

ASIATIC PAPERS

PART II

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE
BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

BY

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*Bombay, as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the
year 1754 A.D.*

(Read 12th October 1906.)

Dr. Edward Ives was a Surgeon in His Majesty's Navy and served
Dr. E. Eves. in the Mediterranean from 1744 to 1746. Then he
served for some years in England. From 1753 to
1757 he was Surgeon of the "Kent," bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral
Charles Watson, Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. On the
Admiral's death in 1757, he retired from service in India and
returned home *via* Persian Gulf. He reached England in 1759.
He continued on half pay till 1777. He was then superannuated
in 1777. He died in 1786. It was in 1773 that he published his
book of Travels.¹ The title of the book is rather a very long one.
It runs thus :

“ A
Voyage from
England to India
In the year MDCCLIV.
And an
Historical Narrative
of

The Operations of the Squadron and Army in India, under the Com-
mand of Vice-Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, in the years 1755,
1756, 1757 ; including a correspondence between the Admiral and the
Nabob Serajah Dowlah.

Interspersed with

Some interesting passages relating to the manners, customs, &c., of
several nations in Indostan

Also, a
Journey from Persia to England
By an unusual route

With
An Appendix

Containing an account of the diseases prevalent in Admiral
Watson's squadron ; a description of most of the trees, shrubs, and

¹ *Vide* Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Sidnev Lee, Vol. XXIX (1892) p. 79.

plants of India, with their real, or supposed, medicinal virtues : Also a copy of a letter written by a late ingenious physician, on the disorders incidental to Europeans at Gombroon in the Gulf of Persia,

Illustrated with a Chart, Maps and other Copper-plates

BY EDWARD IVES, ESQ.,

Formerly Surgeon of Admiral Watson's ship and
of His Majesty's Hospital in the East Indies.

London.

Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly.

MDCCLXXIII."

I find this book mentioned in the Catalogue of the books of the library of our Society printed in 1875, as "Ives (Edward).—Voyage from England to India, also a Journey from Persia to England, 4to Lond., 1773." It is marked as AA-a-17. But its name bears an asterisk in the printed catalogue, which means that in 1875 the book was either "damaged or missing." I find on inquiry from our librarian that it is missing.

The late Dr. Gerson DaCunha has given us an excellent paper entitled, "The Origin of Bombay." It is published in 1900 as an extra number of the Journal of our Society. Therein, Dr. Ives's book is not referred to. The Bombay Gazetteer¹ refers to this book especially in its account of the Ângriâs.² Therein, Dr. Ives's account of the taking of Gheria by Admiral Watson is interpolated in the larger account³ from Robert Orme.⁴ I am not sure if the writer of the Gazetteer has quoted directly from Dr. Ives's book, as I find some discrepancies in the references given.⁵ Again Dr. Ives's book is referred to in the Bombay Quarterly Review of 1857.⁶ But, I find that, as far as I know Dr. Ives's short account of Bombay is not referred to at any length by any writer, at least on this side of the country. So, the object of this paper is to give a short account of Bombay as seen by Dr. Ives in 1754.

¹ Vol. I, Part II., pp. 88, 93, 94. Vol. X, pp. 381, 382. Vol. XIII, p. 499.

² Vol. I, Part II, pp. 87—96.

³ A History of Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745, Vol. I (Fourth Edition of 1799), pp. 407—417.

⁴ For the life of this author, *vide* "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Marattoes, and of the English concerns in Indostan, from the year 1659," by Robert Orme (1805) pp. V—LXVII.

⁵ For example (a) the Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 93, n. 2. There, the p. 82 referred to in the note does not refer to the matter spoken of. (b) The page referred to as p. 82 of Ives on p. 94 of the Gazetteer must be p. 85.

⁶ The Bombay Quarterly Review, Vol. V, January and April, 1857, p. 162. Article entitled "An Age of Progress in Bombay."

From his title page, we learn that, though the year of our author's principal visit of Bombay was 1754, the book was published in 1773, *i.e.*, about 19 years afterwards. It was dedicated to Sir Charles Watson, B^{art.}, the son of the Admiral in whose fleet Dr. Ives had served and visited India. The dedication is interesting, as it aims thereby to set before a son, for his improvement, the example of a worthy father. It says: "If what I have written of your excellent Father . . . shall contribute to your improvement, and set you forward in the paths of virtue, I then shall be beyond measure happy."

Our author thus describes the occasion of his voyage:—*Occasion of his voyage.* "Immediately after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, or as soon as our sea and land forces under the command of Admiral Boscawen had left the Indies and were on their return to England, Mons. Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, began by his intrigues to show the seeds of dissention among the country princes; and when he had so far succeeded as to set them at variance with one another, he sent a body of European troops into the field, as auxiliaries to those Nabobs who espoused the French interest, and who, by dint of his supply, gained several successive advantages over the other princes who were friends to our East India Company. Mustapha-Jing, a powerful prince, and Chunda-Saeb, an enterprising general, were those with whom he was principally connected, and whom he made use of as instruments for bringing out his ambitious designs—Designs no less extensive, than of acquiring for his nation an absolute ascendancy over the whole Carnatic and Deccan, and for himself, immortal honour and immense riches. The English presidency were possessed of such convincing proofs of his insatiable avarice, and thirst for power, that they prudently and resolutely determined to exert their utmost abilities in putting a stop to his violent, and hitherto rapid proceedings; for that purpose, they, under the character of allies, joined their forces with the armies of a prince called Nazir-Jing, and of the Nabob of Arcot named Mahomed-Ally, against whom their enemies were now taking the field¹."

Admiral Watson's flagship "Kent," of which our author was the medical officer, left Spithead for Plymouth, the rendezvous of the fleet, on 22nd February 1754. They left Portsmouth on 9th March and sailed for Cork in Ireland, to take on board from there, the king's troops under command of Col. Adlercron. While sailing to that port they were overtaken by a storm and so

¹ "Ives's Voyage," pp. 1—2.

had to anchor at Kingsale on 12th March. From there he wrote to Col. Adlarcron to march to that town with his troops. On the 19th the raging storm disabled two ships of his small fleet of 6 ships, the whole strength of which was altogether 226 guns. The Admiral sailed from Kingsale on the 24th March with only four ships and taking as many troops as he could accommodate. The two disabled ships were ordered to proceed to Plymouth with some more troops who were to proceed to India in some other ships that the Admiralty may prepare to replace the disabled ships. On 6th April, they anchored at Fonchial road of the Island of Madeira, "a place," according to our author, "famous for supplying not only Europe, but all our settlements in both the Indies, with a most excellent wine." We know that the town has not as yet lost the fame, and the "Madeira wine" is still well-known. The price of the wine, at that time, says our author, was from £ 20 to 22 for a pipe (*i.e.*, a cask containing two hogsheads or 126 gallons).

