

## APPENDIX A: GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Adalat—a court.

Amil—The official in charge of the collection of the taxes and the chief administrative official of government in an area, dispensing justice and readying troops for service.

Auruzbegi--Lord of Petitions, i.e. the master of ceremonies at the court of Hyderabad.

Ayah—a nurse for children/a nanny.

Bakhshigari—paymaster.

Banians—accountants.

Bhisty—servant.

Bibi—courtesan.

Budgerow--a barge equipped with a flat-roofed cabin over two-thirds of its length.

Chauth--1/4 of the revenues of Mughal crown and *jagir* lands, house and market taxes, customs, transit duties, and license fees. It was originally imposed only on areas outside Maharashtra conquered by the Marathas.

Chobdar--an attendant on a prince or other important individual who served as a symbol of his rank and kept order in his household. They preceded their employer wherever he went, carrying five-foot-high silver staffs.

Chokey Boat—a small Indian craft used for making quick journeys.

Chowk—a street.

Chunam--oyster shell plaster with a high gloss, used largely in Calcutta.

Coss—a unit of measurement that varied from place to place around India; anywhere from 1 ½ miles to 3 miles. In the area of Bengal, it usually meant two miles.

Cranny—slang term for young East India Company civil servants in India.

Crore—one million of something, often money.

Dacoit—robber, thief.

Daftar—an office, a repository for documents and records.

Daftardar—head of an office.

Dandis—rowers.

Dawk—bearers arranged at stages to quickly carry someone or something (often the mail) quickly from place to place.

Deodad—God-given.

Dewan—finance minister/department.

Diwan—chief minister.

Diwani—the right conferred on the Company to collect the revenues and to administer Bengal for the Mughal emperors.

Durbar—a public audience given by a ruler to receive petitioners or ambassadors.

Durga Pujas--a Hindu festival.

Farman—a royal order, decree or grant.

Fauj—an army.

Faujdar—commandant of an army or part of an army.

Ghat/Ghaut—platform, often meaning the platform and steps leading down to a river from it.

Harkara--a messenger.

Haveli—fortress.

Hookah—water pipe.

Imambara--religious theatres connected to mosques in which a play is enacted depicting the deaths of the three Imams--Ali, Hassan and Hussein

Irani—a Mughal noble whose family originated in Iran. Irani nobles had the reputation for being great administrators.

Jagir—a land assignment from which the holder collected revenue.

Jagirdar—holder of a jagir.

Khiladar--a military title, a commander.

Khilat/khillat—robes of honor, presented with titles or with appointments to nobility.

Kobbradool--a type of gauze used to keep away insects.

Kusbeen—prostitutes.

Leadenhall Street—The location of the East India Company's London administration.

Lakh—100,000 of something, often money.

Muharram—Shi'ite commemoration of the martyrdom of Imam Hussein at Karbala.

Munshi—clerk, often also a language tutor in this era.

Musnud—throne.

Nabob—English corruption of the term nawab, meaning governor. Nabobs were men who had made fortunes in India and were not reluctant to spend their wealth on their return to Europe in pursuit of advanced social position.

Nautch—a display of dance, usually accompanied by song.

Nawab--Mughal title (see below), meaning governor.

Nizam—title of the rulers of Hyderabad.

Padshah—king/sovereign monarch.

Palanquin—sedan chair.

Peshcush—tribute.

Peshwa/Peshwah—originally the prime minister of the raja of Satara (descendants of Shivaji), later head of the Maratha confederacy.

Punkah—a room-sized fan, worked by a servant pulling on a rope.

Sadr diwani adalat--a civil court that tried appeal cases exceeding 500 rupees in value.

Sarcar—Persian for head of affairs, meaning a personal accountant.

Sardeshmukhi--a 10% tax imposed by the Marathas on the *ryots*, or peasant farmers, of an area, that was originally designed for use only in Maharashtra, but after 1719 was also imposed on areas already paying *chauth*.

Sati—a Hindu widow burned on her husband's funeral pyre.

Subah—a province.

Subahdar—governor of a subah.

Taluk—division of a revenue district.

Talukhdar—revenue collector.

Tatti—window screens of woven grasses.

Turani—a Mughal noble whose family originated in Turkistan; Turani nobles had a reputation for being great warriors.

Vakil—an ambassador, agent or representative.

Wazir/Vizier—chief minister of the Mughal emperors; a title of the nawabs of Awadh, who traditionally held the office.

Zamindar—landholder.

Zenana/zenanah—women's quarters/harem.

### An Explanation of Titles

Many states in India followed the old Mughal forms. Status was usually dependent upon the size of the *mansab* held by the individual. These were originally military commands with estates or revenues attached to enable payment of those troops. In Hyderabad these were later converted into pensions or assignments of revenue, without actual military commands being attached to them. The hierarchy of titles also followed Mughal forms and was generally additive, i.e. each ascending rank was added to existing titles rather than replacing them. These titles, in ascending order, were as follows:

Muslims:

Khan

Khan Bahadur

Nawab

Jang

Daula

Mulk

Umara

Jah

The formal style of rendering the titles for a Muslim of the highest rank was as follows - (*personal title*) Jah, (*personal title*) ul-Umara, (*personal title*) ul-Mulk, (*personal title*) ud-Daula, Nawab (*personal name*) Khan Bahadur, (*personal title*) Jang. However, in normal parlance, the style of address would be Nawab (*personal title*) Jah Bahadur, or Nawab (*personal title*) Jang Bahadur.

Hindus:

Rai

Raja

Raja Bahadur

Raja Rai Bahadur

Raja Rai-i-Rayan Bahadur

Vant

Maharaja

Maharaja Bahadur

## APPENDIX B: NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup> Extract from *The Englishman and Military Chronicle* (June 30, 1841), contained in the Elmore Letters, Cambridge University Library, Add. Mss. 7616, afterwards Elmore.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Colley Wellesley, at Burlingham House, to the Court of Directors, August 16, 1837, Elmore.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Kaye, *Lives of Indian Officers, vol. I* (London: J.J. Kaliher & Co., 1904), 352.

<sup>4</sup> David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835* (Berkeley: 1969), 50.

<sup>5</sup> Christopher A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1996), 89, 91.

<sup>6</sup> Iris Butler, *The Elder Brother: The Marquess Wellesley, The Duke of Wellington's Eldest Brother* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1973), 5.

### CHAPTER ONE

<sup>1</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, "Autobiography", British Library, Add. Mss. 36,471, f.25.

<sup>2</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, Gosport, England, to William Archibald Edmonstone in Calcutta, 1783, Elmore.

<sup>3</sup> David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 14.

<sup>4</sup> L.S.S. O'Malley, *The Indian Civil Service, 1601-1930* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1965), 229.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 228.

- <sup>6</sup> *Proceedings Relative to Ships Tendered for the Service of the United East India Company, From the First of January 1780 to the Thirty-first of March, 1791* (London: E. Cox, 1802), 108.
- <sup>7</sup> Goldsborne, Sophia [pseud.], *Hartley House, Calcutta* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1908 [reprint 1789 ed.]), 290.
- <sup>8</sup> Thomas Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum, vol. I* (London: Black, Perry and Kingsbury, 1810), 144.
- <sup>9</sup> Archibald Edmonstone, *Genealogical Account of the Family of Edmonstone of Duntreath* (Edinburgh: privately printed, 1875), 88. Afterwards, *Genealogy*.
- <sup>10</sup> *Genealogy*, 28; Sir Archibald Edmonstone, *Autobiography Attached to the Last Will and Testament*, contained within the Elmore Letters, 2. Afterwards, *Will*.
- <sup>11</sup> *Genealogy*, 42.
- <sup>12</sup> *Will*, 6
- <sup>13</sup> The physical description is from an M. Gauci lithograph of Edmonstone made from a William Bradley etching in the collection of the British Library Prints and Drawings, #1860-10-13-21.
- <sup>14</sup> *Genealogy*, 88; *Will*, 12.
- <sup>15</sup> *Genealogy*, 38; John Hill Burton, ed., *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. I: 1545-1569* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's General Register House, 1877), 437; Sir James Edmonstone took part in the Ruthven Raid, and was charged with murder in James VI's later attempt at revenge, see *Report on the Manuscripts in Various Collections, vol. V: The Manuscripts of Col. Mourdaunt-Hay, of Duns Castle, Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, Sir James Graham of Firtry* (Hereford: Printed for His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1909), 38.
- <sup>16</sup> Birth and Baptismal Records, Oriental and Indian Office Collection, N/1/8/f.6.
- <sup>17</sup> *Genealogy*, 56.
- <sup>18</sup> *Last Will and Testament of Neil Benjamin Edmonstone*, Public Record Office, London, Prob. 11/1947/68.
- <sup>19</sup> Alan Valentine, *The British Establishment: 1760-1784, vol. I* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 286-287.
- <sup>20</sup> George D. Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858* (Oxford: 1961), 14.

- <sup>21</sup> Neil Edmonstone, from camp at Chilicole, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, June 19, 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>22</sup> P.J. Marshall, "Taming the Exotic: The British and India in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, Eds. G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: 1990), 47.
- <sup>23</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: 1994), 4.
- <sup>24</sup> Marshall, 54.
- <sup>25</sup> Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East India* (London: J. Wilkie, 1777 [rpt. 1655 edition]), 218.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 352.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 353.
- <sup>28</sup> Marshall, 56.
- <sup>29</sup> *The Adventures of Five Englishmen from Pulo Condoro, A Factory of the New Company in the East-Indies, by Mr. Vaughn, One of the Adventurers* (London: C. Bates, 1714), 66.
- <sup>30</sup> Bearce, 14.
- <sup>31</sup> Metcalf, 7-8.
- <sup>32</sup> John Henry Grose, *A Voyage to the East-Indies Began in 1750; With Observations continued till 1764*, vol. II (London, 1766), iv.
- <sup>33</sup> Captain Robert Coverte, *Incredible Report of an Englishman in Cambaya, the Farthest Part of the East Indies* (London: Harleian, 1745 [rpt. 1607]), 240.
- <sup>34</sup> Luis de Camoens, *The Lusiads; or, the Discovery of India* (Oxford: 1778), xi-xii.
- <sup>35</sup> Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies, Being the Observations and Remarks of Captain Alexander Hamilton, Who Spent his Time there From the Year 1688 to 1723*, vol. II (Edinburgh: John Mosman, 1727), 8.
- <sup>36</sup> Prefix, "An Account of India Proper," attached to Captain Robert Coverte, *Incredible Report of an Englishman in Cambaya, the Farthest Part of the East Indies* (Harleian, 1745, rpt. 1607), 239.

- <sup>37</sup> "Letter to Maister L.W. 1615", in *Coryat's Crudities, Reprinted from the Edition of 1611: With His Letters from India*, volume I (London, 1774), no page numbers in volume.
- <sup>38</sup> William Symson, *A New Voyage to the East-Indies by Captain William Symson* (London: H. Meere, 1715), 32.
- <sup>39</sup> *The Travels of Several Learned Missionaries of the Society of Jesus, into Divers Parts of the Archipelago, India, China, and America* (London: 1714), 37.
- <sup>40</sup> *A New History of the East-Indies, Ancient and Modern* (London: R. & J. Dodson, 1757), vol. II, 431, 446.
- <sup>41</sup> Vaughn, 68.
- <sup>42</sup> Henry Southwell, *The New Book of Martyrs* (London: 1779).
- <sup>43</sup> Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 115.
- <sup>44</sup> *The Tales of the Genii, or, the Delightful Lessons of Horam, the Son of Asmar, faithfully translated from the Persian Manuscript by Sir Charles Morrell, formerly Ambassador from the British Settlements in India to the Great Mogul* (London: J. Wilkie, 1764); J. Z. Holwell, *Interesting Historical Events, Relative to the Provinces of Bengal, and the Empire of Indostan, Part I* (London: J. Becket, 1765).
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 7.
- <sup>46</sup> Marshall, 50.
- <sup>47</sup> The description comes from an advertisement of the work in the *Derby Mercury*, 24 September-1 October, 1779, 4.
- <sup>48</sup> The fact is mentioned in Neil Edmonstone's *Will*, f. 71.
- <sup>49</sup> Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 75.
- <sup>50</sup> Lucy S. Sutherland, *The East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 144.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

- <sup>52</sup> H.V. Bowen, "British India, 1765-1813: The Metropolitan Concept," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire, vol. II: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P.J. Marshall (Oxford: 1998), 530.
- <sup>53</sup> Samuel Foote, *The Nabob; A Comedy in Three Acts as it is performed in the Theatre-Royal in the Haymarket* (London: T. Cadell, 1778), 4.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.
- <sup>55</sup> "East India House," *London Chronicle*, 16-18 January, 1781, 5.
- <sup>56</sup> Metcalf, 19.
- <sup>57</sup> Valentine, 286-287.
- <sup>58</sup> "Carlo Khan's Triumphal Entry into Leadenhall Street," in Michael Wynn Jones, *The Cartoon History of Britain* (London: Tom Stacey Ltd., 1971), 73.
- <sup>59</sup> *Mr. Burke's Speech on the 1st December 1783, Upon the Question for the Speaker's Leaving the Chair, In Order for the House to Resolve Itself Into a Committee on Mr. Fox's East India Bill* (London: J. Dodsley, 1784), 2, 105.
- <sup>60</sup> Valentine, 286-287.
- <sup>61</sup> "British Spirit Revived," *The London Chronicle*, 27 February-1 March, 1781, 5.
- <sup>62</sup> "An Epitaph on the British Empire," *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 3 March, 1783, 2.
- <sup>63</sup> Portius [pseud.], "To the Right Hon. the Earl of Shelburne," *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 13 February, 1783, 1.
- <sup>64</sup> Thomas Barlow, in England, to George Barlow in India, 12 August 1785, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 176/12, f. 1.
- <sup>65</sup> For a good summary of Dundas' career, see chapter three of Cyril H. Philips, *The East India Company, 1784-1834* (Manchester: The University Press, 1961); Dundas' nickname cited in Anne Buddle, *The Tiger and the Thistle: Tipu Sultan and the Scots in India, 1760-1800* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland), 56.
- <sup>66</sup> Mr. Parker, of Lincoln's Inn, *Evidence of our Transactions in the East-Indies, with an Enquiry into the General Conduct of Great Britain to Other Countries from the Peace of Paris, in 1763* (London: Charles Dilly, 1782), 2, 31.
- <sup>67</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Archibald Edmonstone in Calcutta, September 2, 1788, Elmore.

