asootosh Deb himself. Each of the Brahmuns included in this number received a gift in money, varying from 125 to 30 rupees; and a present of food, brass water-pots, and other articles varying in value from 16 to 10 rupees. The second class of invitation, made at the recommendation of friends, comprised twelve hundred priests, and their dismissal fee varied from 17 to 6
rupees. The third class consisting of those who received a kind of half invitation,—the letter being only half the length of those sent to the first and second classes,—embraced sixteen hundred Brahmuns, who obtained each from 4 to 2 rupees. The fourth class comprised those who had simply received tickets of admission; that is to say, it consisted of every man with a sacerdotal thread who presented himself. The number of these was very great, not fewer than twelve thousand; and the sum distributed among them, varied from 2 rupees to eight annas. Thus we have more than fifteen thousand Brahmuns assembled on this occasion, to partake of the liberality of the Baboo. Of these, four thousand are reported to have sat down to a feast at the house.

For three or four days, says the Prabhakur, the poor continued to pour into the town from every venue, like so many files of ants, and were thrust into the houses of nearly seventy of the friends of the family. Among these, one hundred and nineteen thousand four anna pieces, and forty thousand eight anna pieces were distributed; and when this fund was exhausted, ten or twelve thousand [rupees] were brought forth and cut up into halves and quarters; but still one-fourth of the poor went away empty-handed, and this has cast no little stain on the character of the Baboo. The Chundrika says that the distribution of money among the countless beggars who assembled on these occasions, can never be conducted with propriety, and invariably entails disgrace. We wish all the rich natives in Calcutta could be brought to the same opinion. The cause, in the present instance, the Editor of that paper ascribes to the impatience of those in whose house the beggars had been crammed, to get quit of their unwelcome guests; and he says that many of them opened their gates, and liberated the captives before the distributors arrived. The Prabhakur gives a different version of the story. He affirms that this disappointment is not to be attributed to the family who celebrated the shradhu; that they shrank from no expense; that there was no deficiency whatever. But, says he, some of the great beggars who presided at the distribution of the pittance among the poor beggars, put the bags of money which had been entrusted to them into palanquins, and made away with them. That others, after having begun the distribution, suddenly exclaimed that there was not a sufficiency of money; and under pretence of going to the Baboo’s house for a further supply, got into their
palanquins, and decamped [with] whatever they could carry off; and that the door-keepers, having waited long for their return in vain, at length liberated the starving and clamorous multitude. Such acts of dishonesty are now invariably practised, whenever a shraddhu is of sufficient magnitude to create confusion and to afford an opportunity for plunder.

*Friend of India, November 1, 1838*

**VI**

The Wealthy Parvenu. The *Chundrika* has a long article in praise of the liberal Deb Narayun Deb... Deb Narayun Deb was a Native sirkar in Calcutta, who acquired a very large fortune within a few years by his own skill, industry and perseverance, and by his practical knowledge of that science, which teaches the value of the sixty-fourth part of a rupee; ... a science which as one of our most intelligent Native friends has assured us Europeans in India are extremely dull in acquiring. Having obtained wealth, he was anxious to "get into society"... and he is now acknowledged as one of the most respectable men in the metropolis. A year or two ago he was advised to weigh his mother in the scales with the precious metals, and to give them away to the Brahmuns. This year he has been persuaded to hold a large assembly for several months, to have the Ramayun and the Shree Bhagvat read in Sungsikrit [Sanskrit]. This is an act of very high religious merit.... The [editor of] *Chundrika* [the journal of the orthodox community] who acted as master of the ceremonies, has chronicled the event in glowing terms. We have translated the article entire....

"That most excellent Baboo Narayun Deb, of Entally, has been in the habit, from time to time, of performing voluntary religious acts, and of giving large sums of money to the Brahmuns and Pundits... For several years he had given away his own and his mother's weight of the precious metals. Instead of repeating this gift in the present year, he has appointed Pundits to read the Shree Bhagvat, and the Ramayun of Valmeeki, and to explain the meaning. This great act began at the commencement of Falgoon, and closed on the 30th Choitree. On this occasion he invited the Pundits from Footegoda (?) in the south and Nuddea in the
north. From all these places the most renowned of the literate were invited; in Calcutta, the invitation was extended to all the Pundits, those of the first, of the middling, of the lower ranks, connected with the four great parties, which are associated with the Dhurma Subha. More than three hundred cards of invitation were issued. The scale of gifts was thus regulated. To each of the first class of Pundits from Nuddea, Santipore, and other places in the north, 120 rupees and a brass water-pot; to those of the lowest class, 75 rupees. To each of the first class of Pundits from Trivenec and Jonae, 100 rupees, to those of the lowest ranks, 40 rupees [per head]. To the Pundits of the city of Calcutta, and of the south, 30 rupees to the best, and 15 rupees to the lowest. In addition to this, he granted two hundred invitations to those who came unasked, and on the importunity of friends, to men thus invited, he gave from eight rupees with a brass water-pot to three rupees with a brass dish.