The following opinion of our author, regarding the zeal of the Portuguese to observe their holidays, is worth noting, to enable those who are interested in these people to judge if matters have changed. Our author says :—

The Portuguese and their Holidays. "Whilst we continued at Madeira, we met with many disagreeable delays in supplying our squadron with wine and other refreshments, on account of the Passion-week, and the carnival that followed it, at which season all business there is at a stand and strangers are sure to be entertained with much gaudy, superstitious mummery. The custom indeed of celebrating this festival with a great deal of religious pageantry, is observed in all Popish countries, but probably nowhere carried to so great an height as among the Portuguese, who are the most bigotted to the fopperies of their religion of any nation under the Sun."¹

The fleet left Madeira on 19th April at 10 A.M., saw the Island of Palma, one of the Canaries, on the 23rd, "got into the trade winds" on the 25th, "were in sight of the Bonavista, one of the Cape de Verd Islands," on the 26th or 27th. In the middle of May, the "ship being too much crowded with stores and men and consequently very hot between decks, the crew became so sickly" that in 6 days they buried 7 men and 160 were on the sick list suffering from "putrid fevers." This fever was the result of eating the stock-fish, a part of their tinned provision getting putrid.

¹ "Ives's Voyage," p. 4.

In their voyage they shot off the Cape of Good Hope an "albatrose," a sea fowl "which measured $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet from wing to wing." A shark also was caught "which had the horns, skin, and many bones of a bullock in the belly. After it was dead and dried, a very large man passed through its jaws."¹

They arrived at Madagascar on 17th July. Madagascar was then governed by 4 or 5 kings who were frequently at war with each other. The beef of Madagascar was then well known. The bullocks of the Island weighed from 600 to 700 pounds. The chiefs of the King's court "prided themselves in being called by English names. And the King's own family likewise, in imitation of the court of England, is not without a Prince of Wales, a Duke of Cumberland, a Prince Augustus, and Princesses, distinguished by English names. All the great men abovementioned, came on board naked, except a covering over their hips, and another over their shoulders."

The fleet touched the shore of India at the Fort of St. David near Madras on the 10th of September 1754.

Dr. Ives left Fort St. David on 11th October and his ship, Salisbury,² anchored in what he called "Bombay Road" on the 13th of November 1754. He gives the following description of Bombay³ :—

"Bombay is a small island, but for its size, perhaps the most flourishing of any this day in the universe. Though the soil is so barren as not to produce any one thing worth mentioning, yet the convenience of its situation will always more than make up for that defect. It may justly be styled 'the grand storehouse of all the Arabian and Persian commerce.' When this island was first surrendered to us by the Portuguese, we hardly thought it worth notice; but, in a very few years afterwards, we experimentally found the value of it, and it is now become our chief settlement of the Malabar Coast."

Speaking of the natives of this island, he says that, though shorter, they are stronger than the people of the Coromandel Coast. He got this idea of their strength from the number of men that carried the

¹ "Ives's Voyage," p. 5.

² It was in this ship that Mr. Nowrojee Rustomji Seth, the first Parsee to visit England, had sailed from here in 1723. (Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 24).

³ Ives's Voyage, p. 31. His description of Bombay, is referred to in the "Bombay Quarterly Review," Vol. V, January and April 1857, pp. 161-162, in the article entitled "An Age of Progress in Bombay, 1740-1762."

palanquin, which was one of the principal kinds of conveyances here up to about 50 or 60 years ago. He says four coolies carried a palanquin here, while six were required at Madras. "The people of this island were," he says, "made up of every nation in Asia."

The Parsees. I will quote here at full length what he says of my own co-religionists, the Parsees. He says :—

"We met with several Parsees, who, like their forefathers, the ancient Persians, are followers of Zoroaster, who is said to have modelled and reduced into order the religion of the ancient Magi, the fundamental maxim of which was the worshipping only one God under the symbol of light. They adore the sun, and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest reverence and veneration ; and by a natural consequence of the worship they pay the sun, they likewise pay a particular veneration to fire.

"I met with a very remarkable instance of this, while I was at Bombay ; one day passing through the street, I heard a very uncommon noise, and seeing at the same time a large fire in one of the houses, curiosity led me a little closer to it : in the middle of the house was set a large brass pan with a fire in it : before this fire, or rather on each side of it, two men were kneeling at their devotions, which they hurried over with great rapidity. I looked on for a considerable time with great attention, and afterwards learned from a servant of the admirals, who was of this *cast*, that one of them was a priest, then on a visit to another priest in a fit of sickness. This servant likewise told me, that the Parsees have such a veneration for fire, that they never put it out, or so much as breathe upon it ; and I took particular notice, that while these priests were at prayers over the pan of coals, they had a kind of little white bib over their mouth, as I imagined, to prevent their breathing on their favourite element. The prayers appeared to me, to be only a repetition of the same set of words, from the similarity of their sounds. The visiting priest use many gestures with his hands over the fire, and afterwards stroked down the face of the sick priest, which I looked upon as the final benediction, for presently afterward the ceremony ended. This instance strongly corroborates Prideaux's observation¹ concerning their usage at public worship. 'The priests themselves never approach this fire in their temples but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breathe thereon : and this they did not only when

¹ The reference is to Dr. Humphrey Prideaux's "The Old and New Testaments connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring nations. Part I, Bk. IV (17th Edition of 1815), Vol. I, p. 269.

they tended the fire to lay on more wood, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it. So that they mumbled over their prayers, rather than spoke them, in the same manner as the Romish priests do their masses, without letting the people 'present articulately hear one word of what they said.' ”¹

I will make a few observations on some of the statements of Dr. Ives in the above passage.

The prayer referred to above as being recited by the visiting priest over the sick priest seems to be the Ardibehesht Yasht (Yasht 3). There are two points in our author's statements which point to that identification.

1. The first is that the visiting priest used many gestures with his hands over the fire and afterwards stroked down the face of the sick priest.
2. The second is that the prayer seemed to him “to be only a repetition of the same set of words from the similarity of their sounds.”

Ardibehesht is the third of the seven Ameshaspendas or archangels of the Parsees. His Avesta name is Asha Vahishta, *i.e.*, the best purity. In the word 'Asha' or purity, both physical and mental purities are included. So, this archangel is believed to preside over the best purity. Health both physical and mental or spiritual, gives purity. So, Asha Vahishta presides over health also. He is therefore invoked in case of illness. The Hûspâram *nask*, as described in the Dinkard, says :

“Where it is the healing of the sick, the spiritual debt is unto the archangel Asha Vahishta, and that which is worldly unto the physician's anteroom (drugs).”² What is meant is this : When a man recovers from illness, we are indebted to two sources for his recovery—one, the Divine power, as represented by the Ameshâspend, Asha Vahishta, and the other, the human power as represented by the medical man who treats the sick man. As Prof. Darmesteter points out, this reminds us of the words of the eminent French physician Ambroise Pare, who is known in France as the Father of Surgery. He used to say: “Je panse et Dieu guêrit,” *i.e.*, “I dress (the wounds) and God cures.” He meant to say that the medical men only dress the wounds, to cure a patient, but

¹ Ives's Voyages, pp. 31-32.