<sup>68</sup> *Will*, 12.

<sup>69</sup> Sir Archibald Edmonstone to the Earl of Liverpool, British Library, Hardwicke Papers, Add. Mss. 35508, f. 45.

<sup>70</sup> *Will*, 2.

<sup>71</sup> Duntreath Castle is still in the Edmonstone family, owned by the present Sir Archibald Edmonstone, who graciously permitted the author a tour.

<sup>72</sup> George Burnett, ed. *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vol. IV: 1406-1436* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's General Register House, 1880), 589.

<sup>73</sup> *Genealogy*, 51.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, iv.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>78</sup> Burton, *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 525.

<sup>79</sup> Henry Gray Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1937), 68.

<sup>80</sup> *Will*, 2.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> The description is taken from a painting in the collection of the British Library Prints and Drawings.

<sup>84</sup> *Will*, 7.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>88</sup> *Genealogy*, 54; *Will*, 11; Sir Archibald Edmonstone to the Earl of Liverpool, Hardwicke Papers, British Library, Add. Mss. 35507, f.170; Sir Archibald Edmonstone to the Earl of Liverpool, Hardwicke Papers, British Library, Add. Mss. 35508, f. 45.

<sup>89</sup> *Will*, 5.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>92</sup> Hardwicke, British Library, Add. Mss. 35507, f.170.

<sup>93</sup> *Will*, 5.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> *Genealogy*, 56.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Will*, 9.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* 12.

<sup>101</sup> Neil Edmonstone's *Will*, f. 79.

<sup>102</sup> *A General History of Sterling: Containing a Description of the Town and Origin of the Castle and Burgh* (Stirling: C. Randall, 1794),73.

<sup>103</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone in Hyderabad, India, to William Archibald Edmonstone, in Calcutta, March 8, 1789, Elmore.

<sup>104</sup> William Crutch, ed., *The Lounger, volume III* (Edinburgh: 1787), 74.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>106</sup> *Vade-Mecum*, 24.

<sup>107</sup> Mrs. Kindersley, quoted in J.P. Losty, *Calcutta: City of Palaces* (London: British Library, 1980), 45.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 36.

## CHAPTER TWO

<sup>1</sup> Percival Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 23-26; Christopher A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (New York: Longman, 1989), 7.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Dennis Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973 [rpt. 1938]), 90.

<sup>3</sup> Graham, 63.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 407, 181; Thomas Williamson, *The European in India* (London: Edward Orme, 1813), note on plate XVIII.

<sup>5</sup> Noted in the *Asiatic Mirror* (September 25, 1816), 2.

<sup>6</sup> Losty, 36; *Sketches of India*, 200.

<sup>7</sup> Williamson, *Vade-Mecum*, 219.

<sup>8</sup> The description is taken from a number of sources, such as an ad for a typical house in *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* (July 22-July 29, 1780), 2, and a detailed description of a house bought by Philip Francis in 1775 in Alexander MacKrabie's papers (MacKrabie in Calcutta to "My dearest Father & Friends," in Scotland, 24 February 1775, Mss. EUR/E 25, OIOC, f. 61).

<sup>9</sup> Losty, 38, 13; *The European in India*, 8.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Truit in Calcutta to William Adam at Lincoln's Inn, London, April 9, 1798, Oriental and India Office Collection, afterwards OIOC, Mss. EUR F 109/80.

<sup>11</sup> "A Wanderer," in a letter to the editor in the *Asiatic Mirror* (September 18, 1816), 3.

<sup>12</sup> Description of buildings taken from "View of Calcutta in 1787, Indian Town," British Library, Add. Mss. 15965, f. b; Mrs. Kindersley quoted in Losty, 38; Williamson, *Vade-Mecum*, 189, 239.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 266, 179, 180.

- <sup>14</sup> *Selections From the Calcutta Gazettes, vol. V* (Calcutta: S.G. Printing, 1869), 660.
- <sup>15</sup> Description comes from advertisements for cargos on ships recently arrived from Europe and China, in the *Calcutta Gazette* (January 5, 1792), 2.
- <sup>16</sup> Untitled, *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* (Dec. 16-Dec. 23, 1780), 1.
- <sup>17</sup> Williamson, *The European in India*, note on Plate III.
- <sup>18</sup> *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke, vol. VI, India: The Launching of the Hastings Impeachment, 1786-1788*, ed. P.J. Marshall (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 284.
- <sup>19</sup> 0/6/3 Personal Records, OIOC, f. 159; Neil Edmonstone's *Autobiography*, f. 25.
- <sup>20</sup> B.B. Misra, *The Central Administration of the East India Company, 1773-1834* (Manchester: The University Press, 1959), 231.
- <sup>21</sup> 0/6/3, Personal Records, OIOC, f. 155.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 99.
- <sup>23</sup> Kopf, 14.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.
- <sup>26</sup> William Barlow to his son George Barlow in Calcutta, 29 June 1782, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 176/1, f. 4 (v).
- <sup>27</sup> Governor Ross to the Duke of Argyll, "On the Ganges," August 17, 1787, copy in the Elmore Letters.
- <sup>28</sup> 0/6/3, Personal Records, OIOC, f.159; Neil's Persian *munshi*, or tutor, may have been the Mirza Bauker mentioned casually in one letter, but the reference is too vague to be certain (Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 31 January 1788, Elmore).
- <sup>29</sup> Neil Edmonstone's *Autobiography*, f. 25.
- <sup>30</sup> Untitled, *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* (Dec. 16-Dec. 23, 1780), 1.
- <sup>31</sup> Spear, 96.

- <sup>32</sup> Kaye, 112; *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* (January 20-January 27, 1781), 1; Eliza Fay, *Original Letters from India, 1779-1815* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925), 185; John Shore, *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John Lord Teignmouth . . . by his son, volume I* (London: Hatchard and son, 1863), 12.
- <sup>33</sup> William Barlow in London to George Barlow in India, April 25, 1781, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 176/1, f. 1.
- <sup>34</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, in Calcutta, to Archibald Philip Edmonstone, in London, March 6, 1800, Elmore.
- <sup>35</sup> The daily routine of a "Cranny" is taken from Losty quoting Kindersley, 40-41, and a description in *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes, vol. V*, 661.
- <sup>36</sup> The library collection is detailed in Neil's *Will*, f. 3.
- <sup>37</sup> Neil Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, 25 (v).
- <sup>38</sup> Michael Edwardes, *Glorious Sahibs: The Romantic as Empire-BUILDER, 1799-1838* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968), 34-35.
- <sup>39</sup> Misra, 37; Williamson, *Vade-Mecum*, 5.
- <sup>40</sup> William Franklin, *Military Memoirs of George Thomas who . . . rose from an Obscure Situation to the Rank of a General in the Service of the Native Powers of the North-West of India* (London: John Stockdale, 1805), 298.
- <sup>41</sup> From the Council at Calcutta to George F. Cherry at Lucknow, 29 May 1795, in Correspondence With the Resident at Lucknow, Home Misc Series 448, OIOC, ff. 255-256.
- <sup>42</sup> Robert H. Butcher, in England, to George Barlow, in Calcutta, 30 November 1791, Mss. EUR F 176/18, OIOC.
- <sup>43</sup> *The Whole Proceedings of a Meeting Held at the Theatre in Calcutta on the 25 of July, 1785* (Calcutta: John Hay, 1786), 4.
- <sup>44</sup> Quoted in Nicholas K. Robinson, *Edmund Burke: A Life in Caricature* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 79.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.
- <sup>46</sup> Marshall, *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, 287.
- <sup>47</sup> "To the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt, Esq.," *World* (February 26, 1787), 4.

- <sup>48</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>49</sup> "Oriental Delinquents," *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* (February 12, 1788), 3.
- <sup>50</sup> Quoted in Peter J. Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), xviii.
- <sup>51</sup> Major John Scott [Waring], *A Reply to Mr. Burke's Speech on the First of December, 1783, on Mr. Fox's East-India Bill* (London: J. Debrett, 1784), 21.
- <sup>52</sup> *Calcutta: A Poem with notes* (London: J. J. Stockdale, 1811), 125.
- <sup>53</sup> Franklin and Mary Wickwire, *Cornwallis: The Imperial Years* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 31.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid., 32.
- <sup>55</sup> W.S. Seton-Karr, *Rulers of India: The Marquis Cornwallis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), 102.
- <sup>56</sup> William Barlow in England to George Barlow in Calcutta, 2 August 1787, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 176/1.
- <sup>57</sup> Wickwire, 32.
- <sup>58</sup> Seton-Karr, 121.
- <sup>59</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India*, sixth edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 198.
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>61</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in London, January 19, 1800, Elmore.
- <sup>62</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Archibald Philip Edmonstone in London, March 6, 1800, Elmore.
- <sup>63</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in London, January 19, 1800, Elmore.
- <sup>64</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to George Edmonstone in London, January 20, 1800, Elmore.

- <sup>65</sup>Untitled, *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* (Dec. 16-Dec. 23, 1780), 1.
- <sup>66</sup>*Sketches of India* (London: Black, Parbury and Allen, 1816), 212-213.
- <sup>67</sup>Nandini Bhattacharya, *Reading the Splendid Body: Gender and Consumerism in Eighteenth-Century British Writing on India* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998), 135.
- <sup>68</sup>Diary of Lady Francis Chambers, dated 1784, OIOC, Mss. EUR A/ 172.
- <sup>69</sup>Williamson, *Vade-Mecum*, 224.
- <sup>70</sup>Letter LV, Calcutta, 23 December 1779, in *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes, 1816 to 1823, vol. V* (Calcutta: S.G. Printing, 1869), 656.
- <sup>71</sup>Alexander MacKrabie, at Fort William, to the Reverend W Stephen Baggs in England, 23 March 1775, OIOC, Mss. EUR/ E 25, f. 71.
- <sup>72</sup>Williamson, *The European in India*, 9; Spear, 79.
- <sup>73</sup>Spear, 133-134.
- <sup>74</sup>Quoted in Kincaid, 97.
- <sup>75</sup>Goldesborne, notes, 315.
- <sup>76</sup>Quoted in *The Sahibs: The Life and Ways of the British in India as Recorded by Themselves*, ed. Hilton Brown (London: William Hodge & Co., 1948), 237.
- <sup>77</sup>Quoted in Pran Nevile, *Beyond the Veil: Indian Women in the Raj* (New Delhi: Nevile Books, 2000), 69.
- <sup>78</sup>Goldesborne, 68, 316.
- <sup>79</sup>Geoffrey Moorhouse, *Calcutta* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971), 36.
- <sup>80</sup>Quoted in Brown, 146.
- <sup>81</sup>Alexander MacKrabie, journal entry dated 4 March 1776, OIOC, Mss. EUR/ E 25, f. 107.
- <sup>82</sup>Williamson, *Vade-Mecum*, vol. I, 112.
- <sup>83</sup>Quoted in Brown, 115.

<sup>84</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Hyderabad to William Archibald Edmonstone in Calcutta, January 9, 1790, Elmore.

<sup>85</sup> Ronald Hyam, "Empire and Sexual Opportunity," in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 14:2 (January 1986): 84-89.

<sup>86</sup> Nevile, 72. A *lakh* is 100,000 of something, in this case rupees.

<sup>87</sup> "Particulars of George Frederick Cherry's Will," dated August 13, 1793 at Calcutta, Stubton 3/E/7, Lincolnshire Record Office; Frederick Elmore in Essex, England, to Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta, June 15, 1811, Elmore.

<sup>88</sup> M.M. Stuart, "The Baillies of Leys," a Scottish genealogist's report contained within the Elmore Letters.

<sup>89</sup> Neil Edmonstone, at Midnapore, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, April 29, 1788, Elmore.

<sup>90</sup> Mark T. Berger, "Imperialism and Sexual Exploitation: A Response to Ronald Hyam's 'Empire and Sexual Opportunity'", in *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 17:1, (October 1988), 83-9.

<sup>91</sup> Margaret Baillie in Inverness to Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta, May 23, 1811, Elmore.

<sup>92</sup> Williamson, *Vade-Mecum*, 413.

<sup>93</sup> The last recorded birth was that of Frederick (Eliza's birth record was never made or does not survive) on August 11, 1800, *Ecclesiastical Returns, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials*, N/1/6, OIOC, f. 7.

<sup>94</sup> John was born August 28, 1796 and christened Feb. 11, 1797, *Ecclesiastical Returns, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials*, N/1/5, OIOC, f. 4.

<sup>95</sup> Frederick Elmore in Essex, England, to Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta, June 15, 1811, Elmore.

<sup>96</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, "Report on the Subject of the Freedom of the Press in India," 6 Jan. 1823, Home Misc Series 536A, OIOC, f. 112-114.

<sup>97</sup> Margaret Baillie in Inverness to Charles Edmonstone in London, February 4, 1814, Elmore; *Ecclesiastical Returns, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials*, N/1/13, OIOC, f. 527.

<sup>98</sup> William Shepherd in Essex to Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta, January 26, 1817, Elmore.

<sup>99</sup> Margaret Baillie in Inverness to Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta, July 7, 1812, Elmore.

<sup>100</sup> Alexander Elmore in Inverness to Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta, May 29, 1815, Elmore; Margaret Baillie in Inverness to Sir Charles Edmonstone, Sept. 17, 1813, Elmore.

<sup>101</sup> Quoted in Spear, *The Nabobs*, 64.

<sup>102</sup> Home Misc Series 536A, OIOC, ff.112-113.

<sup>103</sup> *Sketches of India*, 165.

<sup>104</sup> George Robinson to Major William Yule, April 1827, in Yule Collection, Mss. EUR/E 357/7, OIOC, f. 17 (v); James Hare at Calder Hall, Edinburgh, to George Robinson, Nottingham Place, London, 11 May 1806, in Letters about William Scott's illegitimate children, Mss. EUR/F 142/8, OIOC.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, James Hare at Calder Hall, to George Robinson, Nottingham Place, 10 September 1806.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, James Hare at Calder Hall, to George Robinson, Nottingham Place, 4 November 1807.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, James Hare at Calder Hall, to George Robinson, Nottingham Place, 25 November 1807. The young man's appointment was to the 2nd Battalion of the 25th Regiment of Infantry.