"How shall we describe the presents which were made to the Readers; to those [who] corrected the Readers; to those who watched over the Reader and the Corrector, and to the Hearer. He has perfectly satisfied these four classes, this is saying enough. Each Reader (how many there were, we are not told; sometimes twelve are engaged) received 120 rupees. Each Corrector of the Reader received between 100 and 110 rupees. Those who were appointed to watch over both Reader and Corrector obtained from 70 to 80 rupees; and each Hearer, from 60 to 70 rupees. Besides these gifts, he gave away various articles of food comprised in the term Huvishumna; and clothes, and golden and silver ornaments, and carpets. To the individual who explained these works he gave 250 rupees as his dismissal fee; and 4 rupees as a daily refresher, and sometimes even more. On the last day, moreover, a grand feast was prepared for the Brahmuns. All the learned Pundits who were invited were satisfied and called down blessings on the Deb Baboo, because he was a most liberal man, and one who maintained the rules of the Dhurma Subha. We are inclined to think that he has come to the determination to patronize only the Pundits who follow the rules of that Society."

Friend of India, April 26, 1838
VII
A Distinguished Marriage: The marriage of the daughter of Baboo Roopaul Mullick to Baboo Rajendra the adopted son of Baboo Nilmany Mullick was happily celebrated on Monday the 5th of Aghrayan last. We understood that because Rajendra Baboo is in his minority the property obtained from his father is in the hands of the masters of the Supreme Court but his friends drew from it the sum of rupees fifty thousand for the expenses of his marriage. All may judge what would be done by the expenditure of fifty thousand rupees. As to Roopaul Baboo he is marrying his daughter it is true but his expenditure could not have been greater had it been his own son. He was profuse in the expenses of musicians, gift and charity.

Chandrika as quoted in John Bull, 13th December, 1830

VIII
[What follows is a nearly literal translation, with the omission of a few lines and words, of a report which appeared in the orthodox and popular Bengali journal Samachar Chandrika, December 1, 1856. The report is fully reproduced in N. N. Laha, Subarnabanik Kutha O Kirti, vol. I, pp. 38-40.]

A Grand Marriage: Babu Sri Hiralal Sil, eldest son of late Babu Motilal Sil, "the Mansion of Opulence", celebrated the marriage of his younger brother, Hiralal Sil, to the daughter of the highly reputed Kashinath Mallik, "the Mansion of Renown", on a scale unprecedented in this city. Ten days before the date of marriage the Sils started distributing bucketfuls of oil, salverfuls of sweets along with fine clothes and other auspicious things among nearly two thousand respectable Brahmin and Kayastha families in this city and nearby towns. Besides, they sent silver salvers with almonds, grapes, dates, aromatic essence and roses to the houses of Marwari, Armenian and Mugal [mercantile] aristocrats in this city. To the Brahmin merchants they sent woollen cloth, handfuls of money, etc. as a token of social respect. Among their devoted relatives and ministerial staff the Sils distributed two hundred rupees per person, and shawls, kerchiefs, etc. ... The servants got dresses of broadcloth and silver bowls. How long can we continue describing the extent of distribution of
gifts! Nor is the celebration of music, dance and songs on a less
grand scale. For nearly one mile from Pataldanga [a College
Street area] to Tulabazar [Cotton Street] there was attractive
illumination along both sides of the street for three nights.
During those nights there were musical and dance performances
attended by prestigious Bengali, Muslim, Armenian, Hindustani
and Sindhi merchants and noblemen. On the night of marriage
there was a fantastic combination of...artificial mountains,
models of steamship, peacock-shaped boats and English band
along the street from the house of the bridegroom to the house
of the bride. The scale on which Babu Hiralal Sil organised the
street illumination was unprecedented in the opulent society
of Calcutta. The bridegroom’s party proceeding to the bride’s
house consisted of not less than two thousand people. In the
party there were Brahmins and Kayasthas of prestigious families,
the leading representatives of Sobhabazar Raj family, noblemen
from Smdh, aristocratic merchants and European attorneys close
to the family. Let common people consider how many carriages,
palanquins and... accompanied the procession. The father of the
bride received the bridegroom’s party with equal grandeur. We
could have written more if space permitted.