² S. B. E. XXXVII, p. 126, Dinkard, Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14. *Vide* Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. II, p. 115.

it is God who really cures him. In the Ardibehesht Yasht itself, of all the remedies for a sick man's illness, the best is considered to be that of the Holy word, *i. e.*, that which strengthens and influences his mind. This, being the case, the recital of Ardibehesht Yasht, before sick persons, was often resorted to even up to the last century, and it is not unknown even now.

“The stroking down the face” of the sick patient while reciting the Ardibehesht Yasht consists now-a-days in making a few passes over the body with a handkerchief, or with the hand, and then clapping the fingers of the hand. This process is now known as “Ardibehesht Yasht in pichi.”

Fire, as the refulgent symbol of the Glory of God and the visible form of heat that pervades and purifies the whole earth is a symbol of purity. So, Asha Vahishta or Ardibehesht presides over fire also. Hence it is that, as Dr. Ives describes, the fire was placed before the sick patient while the Yasht was recited. But one can recite that Yasht even without the fire.

Now Dr. Ives says that the prayer seemed to him “to be the repetition of the same set of words from the similarity of their sounds.” That statement also proves the fact that the prayer recited by the priest and heard by him was the Ardibehesht Yasht, because of all the Avesta writings, the Ardibehesht Yasht is one where there is a good deal of repetition with a slight change of words.

The “little white bib” which, according to Dr. Ives, was put on by the priest while reciting the prayer before fire was the *padân* or *paitidâna*, put on, even now, by Parsee priests.

Dr. Ives thinks that what he saw, *viz.*, the priests reciting their prayers with a piece of cloth over their mouths, corroborated Prideaux's observation that the Parsee priests mumbled over their prayers like Romish priests. That is not always the case. The present prayer book of the Parsees contains writings both in the ancient Avesta language and the later Pazend. So, whenever they have to recite the Pazend portion in the midst of the Avesta scriptures, they do so with a suppressed tone, which is technically known among them as reciting in *bâj* and which Firdousi refers to, as reciting in *zamzame* زم زم

The Parsee custom of the Disposal of the dead.

Then Dr. Ives thus refers to the Parsee custom of the disposal of their dead and of their places of disposal now known as the Towers-of-Silence.

“As the Gentoos burn their dead, one would think that the Parsees, who are so fond of worshipping their deity under the representation of fire, should be desirous of having their dead bodies committed to that element, wherein they suppose their creator principally to reside. But contrary to this, and to the custom of all other nations in the world, they neither burn nor bury their dead, but cast them out in the open air, to be exposed to the several elements, where they are soon devoured by eagles, vultures, and other birds of prey. The principle they go upon is, that a living man being compounded of all the elements, it is but reasonable, after he is dead, that every particular element should receive its own again. On the top of Malabar-hill, in this island of Bombay, are two round buildings, on purpose for receiving the dead bodies of the Parsees, which are placed and remain there till the bones are clean picked by the birds. A guard constantly stands within a small distance of the place, who is very much displeased if you offer to approach the buildings; and for this reason, lest by your going too near, you disturb the vultures in their preying upon the dead bodies. One afternoon, however, I resolved to satisfy my curiosity so far as to peep into one of these edifices. I perceived several dead bodies, but there was little flesh left upon the bones; and that little was so parched up by the excessive heat of the sun, that it did not emit those stinking effluvia which there was reason to expect. It was owing probably to the same cause, that the bones were rendered quite black.¹”

The pictures of the towers that he gives seems to be imaginary, because the two towers that he refers to, still exist, and one can see at once, that his sketches differ. First of all, he has shown them to be of the same size, which, as a matter of fact, they are not. Again the outward appearances also differ.

We note that our author does not speak of the places serving as receptacles of the bodies, as towers, but only as “round buildings.” The word Towers has latterly come into use. There was some discussion, about a year ago², as to who first brought the words “Tower of Silence” into use. Sir George Birdwood said that it was the late Mr. Robert Xavier Murphy who first used the term. I supported his statement, and said that it was in 1832, that the term was first used in a card printed in the *Bombay Gazette* by the late Mr. Framji Cowasji when he built the “Tower-of-Silence” which is

¹ Ives' Voyage, pp. 32 and 33.

² Vide Sir George Birdwood's letter to the *London Times* of 8th August 1905. Vide that letter quoted in the *Times of India* of 29th August 1905. Vide my letter to the *Times of India* of 3rd October 1905.

known by his name. The late Mr. Murphy, who was latterly the Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, had, at the time of the publication of that card in the *Bombay Gazette* of 28th March 1832, some connection with the paper. So, it appears that, when Mr. Framjee Cowasji asked the *Bombay Gazette* to print his card or general invitation to Europeans and other non-Zoroastrians to come and see the round building he had built for the disposal of the dead of his community, Mr. Murphy, who must have been connected with the *Gazette* in some capacity before he became its editor, coined this new phrase "Tower-of-Silence" for the first time.

Sir George Birdwood in his letter to the *London Times* above referred to, calls the phrase "Tower-of-Silence" "a fine figure of speech." I will take this opportunity to say, what must have suggested this fine figure of speech to Mr. Murphy. He was an Oriental Scholar and was at one time Oriental Translator to Government. As such, he was versed in Oriental literature and among that, in Persian and Hindustani literature. Now in Persian the word for "Silence" or for "the Silent" is *khámush* خاموش. This word *khámush* is also figuratively used for the "dead." Dr. Steingass gives both these meanings for this word *khámush*¹. Then, as to the word 'Tower,' it is natural that the structure being round, the word Tower at once struck Mr. Murphy as an appropriate word.

So it seems that the Persian word *khámush*, meaning 'Silence' or 'Silent' as well as 'dead,' suggested to Mr. Murphy the phrase "Tower-of-Silence."

A few Hindustani quotations, wherein the word *khámush* is used for the dead, have been kindly supplied to me by my friend Munshi Khan Saheb Farrudin. I am indebted to him for this suggestion as to the possible way which may have suggested to Mr. Murphy this figure of speech.

(ناسخ)

عیش تنہائی ہوا مردوں کی کثرت سے مجال
جاؤں اب یازب کہان شہر خموشان چہوڑ کر

Translation—(The complaint of a departed soul)—

"The solitary enjoyment has become impossible owing to the infinite number of the dead. Oh God! where am I to go leaving the City of Silence, *i.e.*, the cemetery."