<sup>108</sup> M.M. Stuart, "The Baillies of Leys," a Scottish genealogist's report contained within the Elmore Letters. Baillie had several illegitimate children by an Indian mistress before he married his Indian wife.

<sup>109</sup> Williamson, *Vade-Mecum*, 457, notes that "no lady, native of India, even though her father should have been of the highest rank in the King's or Company's service, and though she be married to a person of that description, is ever invited to those assemblies given by the governor on public occasions."

<sup>110</sup> *Ecclesiastical Returns, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials*, N/1/44, OIOC, f. 190.

<sup>111</sup> Alexander Elmore in Inverness to Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta, May 29, 1815, Elmore; Margaret Baillie in Inverness to Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta, undated, probably 1813, Elmore; A note included with the Elmore letters by M. Browne, a great-grandchild of Edmonstone's, notes "the existence of the "Elmores" was probably never known to any of the children of N.B.E. & C.A.E.--certainly not

even suspected by the younger ones, for I have ascertained that the only survivor of that generation never heard the name of Elmore in her life."

<sup>112</sup> Margaret Baillie in Inverness to Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta, July 7, 1812, Elmore.

<sup>113</sup> M.M. Stuart, "The Baillies of Leys," a Scottish genealogist's report contained in the Elmore Letters.

<sup>114</sup> Colonel David Woodburn in Calcutta to John Woodburn in England, 7 July 1794, OIOC, Mss. EUR/ F 184/1.

<sup>115</sup> John Malcolm to William Kirkpatrick, 2 December 1801, Kirkpatrick Collection, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/83, f. 17.

<sup>116</sup> Sir Edward Strachey, *The Romantic Marriage of Major J.A. Kirkpatrick*, publication information unknown, date of publication 1893, in OIOC, Mss. EUR/F 228/96.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>118</sup> Henry George Briggs, *The Nizam: His History and Relations with the British Government*, vol. II (Delhi: Manas Publishers, 1985 [rpt. 1861]), 13.

<sup>119</sup> C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information*, 92.

<sup>120</sup> John Malcolm to William Kirkpatrick, 2 December 1801, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/83, f. 17.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, Philoletes to Wellesley, ff. 14-14 (v).

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to James Kirkpatrick in Hyderabad, 29 August 1802, f. 51. For an in-depth treatment of the marriage and its aftermath, see William Dalrymple, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth Century India* (London: Harper Collins, 2002). After a year of mourning, Khair decided to make a journey to visit her husband's grave in Calcutta (he had died while on assignment there). Lonely and far from home, she was seduced by the only man she knew in Calcutta, James's former assistant Henry Russell. Russell preferred to marry a wealthy heiress over her and the news of her affair reached Hyderabad causing her banishment. She was allowed back into Hyderabad in 1813 to die where she had once been happy: in the zenana of the Residency that James built for her years earlier.

<sup>123</sup> The assumption comes from the fact that Neil mentions a "pocket book of instruments" that had belonged to his wife in his *Will*, f. 4.

<sup>124</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Hyderabad to William Archibald Edmonstone in Calcutta, November 4, 1788, Elmore.

<sup>125</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Archibald Philip Edmonstone in London, March 6, 1800, Elmore.

<sup>126</sup> Spear, *Nabobs*, 13.

<sup>127</sup> The marriage was recorded in the *Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette*, (Dec. 22, 1803); Neil's legitimate children born in India have their births and/or baptisms recorded in *Ecclesiastical Returns, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1801-1803, Bengal*, OIOC. They were: William Archibald, baptized December 19, 1804; Charlotte Anne, baptized August 28, 1805; Henrietta Dashwood, born Dec. 7, 1806; Susanna, born March 21, 1808; Neil Benjamin, born June 13, 1809; Charles Welland, baptized March 19, 1811; George Frederick, born April 11, 1813; Louisa Macleod, born November 26, 1814; Anne Craigie, baptized Dec. 19, 1817. Two other children are mentioned in Sir Archibald's *Genealogy*, who were born after Neil's return to Britain: Alicia Augusta (1818 or 1819) and James Harene (1820).

<sup>128</sup> Untitled, *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* (Dec. 16-Dec. 23, 1780), 1.

<sup>129</sup> Goldesborne, notes 359.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 352.

<sup>131</sup> Wickwire, 28.

<sup>132</sup> The quote comes from *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* (December 23-30, 1780), 1.

<sup>133</sup> Wickwire, 28.

<sup>134</sup> Moorhouse, 50.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>136</sup> Quoted in Brown, 45.

<sup>137</sup> Goldesborne, 43.

<sup>138</sup> H.E. Busted, *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1999 [rpt. 1888]), 158-9.

<sup>139</sup> Williamson, *Vade-Mecum*, Vol. II, 1-2.

<sup>140</sup> *Calcutta: A Poem*, 115.

- <sup>141</sup> Goldesborne, notes, 358.
- <sup>142</sup> *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* (February 17-24, 1781), 3.
- <sup>143</sup> Fay, 207; Goldesborne, notes, 349.
- <sup>144</sup> Neil's letters home contained such comments as, "Capt. A. Hunt . . . fell a sacrifice to one of those rapid fevers that so frequently and fatally attack newcomers." (Neil Edmonstone, at Calcutta, to Archibald Philip Edmonstone, in London, August 18, 1798, Elmore.)
- <sup>145</sup> The obituary was listed in the *Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette* (September 8, 1803), 1.
- <sup>146</sup> Edmonstone's son by Charlotte Anne, whom he named William Archibald after his brother, did no better, dying in the Company's service in 1827 at age 23.
- <sup>147</sup> David Woodburn in Calcutta to John Woodburn, at Airel near Kilmarnock, Ayrshire, 24 May 1794, OIOC, Mss. EUR/ F 184/1.
- <sup>148</sup> Major V.C.P. Hudson, *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834, Part II* (London: Constable and Company, 1928), 227.
- <sup>149</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Hyderabad to William Archibald in Calcutta, January 9, 1790, Elmore; Neil Edmonstone, at Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, November 24, 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>150</sup> Fay, 189.
- <sup>151</sup> Kincaid, 92; Busteed 145.
- <sup>152</sup> Goldesborne, 36.
- <sup>153</sup> Kincaid, 98, 101.
- <sup>154</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Midnapore, to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, May 1, 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>155</sup> Untitled, *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* (Dec. 16-Dec. 23, 1780), 1.
- <sup>156</sup> Williamson, *The European in India*, 5-6.
- <sup>157</sup> MacKrabie to "a Friend," 14 January 1775, OIOC, Mss. EUR/ E 25, f. 89.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 11; Seton-Karr, 104; Rudrangshu Mukherjee, "'Forever England' British Life in Old Calcutta," in *Calcutta: The Living City*, ed. Sukanta Chaudhuri (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1990), 46.

<sup>159</sup> Moorhouse, 48.

<sup>160</sup> Neil Edmonstone to William Edmonstone, undated, probably March, 1797, letter #53, Elmore.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Fay, 182.

<sup>163</sup> Neil Edmonstone, at Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, at Calcutta, January 31, 1798, Elmore.

<sup>164</sup> Amales Tripathi, ed., *Fort William, India House Correspondence and Other Contemporary Papers Relating Thereto, Vol. XII, 1793-95* (Delhi: National Archives of India, 1978, paper # 58).

<sup>165</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in camp at Mackenpilly, to William Edmonstone, at Calcutta, July 26, 1788, Elmore.

<sup>166</sup> Neil Edmonstone, at Calcutta, to Lord Minto, June 28, 1812, in "Memorandum and Correspondence between Lord Minto and Mr. Edmonstone, 1809-1813," National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11305, f. 56.

<sup>167</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Calcutta, to Archibald Philip Edmonstone, in England, 18 April 1798, Red Book Letters, Elmore.

<sup>168</sup> *Calcutta: A Poem*, 14, 16.

<sup>169</sup> Neil Edmonstone, at Madras, to William Edmonstone, at Calcutta, June 11, 1799, Elmore.

### CHAPTER THREE

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Kaye, *Lives of Indian Officers*, vol. I, 104.

<sup>2</sup> John Kennaway's Indian Diary from April 3, 1788-July 4, 1788, Devon Record Office, 961M/Add/B10, entry for 26th April 1788, f. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 16 October 1788, Elmore.

<sup>6</sup> John Kennaway in Hyderabad to Colonel Ross, 23 October 1788, John Kennaway's Letter book, May-November 1788, Devon Record Office, 961M/B6.

<sup>7</sup> Hyderabad had an army of 80,000-100,000, Mysore of 100,000, the Marathas of 100,000 and the Company and Carnatic, 84,000 in the south, all according to William Hollingberry, *A History of his late Highness Nizam Alee Khaun, Soobah of the Dekhan* (Calcutta: J. Greenway, Hurkaru Press, 1805), xx.

<sup>8</sup> Hyderabad obtained the services of the French generals Raymond and Piron, who trained troops in European tactics; the latter would later serve the Maratha chief Mahadaji Sindhia, who also employed other French, Portuguese and a few British officers; and the rulers of Mysore used French help to establish Western-style arsenals and factories for making European armaments.

<sup>9</sup> The Turani nobility were the Turkestan Sunni faction in Mughal politics.

<sup>10</sup> The title translates as "Regulator of the State."

<sup>11</sup> Henry George Briggs, *The Nizam: His History and Relations with the British Government*, vol. I (Delhi: Manas Publishers, 1985 [reprint 1861]), 31.

<sup>12</sup> Nani Gopal Chaudhuri, *British Relations with Hyderabad (1798-1843)* (Calcutta: The University of Calcutta Press, 1964), 1.

<sup>13</sup> The *subhadar* of the Deccan in Mughal hierarchy outranked the *nawab* of the Carnatic, and had the right to appoint and remove the holder of that office. Nasir Jung and Chanda Sahib, both claiming to rule Hyderabad, each made a different appointment to the throne of the Carnatic, resulting in a two-fold power struggle. The Carnatic was freed from Hyderabad's control in a treaty signed between the nizam and the English in 1763.

<sup>14</sup> Briggs, 65.

<sup>15</sup> Karen Leonard, "The Hyderabad Political System and Its Participants," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 30, no. 2 (May 1971), 570.

<sup>16</sup> For a description of Haidar's appearance and personality, see M.M.D.L.T., *The History of Hyder Shah* (Delhi: Daya Publishers, 1986 [rpt. 1848]), 22-25; for Nanjaraj's fondness for him, see B. Sheik Ali, *British Relations with Haidar Ali (1760-1782)* (Mysore: Rao and Raghavan, 1963), 1.

- <sup>17</sup> In the Mughal hierarchy, Mysore was subject to the *subahdar* of the Deccan.
- <sup>18</sup> *Resistance and Modernization under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan*, ed. Irfan Habib (New Delhi: Tulika, 1999), xxiv.
- <sup>19</sup> M.N. Pearson, "Shivaji and the Decline of the Mughal Empire," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 35, no. 2 (February 1976), 226-227.
- <sup>20</sup> Denys Forrest, *Tiger of Mysore: The Life and Death of Tipu Sultan* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1970), 25.
- <sup>21</sup> Sheik Ali, 3-4.
- <sup>22</sup> Both types of taxes were devised by Shivaji. *Chauth* was 1/4 of the revenues of Mughal crown and *jagir* lands, house and market taxes, customs, transit duties, and licence fees. It was originally imposed only on areas outside Maharashtra conquered by the Marathas. *Sardeshmukhi* was a 10% tax on the *ryots*, or peasant farmers, of an area, that was originally designed for use only in Maharashtra, but after 1719 was also imposed on areas already paying *chauth*. For an excellent overview of the economic system operable in the Deccan, see M. A. Nayeem, "The Workings of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi System in the Mughal Provinces of the Deccan (1707-1803 A.D.)," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 14, no. 2 (April-June 1977): 153-206.
- <sup>23</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India*, sixth edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 158-160.
- <sup>24</sup> Briggs, 59-70.
- <sup>25</sup> Chaudhuri, 20.
- <sup>26</sup> Several thousand French troops under General Lally had been in Basalat's service until, as part of his agreement with the Company in 1778, he agreed to dismiss them. His brother quickly offered them employment in Hyderabad; Cornwallis at Fort William to John Kennaway in Calcutta, 28 April 1788, in The Surrender of the Guntoor Circar to the Company, Home Misc Series 264, OIOC, f. 24 (v).
- <sup>27</sup> Sheik Ali, 190.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

- <sup>30</sup> Sarojini Regani, *Nizam-British Relations, 1724-1857* (Secunderabad: Swaarajya Printing, 1963), 143.
- <sup>31</sup> John Kennaway's Indian Diary, 13 April 1788, f. 1-2.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 2.
- <sup>33</sup> Cornwallis at Fort William to John Kennaway in Calcutta, 28 April 1788, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, f. 14.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 15.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 21 (v).
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 25.
- <sup>37</sup> Cornwallis in Calcutta to Archibald Campbell in Madras, 16 June 1788, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, f. 43.
- <sup>38</sup> John Kennaway's Indian Diary, 1 May, 1788 entry, f. 5.
- <sup>39</sup> The cost is given in Williamson, *Vade-Mecum*, 434-435.
- <sup>40</sup> Neil Edmonstone, on the road to Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, undated, precedes letter from Midnapur 11 May 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>41</sup> Neil Edmonstone, from camp at Chicacole, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 19 June 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>43</sup> Neil Edmonstone, from Buckrabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 18 May 1788, Elmore, Elmore; Neil Edmonstone, from camp at Daunnigus, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 27 May 1788, Elmore; Captain Adam's Journal, Description of a Trip from Carruckpore to Hyderabad in 1797, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 128/212, ff. 2-5.
- <sup>44</sup> John Kennaway's Indian Diary, 16 June 1788 entry, f. 16.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 May 1788 entry, f. 6.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 & 5 June, 1788 entry, f. 11.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 11-12.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 11.