IX

The Bombay Standard mentions that the report that Baboo
Shama Churn Mullick intends to release from prison all Calcutta
Small Cause Court debtors on the approaching Durga Pujah has
brought an enormous accession to the ordinary business of the
Court. Probably many fictitious actions are now being instituted
in which the defendant will collude with the plaintiff for the
purpose of obtaining a decree and when the debtor is released
both will divide the spoil.

Friend of India, September 22, 1859
APPENDIX XV

THE DHARMA SABHA — A CRITICAL VIEW

Dharma Sabha

At the Dharma Sabha, on the 23rd August, Raja Kalce Krishna in the chair, the secretary said that one Omachurn Bose, who was transported to Prince of Wales Island, and took his meals on board ship, had been returned about a year, solicited a document, specifying the articles of his atonement, whereby he may be readmitted into the Hindoo community. The Pundits, after an hour’s deliberation, declared their opinion that the applicant should be required to give 749 Kalmus of Cowrees [roughly one hundred rupees worth of shell currency] to Brahmins. The chairman proposed that the opinion, written and signed by the Pundits, should be stamped with the Sabha’s seal. The motion was seconded by Raja Kalce Krishna, and unanimously adopted with an addition, that the document should bear upon it a declaration from the secretary, confirming the decision of the Pundits.

Radhacant Deb, one of the native justices of the peace, was present, concurring in these proceedings. This circumstance has elicited the following remarks from the Reformer [a Young Bengal journal]:

"Viewing the proceedings we have above noticed in the light we have represented them, we ask, can any man, who is at all prone to evil deeds, look upon a magistrate who was known to absolve the greatest criminals on the payment of 100 rupees’ worth of cowries to the Brahmans, with any respect or awe? Certainly not. On the contrary, he is likely to look upon such a magistrate as the absorber of all criminals, and hope to find favour in his eyes. On these grounds, we cannot but consider that the character which a magistrate ought ever to maintain, is incompatible with any connection with a society, the proceedings of which are of the description we have shown those of the Dharma Sabha to be. We therefore think our worthy magistrate, from whose future acts we have much to expect, will relinquish all connection with such a society as the Dharma Sabha, or which would be far better, but which we fear is a really Herculean task, reform that society, and, from a patron of ignorance,\"
superstition, and crime, change it into one of an opposite character.”