¹ *Vide* his Persian-English Dictionary, p. 443, the word *Khamush* خاموش

ايضاً

گذر ناگاد جو ميروا هوا شهر خموششان مين
عجب نقشه نظر وهان شاهان عالم کا
کھين آئينه زانوي سکنديز کا شکسته تھا
کسي جانب پورا تھا کا سته سر خاک مين جم کا

Translation—(A living man draws a picture of the unstability of the worldly greatness.)

“ I happened to go once in the City of Silence (*i.e.*, to the cemetery), where a wonderful sight of the state of the kings of the world, came to my vision. On one side was lying the knee of Alexander and on the other the skull of Jam (shed).”

استعمال شهر خموششان
(از آباد لکنوي)

دیکھکر آئينه رخ اوس کا سکتہ ہو گیا
جيتے جي ہم داخل شهر خموششان ہو گئے

“ We were so much affected that we remained motionless (literally smitten with apoplexy) on seeing her (beloved's) mirror-like face. We felt like entering alive the City of Silence.”

(از نسخ لکنوي)
جس جگہ تھے قصر و منظر بن گئیں گوزین تمام
شهر جو آباد تھے شهر خموششان ہو گئے

“ The spot which had lofty palaces and beautiful sights is now full of graves. The cities which were once populous have now become cities of silence, *i.e.*, grave-yards.”

I have come across an old document in the records of the Parsee Panchayet, which shows that the Portuguese used the word ‘well’ for the Tower. In a document dated 1st May 1796 we find the following words : ‘Poço dos Parcois aon de passraõ seus defuntos’

i.e., the Parsees' well, through which their dead bodies pass. The document is a deed of sale of a hill, named Ragi, by one Krishnoba to Mr. Dady Nusserwanjee. Some Portuguese documents of the years 1710 to 1739 speak of the Towers as cemeteries or sepulchres. (*Vide* the Zartoshti of month Farvardin 1276 Yezdezardi, Vol. IV., No. 1.)

There is one statement in the above description of Dr. Ives which appears to me to be useful in determining the date of the construction of one of the old Parsi Towers-of-Silence in Bombay. He speaks of having seen "two round buildings" or towers. Unfortunately, these two towers, the two oldest of the five public towers standing in the Parsee ground, known as Doongarwadi among the Parsees, have no tablets to give the dates of their construction. But, fortunately, it is three old European travellers that have come to our help, in determining, at least approximately, the dates of these two old towers.

The first or the oldest of the two towers referred to by Dr. Ives is that known as Modi's tower. As said above, there is no tablet over it. Again there are no family records to determine the date of its foundation. But, as pointed out by Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel¹, Dr. John Fryer² refers to this oldest tower in his book of travels entitled "A New Account of East-India and Persia, in Eight Letters, being nine years travels, begun 1672 and finished 1681." Therein he says: "On the other side of the great Inlet, to the Sea, is a great point abutting against Old Woman's Island³ and is called Malabar-hill, a rocky woody mountain, yet sends forth long grass. A-top of all is a Parsi Tomb lately reared."⁴

Fryer's book was published in 1698. He left England for India on 9th December 1672⁵. He arrived in Bombay on 9th December 1673⁶. His letter, wherein he refers to the tower (Modi's Tower), is dated Surat, 15th January 1675 (old system 1674)⁷. So, it is clear, that the first Parsi Tower-of-Silence was built some time before the year 1675 when he wrote the letter containing the above passage. He says it was "lately reared." The words "lately reared" are rather indefinite. It may be two or three years before the year when he wrote the above.

¹ *Parsi Prakash*, I, p. 17.

² Dr. Fryer left England on 9th December 1672. He landed in Bombay on 9th December 1673. His letter from Surat wherein he refers to the first tower is dated 15th January 1675.

³ Colaba was then known by this name.

⁴ Dr. Fryer's Travels, p. 67.

⁵ *Vide* his New Account of East India and Persia in eight letters from 1672-1681, p. 1.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 59.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 89.

Now, there is another traveller whose book helps us in determining the value or the meaning of Dr. Fryer's words "lately reared." This traveller was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Streynsham Master who was in India from 1656 to 1682. In an interval during the period he had gone once to England.¹

As he has not been referred to in the Gazetteer and in the *Parsi Prakash*, his notes having come to light lately, I will here make use of his reference and try to determine the date of the first tower.

It is in a letter dated Bombay, January 18, 1671, (*i.e.*, New System, 1672) that he refers to the tower. The letter is headed "a letter from Suratt in India giving an acco^{tt} : of y^e : Manners of y^e : English factories, &ca, their way of Civill Converse and Pious Comportment and Behaviour in these Partes." It is an unusually long document to be called a letter. Therein, while giving a short description of Bombay, and speaking of its different "nations or sects of people" he thus speaks of the Parsees :

¹ The following particulars about this traveller are collected from Col. Henry Yule's Account of his life. *Vide* the Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, Vol. II, p. CCXXIII.

Sir Streynsham Master was born on 28th October 1640. He left London on 4th April 1656 to go to India with his uncle and god-father George Oxenden. They arrived at Surat in November 1656. Mr. Oxenden returned to Europe but Master remained at Surat in charge of George Oxenden's brother Christopher Oxenden who was "then second in council of the Company's factory at Surat." Mr. Master then went out as Cape-Merchant and supercargo on a vessel bound for Persian Gulf. He returned to Surat in December 1659. He was taken into the Company's service in January 1659-60. Till 1686 he was employed at Surat and Ahmedabad. During the interval, *i.e.*, in 1662, his uncle had returned to Surat as Sir George Oxenden and as President of Surat. In 1668 he was one of the Council at Surat.

In the month of September of that year "he was associated with Mr. Goodyer (Governor-designate,) Captain Young, and Mr. Cotes, to go to Bombay and receive over charge of the Island from the King's officers." When Surat was attacked by the Mahrattas in 1664, he took part in the defence of the factory and Company's property. When the Mahrattas pillaged Surat for the second time under Sivaji in October 1670, the Council was temporarily located at Swally (known among the people there as Soomari सुमारी). So, Mr. Master was asked to come down from that place to Surat to hold the factory against the invaders. This he did "with much gallantry and tact." The Court of Directors in London voted him on 20th July 1671-2 a gold medal in recognition of his services. It was presented to him in 1672 when he went home. Gerald Aungier was the Governor at the time of Sivaji's above invasion. He was at Swally. Master returned to England in June 1672 and married in 1674. In September 1675 he was nominated the Governor of Fort St. George. He arrived at Fort St. George on 7th July 1676. He then went to Bengal on inspection duty and took charge of his appointment as governor of Madras in 1677, when Sir William Langhorne went home. He fell in the disfavour of the Court of Directors; he was recalled by a letter, dated 5th January 1680-81. He gave over charge of his office to Mr. W. Gyfford on 3rd July 1681 and then went to England.