- <sup>49</sup> Ibid, f. 12.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid., 14 June 1788 entry, f.16.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibid., 23 June 1788 entry, f. 21.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid., 11 June 1788 entry, f. 15.
- <sup>53</sup> Hollingberry, 1.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid., iv.
- <sup>55</sup> Description is taken from *Hindoostan Scenery consisting of Twelve Select Views in India, Drawn on the Spot by Thomas Anburey of the Corps of Engineers . . . Engraved by Francis Jukes, London* (published by Act of Parliament, 1799), plate 1.
- <sup>56</sup> Hollingberry, 167-168.
- <sup>57</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 12 August 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>58</sup> Neil Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, 25 (v).
- <sup>59</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 12 August 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>60</sup> Leonard, 572.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid., 573.
- <sup>62</sup> The party was visited by Raja Ram Pundit in Orissa "accompanied by so many of his Chiefs & Relations that it was not without great difficulty we could get seats for them." (John Kennaway's Indian Diary, 31 May 1788 entry, f. 9.)
- <sup>63</sup> Neil Edmonstone, at Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, at Calcutta, September 2, 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>64</sup> John Kennaway, in Hyderabad, to Cornwallis, in Calcutta, 10 December 1788, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, f. 549.
- <sup>65</sup> Neil Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, f. 26.
- <sup>66</sup> *The Chronology of Modern Hyderabad: 1720-1890* (Hyderabad: Central Records Office, 1954), 79.

- <sup>67</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 12 August 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>68</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 2 September 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>70</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 1 November 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>71</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 12 August 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>72</sup> Hollingberry, 181.
- <sup>73</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>74</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 1 March 1790, Elmore.
- <sup>75</sup> Margaret Fowke at Cossimbazar to her Uncle, 20 September 1783, Ormathwaite Collection, OIOC, Mss. EUR/D 546/11, f. 71.
- <sup>76</sup> Cromwell Massey, *Diary of Colonel Cromwell Massey, Late of the Hon'ble East India Company's Service, Kept While a Prisoner at Seringapatam* (Bangalore: Higgenbotham & Co., 1912), OIOC, Mss. EUR/ B 392, ff. 14, 17.
- <sup>77</sup> Ibid., f. 18.
- <sup>78</sup> Letter from George Latham, a factor at Madras, imprisoned by Hyder Ali, Mss. EUR F 128/142, OIOC, ff. 7, 8.
- <sup>79</sup> Ibid., ff. 9, 11.
- <sup>80</sup> Biddle, 60.
- <sup>81</sup> Captain Henry Oakes, *An Authentic Narrative of the Treatment of the English, who were taken prisoners on the Reduction of Bednore, by Tippoo Saib* (London: G. Kearsley, 1785), 61.
- <sup>82</sup> Forrest, 225-226.
- <sup>83</sup> Archer, 10.

- <sup>84</sup> Oakes, 61.
- <sup>85</sup> Richard R. Bowyer's *Diary of Captivity under Hyder Ali*, OIOC, Mss. EUR A/94, f. 36.
- <sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.
- <sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 84.
- <sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 145.
- <sup>89</sup> James Bristow, *Narrative of the Sufferings of James Bristow, Belonging to the Bengal Artillery, During Ten Years Captivity with Hyder Ally and Tippoo Saheb* (Calcutta: 1828), 39.
- <sup>90</sup> Sir Charles Malet Collection, Subscription book, dated 12 March 1794 from Bombay, OIOC, Mss. EUR/F 149/97, f. 1.
- <sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>92</sup> *The Captivity, Sufferings, and Escape of James Scurry, who was Detained a Prisoner During Ten Years, in the Dominions of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib* (London: Henry Fisher, 1831), 158-159.
- <sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.
- <sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 103-104.
- <sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.
- <sup>96</sup> *The Chronology of Modern Hyderabad: 1720-1890*, 79.
- <sup>97</sup> Anti-British poster of Tipu's, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/41, f. 1.
- <sup>98</sup> *The Manifesto, or Remonstrance of Hyder Ally Cawn to the Rajahs and Princes of India* (London: G. Kearsley, 1781), 26-27.
- <sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.
- <sup>100</sup> Anti-British Poster of Tipu's, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/41, f. 3.
- <sup>101</sup> Mildred Archer, *Tippoo's Tiger* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1959), 9.
- <sup>102</sup> *Manifesto*, 30.

<sup>103</sup> The issue of the law in India and its reform along British lines was a sensitive topic in Bengal in the 1780s, see chapter 2.

<sup>104</sup> *Hickey's Bengal Gazette*, no. 58, February 24-March 3, 1781, 3.

<sup>105</sup> *Manifesto*, f. 28.

<sup>106</sup> Edward Moor, *A Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment, and of the Mahratta Army, Commanded by Purseram Bhow, During the Late Confederacy in India, Against the Navab Tippoo Sultan Bahadur* (London: George Woodfall, 1794), 193.

<sup>107</sup> James Bristow, *Narrative of the Sufferings of James Bristow, Belonging to the Bengal Artillery, During Ten Years Captivity with Hyder Ally and Tippoo Saheb* (Calcutta: 1828), 201.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

<sup>109</sup> Habib, xxxiii.

<sup>110</sup> Major Dirom, *A Narrative of the Campaign in India which terminated the war with Tippoo Sultan, in 1792* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1793), 249-250.

<sup>111</sup> John Kennaway's Diary of the Second Mysore War, 1781-1783, OIOC, Mss. EUR C 156/A, f. 25.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 15 (v.)

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 15.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 48 (v.)-49.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 49 (v.)

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 1 March 1790, Elmore.

<sup>118</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 27 January 1790, Elmore.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 1 November 1788, Elmore.

- <sup>121</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 21 May 1789, Elmore.
- <sup>122</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 1 March 1790, Elmore.
- <sup>123</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 12 August 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>124</sup> Cornwallis in Calcutta to John Kennaway on the road to Hyderabad, 3 July 1788, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, ff. 99-100.
- <sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 100.
- <sup>126</sup> Cornwallis, in Calcutta, to Archibald Campbell, 16 June 1788, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, f. 92.
- <sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>129</sup> Sir Robert Abercromby, at Fort St. George, to John Kennaway, in Hyderabad, 28 August 1788, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, f. 185.
- <sup>130</sup> John Kennaway in Hyderabad to Charles Cornwallis in Calcutta, 9 September 1788, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, f. 177.
- <sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 178.
- <sup>132</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Hyderabad to William Archibald Edmonstone in Calcutta, 1 November 1788, Elmore.
- <sup>133</sup> John Kennaway in Hyderabad to Cornwallis in Calcutta, 9 September 1788, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, f. 179.
- <sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 180.
- <sup>135</sup> Archibald Campbell in Madras to Cornwallis in Calcutta, 31 August 1799, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, f. 189.
- <sup>136</sup> John Kennaway in Hyderabad to Cornwallis in Calcutta, 17 September 1788, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, f. 267.
- <sup>137</sup> John Kennaway in Hyderabad to Cornwallis in Calcutta, 18 September 1788, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, f. 293; "Translation of the Nizam's Order to Seyf

Jung," in *A Collection of Treaties and Engagements with the Native Princes and States of Asia, Concluded on Behalf of the East India Company by the British Government in India* (London: E. Cox and Son, 1812), 121.

<sup>138</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Hyderabad to William Archibald Edmonstone in Calcutta, 1 November 1788, Elmore.

<sup>139</sup> Chaudhuri, 23.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>142</sup> Sir Penderel Moon, *The British Conquest and Dominion of India* (London: Duckworth, 1989), 247.

<sup>143</sup> John Kennaway in Hyderabad to Cornwallis in Calcutta, 30 October 1788, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, f. 276.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> John Kennaway in Hyderabad to Cornwallis in Calcutta, 10 December 1788, OIOC, Home Misc Series 264, f. 549.

<sup>147</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 8 July 1789, Elmore; Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 31 January 1789, Elmore.

<sup>148</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 27th January 1790, Elmore.

<sup>149</sup> Forrest, 122.

<sup>150</sup> Alfred Lyall, *The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India* (London: John Murray, 1914), 234.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.* The war came about because of a series of events precipitated by Tipu's journey with an army into Malabar in 1788 to quell an insurrection there. The Raja of Travancore, worried about the sultan's proximity to his state, bought two Dutch forts on his borders in 1789 to increase his defenses. Tipu charged that the forts belonged to his tributary, the Raja of Cochin, and that the Dutch, who had only leased them, could not sell them. This does not appear to have been the case, as the forts were actually captured by the Dutch from the Portuguese in 1662 and

had never been rented to anyone, but it gave Tipu the excuse to invade when Travancore refused to return them.

<sup>152</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 1 March 1790.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid; The Tripartite Treaty was ratified by Cornwallis on July 5, 1790, but was generally accepted some months before, see *A Collection of Treaties and Engagements with the Native Princes and States of Asia*, 126-129.

<sup>154</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 13 July 1790, Elmore.

<sup>155</sup> Neil Edmonstone from camp at Juschillah, to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 27 May 1790, Elmore.

<sup>156</sup> Neil Edmonstone, from camp at Paringul near the Bank of the Kistna, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 3 July 1790, Elmore; Neil Edmonstone in Hyderabad to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, July 13, 1790, Elmore.

<sup>157</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 27 January 1790, Elmore.

<sup>158</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 1 November 1788, Elmore.

<sup>159</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 2 September 1788, Elmore.

<sup>160</sup> John Kennaway to Colonel Ross from Hyderabad, 2 October 1788, John Kennaway's Letter book, May 1788-November 1788, Devon Record Office, 961M/B6.

<sup>161</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 24 November 1788, Elmore.

<sup>162</sup> Neil Edmonstone, in Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, in Calcutta, 31 January 1789, Elmore.

<sup>163</sup> John Kennaway from Paangul to Colonel Ross, 25 July 1790, John Kennaway's Letter book, June 1789-July 1790, Devon Record Office, 961M/B8.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> John Kennaway to Colonel Ross from Hyderabad, 13 April 1789, John Kennaway's Letter book, November 1788-June 1789, Devon Record Office, 961M/B7.

## CHAPTER FOUR

<sup>1</sup> The Persian word *Nawab* is the plural of *Naib*, which denoted a deputy or sub-governor of the Mughal empire. The rulers of Awadh also used the title *Wazir*, referring to the fact that they occupied the hereditary office of first noble of the Mughal court.

<sup>2</sup> See Cuthbert Colin Davies, *Warren Hastings and Oudh* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939) and Purendu Basu, *Oudh and the East India Company, 1785-1801* (Lucknow: Maxwell Company, 1943).

<sup>3</sup> P.J. Marshall, "Economic and Political Expansion: The Case of Oudh," in *Modern Asian Studies* 9, 4 (1974), 470.

<sup>4</sup> Rudrangshu Mukherjee, *Occasional Paper No. 16: Trade and Empire in Awadh* (Calcutta: Center for Studies in Social Sciences, 1977), 24-25.

<sup>5</sup> Eric Stokes, "The First Century of British Colonial Rule in India: Social Revolution or Social Stagnation?," *Past and Present* 58, (1973), 144.

<sup>6</sup> Richard B. Barnett, *North India Between Empires: Awadh, the Mughals and the British, 1720-1801* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 125.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> The quote is from Henry Crossley Irwin, *The Garden of India: or, Chapters on Oudh History and Affairs* (Lucknow: Pustak Kendra, 1973), 75.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Edwardes, *The Orchid House: Splendours and Miseries of the Kingdom of Oudh: 1827-1857* (London: Cassell, 1960), 13.

<sup>10</sup> Sir Alfred Lyall, *The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India* (London: John Murray, 1914).

<sup>11</sup> Michael H. Fisher, *A Clash of Cultures: Awadh, The British, and the Mughals* (Riverdale, Maryland: Riverdale Company, 1987), 87.

<sup>12</sup> Shore wrote, "I have no fears about Zemaun Shah[the Amir of Afghanistan]: he was at Lahore on the 17th of January: and if he come to Delhi this year, he must make haste. I think the . . . danger, a very good instrument in promoting my

views with the Vizier." The quote is cited in Lord Teignmouth, *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John Lord Teignmouth in two volumes by his son* (London: Hatchard and Son, 1818), 405-406.

<sup>13</sup> From Robert Barker to Jhanda Singh, August 19, 1791, quoted in Birendra Varma, *English East India Company and the Afghans, 1757-1800* (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1968), 35; for Shore's agreement with this viewpoint, see Varma, 81, 85. The belief in the Sikh ability to protect India from the Afghans was proved correct in 1797, when their resistance, coupled with succession problems in Afghanistan, resulted in Zeman Shah abandoning a short-lived campaign in the Punjab.

<sup>14</sup> Marshall, 479.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid; C.A. Bayly, *The New Cambridge History of India: Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 1988), 92.

<sup>16</sup> Furbar, 30, 127, 289.

<sup>17</sup> The description of Shore come from Edward Thompson and G.T. Garratt, *Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India* (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1962), 181; Vincent Smith, *Oxford History of India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), 574; Lyall, 234.

<sup>18</sup> Penderel Moon, *The British Conquest and Dominion of India* (London: Duckworth, 1989), 274, 266.

<sup>19</sup> Sir John Shore at Fort William to G.F. Cherry in Lucknow, April 21, 1795, PRO 30/11/206, f.19.

<sup>20</sup> Teignmouth, 133.

<sup>21</sup> George Cherry's untitled account of the action on the 3rd of May 1747 of his ship, the *Namur*, and the British fleet in a sea battle with the French, Stubton 3/E/7, Lincolnshire Record Office.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to G.F. Cherry at Lucknow, Sept. 26, 1794, Elmore.

<sup>24</sup> Neil mentioned in a letter to his father that he had always enjoyed "free access to [Shore's] house and table." Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Archibald Philip Edmonstone in London, August 18, 1799, Elmore.