From. *The Asiatic Journal*, February 1836, pp. 118-20

Radhaeant Deb and the Dharma Sabha: The Reformer, in animadverting upon the occurrence in the Dharma Sabha, recorded in p. 118, observes: “From certain changes that have lately taken place, we have far better hope of the Babu relinquishing the Dharma Sabha, and abjuring all those superstitions at least which may be revolting to humanity and at variance with the principles of social morality, than of that orthodox assembly harkening to any salutary advice with which the Babu might, in a reforming spirit, think proper to favour it. Our readers, no doubt, remember that, about two years ago, Babu Radhaeant Deb and his cousin, Raja Kalikrishna Bahadur, objected to sit on the grand jury, on the plea, that there they might be called on to take a part in the conviction of brahmins, which they then stated was repugnant to their religious notions. But Babu Radhaeant Deb has now thankfully accepted the appointment of a magistrate, and has, therefore, it would appear, no objection to sit in judgment over brahmins, and even order them, if found guilty, to the House of Correction, or hand them over for severer punishment to the sessions. We take blame to ourselves for having overlooked this favourable change in the sentiments of this distinguished leader of the orthodox party until this occasion, and omitted to congratulate our enlightened countrymen on so signal a victory of light over darkness, of truth over error, of knowledge over ignorance, and of virtue over vice. From such a change we have to hope for a thousand blessings to the superstitious portion of the community. What is the reform of a hundred Hindoo College boys, compared with this glorious instance of change in one who had been nursed in the cradle of superstition, and imbibed its baneful doctrines with the very first breath he drew? The accession of such a man to the cause of reform is a glorious event, and ought to gladden the heart of every friend to knowledge and truth. From this happy change, then, we have to anticipate that our worthy magistrate will exert his utmost to reform the Dharma Sabha, which, if he cannot, consistency, it is to be hoped, will cause him to dissolve every connection with so unhallowed an association.”
The Dharma Sabha was established about five years and a half ago, by some of the leading members of native society in Calcutta, for the purpose of restoring the rite of Suttee, which had just been prohibited by government. When the rejection of the petition was made known to the Sabha, in the bitterness of disappointment, they turned their wrath on all their fellow countrymen who had shown themselves in the smallest degree favourable to the cause of abolition, excluded them from the communion of the society, and decreed that any who might associate with them, or resort to their assemblies, or accept invitations or gifts from them, should be equally placed under the interdict. To comprehend the force of this excommunication, it is necessary to observe that Hindoo Society in Calcutta is divided into various sections or parties, at the head of each of which stands some [belonging to a] distinguished family, . . . [whose] pre-eminence is in some measure hereditary. The leading Hindoo families are associated with one or other of these parties, and with each of them is also connected a certain number of pundits. When a feast is given, in consequence of a birth, marriage, death, a religious festival, or the investiture with the Brahminical thread, invitations are sent chiefly to the members who are comprised in the party, and to the learned men, whose chief dependence, indeed, for a livelihood, consists in the gifts bestowed on these occasions. Of these parties, the leaders of eleven are among the directors of the Dharma Sabha: viz. Rajas Goope Mohun Deb, Kalee Krishna Deb, and Rajnarayun Roy; and Baboos Pronnath Chowdree, Raj Krishna Chowdree, Joynarayun, Ooduychurn Dutt, Kalachand Bosoo, Shreenath Surbadeekaree, Buguvuteechurn Gangoolee, and Ramratun Roy. These men enjoy great power from the privilege which they arrogate to themselves of excluding any man from their sections, which leads to his exclusion also from all the other sections. The plan pursued by the Dharma Sabha, on discovering that any individual has held intercourse with one who is favourable to the abolition of Suttee, is to place him at the ban of the society, and to issue a letter from the "Holy Office", to the heads of these sections, to notify his excommunication. He is then excluded from all social communion with any of the parties, and becomes . . . [virtually] an outcast. It often happens that the proscribed individual, borne down by the weight of general censure, is
subdued into submission, and is brought humbly to supplicate his restoration to society, on a promise of implicit obedience in future to the mandates of this inquisition. His submission is sometimes accepted, and his offence forgiven. The fact is then attested by the head of his party; a record is made of it in the "Holy Office"; and a circular letter is written to the heads of the other parties to announce the event. The proceedings of the Sabha for the last twelve months have consisted of little else but the receipt of secret information regarding the visits of individuals to those who have been excommunicated, and the exertions made to involve the suspected person in the same infamy. Thus, under the plea of zeal for the Hindoo religion, an odious system of espionage is established, and the greatest oppression practised. The authority of the Sabha is thus kept up by a series of iniquitous censures on individuals, whose only crime is their having, perhaps, accepted a friendly invitation to a wedding at the house of someone who is known to approve of the merciful regulation which prohibits female immolations. The last instance of the kind which has occurred, had reference to Gokool Chunder Bosoo, of Krishnugur, who had been expelled from the party of which Baboo Asootosh Deb is the head, for having associated with Radhikaprasad Roy, the son of the late Ram Mohun Roy. He has since been restored to society, on which occasion the following circular was issued:

OFFICE OF THE DHARMA SABHA

Calcutta, 15th Sraban, 1242.

Shree Gokool Chunder Bosoo, of Krishnugur, of the party of Baboo Asootosh Deb, having been suspended from all intercourse, on account of his associating with Radhikaprasad Roy, who is guilty of having been rejected by the Dharma Sabha, the Deb Baboo according to his own wisdom, and the rules of the Dharma Sabha, has forgiven his offence and received him into society. Thinking it right to inform you of this fact without delay, a copy of Deb Baboo's letter is sent with this note.