² The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. II, Printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, p. CCXXV.

³ *Ibid*, p. CCCV.

“ The Parsees are the antient inhabitants of Persia, from whence those that now inhabit hereabouts fled, at such time as the Mahometan Religion was by Violence planted in that Country, which was about 900 years since. Then severall of those Parsees resolving to so suffer and undergoe any hardship rather than submit to Mahomett and his followers imbarged themselves and their families in a few slight built vessels of that Country and Committed themselves to the Mercy of the Wind and the Seas, not knowing whether they would [fare] (a most desperate undertaking), and at length it pleased God they were cast upon the Coast of India between Surratt and Damian about 12 or 13 miles from Surratt, near the same place where the first English Ship that arrived in India was alsoe cast away, where escapeing to the Shoare with life, the Indians not used to such guests, yet being as obliging People to strangers as any nation under heaven (as the English found them when the Sun, the first Ship we had in these parts was cast away at or near the same place) tooke yet this advantage upon them (if it may be soe tearmed) that they should live and inhabit with them if they would swear to them that they would not kill Cows or any of that Sort of Cattell, and observe their Ceremonies of Marryage, that is to marry their children young at 6 or 7 years old or thereabouts, to which the Poore Parsees soone agreed, and there seated themselves, the Towne being called Nausarree, or by the English Nunsaree, where since they have spread themselves about these parts of the Country, about 30 or 40 miles about Surratt, but there are very few farther in the Country, yet some, for they say a Parsee was raised to great honour in the Court by Jangier this Mogull’s grandfather. At the said place of Nausarre their chief priests reside, where tis said they have their Holy fire which they brought [with] them from their owne Country, and is never to goe out. They keepe it soe constantly supplied; they had a Church in Surratt; but the Tumultuous Rabble of the Zelott Moors destroyed and tooke it from them when they were furious on the Hindooes. They have severall buryall Places hereabouts, which are built of Stone in the wide fields, wherein they lay the dead Bodys exposed to the open air soe that the Ravenous fowles may and doe feed upon them.

“ These People are of a different Shape and Complexion from all other People that ever I sawe in the World; they are of all Professions, except Seamen, for they have hitherto held it unlawfull for them to goe to Sea, because they must then Pollute the Element of Water which they esteem holy, as they doe fire. But of late some few of them had adventured to transgress that ceremony. They have a great Reverence for fire, and many of them will not put it out, but let

it extinguish for want of matter; they worship and acknowledge one God Almighty and noe Images or Representations. But only the Sun they doe adore, and they give this reason for it; that God Almighty told them by their first Prophet that they should worship only one thing beside Himselfe and that thing should be that which was most like unto him. Now they say there is noe one thing in the world soe much like unto God as the Sun, for it hath its light and heat in itselfe, which it disperseth and infuseth into all parts and Creatures in the World, soe that it gives them life and light; therefore they say they worship it.

“President Aungier, one of the most ingenious men of our Nation that ever was in these parts, hath been somewhat Curious in his Enquiry into the Religion of these People, and according to the account they have of the history of the World, he is of opinion they had it from the Hebrews, it differing not much from Moses. They say according to these prophesys the World will not last many hundreds of years longer, but that their Kingdom and Country will be restored to them, and all Nations shall be of their Religion ere the World be ended.”

Then, while speaking of the island of Bombay Master, says of the Parsees of this city :—

“Here is allsoe some Parsees, but they are lately come since the English had the Island, and are most of them weavers, and have not yet any place to doe their devotion in or to bury their dead.”¹

This last statement of Sir Streynsham Master, made on 18th January 1672, shows, that on that day, the Parsees of Bombay had no Tower-of-Silence. So, the statement of Dr. Fryer on the one hand, and that of Sir S. Master on the other, gives two dates between which the first Parsee Tower-of-Silence was built in Bombay. They decide that it was built at some time during the three years between the 18th of January 1672, the date given by Master, and 15th of January 1675, the date given by Fryer. This period of three years can still be reduced to a narrower period, because though Fryer wrote his letter from Surat on 15th January 1675, he narrates therein what he saw at Bombay during the preceding year. At the end of the monsoons of 1674 he had left Bombay for Surat.² His observations about Bombay itself must have been for the months of January or February 1674, because we learn from his book that before the end of the hot season he had left Bombay for Bassein. Before this, he had been visiting some of the coast towns near Bombay. So, his account of Bombay refers to the early part of the

¹ The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. II, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, p. CCCXVI.

² Fryer's Travels, p. 82.

year 1674. So, we can safely say, that the tower referred to by Fryer as "lately raised," was built some time after 18th January 1672 and before January or February 1674. It was built in the latter end of 1672 or at some time in 1673.

Now, just as the writings of the abovementioned two travellers have helped us in determining approximately the date of the construction of the first tower, the book of Dr. Ives helps us in determining the date of the second old tower—which is now known as the Manockji Seth's Tower.

The Parsee population at the time of our author's visit must be much below 10,000. Sir James Campbell's Gazetteer has given "the chief available details of the strength of the Parsees at different times since the beginning of the (19th) century." But the Journal of our own Society seems to have escaped his notice. In the very first volume of the Journal of our Society, then known as the Literary Society, we have a note latterly attached to the "Preliminary Discourse" delivered by Sir James Mackintosh, the founder of the Society. In that note we find the following figures of Parsee population in 1811 :—

Men from 20 to 80 years of age	3,644
Women	„	„	„	3,333
Boys from 20 down to infant children	1,799
Girls	„	„	„	1,266
				10,042
			Total	.. 10,042

This was in 1811. So in the middle of the 18th century it may be about 5,000. Whatever it may be, it was thought some time before 1748, that there was a demand for a second and a larger tower. The fact is inferred from the Will of the first Mr. Manockji Nowroji Seth, who died in 1748, and from whose father's name our Nowroji Hill derives its name. This Manockji Seth was the grandson of Rustom Manock from whose name Rustompora in Surat derives its name, and who was the broker of the English factory at Surat in the middle of the 17th century, and had gone in 1660 to the Court of the Mogul Emperor at Delhi to bring about a settlement of some points of dispute that had arisen between the Nabob of Surat and the English factory at Surat. His father Nowroji Seth was the first Parsee to go to England in 1724. He went there to lay his grievances personally before the Court of Directors in the matter of some money dispute that had arisen between him and the English Factors at Surat.

Now, it appears from the last Will¹ of the above Manockji Seth that, some time before 1748, the date of the death of the Testator, the Parsee community had raised a fund to build a second and a larger tower. Mr. Manockji Seth's subscription was Rs. 2,000, but it was not collected, perhaps, because the money subscribed by the community was not found sufficient. So, he mentions the subscription in his Will and directs that instead of Rs. 2,000, a sum of Rs. 2,500 may be given to the fund. The whole amount of the subscriptions not being found sufficient, the heirs of the late Mr. Manockji offered to make up all the deficiency, and the tower was built and named after the principal donor, as Manockji Seth's Tower.