- <sup>25</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in Britain, December 3, 1800, Elmore.
- <sup>26</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to G.F. Cherry in Lucknow, July 14, 1795, Elmore.
- <sup>27</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, British Library, Add. Mss. 36,471, ff. 29-30.
- <sup>28</sup> Neil Edmonstone, at Hyderabad, to William Edmonstone, at Calcutta, letter #38, no date, probably fall 1789, Elmore.
- <sup>29</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, 29 (v).
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 30; Amales Tripathi, ed., *Fort William, India House Correspondence and Other Contemporary Papers Relating Thereto, Vol. XII, 1793-95* (Delhi: National Archives of India, 1978), 393.
- <sup>31</sup> Minute of the Governor General, January 27, 1797, Cleveland Public Library, John G. White Collection, (afterwards, White) Minutes to the Secret Committee from the governor-general, John Shore, 1797-1798, W q091.92 Ea77m5, f. 69.
- <sup>32</sup> Minute of the Governor-General, January 23, 1797, White, Minutes to the Secret Committee from the governor-general, John Shore, 1797-1798, W q091.92 Ea77m5, ff. 45, 47. Apparently, Neil's command of Persian was much more subtle than Shore's, who had attained a working knowledge but not fluency.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 45-49.
- <sup>34</sup> [Anonymous] in Oude to Sir John Shore in Calcutta, August 1, 1793, contained within John Ashworth, Letter to Henry Dundas, transmitting a series of letters mostly to Sir John Shore, which had appeared in a Calcutta newspaper in 1793 on the conditions in Oudh, 1795, Wq091.92 As391, ff. 49-56.
- <sup>35</sup> [Anonymous] in Oude to Sir John Shore in Calcutta, June 1793, Ashworth, White, f. 13.
- <sup>36</sup> Ashworth, White, June 1793 letter, ff.13 and 15. A *crore* denotes a million of something, in this case rupees.
- <sup>37</sup> Ashworth, White, June letter, f. 13; Ashworth, White, August 1 letter, f. 49.
- <sup>38</sup> John Ashworth, *Political Remarks Respecting the Indian Government*, contained within Ashworth, White, Letter to Henry Dundas, f. 6.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

- <sup>40</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>41</sup> Ashworth, White, August 1 letter, f. 50.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid., 53; Ashworth, White, June letter, f. 13.
- <sup>43</sup> Minute of the Governor General, Jan. 20, 1797, in Minutes to the Secret Committee from the governor-general, John Shore, 1797-1798, White, W q091.92 Ea77m5, f. 28, 20.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid., f. 29.
- <sup>45</sup> Irwin, 74.
- <sup>46</sup> Barnett, 76-77.
- <sup>47</sup> A widely spread rumor at the time told a different story--that Shuja was stabbed to death by a Rohilla princess whom he had molested. It was repeated by Dean Mahomet in a letter written in 1794, and its accordance with Shuja's reputation made it widely believed, but it remains unsubstantiated. See Dean Mahomet, *The Travels of Dean Mahomet: An Eighteenth Century Journey Through India*, ed. Michael Fisher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 89-90.
- <sup>48</sup> See Barnett, 113-120 for a full account of the attempted coup.
- <sup>49</sup> Michael H. Fisher, *Indirect Rule in India: residents and the Residency System, 1764-1858* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991), 142.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid., 143.
- <sup>51</sup> K. S. Santha, *Begums of Awadh* (Varanasi: Bharati Prakashan, 1980), 63.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid., 64.
- <sup>53</sup> Barnett, 105; Santha, 67.
- <sup>54</sup> Santha, 67, 72, 75, 76.
- <sup>55</sup> Ibid., 87.
- <sup>56</sup> Quoted in Moon, 214.
- <sup>57</sup> Santha, 68.
- <sup>58</sup> For an in-depth discussion of Asaf's ministerial changes, see Fisher, ch. 2.

<sup>59</sup> Quoted in Barnett, 109.

<sup>60</sup> Fisher, 62.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>62</sup> Abu Talib, *History of Asafu'd Daulah, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Being a Translation of "Tafzihu'l Ghafilin" A Contemporary Record of Events connected with his Administration*, translated by W. Hoey (Lucknow: Pustak Kendra, 1971), 4.

<sup>63</sup> Fisher 67; Talib, 9-10.

<sup>64</sup> Talib, 9.

<sup>65</sup> Fisher, 68. Hindus from scribal *jatis* were used in finance, as it was considered inappropriate work for Muslims.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>67</sup> Rajah Tickayt Ray to Shore, August 31, 1794, in Persian Correspondence, July-September, 1794, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 504, f.57; Talib, 88.

<sup>68</sup> *The Asiatic Annual Register for 1806*, vol. 8, part I (London: The Oriental Press, 1809), 20; Ghulam Mohammed Khan to Cherry, October 12, 1794, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 505, f. 36.

<sup>69</sup> Shore to Asaf-ud-Daula, September 12, 1794, in Persian Correspondence, July-September, 1794, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 504, f. 60.

<sup>70</sup> Talib, 88 and 90.

<sup>71</sup> Moon, 271.

<sup>72</sup> The wazir noted to Cherry that "agreeably to the practice in Hindostan . . . a Jaggur is only tenable during the life of the incumbent and after his death reverts with his property to the State it were proper and requisite so to sequester it." Yet he agreed to make a provision for Fyzullah's sons out of part of their father's holdings, to insure "the peace and quiet of the people." Enclosure from the Resident at Lucknow--Copy of a Shookka from his Excellency the Vizier addressed to G.F. Cherry, Esq., in Persian Correspondence, October to December, 1794, British Library, Add. Mss.13, 505, f. 4

<sup>73</sup> Teignmouth, 305.

- <sup>74</sup> G.F. Cherry in Calcutta to Charles Cornwallis, January 29, 1794, PRO 30/11/131, f. 20.
- <sup>75</sup> Talib, 90.
- <sup>76</sup> Neil Edmonstone to G.F. Cherry, September 28-30, 1794, Red Book Letters, Elmore.
- <sup>77</sup> Neil Edmonstone to G.F. Cherry, undated, follows letter dated September 28-30, 1794. Elmore.
- <sup>78</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>79</sup> Cherry, from Camp at Bareilly, to Abercromby, 28 December 1794, Correspondence with the Resident at Lucknow, Home Misc Series 448, OIOC, f. 62.
- <sup>80</sup> Robert Abercromby, from Camp on the Surka Nulla, 23 October 1794, Correspondence with the Resident at Lucknow, Home Misc Series 448, OIOC, f. 90.
- <sup>81</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>82</sup> Talib, 90.
- <sup>83</sup> Enclosure received from Lucknow, 18 December 1794: Translation of preliminary articles of a treaty between the Navaub Vizier . . . Assuful dowla . . . and the English Company on one part and the Rohilla tribe on the other, Persian Correspondence, October-December 1794, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 505, f. 66.
- <sup>84</sup> Cherry, from camp at Bareilly, to Robert Abercromby, 28 December 1794, in Correspondence with the Resident at Lucknow, Home Misc Series 448, OIOC, ff. 57-58.
- <sup>85</sup> Asaf-ud-Daula to Shore, received January 20, 1795, in Persian Correspondence, January-March, 1795, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 506, f. 66.
- <sup>86</sup> Neil Edmonstone to G.F. Cherry, September 2, 1795, Red Book letters, Elmore.
- <sup>87</sup> Neil Edmonstone to G.F. Cherry, July 14, 1795, Red Book letters, Elmore.
- <sup>88</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>89</sup> Barnett, 154-55.

- <sup>90</sup> Irwin, 85.
- <sup>91</sup> Moon, 226.
- <sup>92</sup> Fisher, 75.
- <sup>93</sup> Diary of Sophie Elizabeth Prosser, entry for 20 March 1788, Mss. Eur F 127/94, OIOC, ff. 52-52 (v).
- <sup>94</sup> Ibid, f. 53.
- <sup>95</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>96</sup> Ibid., f. 53 (v).
- <sup>97</sup> Ibid., entry for 18 February 1788, f. 48.
- <sup>98</sup> Ibid., entry for 20 February 1788, f. 49.
- <sup>99</sup> Ibid., entry for 8 October 1788, f. 71.
- <sup>100</sup> Ibid., f. 71 (v).
- <sup>101</sup> Ibid., entry for 20 March 1788, ff. 53 (v)-54.
- <sup>102</sup> George, Viscount Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, The Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt*, vol. I (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1811) 119; James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: Selected and Abridged from a Series of Familiar Letters Written During Seventeen Years Residence in India*, vol. III (London: White, Cochrane and Co., 1813), 284.
- <sup>103</sup> Forbes, 284.
- <sup>104</sup> Fisher, 76.
- <sup>105</sup> Mahomet, 89.
- <sup>106</sup> Charles Madan, *Two Private Letters to a Gentleman in England from His Son Who Accompanied Earl Cornwallis to Lucknow In the Year 1787* (Peterborough: J. Jacob, 1778), 42. Abu Talib puts the numbers higher, at 1200 elephants and 2-3,000 horses, see Talib, 30.
- <sup>107</sup> Spear, *Nabobs*, 83.
- <sup>108</sup> Prosser, entry for 18 September 1788, f. 69.

<sup>109</sup> Talib, 30.

<sup>110</sup> Forbes, 284.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 281-284.

<sup>112</sup> Talib, 86.

<sup>113</sup> Moon, 234; Talib, 29; Abdul Halim Sharar, *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1976), 47.

<sup>114</sup> The estimate comes from the British themselves, [Anonymous] in Oude to Sir John Shore in Calcutta, July 15, 1793, Ashworth, White, f. 24. Talking about pensioning the wazir off, the letter reads, "This would be a million pounds sterling, as much as the King of Great Britain receives, and is nearly double what the Nawab receives at present from his ministers."

<sup>115</sup> Sharar, 47.

<sup>116</sup> Talib, 104.

<sup>117</sup> G.F. Cherry to Sir Robert Abercromby, 13 October 1794, Home Misc Series 448, f. 24.

<sup>118</sup> Cited in Edmonstone in Calcutta to Cherry in Lucknow, 20 April 1795, Elmore.

<sup>119</sup> Bahadur Singh, *Yadgari-i Bahaduri*, British Library, Add. Mss. 30,786, f. 60 (v.)-61.

<sup>120</sup> Barnett, 103.

<sup>121</sup> Prosser, entry for 18 February 1788, f. 48.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Fisher, 75.

<sup>124</sup> Moon, 272.

<sup>125</sup> Prosser, entries for 20 March 1788 (f. 52 (v)), 15 June 1788 (f. 61) and 18 September 1788 (f. 69).

<sup>126</sup> Forbes, 284.

<sup>127</sup> Neil is quoting a letter Cherry sent to him, NBE in Calcutta to Cherry in Lucknow, 20 September 1794, Red Book letters, Elmore.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ashworth, White, June letter, f. 13.

<sup>130</sup> The description is by Sleeman, quoted in Crossley, 86. Awadh was divided for tax purposes into *parganas*, several of which were under the control of an *amil*, who not only saw to the collection of the tax assessment, but also was the chief administrative official of government in the area, dispensing justice, readying troops for service, etc. Almas was the most powerful of the *amils* of Awadh.

<sup>131</sup> Santha, 75, 79.

<sup>132</sup> Ray, 41.

<sup>133</sup> C.A. Bayly, *Indian Society*, 91.

<sup>134</sup> See Barnett, 142-163, for a detailed account of the ways adopted by Asaf and his ministers to avoid payment of much of the subsidy.

<sup>135</sup> Extract Bengal Consultations, 20th April 1787, Governor General's Minute, Home Misc Series 235, OIOC, f. 411.

<sup>136</sup> Extract of a letter from Cornwallis to the Vizier, 15 April 1787, Home Misc Series 235, OIOC, f. 414.

<sup>137</sup> Cornwallis at Fort William to the Court of Directors in London, 2 August 1789, British Library, Add. Mss. 29,171, f. 338.

## CHAPTER FIVE

<sup>1</sup> Valentia, vol. I, 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Sketches of India*, 19.

<sup>3</sup> NBE in Secrole to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 3 February, 1797, Elmore.

<sup>4</sup> Madan, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Forbes, vol. III, 87.

- <sup>7</sup> NBE in Benares to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 6 February 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>8</sup> Edwardes, *Glorious Sahibs*, 35.
- <sup>9</sup> NBE, from Camp at Peynteahmulla about 23 miles from Juanpore, to William Edmonstone at Calcutta, 14th February 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>10</sup> NBE in Benares to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 6 February 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>11</sup> Shore in Benares to Lady Shore in Calcutta, 8th February 1797, quoted in Teignmouth, 404-405.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 405.
- <sup>13</sup> NBE from Camp at Peynteahmulla, to William Edmonstone at Calcutta, 14th Feb 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>14</sup> Valentia, vol. I, 120.
- <sup>15</sup> NBE from Camp at Peynteahmulla, to William Edmonstone at Calcutta, 14th February 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>16</sup> Valentia, vol. I, 95.
- <sup>17</sup> NBE from Camp at Peynteahmulla, to William Edmonstone at Calcutta, 14th February 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>19</sup> The quote is Shore's, cited in Teignmouth, 406.
- <sup>20</sup> John Shore in Jaunpur to Peter Speke, Esq., Vice President in Council, Fort William, Feb. 12, 1797, British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 13, 523, *Sir John Shore's Correspondence Relative to Oude*, 1796-1798, f. 15.
- <sup>21</sup> *The Asiatic Annual Register for 1800* (London: J. Debrett, 1801), 97; the description of the gardens comes from Prosser, f. 48 (v).
- <sup>22</sup> O. Humphrey, "Lucknow in 1786," in *Sketches of Calcutta* British Library Add. Mss. 15, 962, f. #26.
- <sup>23</sup> *Sketches of India*, 151.
- <sup>24</sup> Madan, 39-40.

- <sup>25</sup> NBE in Lucknow to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, undated, #53 Elmore letters.
- <sup>26</sup> *The Asiatic Annual Register for 1800* (London: Debrett, 1801), 97.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, 97-98.
- <sup>28</sup> *A Brief History of Lucknow*, British Library 1568/5007 unbound books, 1860, 11.
- <sup>29</sup> NBE in Lucknow to William in Calcutta, undated, #53 Elmore letters.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>32</sup> Neil Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, f. 30.
- <sup>33</sup> NBE in Lucknow to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, undated, #53 Elmore letters.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>35</sup> Talib, 30.
- <sup>36</sup> NBE in Lucknow to William in Calcutta, 10th March 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>37</sup> NBE in Lucknow, to William in Calcutta, 14 March 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>39</sup> Forbes, 284.
- <sup>40</sup> NBE in Lucknow to William in Calcutta, undated, #53 Elmore letters.
- <sup>41</sup> Teignmouth, 407.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>43</sup> Cornwallis at Fort William to the Court of Directors, 2nd August, 1789, British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 29, 171, ff. 340-341.
- <sup>44</sup> Cherry in Lucknow to Cornwallis in England, 12 August 1795, PRO 30/11/131, f. 25.
- <sup>45</sup> Shore to Cornwallis, 10th November 1793, PRO 30/11/122, f.55; Talib 84.