This circumstance has given rise to much correspondence in the native papers. Those who disapprove of these tyrannical proceedings, have not been backward in examining the character of
this orthodox party, which so pompously receives back a suspended member, and they have published the singular fact, that this party broke off from another, and was formed into a separate party, simply because the leading family received back into its communion Kaleeprasad Dutta, who had become a Moosulman, and submitted to the initiatory rites! and they jeer [at] the party with saying, that those who are guilty of Kaleeprasadism may well receive back one who is suspected of Rammohun-Royism. Such is the consistency of the orthodox directors of the Dharma Sabha, and such the value of their censures....

From *Friend of India* (date not mentioned), quoted in *The Asiatic Journal*, March 1836, pp 163-65
APPENDIX XVI

THE EUROPEAN PENETRATION INTO THE ECONOMY OF CALCUTTA

Colonization or the Cultivation of Land by the English (from the Sanachar Darpan of Saturday, 9 January, 1830).

If colonization be permitted, the English will come in excessive numbers, and setting themselves on the land engage in the cultivation of the soil and establish many manufactories. Some have imagined that this will increase general wealth and happiness, but this is a fallacious hope, for there are many proofs which plainly show that through their engaging in manufactures the natives of this country are reduced to the greatest distress. The state of Ireland will show the happiness which would flow from their becoming Jumindars [zamindars] and Talookdars. On the subject of their following trades [in this country] I will adduce a few examples.

Builders. Twenty years ago when there were no English builders in this metropolis, Sultan Ajuddeen Chand and many other native builders acquired fortunes by following that trade. Their grandeur is still in the remembrance of many, but some English Mistrees [artisans] came here and monopolized entirely that trade. Among them Bruce and Smylic, Burn and Curriel and others, having acquired many lakhs of rupees, some returned to their own country, some began to wield the pen. The unfortunate Mistrees left their trowels and put on a turban. When that was gone, they took to the spade, now they are in a state of starvation. I therefore judge that through the English Mistrees’ having taken up the trade the native Mistrees have been completely ruined.

Carpenters. In this occupation the Pals and others formerly acquired much wealth and their descendants are still celebrated and in affluence through the money thus obtained. But then came Rolt and Co. and other English carpenters, and took possession of that trade, and the deceased Ramtanoo Ghose and other natives relinquished the rule and took to the chisel, and starvation is now their lot.

Goldsmiths. In this branch Shiva Mistree and many others accumulated large fortunes. But Hamilton & Co. came and
entered on the trade, and the native goldsmiths can now scarcely
gain half a meal a day. Nor can anyone say that any native
Mistree is acquiring wealth.

_Tailors._ How many natives such as Ramjaun Ostaghah and
others acquired property in this occupation! They bought lands
and houses, and were reckoned among the wealthy. But Gibson
& Co. and Simpson & Co. came here, and those who lived by
the needle, leaving out of the question all further purchasing of
estates, are through want of food become as thin as a needle.

_Boats._ Formerly the Duttas and others by letting out sloops
acquired large fortunes. Now the English have established boat
offices, let out boats and are become _ghut manjees_ [boatmen at
ferry points] and thus the sloops and budgerows [large boats] of
the natives above mentioned to the extent of many _lakhs_ of
rupees, swimming down the stream, are become water [a popular
simile].

Judge then to what distress four or five manufacturers who
have taken the trade of this city have reduced the natives. Can
you then determine what fatal consequence will ensue from their
coming in greater numbers?

Translated from the original Bengali and published in
APPENDIX XVII

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS (INDIAN & EUROPEAN WITH SIGNIFICANT INDIAN PARTICIPATION) IN CALCUTTA AND THE IMMEDIATE SUBURBS