Now the question is : When was that tower built ? This tower also bears no date. Mr. Manockji had built a tower in his lifetime, a year before his death (*i.e.*, in 1747), at Naosari. That tower bears a date in Persian.² But the tower built in Bombay several years later does not bear any date.

Mr. Ruttonji Framji Vachha in his *Mumbai-no-Bâhâr*,³ *i.e.*, "the Spring or the Rise of Bombay" published in 1874, says that the tower of Manockji Seth was built in 1128, Yazdazardi, *i.e.*, in 1759 A. D. Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel gives the date as 1756.⁴ He says that he was given that date by the late Mr. Heerjeebhoy Hormusji Sethna, a member of Seth Khândân family. There seems to be no documentary evidence about it. I wrote to three members of the Seth Khândân family, to inquire, if they had any documents or written notes in the family, to show that the tower was built in 1756. They have replied that they have none.

Now the work of our author, Dr. Ives, shows us, that the second tower, namely, the Manockji Seth's Tower was built some years before 1756, the date given by Khan Bahadur Patel. Dr. Ives says that in 1754 he saw two towers. So, it appears, that the Manockji Seth's Tower was built not in 1756 but some time before 1754. Manockji Seth having died in 1748 and provided for that tower in 1748, it must have been built at some time between 1748 and 1754. This period of interval can still be reduced, because the Bombay Parsees wrote a letter in February 1750 to the Naosari Anjuman asking them to send two priests to perform the ceremony of laying the foundation. The letter was signed, among others, by the two wives of Manockjee Seth.⁵ So,

¹ This Will, and what we may now call its codicils, have been published in the શ્રી
આનંદાની કુટુંબની વંશાવલી તથા કુટુંબ ઐતુવાલ, *i.e.*, the Genealogy and a short Account of
the Seth family, published in 1900 by Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth (pp. 77-84). It is also partly
published in the Parsee Prakash. ² Parsee Prakash, I, p. 36

³ મુ'બરકના બાહાર, p. 445.

⁴ Parsee Prakash, I, p. 42.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 38.

the tower must have been built sometime between 1750 and 1754, probably not long after the above letter, *i.e.*, in or about 1751.

Ives' further account of Bombay. We will now proceed to consider a few other points about Bombay referred to by our author.

It appears that a term "toddy-headed" was used at that time for the weak-headed from the fact that toddy intoxicated men. We do not find the term used now.

The rind of the cocoanut fruit was at that time used for a kind of cloth for the poorer class of people. I think that that has altogether gone out of use now.

The Abkari tax for tapping each cocoanut tree was then 20 shillings.

The meaning of the word Bombay is often discussed. Our author understands its name to convey "an idea of a safe retreat in foul weather" (Bon or good bay). Bombay is said to have had "a very good dock" at the time for small ships. It was "the most convenient place among all our settlements in the East Indies for careening and heaving down large ships" (p. 33).

Among the little forts and batteries of this little island, Dr. Ives names, "Dungaree, Massegon, Mahee, Mendham's Point and Sion-hill." Of these Dungaree and Sion-hill are familiar names to us even now. Massegon is our modern Mazagon. Dr. Jerson da Cunha¹ suggests several meanings of the name.

- 1 मच्छ गांव (machchgâv), *i.e.*, fishing village.
- 2 महिष गांव (mahishgâv), *i.e.*, a buffalo village.
- 3 माजगांव (mâzagâv), *i.e.*, central village.

Of these three, he thinks the first to be "most acceptable." The form Massegon given by our author seems to support this meaning.

Mahee seems to be Mahim where we have still an old fort. Mendham's Point is a name unknown to us now. Colaba, which was formerly considered to be an island separate from Bombay, was then known as the Old Woman's Island. Before it was connected with Bombay itself in 1838, the southern extremity of Bombay, where the Sailors' Home stands at present, was known as Mendham's Point. It is said that the first English cemetery was there and the first person buried there was one Mendham. Hence the Point was named after him.²

¹ The Origin of Bombay, p. 59. The Extra Number of the Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, 1900.

² Dr. Jerson da Cunha's Origin of Bombay, p. 339.

All these forts were defended by guns at the time of our author's visit. The principal fort had more than 100 guns.

The renovation of the Cathedral has been much discussed lately. Of this cathedral our author says : " The Church also is not less substantial than the fort ; it is a very handsome, large edifice, and in comparison of those which are to be met with in the other settlements, it looks like one of our cathedrals." It was built by voluntary subscriptions. Rev. Mr. Cobbe, father of Mr. Richard Cobbe, Admiral Watson's chaplain, was the chief promoter of the work of building the church. Rev. Cobbe was at one time a chaplain of the Bombay factory.

Tank-house was the family residence of the Admiral. Our author does not say where it was, but I think it is the house at Gowalia Tank, now known as Tanka-ville. It was so called from the large tank near it. The Admiral was allowed five pagodas¹ a day for " a part of the expenses of his table." The Company allowed him and his principal attendants the use of palanquins. The horses being of little value and being also very scarce, they generally used oxen. These oxen travelled fast at the rate of 7 or 8 miles an hour. The Admiral had a chaise and a pair of oxen allowed him by the Company. It was in this chaise that the Admiral went " for an afternoon's airing " to Malabar Hill, Old Woman's Island (Colaba) and to Marmulla. By Marmulla, our author perhaps means Breach Candy.

The Hindu burning ground was at that time " near the water's edge under Malabar hill."

The following account of our author's interview with a *Jogee* is interesting :—

" During my stay at this place, I hired by the month, a chaise drawn by a pair of bullocks. In the several excursions I made in this carriage, I had frequently passed by one of those religious persons, or anchorets, who in India are called *Jookees* ; and who, in consequence of a vow made by their parents, and during their mother's pregnancy with them, are devoted to the service of heaven. One evening, I and a companion had an inclination to pay a short visit to this *Jogee*, who always sat in one posture on the ground in a shady cocoanut plantation, with his body covered over with ashes, and his long black hair clotted, and in the greatest disorder. As we approached him, we made our salutation, which he respectfully returned ; and then, with the assistance of our Indian driver, who could speak English, we began a conversation with him, that principally turned on the wonderful efficacy of his prayers, and which he pretended had

¹According to Webster, its value varied at different places. It was about 7s. 4d.