- <sup>46</sup> Shore to Tickait Roy, 9 August 1794, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 504, *Persian Correspondence*, July-September, 1794, ff. 34-35.
- <sup>47</sup> Cherry to Shore, 12 & 17 August 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 522, *Papers and Letters Relative to the Affairs of Oude*, 1795-1797, f. 29.
- <sup>48</sup> Extract of a Political Letter from Bengal, dated January 9, 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 13,522, f.11.
- <sup>49</sup> PRO 30/11/131, Cherry to Cornwallis, May 4, 1796, f. 23.
- <sup>50</sup> Extract of a Letter from the Governor General to the Court dated 24th August 1795, British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 13, 522, f. 10.
- <sup>51</sup> Cherry in Lucknow to Cornwallis in England, May 4, 1796, PRO 30/11/131, ff. 28-30.
- <sup>52</sup> Extract of a Letter from the Resident at Lucknow to the Governor General in Council, April 5, 1795, PRO 30/11/206, f. 5.
- <sup>53</sup> Shore to Tickait Ray, 9th August, 1794, British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 13, 504, *Persian Correspondence, July-September 1794*, f. 35.
- <sup>54</sup> Shore to the Vizier, September 21, 1795, British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 13, 508, *Persian Correspondence, July-September 1795*, f. 78.
- <sup>55</sup> Extract of a Letter from the Resident at Lucknow to the Governor General in Council, April 5, 1795, PRO 30/11/206, ff. 8-9.
- <sup>56</sup> Cherry at Lucknow to Cornwallis, 22 June 1796, PRO 30/11/131, f. 10 (v).
- <sup>57</sup> Cited in NBE in Calcutta to Cherry in Lucknow, 20 April 1795, Elmore.
- <sup>58</sup> Directors in London to Shore, 22 April 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 12, 581, *Despatches to the Government of Bengal 1795-1797*, f. 155.
- <sup>59</sup> Shore to the Vizier, 25 January 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 15, 514, f. 57.
- <sup>60</sup> Statement of the Nabob Sujah ud Dowlah's Army in March 1768, OIOC, Eur F 218/19, f. 19-20.
- <sup>61</sup> Aniruddha Ray, *The Rebel Nawab of Oudh: Revolt of Vizir Ali Khan, 1799* (New Delhi: K.P Bagchi & Co., 1990), 24.

- <sup>62</sup> Cherry to Cornwallis, May 4, 1796, PRO 30/11/131, f. 23.
- <sup>63</sup> Talib, 91.
- <sup>64</sup> Neil is quoting Cherry's letter to him, NBE in Calcutta to Cherry in Lucknow, September 20, 1794, Red Book Letters, Elmore.
- <sup>65</sup> Cherry to Cornwallis, 12 August 1795, PRO 30/11/131, f. 22.
- <sup>66</sup> Tickait Roy in Lucknow to Shore, Feb. 27, 1795, British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 13, 506, *Persian Correspondence January-March 1795*, f. 72.
- <sup>67</sup> Talib, 91.
- <sup>68</sup> Cherry to Cornwallis, May 4, 1796, PRO 30/11/131, f. 31.
- <sup>69</sup> Talib, 93.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>71</sup> Cherry to Cornwallis, May 4, 1796, PRO 30/11/131, 29, 31.
- <sup>72</sup> Fischer, 70; *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1803* (London: 1804), 185.
- <sup>73</sup> Fischer 70; Talib, 1-2.
- <sup>74</sup> Mahomed Ali Khan, *Life of Tuffuzzool Hussain Khan, Khan-I-Alluma, Minister of Nawob Vazeer of Oudh* (Secunderabad: Cheekoty Veerunnah & Sons, 1908), part II, 3.
- <sup>75</sup> Ibid., part I, 7.
- <sup>76</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Lucknow to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, April 6, 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>77</sup> Tufuzzool Hussein Kahn to Shore, received 18th April 1794, British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 13, 503, *Persian Correspondence April-June 1795*, f. 36.
- <sup>78</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to George F. Cherry in Lucknow, 26 September 1794, Elmore.
- <sup>79</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to G.F. Cherry in Lucknow, 20 September, 1794, Elmore; NBE to GFC, 26 September 1794, Elmore.

<sup>80</sup> NBE to CFC, 26 September 1794, Elmore; NBE to GFC, 28th to the 30th September, 1794, Elmore.

<sup>81</sup> NBE to GFC, 26th Sept. 1794, Elmore.

<sup>82</sup> The description is by Sleeman, quoted in Crossley, 86.

<sup>83</sup> *Valentia*, vol. I, pg. 103.

<sup>84</sup> Awadh was divided for tax purposes into *parganas*, several of which were under the control of an amil, who not only saw to the collection of the tax assessment, but also was the chief administrative official of government in the area, dispensing justice, readying troops for service, etc. Almas was the most powerful of the Amils of Awadh.

<sup>85</sup> Bahadur Singh, *Yadgar-I Bahaduri*, British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 30, 786, f. 63 (v)-65.

<sup>86</sup> Cherry in Lucknow to Shore in Calcutta, 13 June 1795, *Correspondence With the Resident at Lucknow*, India Office Library, Home Misc Series 448, f. 289.

<sup>87</sup> Copy of a letter from Cherry to the Wazir, received May 5, 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 13,511, *Persian Correspondence April-June 1796*, f. 57.

<sup>88</sup> Talib, 94.

<sup>89</sup> Tuffazzul Hussein Khan to the Customs Master, Calcutta, received 4th January 1796, British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 13, 510 *Persian Correspondence, January-March 1796*, f.6. The note requests that Reza not have to pay tax on the supplies he was taking on his journey. It seems, however, that he did not go, as he was back at the Awadh court several months later, but still out of favor.

<sup>90</sup> Talib, 92.

<sup>91</sup> Fischer, 69.

<sup>92</sup> Talib, 15.

<sup>93</sup> Fischer, 69.

<sup>94</sup> Vizier to Shore, June 1, 1796, British Library, Add. Mss.13, 511, *Persian Correspondence April-June 1796*, f. 94.

<sup>95</sup> Basu, 112.

- <sup>96</sup> Cherry to Shore, April 23, 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 522, ff. 143-144.
- <sup>97</sup> NBE in Calcutta to GFC in Lucknow, September 20, 1794, Red Book Letters, Elmore.
- <sup>98</sup> NBE to GFC, 14 July, 1795, Elmore.
- <sup>99</sup> Translation of a letter from Moonshee Sook Loll, April 22, 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 522, ff. 148-149.
- <sup>100</sup> Ibid, 148.
- <sup>101</sup> Ibid, 149.
- <sup>102</sup> Extract of the Political Letter from Bengal, June 30, 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 522, f. 16.
- <sup>103</sup> Extract of Bengal Political Consultations, June 13, 1796, from the Vizier received May 29, 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 522, f. 244.
- <sup>104</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>105</sup> Shore to Cherry, Ft. William, April 30, 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 522, *Papers and Letters Relative to the Affairs of Oude, 1795-1797*, f. 157.
- <sup>106</sup> Shore to Cherry, April 30, 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 522, f. 154.
- <sup>107</sup> Shore to the Vizier, May 2, 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 511, *Persian Correspondence April-June 1796*, f. 85.
- <sup>108</sup> Ibid., Vizier to Shore, May 17, 1796, f. 81.
- <sup>109</sup> Cherry in Lucknow to Cornwallis in England, 22 June 1796, PRO 30/11/131, f. 41.
- <sup>110</sup> Shore to Cornwallis, July 6, 1796, PRO 30/11/122, f. 80.
- <sup>111</sup> The description comes from an engraving published May 10, 1819 by W.J. Newton, dedicated to NBE. British Library Prints and Drawings, C.III, p. 4.
- <sup>112</sup> From the Vizier received 26 August 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 512, *Persian Correspondence July-September 1796*, f. 49.
- <sup>113</sup> Ibid, f. 24.

- <sup>114</sup> Directors in London to Shore, 22 April 1796, British Library, Add. Mss. 12, 581, *Despatches to the Government of Bengal 1795-1797*, f. 155.
- <sup>115</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>116</sup> Shore in Lucknow, to Peter Speke, Esq., Vice President in Council, Fort William, 25th March 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 523, *Sir John Shore's Correspondence Relative to Oude, 1796-1798*, f. 24.
- <sup>117</sup> Ibid, Shore at camp at Husseinpore, February 1797, to Speke, f. 18.
- <sup>118</sup> Shore to the Vizier, 25 January 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 15, 514, f. 57.
- <sup>119</sup> Forbes, vol. IV, 82--the author of the passage was Mr. Cruso, a doctor who accompanied Charles Malet on a journey from Surat to Calcutta in 1785.
- <sup>120</sup> Shore to the Vizier, 25 January 1797, British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 15, 514, f. 57.
- <sup>121</sup> NBE in Lucknow to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 6th April 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>122</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Cherry in Lucknow, 28 April 1796, Elmore.
- <sup>123</sup> NBE from Camp at Peynteahmulla, to William Edmonstone at Calcutta, 14th February 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>124</sup> NBE in Lucknow to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 6th April 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>125</sup> British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 523, *Sir John Shore's Correspondence Relative to Oude, 1796-1798*, from Shore in Lucknow, to Peter Speke, Esq. Vice President in Council, Fort William, 25th March 1797, f. 24.
- <sup>126</sup> Quoted by Shore, Ibid.
- <sup>127</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>128</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>129</sup> Ray, 24.
- <sup>130</sup> British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 523, *Sir John Shore's Correspondence Relative to Oude, 1796-1798*, from Shore in Lucknow, to Peter Speke, Esq. Vice President in Council, Fort William, 25th March 1797, f. 24.

- <sup>131</sup> Ibid. John Shore in Lucknow to Peter Speke, Vice President in Council in Calcutta, April 5, 1797, f. 47.
- <sup>132</sup> Ibid, f. 43.
- <sup>133</sup> Ibid., f. 42.
- <sup>134</sup> NBE in Lucknow to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 6th April 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>135</sup> British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 13, 523, John Shore in Lucknow to Peter Speke, Vice President in Council in Calcutta, April 5, 1797, f. 47.
- <sup>136</sup> The quote is from Neil in NBE in Lucknow to William in Calcutta, 6th April 1797, Elmore; the settlement between the Company and the wazir provided that Asaf would pay for two regiments of cavalry at a cost of no more than 5 and a half lakhs of rupees per year (Translation of an Agreement entered into by his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier with the Noble the Governor General, at Lucknow executed the 20th of March 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 523, f. 32).
- <sup>137</sup> British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 13, 515, Persian Correspondence April-June 1797, from Tafazzal Hasan Khan to the Persian Translator, received 8 June 1797, f. 46.
- <sup>138</sup> British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 13, 523, John Shore in Lucknow to Peter Speke, Vice President in Council in Calcutta, April 5, 1797, f. 46.
- <sup>139</sup> Ibid., from Rajah Jaoo Laul received 2nd June 1797, f. 39.
- <sup>140</sup> British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 516, Persian Correspondence, July-September 1797, Shore to the wazir, written 10 August 1797, f. 27.
- <sup>141</sup> Barnett, 233.
- <sup>142</sup> Neil to Kennaway, Calcutta, 13 November, 1797, Elmore.
- <sup>143</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>144</sup> British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 522, Extract of Bengal Political Consultations, June 13, 1796, from the Vizier received May 29, 1796, f. 244.
- <sup>145</sup> Santha, 71.
- <sup>146</sup> British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 516 Persian Correspondence, July-September 1797, Mirza Vizier Alli to Shore, received 30 September 1797, f. 107.

<sup>147</sup> British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517 from Saudet Alli Khaun, received 17th October 1797, f. 19.

## CHAPTER SIX

<sup>1</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, *The Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*, Elmore. This manuscript is not foliated.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Tafazul Hussein Khan, received 30th September 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 516, *Persian Correspondence, July through September 1797*, f. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, from Mirza Vizier Ali, received 30th September, 1797, f. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to John Kennaway in England, 13 November 1797, Red Book Letters, Elmore.

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Sa'adat Ali Khan, received 4 July 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 516, f. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Madan, 33.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> John Shore to Sa'adat inviting him to a ball in commemoration of the King's birthday, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 506, *Persian Correspondence January through March 1795*, f.55; John Shore to Cherry, 20 May 1795, *Correspondence With the Resident at Lucknow*, India Office Library, Home Misc Series 448, f. 217.

<sup>9</sup> Letter from Sa'adat Ali Khan, received 4 July 1797, British Library Manuscripts, Add. Mss. 13, 516, f. 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Shore to Sa'adat Ali Khan, 19 July 1797, f. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Sa'adat Ali Khan to Shore, received 4 October 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, *Persian Correspondence October to December 1797*, f. 12.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Forbes, vol. III, 285; British Library, Add. Mss. 30, 786, Bahadur Singh, "Yadgar-i Bahaduri" partially translated by Munshi Sadasukh Lal, ff. 159-159 (v); Secret Minute of the Governor General to the Council, 13 January 1798, White Collection, Wq091.92 Ea77m5, f.329.

<sup>16</sup> Fisher, 75.

<sup>17</sup> Sa'adat Ali Khan to Shore, received 4 October 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, f. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Secret Minute of the Governor General to the Council, 13 January 1798, White Collection, Wq 091.92 Ea77m5, f. 239.

<sup>19</sup> Sophie Elizabeth Prosser's Diary, 1787-88, entry for 20th February 1788, India Office Library, Mss. EUR F 127/94, f. 48 (v).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., March 20, 1788, f. 53 (v).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., f. 54.

<sup>22</sup> Minute of the Governor General, 29 September 1797, White Collection Wq 091.92 Ea77m5, *Minutes to the Secret Committee from the Governor General John Shore, 1797-98*, f. 214.

<sup>23</sup> Anirrudha Ray, *The Rebel Nawab of Oudh: Revolt of Vizier Ali Khan, 1799* (New Delhi: K.P Bagchi & Co., 1990), 78.

<sup>24</sup> Talib, 87.

<sup>25</sup> Minute of the Governor General, 13 January 1797, White Collection, Wq 091.92 Ea77m5 f. 333.