(Asterisks indicate European participation and in some cases domination.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Active period</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Atmiya Sabha</td>
<td>1815–20</td>
<td>Religious and social reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*2. Calcutta School Book Society</td>
<td>1817—continued</td>
<td>Educational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*3. Agricultural and Horticultural Society</td>
<td>1820—continued</td>
<td>Name indicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*4. Calcutta School Society</td>
<td>1818—middle of '30s</td>
<td>Educational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*5. Calcutta Unitarian Committee</td>
<td>1821–27</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Gaudiya Samaj</td>
<td>1823–24</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Brahmo Samaj</td>
<td>1828—continued</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Academic Association</td>
<td>1828–31</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*9. Asiatic Society</td>
<td>1784—continued [Indian participation not before 1829]</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1830—middle of '40s</td>
<td>To oppose certain social reform measures and to undertake functions of certain traditional social organisations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Dharma Sabha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Anglo-Indian Hindoo Association          | 1830 [seems ephemeral] | Learned society |
12. Jnanasandipan Sabha                      | do                     | do               |
13. Debating Club, Chorebagan [a locality in Calcutta] | do                     | do               |
14. Bangaranjini Sabha                       | do                     | do               |
15. Calcutta Literary Society               | 1829 [seems ephemeral] | To safeguard the interests of traditional physicians     |
16. Baidya Samaj                            | 1831 [seems ephemeral] | do               |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Active period</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sarvatattvadipika Sabha</td>
<td>1832–33</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>District Charitable Society</strong></td>
<td>1830—continued</td>
<td>Name indicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Bangabhasa Prakasika Sabha</td>
<td>1836–37</td>
<td>Learnedsociety, which allowed political discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Jnanachandradaya</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Calcutta Circulating Library</td>
<td>1839 [seems ephemeral]</td>
<td>Name indicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mechanics Institution</td>
<td>1839–43</td>
<td>Educational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Tattvabodhini Sabha</td>
<td>1839–59</td>
<td>Religious and literary</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Landholders Society</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Bijnandayini Sabha</td>
<td>1838–43</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Deshahitaishini Sabha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Political in general and safeguarding the interests of landholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Vidyamodini Sabha</td>
<td>1838–43 [attempted to be revived in 1849]</td>
<td>in particular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Bengal British India Society</td>
<td>1841 [seems ephemeral]</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Hindu Theophilanthropic Society</td>
<td>1841 [seems ephemeral]</td>
<td>Political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Hindu Philadephic Society</td>
<td>1844 [seems ephemeral]</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Calcutta Phrenological Society</td>
<td>1843–46</td>
<td>Political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sarbasubhakari Sabha</td>
<td>1843 [seems ephemeral]</td>
<td>Religious and literary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>National Association or Deshahitarthi Sabha</td>
<td>1845—about 1857</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>British Indian Association</td>
<td>1850 [seems ephemeral]</td>
<td>Name indicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Bethune Society</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Social reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td>1851 [ephemeral]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1851—continued</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1851—about 1870 [nominally existed for another 20 years]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Atmiya Sabha (of Akshay Datta)</td>
<td>1852–55</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Sattyajnan Sancharini Sabha, Bhawanipur</td>
<td>1853—?</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Behala Haribhakti Pradyayini Sabha</td>
<td>1852—continued</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Association of Friends for the Promotion of Social Improvement</td>
<td>1854—about 1858</td>
<td>Social reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*41</td>
<td>Silpabidyotsahini Sabha</td>
<td>Several years since 1854</td>
<td>Educational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*42</td>
<td>Vernacular Literature Society</td>
<td>1851–62 [then continued as a department of the Calcutta School Book Society]</td>
<td>– do –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Bidyotsahini Sabha</td>
<td>1855—about 1865</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Mahomedan Association</td>
<td>1855–1858²</td>
<td>Political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Young Men's Literary Society</td>
<td>About 1855 [seems ephemeral]</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*46</td>
<td>British India Society (of Keshab Chandra Sen)</td>
<td>1856–62</td>
<td>Social reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Goodwill Fraternity</td>
<td>1937 [seems ephemeral]</td>
<td>Religious discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Biswabandhu Sabha, Chorebagan</td>
<td>Sometime in the third quarter of the century [seems ephemeral]</td>
<td>– do –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*49</td>
<td>Society of Arts and Sciences</td>
<td>1855 [seems ephemeral]</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*50</td>
<td>Family Literary Club, Barabazar</td>
<td>1858—at least up to 1876</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*51</td>
<td>Photographic Society</td>
<td>1856–76</td>
<td>Name indicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Simla Hitabilsini Sabha</td>
<td>1859 [seems ephemeral]</td>
<td>Philanthropy (²)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Mahomedan Literary Society</td>
<td>1863—continued</td>
<td>Name indicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Sangat Sabha</td>
<td>1859—?</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Bramhabandhu Sabha</td>
<td>1863—[soon defunct, it was revived in early '70s]</td>
<td>– do –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Brahmika Samaj</td>
<td>1864—?</td>
<td>– do – (of woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl. No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Active period</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*57</td>
<td>Bengal Branch of British Medical Association</td>
<td>1863—continued</td>
<td>Name indicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*58</td>
<td>Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to the Animals</td>
<td>1861—continued</td>
<td>Name indicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*59</td>
<td>Bengal Social Science Association</td>
<td>1867–78 (2)</td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sanatan Dharma Rakshini Sabha</td>
<td>1869—about 1875</td>
<td>Conservative social organisation, also undertaking certain practical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>social reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Indian Reform Association</td>
<td>1870–75</td>
<td>Social reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1871–79</td>
<td>– do— especially for the improvement of women’s education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Bama Hitaishini Sabha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Learned society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Shyambazar Subhadayini Sabha</td>
<td>Early ’70s</td>
<td>– do—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Simulia Jnanotsahi Sabha</td>
<td>1871—3</td>
<td>– do—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Tala Jnandipika Sabha</td>
<td>About 1870—3</td>
<td>Religions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Bhagabadbhakti Pradayini Sabha (Sankharitola)</td>
<td>Formed sometime before 1871</td>
<td>Name indicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[duration not known]</td>
<td>Re-union of Hindu College students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Students’ Association</td>
<td>1875—continued</td>
<td>Political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>College Re-union</td>
<td>1875—3</td>
<td>Cultivation of science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Indian League</td>
<td>1875 [ephemeral]</td>
<td>Political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Science Association</td>
<td>1876—continued</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Indian Association</td>
<td>1876—continued</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(About fifty other associations could be listed but most of them were ephemeral. The list is taken from “Patterns of Participation in the Public Life of Bengal (1815–1876),” D. Phil thesis of Rabindra Bharati University by Rajat Sanyal.)
APPENDIX XVIII