given health to the sick, strength to the lame, sight to the blind, and fecundity to women who for their whole lives had been deemed barren. When we were about to take our leave of him, I offered him a present of two rupees, which he bade me to throw on the ground, and then directed his servant, who was standing by, to take them up, which he did with a pair of iron-pincers, throwing the rupees at the same time into a pot of vinegar. After they had lain there a little while, the same servant took them out, wiped them carefully, and at last delivered them to his master, who soon afterwards, by way of return, presented us with a few cakes of his insipid pastry. I then requested of him, that in his next prayers he would petition for an increase of my happiness, to which with great complacency in his countenance, he replied: 'I hardly know what to ask for you: I have seen you often and you have always appeared to me to enjoy perfect health; you ride in your chaise at your ease; are often accompanied with a very pretty lady; you are ever well clothed, and are likewise fat; so that you seem to me to be in possession of every thing that can be any way necessary to happiness. I believe therefore, when I pray for you, it must be in this strain, that God would give you grace to deserve, and to be thankful for those many blessings which he has already bestowed upon you.' I told him that I was thoroughly satisfied with the mode of his intended supplication for me; and with a mutual exchange of smiles and compliments we parted."¹

It is only last month, that our Governor Lord Lamington laid the foundation of a building, which was understood to be the first building in a scheme of thoroughly re-building the whole of the Sir Jamsetjee Hospital. The foundation of this hospital was laid in 1843 and it was opened in 1845. But it seems that a Government Hospital existed in Bombay as early as 1773. It was intended only "for the sick and hurt of the squadron of His Majesty." Our author says of this hospital:—

"Our hospital at Bombay was without the town-wall; and in order to make my attendance on it the more convenient, Mr. Délaguarde (a factor in the Company's service) was so obliging as to give me the use of a very commodious house, which lay near the hospital, and belonged to him as superintendent of the powder-works."²

From the reference to the powder-works, and from the statement that the hospital was out of the fort, we are led to think that it was somewhere at Mazagaon, where a place is still known as Darukhaneh. It appears that the hospital was attended to by any medical

¹ Ives's Voyages, p. 35.

² Ibid, p. 18.

officer that happened to be in Bombay. During his first visit, our author was in Bombay only for about one month from 13th November to 15th December 1754.¹

While on the subject of the hospital I would draw the attention of medical men to the drugs used at the time. Our author² gives a list of the drugs as given to him by a Portuguese Physician of Bombay named Diego.

The next interesting thing in our author's book are the tables of the daily rainfall of Bombay for the monsoon of the year 1756. He gives the daily rainfall as measured by his friend Dr. Thomas who supplied it to him afterwards. The total rainfall of that year from May to October was 110 inches and 3-tenths. He also describes the rain-gauge then used.

Among the Bombay curiosities of the time our author mentions the following³ :—

1. A terapin (a large beetle) kept at the Governor's⁴ house ; its age was said to be "upward of 200 years."
2. Large frogs, some measuring about 22 inches from the extremities of the fore and hind feet when extended and weighing about 4 or 5 lbs.
3. Beautiful shells on the sea shore much estimated by the ladies of that time and known as Ventletraps or Wendletraps. One of such shells was sold for several pounds.

He names the following species of Bombay snakes known at the time :—

1. The Covra (Cobra) Capella, from 4 to 8 or 9 feet long.
2. The Covra Manilla, of the size of a man's little finger and about a foot long.
3. The Palmira, about 4 feet long, "not much larger than a swan's quill."
4. The Green Snake.
5. The Sand Snake.
6. The Covra dé Aurellia, which is like an earth-worm about 6 inches long. It "kills by getting into the ear and causing madness." This seems to be what is now known here as the કાનકચુરો (a centipede).
7. The Manilla Bombo.

¹ Ibid, p. 36.

² Ibid, p. 44.

³ Ibid, p. 42.

⁴ Richard Bouchier was Governor of Bombay from 17th November 1750 to 28th February 1760.

During his short stay of one month, our author saw two fleets of country vessels in the harbour. "One of them belonged to the Nanna or Prince of the Maharattas, the other to Monajee Angria, the brother of Angria the pirate." These vessels carried two guns in their bow. The music of these fleets "was a plain brass tube, shaped like a trumpet at both ends and about 10 feet in length, and a kind of drum called a tomtom. Each fleet consisted of about 30 sails."¹

The following table gives the exchange as then prevalent :—

"A 36-shilling piece exchanges for 16½ rupees.

A guinea	"	"	9	"
An English crown	"	"	2 rupees and 6	double pice.
A Spanish dollar	"	"	2	" " 3 " "

Eighty pice made a rupee.

The description of the Elephanta Caves given by our author on the authority of his friend Dr. Thomas will interest archæologists to enable them to know what parts have been latterly further destroyed. He gives a plan of the caves.

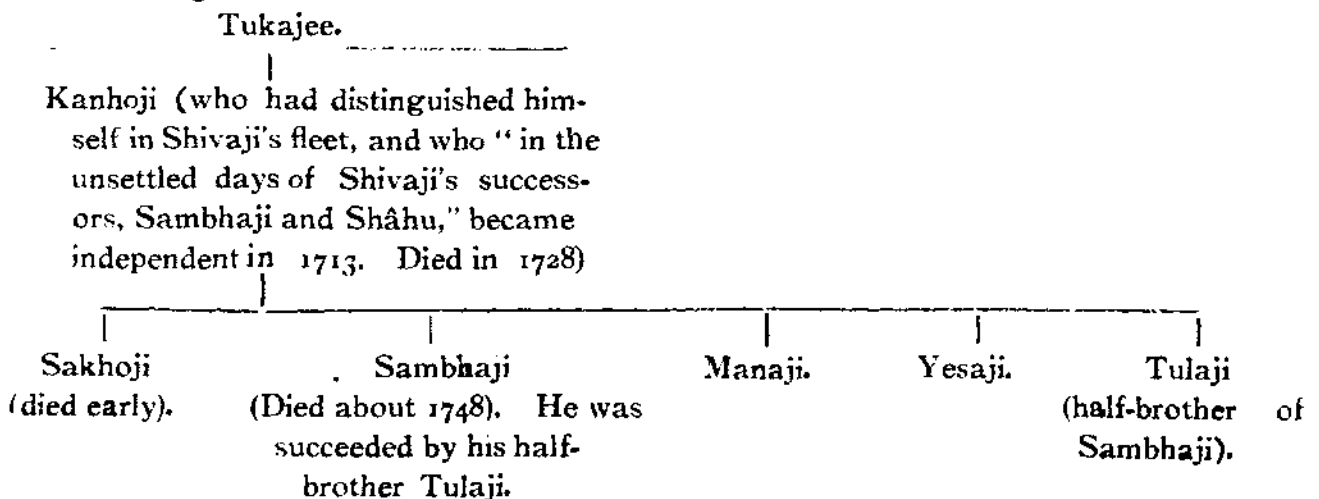
This finishes our author's account of Bombay during his first visit (13th November to 15th December 1754). He then went with his Admiral to Madras and the adjoining towns and returned to Bombay again on 11th November 1755.