<sup>26</sup> Minute of the Governor General, 29 September 1797, White Collection, Wq 091.92 Ea77m5, f. 215; Ibid., Minute of the Governor General, 20 October 1797, f. 243.

<sup>27</sup> Forbes, vol. III, 282; Prosser, f. 48 (v).

<sup>28</sup> Minute of the Governor General, 20 October 1797, White Collection, Wq 091.92 Ea77m5, f. 243.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., f. 254.

<sup>30</sup> Shore to Sa'adat, 24 October 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, f. 26; Ibid., Shore to Vizier Ali, 4th October 1797, f. 13.

- <sup>31</sup> Ibid., Ali to Shore, 25 October 1797, f. 27.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid., Bahu Begam to Shore, 17 October 1797, f. 24.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid., Shore to Bahu Begam, 24th October 1797, f. 25.
- <sup>34</sup> Santha, 96.
- <sup>35</sup> Munshi Totaram, *Tilism-i-Hind*, 327; Secret Minute of the Governor General, 13 January 1798, White, Wq 091.92 Ea77m5, f. 352.
- <sup>36</sup> Bahadur Singh, "Yadgar-i Bahaduri" partially translated by Munshi Sadasukh Lal, British Library, Add. Mss. 30, 786, f. 86.
- <sup>37</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.
- <sup>38</sup> Tafazul Hussein Khan to Shore, received 8th June 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 515, *Persian Correspondence April through June 1797*, f. 44.
- <sup>39</sup> Quoted in Mahomed Ali Khan, Nawab Syed, *The Life of Tuffuzzool Hussain Khan, Khan-i-Allum, Minister of Nawob Vazeer of Oudh* (Secunderabad: Cheekoty Veerunnah & Sons, 1908), part I, 3; Tafazul Hussein Khan to Shore, received 8th June 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 515, *Persian Correspondence April through June 1797*, f. 44.
- <sup>40</sup> Mohammed Ali Khan, Part II, 12.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid, Part III, 15.
- <sup>42</sup> Extract from a Letter from Tafazul Hussein Khan to the Persian Translator, 11 November 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, f. 57.
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>44</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to John Kennaway in England, 13 November 1797, Red Book Letters, Elmore.
- <sup>45</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in England, 22 November 1797, Red Book Letters, Elmore.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid., Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Philip Archibald Edmonstone in England, 22 November 1797.
- <sup>47</sup> John Adam in Gyah to William Adam in England, December 5, 1797, OIOC, Mss. EUR F/109/80, *John Adam's Letters to his Father*.

- <sup>48</sup> Letter from Vizier Ali Khan, received 29th November 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, f. 64.
- <sup>49</sup> Neil Edmonstone from Calcutta to Suzanna Edmonstone in England, 20 April 1798, Elmore.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to John Kennaway in England, 13 November 1797.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>52</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>54</sup> Extract from a Letter from Tafazul Hussein Khan to the Persian Translator, 11 November 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, f. 65.
- <sup>55</sup> Edmonstone, *The Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.
- <sup>56</sup> Tafazul Hussein Khan to the Persian Translator, 27 November 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, f. 65.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 67.
- <sup>58</sup> Secret Minute of the Governor General to the Council, 13 January 1798, White Collection, Wq 091.92 Ea77m5, f. 316.
- <sup>59</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>61</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to John Kennaway in England, 13 November 1797, Red Book letters, Elmore.
- <sup>62</sup> John Adam in Gyah to William Adam in England, December 5, 1797, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 109/80.
- <sup>63</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to John Kennaway in England, 13 November 1797, Red Book Letters, Elmore.
- <sup>64</sup> Extract from a Letter from Tafazul Hussein Khan to the Persian Translator, 11 November 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, f. 56.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

- <sup>66</sup> Ibid., Shore to Almas, 24 October 1797, f. 26.
- <sup>67</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.
- <sup>68</sup> Gore Ouseley in Lucknow to Neil Edmonstone at Jaunpur, 6 December 1797, in *The Asiatic Annual Register for 1798-9*, 37.
- <sup>69</sup> Vizier Ali Khan to Shore, received 6 December 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, f. 71.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid., Vizier Ali to Shore, received 15 December 1797, f. 77; Ibid., Vizier Ali to Shore, received 16 December 1797, f. 78.
- <sup>71</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.
- <sup>72</sup> Shore in Jaunpur to Peter Speke, Vice President in Council, in Calcutta, 4 December 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 523, *Sir John Shore's Correspondence Relative to Oudh, 1796-1798*, f. 51.
- <sup>73</sup> Bahu Begam to Shore, received 29 December 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, f. 64.
- <sup>74</sup> Shore in Jaunpur to Peter Speke, Vice President in Council, in Calcutta, 4 December 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 523, f. 56.
- <sup>75</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.
- <sup>76</sup> Neil Edmonstone to William Kirkpatrick, 31 January 1798, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/69, f. 3.
- <sup>77</sup> "Substance of a Verbal Communication from Meer Aboul Cassim . . . to the Persian Translator, 19 December 1797," in the *Asiatic Annual Register for 1798-99*, 35.
- <sup>78</sup> Ibid., "Substance of a Communication from Bissember Pundit, to the Persian translator, 25 December, 1797," 33.
- <sup>79</sup> Ibid., "Substance of a Communication between Mahomed Ishauk Khan and the Persian Translator, 22 December 1797," 31.
- <sup>80</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>81</sup> Ibid., "Substance of a Verbal Communication from Mohubbut Khan . . . to the Persian Translator, 28th December 1797," 36.

- <sup>82</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.
- <sup>83</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>84</sup> Secret Minute of the Governor General to the Council, 13 January 1798, White Collection, Wq 091.92 Ea77m5, f. 320; Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.
- <sup>85</sup> Ray, *The Rebel Nawab of Oudh*, 34.
- <sup>86</sup> Paper delivered by Tafazal Hussein Khan from Shums unissa Begam to him, received 20 December 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, f. 85.
- <sup>87</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.
- <sup>88</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>89</sup> Sa'adat Ali Khan in Benares to Shore in Calcutta, received 17 October 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, f. 19.
- <sup>90</sup> Quoted in Mohammed Ali Khan, Part I, 5.
- <sup>91</sup> Lumsden's opinions are not recorded at the time, but as his attitude in 1800 aligned with Neil's (as demonstrated in later chapters), it is likely that it did so here as well.
- <sup>92</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.
- <sup>93</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>94</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>95</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>96</sup> Neil Edmonstone to William Kirkpatrick, 31 January 1798, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/69, f. 3.
- <sup>97</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.
- <sup>98</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>99</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>100</sup> "Copy of the Minute of the Governor General of Bengal, of the 13th January, 1798," in the *Asiatic Annual Register for 1798-99*, 21.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>102</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid; Asaf had built a hunting lodge at Biebiapur which was also used to house British Residents when they first arrived at Lucknow before the Residency was made ready for them. It was to this house that the delegation went. (*A Brief History of Lucknow*, British Library unbound books 1568/5007, 1860, 6.)

<sup>106</sup> Almas Ali Khan to Shore, 9 December 1797, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 517, f. 88.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., Enclosures in a letter from Major General Robert Stuart to the Governor General, received 21 December 1797, including a translation of a letter from Stuart to Almas (no date), f. 86.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., Almas Ali Khan to Robert Stuart, 2 December 1797, f. 86.

<sup>109</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.

<sup>110</sup> Secret Minute of the Governor General to the Council, 13 January 1798, White Collection, Wq 091.92 Ea77m5, f. 362.

<sup>111</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Shore to Vizier Ali Khan, 20 January 1798, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 518, f. 20.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., Shore in Biebiapur to Ibrahim Bey Darogha, one of the Parks of Artillery & Officers and Servants of the late Nabob Assof ud Dowlah's Household, in

Lucknow, 18 January 1798, f. 17; *Ibid.*, from Shore to Shums unissa Begam, 18 January 1798, f. 16-17; *Ibid.*, Proclamation Addressed to all the Respectable Inhabitants of Lucknow, 18 January 1798, f. 18.

<sup>120</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.

<sup>121</sup> Vizier Ali Khan in Lucknow, to Shore at Biebiapur, received 10 January 1798, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 518, f. 11.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 January 1798, f. 19.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, Substance of a Communication made to the Resident thro' Molavy Aboul Kaudir in a paper delivered to the Resident at Lucknow, received 25 January 1798, f. 26.

<sup>124</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.

<sup>125</sup> Bahu Begam to Shore, 21 January 1798, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 518 f. 23.

<sup>126</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> John Adam in Patna to William Adam in England, 31 March 1798, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 109/80.

<sup>129</sup> Edmonstone, *Narrative of the Revolution at Lucknow*.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> Sophie Prosser's Diary, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 127/94, f. 61.

<sup>132</sup> Bahadur Singh, "Yadgar-i Bahaduri," British Library, Add. Mss. 30, 786, f. 75.

<sup>133</sup> Secret Minute of the Governor General to the Council, 13 January 1798, White Collection, Wq 091.92 Ea77m5, f. 357.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

<sup>1</sup> Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 63.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Seely quoted in Michael H. Fischer, "British Expansion in North India: The Role of the Resident in Awadh," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* (vol. 28: 1), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Percival Spear, *A History of India*, volume two (London: Penguin, 1990), 102.

<sup>4</sup> C.A. Bayly, *The New Cambridge History of India: Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (Cambridge: 1988), 81.

<sup>5</sup> Substance of a communication made to the Resident through Malavy Aboul Khaun, 25 January 1798, British Library, Add.Mss. 13, 518, Persian Correspondence, January-March 1798, f. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Shore in Lucknow to Peter Speke, in Calcutta, 21 February 1798, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 523, f. 76, 77.

<sup>8</sup> K.K. Datta, 141.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Moon, 275.

<sup>10</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta, to Sir Archibald Edmonstone in Britain, 18 April 1798, Elmore.

<sup>11</sup> The directors were represented in parliament, most notably by Richard Sheridan, but Wellesley's friends were in positions of great authority. The prime minister, Henry Addington, the head of the board of control, Henry Dundas, and the powerful government figures William Pitt and Lord Grenville, all supported Wellesley; Wellesley's comment on Pitt is found in Wellesley at Fort William, Calcutta, to the Speaker in London, 19 November 1798, the Wellesley Papers, series II., vol. IX, British Library, Add. Mss. 37282, f. 67.

<sup>12</sup> Translation of the Latin Verses written by Lord Wellesley at Walmer Castle in September 1797, in Robert Rouiere Pierce, *Memoires and Correspondence of the Most Noble Richard, Marquess Wellesley*, vol. I (London: Richard Bentley, 1846), 410.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., vi.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in Brian Gardner, *The East India Company: A History* (New York: The McCall Publishing Company, 1971), 137; Pierce, vii.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Moon, 263.

- <sup>16</sup> Neil Edmonstone from Calcutta to Sir Archibald Edmonstone in Britain, 18 April 1798, Elmore.
- <sup>17</sup> Pierce, vol. I, 137.
- <sup>18</sup> Kirkpatrick's Reply to Carnatacus [pseud.], "A Letter on the Present War with Tippoo Sultan" (London: 1792), from Fort St. George, 30 July 1792, OIOC Mss. EUR F 228/24, ff. 24,25, 28, 28 (v.).
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid, ff. 27 (v.)-28.
- <sup>20</sup> See frontspiece, Hyderabad Correspondence Relating to the Intrigues of Tippoo Sultan at that Court, 1796-7, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/8.
- <sup>21</sup> Kirkpatrick to Shore, 3 December 1796, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/8, f. 234 (v.).
- <sup>22</sup> Kirkpatrick to Shore, 29 January 1797, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/8, f. 292 (v.)-293.
- <sup>23</sup> Copy of Answers to Certain Queries Proposed by Lord Mornington to Major Kirkpatrick Relative to the French Forces in the Service of the Nizam, 31 January 1798, OIOC Mss. EUR F 228/27, f. 2.
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid., f. 5.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid., f. 6.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup> Wellesley at the Cape of Good Hope to Dundas in Britain, 23 February 1798, *The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley*, ed. Montgomery Martin, vol. I (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1840), 8.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid., 1.
- <sup>30</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Sir Archibald Edmonstone in Britain, 18 August 1798, Elmore.
- <sup>31</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in Britain, 20 April 1798, Elmore.
- <sup>32</sup> Quoted in Gardner, 140.

- <sup>33</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in Britain, 20 April 1798, Elmore.
- <sup>34</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Archibald Edmonstone in Britain, 18 August 1798, Elmore.
- <sup>35</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 7 March 1799, Elmore.
- <sup>36</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 23 April 1799, Elmore.
- <sup>37</sup> Neil Edmonstone's *Autobiography*, f. 33.
- <sup>38</sup> British Library Official Publications, I. S. 215/2, *Official Documents Relative to the Negotiations Carried on by Tippoo Suldaun, With the French Nation, and Other Foreign States, for Purposes Hostile to the British Nation*, ed. and trans. Neil Edmonstone, Calcutta: 1799), xi.
- <sup>39</sup> Proclamation of Governor-General Anne Joseph Hyppolite Malartic, from Port North West, 30 January 1798, *The Wellesley Despatches* (1840 edition), x.
- <sup>40</sup> British Library Official Publications, I. S. 215/2, 7.
- <sup>41</sup> Wellesley at Fort William to General Harris in Madras, 20 June 1798, *The Wellesley Despatches* (1840 edition), 80.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>43</sup> Wellesley at Fort William to Dundas in London, 6 July 1798, *The Wellesley Despatches* (1840 edition), 80.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid., 64.
- <sup>45</sup> Moon, 280.
- <sup>46</sup> Quoted in Pierce, vol. I, 202.
- <sup>47</sup> Wellesley to Tipu, 14 June 1798, contained in the *Wellesley Despatches* (1840 edition), 59.
- <sup>48</sup> Minute of the Governor-General, August 1798, contained in the *Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 23.

<sup>49</sup> Nizam Ali's French general, Raymond, had died earlier that year, so disbanding troops that had no effective commander was less of a sacrifice than he made out to Wellesley.

<sup>50</sup> Minute of the Governor-General, August 1798, contained in the *Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 53.

<sup>51</sup> Wellesley from Amlingham House, to the directors in London, 16 August 1837, Elmore.