"JULIUS CAESAR" IN CALCUTTA

The Jorasanko Theatre

The rage for theatre making has usurped in Calcutta the place of pyrotechnics and such tomfoolery. This is decidedly a change for the better. And although such playing as that which we witnessed on the evening of the instant at the Jorasanko Theatre is calculated [more] to disgust than amuse the lovers of the drama, yet as it aimed at establishing a rational principle we can find it in our hearts (notwithstanding the shockingly bad acting of the majority of performers) to applaud the spirit in which the theatre was got up. The scenery and stage decoration were extremely creditable, and with an efficient corps dramatique the Jorasanko Theatre could indeed be made the means of affording intellectual recreation to those who for want of better amusement now want to spend their money on the most contemptible species of pleasure. We understand that the proprietors of the Theatre have incurred considerable expense in fitting it up and it is a pity that their object should have been so woefully frustrated through an injudicious selection of the dramatic personae. The play of "Julius Caesar" requires skilful acting, but with the exception of Cassius and Casca, the performers sang or blustered through their parts in utter manglement of Shakespeare. Cassius was well represented by a young man named Juddonauth Chatterjea, an ex-pupil of the Oriental Seminary. The young gentleman seemed to feel what he acted and having by nature the advantage (?) of a "lean and hungry look", he did very well indeed for the Roman conspirator. We could wish that the other actors knew their parts as well. Brutus, though acted shriekingly enough by a burly young man with a very thick moustache, was nevertheless not so grating to the taste as Caesar or Calphurnia. The former roared and raved like either a maniac or a drunkard, the latter horribly coated over with paint and varnish squeaked like a pig or a ninny. As for Mark Antony, by Jingo! he looked more like an undertaker than a valiant Roman and the speech over the dead body of Caesar so thoroughly disgusted us that we
left the theatre before the weeping and wailing was over. We have a bit of wholesome advice for our young friends, who, we beg, will take our criticism in good part. We ourselves are the most steadfast admirers of the drama. Nothing will give us greater pleasure than to behold Shakespeare springing into new life under the histrionic talent of our educated countrymen but we cannot calmly look on while the old gentleman is being murdered and mangled. Let the Jorosankowallahs take in hand a couple of good Bengalee plays and we will promise them success. Or if Shakespeare is all the go, let them select intelligent performers, and at all events dismiss [sic] with the teaching of Mr. Clinger — that man will spoil everything.

From. _Hindoo Patriot_, May 11, 1854, pp. 148-49

Sri Apurba Kishore Goswami of Rabindra Bharati University helped me to collect materials for the appendices.