On his second visit to Bombay, we find that the fleet, to which our author was attached, was engaged in a naval fight² Clive in Bombay. with the Angria. The family of Angria were more or less pirates on our Western shores. The Angria at this time (1755) was Tulaji.³

¹ Ives' Voyage, p. 43.

² For an account of the Angrias and of this naval battle, *vide* the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II, pp. 86-96. *Vide* also *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745*, (by Orme), pp. 407-17.

³ The following tree shows his descent :—



Lieut.-Col. Robert Clive, afterwards Lord Clive, was at that time in Bombay. He had already, by this time, made his name as a good soldier. He “had lately landed on the island with three companies of the King’s Artillery from England. He was sent out with a design of acting in conjunction with the Maharattas against the French in the Carnatic and Deccan ; but finding that a truce had been agreed upon with that nation, and perhaps partly excited by Mr. James’s late success, it was judged proper by Admiral Watson, Mr. Bouchier Governor of Bombay, Colonel Clive, &c., that the sea and land forces united with the Maharattas should attempt the destroying Angria’s piratical state, which was becoming exceedingly formidable, troublesome, and dangerous, not only to the Maharattas, who were his neighbours, but also to our East India Company, and the whole Malabar Coast.”¹

Gheria was the stronghold of Angria at that time, and so, it was this fort that was intended to be taken after a naval fight. It was situated in the Province of Beejapur and was “called Gheria by Mussulmans, but Viziadroog by Hindoos.”²

In our author’s description of the preliminary arrangements before the naval battle, we find an interesting account about the question of the division of booty, or prize-money as they called it, acquired in war, a question, which, it seems, they settled beforehand to avoid disputes later on.

Our author says—

“All things being at last in readiness for putting to sea, a council was held, at Mr. Watson’s particular desire, between the sea and land officers, both of His Majesty’s forces, and those of the East India Company, with a view of obviating any difficulties that might arise in regard to the proper distribution of prize-money, should the intended expedition be crowned with success. It was settled at this council, that Admiral Watson, as Commander-in-Chief of the King’s Squadron, should have two-thirds of one-eighth of the whole ; and Rear-admiral Pocock, one-third of one-eighth. Lieutenant-Colonel Clive and Major Chambers were to share equally with the captains of the King’s ships. The captains of the Company’s ships, and armed vessels, and captain of the army, were to have an equal share with the lieutenants of the men-of-war. The subaltern officers of the army, and Lieutenants of the company’s armed ships and vessels, were to have the same distribution as the warrant officers of the navy, &c.

¹ Ives’ Travels, p. 79.

² The *Bombay Quarterly Review*, Vol. III, p. 56.

“ These articles, however, had scarcely been agreed upon in council, before Colonel Clive, who Commanded-in-Chief on shore, paid a visit to Mr. Watson, and acquainted him, that the army was not satisfied with the terms on which he, as their Commander-in-Chief, was to share ; and that to make those gentlemen easy, who were to serve under him, he found himself under the disagreeable necessity of remonstrating and requiring that, as Commander of the Army he might be entitled to a more honorable division. The argument the Gentlemen of the Army went upon, was, that Mr. Clive, by virtue of the Commission he bore in common of Lieutenant-Colonel, could claim but an equal share with a Captain in the Navy ; yet on this occasion, being Commander-in-Chief of the Army, he ought certainly to be particularly distinguished, and be admitted, at least, to share with Mr. Pocock, the Second Sea-Officer, who was a Rear-Admiral. Mr. Watson replied, that it was impossible for him to make any alterations in the articles agreed upon in council ; neither indeed would his doing it be at all consistent either with custom or the different ranks which Admiral Pocock and Colonel Clive bore in the respective services. He told the Colonel, however, that to satisfy the wishes of the Army, which in the present situation of affairs, he deemed to be a point of the utmost consequence, he would give security under his own hand, to make good the deficiency, out of any monies he himself might be entitled to, so as to make the share of the Commander-in-Chief of the army and that of Mr. Pocock exactly alike. The Colonel, sensibly struck with Mr. Watson’s disinterestedness, answered, that provided his officers were satisfied with the proposal, he for his own part should come into it with great cheerfulness. He accordingly took the first opportunity of making those gentlemen acquainted with the Admiral’s declaration, who were so much pleased therewith that from that moment all discontent ceased, and the expedition went on with the greatest unanimity.”¹

Our author adds a footnote about the result of the above stipulation, showing a great self-denial on the part of Clive.

Dr. George Smith, in his *Memoirs of the life of Lord Clive*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,² calls this “ no little self-denial ” on the part of Clive. It seems really to be so, and draws our admiration, especially when we know that, according to his biographers, the pecuniary affairs of Clive were not satisfactory at that time. As Lord Macaulay points out in his *Essay of Lord Clive*,³ based on “ *Sir John Malcolm’s Life of Lord Robert Clive*,” Clive had spent away, while in England,

¹ Ives’ *Voyages*, pp. 81 and 82.

² Vol. VI., p. 9.

³ Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays*, Part II.

the whole of his moderate fortune that he had carried from the Madras side. He had extricated "his father from pecuniary difficulties" and "redeemed the family estate. The remainder he appears to have dissipated in the course of about two years. He lived splendidly, dressed gaily even for those times, kept a carriage and saddle horses, and, not content with these ways of getting rid of his money, resorted to the most speedy and effectual of all modes of evacuation, a contested election followed by a petition."¹

Looking to this condition of Clive's pecuniary state of affairs, it was really "no little self-denial" on his part to have refused politely a sum of £1,000 offered by Admiral Watson.

Dr. Ives gives two fine sketches—one of the views of the Gheria fort itself and the other of a view of the river from it. His account of the interview of Admiral Watson with the weeping family of Angria is really very touching. The interview brought about tears in the eyes of the Admiral. When the mother of the Angria bemoaned the flight of her son and said, "that the people had no king, she no son, her daughters no husband, the children no father," the Admiral consoled her by saying "that from henceforward they must look upon him as their father and friend." On hearing this, a boy, of about six years, sobbing said, "then you shall be my father." This reminds us of what we often hear of old *topeewallas* being considered the real *mâbâps* of the people.

At the close of the battle the fleet returned to Bombay on the 17th March and then left it on the 27th of April 1756. Our author then went with the Admiral to Calcutta, where the affairs of the Black Hole had attracted all available military and naval force. On his return homeward *via* Persian Gulf in 1758, on the death of Admiral Watson, his ship touched Bombay on 24th January 1758. He finally embarked from here on 8th February 1758.

¹ Lord Macaulay's Essay on Clive. "Critical and Historical Essays contributed to the EDINBURGH REVIEW" in 3 Volumes (1843). Vol. III., p. 138.