<sup>52</sup> Quoted in Moon, 282.

<sup>53</sup> *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 3.

<sup>54</sup> The quote comes from Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 3 January 1799, Elmore.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Neil Edmonstone from Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 12 January 1799, Elmore.

<sup>57</sup> Graeme Mercer in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 January 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>58</sup> Hubert Cornish in Benares to John Shore in Britain, 19 January 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 49.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Wellesley to Cherry in Benares, 24 December 1798, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 581, Correspondence with Agents at Benares, f. 12.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> "An Account of the Late Horrid Massacre at Benares," in *The Asiatic Annual Register: or, A View of the History of Hindustan, and of the Politics, Commerce and Literature of Asia, for the Year 1799*, (London: Oriental Press, 1800), 111.

<sup>64</sup> Graeme Mercer in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 January 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>65</sup> Wellesley at Fort St. George, Madras, to the Court of Directors in London, 12 February 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Graeme Mercer in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 January 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>68</sup> Hubert Cornish in Benares to John Shore in Britain, 19 January 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 50.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Graeme Mercer in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 January 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>72</sup> Hubert Cornish in Benares to John Shore in Britain, 19 January 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 50; Graeme Mercer in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 January 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>73</sup> Graeme Mercer in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 January 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>74</sup> "An Account of the Late Horrid Massacre at Benares," 111-112.

<sup>75</sup> Hubert Cornish in Benares to John Shore in Britain, 19 January 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 50.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 51.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Graeme Mercer in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 January 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to Shore in Britain, 18 May 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 61.

<sup>82</sup> Hubert Cornish in Benares to Shore, 9 September 1798, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 53.

<sup>83</sup> Graeme Mercer in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 January 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>84</sup> Hubert Cornish in Benares to John Shore in Britain, 19 January 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 50.

<sup>85</sup> Datta, 4.

<sup>86</sup> Hubert Cornish in Benares to John Shore in Britain, 19 January 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 52.

<sup>87</sup> Graeme Mercer in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 January 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>88</sup> Valentia, vol. I, 81.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Graeme Mercer in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 January 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>91</sup> Hubert Cornish in Benares to John Shore in Britain, 19 January 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 52.

<sup>92</sup> Valentia, vol. I, 82, 89.

<sup>93</sup> George Barlow in Calcutta to Shore in Britain, 8 February 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 4.

<sup>94</sup> Mukherjee, "Life and Career of Wazir Ali Khan, the Rebel Nawab of Oudh," 327.

<sup>95</sup> Graeme Mercer in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 January 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>96</sup> Hubert Cornish in Benares to John Shore in Britain, 19 January 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 52.

<sup>97</sup> Mukherjee, "Life and Career of Wazir Ali Khan, the Rebel Nawab of Oudh," 325.

<sup>98</sup> George Barlow in Calcutta to Shore in Britain, 8 February 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 4.

<sup>99</sup> Mukherjee, "Life and Career of Wazir Ali Khan, the Rebel Nawab of Oudh," 326.

<sup>100</sup> Graeme Mercer in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 January 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to Shore in Britain, 18 May 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 76.

<sup>105</sup> Datta, 141.

<sup>106</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to Shore in Britain, 18 May 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 77.

<sup>107</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to George Edmonstone in Britain, 20 January 1800, Elmore.

<sup>108</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to Shore in Britain, 18 May 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 60.

<sup>109</sup> Neil Edmonstone from Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 27 March 1799, Elmore.

<sup>110</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in Britain, 3 December 1800, Elmore.

<sup>111</sup> Neil Edmonstone from Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 27 March 1799, Elmore.

<sup>112</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to Shore in Britain, 18 May 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 60.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., f. 62.

<sup>114</sup> Mukherjee, "Life and Career of Wazir Ali Khan, the Rebel Nawab of Oudh," 326.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 326.

<sup>116</sup> Datta, 138.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Neil Edmonstone from Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 27 March 1799, Elmore.

<sup>119</sup> Datta, 138.

<sup>120</sup> Wellesley in Fort St. George, Madras, to the Court of Directors in London, 22 April 1799, *The Wellesley Despatches* (1840 edition), 535.

<sup>121</sup> Lumsden at Lucknow to George Barlow at Fort William, 23 March 1799, British Library, Add. Mss. 37,281, ff. 128-131.

<sup>122</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to Shore in Britain, 18 May 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 66.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> Ray, 70.

<sup>125</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to Shore in Britain, 18 May 1799, British and Foreign Bible Society, Sir John Shore's Letterbook, f. 67.

<sup>126</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 27 March 1799, Elmore.

<sup>127</sup> Neil Edmonstone from Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 27 March 1799, Elmore.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> Neil Edmonstone from Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 27 March 1799, Elmore.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> Wellesley in Fort St. George, Madras, to the Court of Directors in London, 22 April 1799, *The Wellesley Despatches* (1840 edition), 536.

<sup>133</sup> Wellesley at Fort St. George, Madras, to the Court of Directors in London, 12 February 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>134</sup> Bayly, *Empire and Information*, 146.

<sup>135</sup> Quoted in Moon, 284.

<sup>136</sup> *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 74.

<sup>137</sup> Harris, marching from Bombay, had 37,000 troops under his command; another force, comprised of 6,000 men, was under the command of Lieutenant-General James Stuart, marched from Bombay. Nizam Ali had supplied 10,000 cavalry, counterbalancing Tipu's well-trained cavalry units. Tipu also had approximately 37,000 men under his control, but had not prepared for war and was therefore at a considerable disadvantage.

<sup>138</sup> Moon, 285.

<sup>139</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 27 March 1799, Elmore.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Tipu in Seringapatam to Harris in camp, received 20 April 1799, *The Wellesley Despatches* (1840 edition), 538.

<sup>143</sup> Moon, 288.

<sup>144</sup> Tipu in Seringapatam to Harris in camp, 28 April 1799, *The Wellesley Despatches* (1840 edition), 560.

<sup>145</sup> Letter from Wellesley to Harris, April 30, 1799, *The Wellesley Despatches* (1840 edition), 565.

<sup>146</sup> "Extract of a Letter from Camp at Seringapatam," in *The Asiatic Annual Register for 1799*, 258.

<sup>147</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 5 June 1799, Elmore.

<sup>148</sup> Gardner, 146.

<sup>149</sup> *Narrative Sketches of the Conquest of Mysore Effected by the British Troops and their Allies, in the Capture of Seringapatam, and the Death of Tippoo Sultaun* (London: W. Justins, 1800), 61.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 46-7; Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 5 June 1799, Elmore.

<sup>151</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 14 May 1799, Elmore.

<sup>152</sup> *Narrative Sketches of the Conquest of Mysore Effected by the British Troops and their Allies, in the Capture of Seringapatam, and the Death of Tippoo Sultaun* (London: W. Justins, 1800), 91.

<sup>153</sup> *The Asiatic Annual Register for 1799*, 257.

<sup>154</sup> *The Wellington Despatches: A Selection from the Despatches, Memoranda, and other papers relating to India of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington*, ed. Sidney J. Owen (Oxford: Clarendon, 1880), 66.

<sup>155</sup> *Narrative Sketches of the Conquest of Mysore*, 99.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>157</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 5 June 1799, Elmore.

<sup>158</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 11 May 1799, Elmore.

<sup>159</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 5 June 1799, Elmore.

<sup>160</sup> Quoted in Forrest, 310-311.

<sup>161</sup> Wellesley at Fort St. George, Madras, to the Speaker in London, 18 May 1799, the Wellesley Papers, series II., vol. IX, British Library, Add. Mss. 37282, f. 97.

<sup>162</sup> Wellesley at Fort St. George, Madras, to Lord Grenville in Britain, 12 May 1799, *The Wellesley Papers*, volume I, (London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1914), 117.

<sup>163</sup> M. Wood, *A Review of the Origin, Progress, and Result, of the Late Decisive War in Mysore, in a letter from an Officer in India, by M. Wood, Esq., M.P., Colonel, and Late Chief Engineer, Bengal* (London: 1800), 9, 25.

<sup>164</sup> *Authentic Memoirs of Tippoo Sultaun, Including his Cruel Treatment of the English Prisoners, by an Officer in the East India Service* (London: 1799), 95.

<sup>165</sup> *The Wellesley Papers*, 121.

<sup>166</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to George Edmonstone in Britain, 20 January 1800, Elmore.

<sup>167</sup> "Vizier Ally," Newspaper article from unknown paper, dated January 1818, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

<sup>168</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in Britain, 8 September 1800, Elmore.

<sup>169</sup> Wellesley at Fort St. George, Madras, to the Court of Directors in London, 12 February 1799, Lincolnshire Archives, Stubton 3/E/7, Cherry Correspondence.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

<sup>1</sup> *Narrative Sketches of the Conquest of Mysore*, 100, for the quoted passage; the fact that NBE ended up with much of Tipu's library in his possession was recorded in a letter he sent to Archibald Edmonstone, 8 September 1800, Elmore.

<sup>2</sup> Neil Edmonstone from Madras to William Archibald Edmonstone in Calcutta, 5 June 1799, Elmore.

<sup>3</sup> Neil Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, f. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 5th August 1799, Elmore.

<sup>5</sup> Neil Edmonstone (ed.), *Official Documents, relative to the Negotiations Carried on by Tippoo Sultaun, with the French Nation, and other Foreign States, for Purposes Hostile to the British Nation* (Calcutta: 1799), ix.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, x.

<sup>7</sup> *Narrative Sketches of the Conquest of Mysore*, 100.

<sup>8</sup> Neil Edmonstone at Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 5th June 1799, Elmore.

<sup>9</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in Britain, 19 January 1800, Elmore.

<sup>10</sup> *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 144.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>12</sup> John Malcolm in Tehran to William Kirkpatrick in Hyderabad, 13th January 1801, OIOC, Mss Eur 228/29, f. 41 (v.).

<sup>13</sup> *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 164.

<sup>14</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in Britain, 19 January 1800, Elmore.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Wellesley to Lady Anne Barnard at the Cape, 2 October 1800, quoted in Forrest, 312; *The Wellesley Papers*, 121.

<sup>17</sup> Letter from Tipu to Sultan Selim, contained within *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 81.

<sup>18</sup> Neil Edmonstone from Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in Britain, 19 January 1800, Elmore.

<sup>19</sup> Wellesely at Amlington House to the Board of Control, 16 August 1837, Elmore.

<sup>20</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, f. 36.

<sup>21</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 26 August 1799, Elmore.

<sup>22</sup> Full title is Meherban Shrimant Maharaja Amirsinha [Ramaswami] Bhonsle Chhatrapati Maharaj.

<sup>23</sup> Full title is Meherban Shrimant Maharaja Sarabhoji II Bhonsle Chhatrapati Maharaj.

<sup>24</sup> Full title is Meherban Shrimant Maharaja Shivaji Bhonsle Chhatrapati Maharaj.

<sup>25</sup> Extracts from a Letter from Gholam Ali Khan and Ali Reza Khan to Tipu Sultan, 15th June 1792, in Letters and other Documents relative to the Intrigues of the two former Nabobs of the Carnatic with Tippoo Sultaun, as discovered by the Papers found in Seringapatam, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 23.

<sup>26</sup> Extract from a letter from Gholam Ali Khan and Ali Reza Khan to Tipu Sultan, 11th August 1792, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 34.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., f. 36.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., ff. 41, 44.

- <sup>31</sup> Extract from a letter from Tipu Sultan to Gholam Ali Khan and Ali Reza Khan, 12th July 1792, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 275.
- <sup>32</sup> Translation of a letter from Mohammed Ozman, Vakil to Haidar Ali Khan, received 30th January 1773, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 288.
- <sup>33</sup> Extract from a Letter from Gholam Ali Khan and Ali Reza Khan to Tipu Sultan, dated 2nd May 1793, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, ff. 67-68.
- <sup>34</sup> Mr. Edmonstone's Report, 6 April 1800, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 159.
- <sup>35</sup> Extract from a letter from Tipu Sultan to Gholam Ali Khan and Ali Reza Khan, 12th July 1792, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 276.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid., f. 278.
- <sup>37</sup> Extract from a Letter from Gholam Ali Khan and Ali Reza Khan to Tipu Sultan, 5th June 1793, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, ff. 70-71.
- <sup>38</sup> Extract from a letter from Gholam Ali Khan and Ali Reza to Tipu Sultan, 23rd July 1793, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 75.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid., f. 76.
- <sup>40</sup> Extract of a letter from Gholam Ali Khan and Ali Reza to Tipu Sultan, without date, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 81.
- <sup>41</sup> Extract of a letter from Gholam Ali Khan and Ali Reza to Tipu Sultan, 31st August 1793, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 86.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid., f. 87.
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid., ff. 88-89.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid., f. 91.
- <sup>45</sup> Translation of a letter from Mohammed Ghyaus and Mohammed Ghore Khan, ambassadors from Tipu Sultan to Nawab of the Carnatic, 17th December 1795, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, ff. 106-108.
- <sup>46</sup> Translation of a letter from Mohammed Ghyaus and Mohammed Ghore Khan, deputed by Tipu Sultan to the Nawab of the Carnatic, without date, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, ff. 111-112.
- <sup>47</sup> Mr. Edmonstone's Report, 6 April 1800, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, ff. 121-122.

- <sup>48</sup> Ibid., f. 122.
- <sup>49</sup> Key to a Cypher found among the Records at Seringapatam received in Calcutta the 2nd March 1800, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 47.
- <sup>50</sup> Mr. Edmonstone's Report, 6 April 1800, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 142.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibid., f. 123.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid., f. 163-4.
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid., f. 159.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid., f. 161.
- <sup>55</sup> Ibid., ff. 165-166.
- <sup>56</sup> Ibid., f. 124.
- <sup>57</sup> Ibid., f. 137.
- <sup>58</sup> Ibid., f. 137.
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid., f. 123.
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid., f. 142.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid., f. 153.
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid., ff. 194-195.
- <sup>63</sup> Ibid., f. 195.
- <sup>64</sup> Translation of a letter from Mohammed Ozman, Vakil to Haidar Ali Khan, received 30th January 1773, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 283.
- <sup>65</sup> Ibid., ff. 284-285.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid., f. 288.
- <sup>67</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid., f. 291.
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Memorandum of the Persian Translator on the Contents of the Proceeding Letter from Haidar Ali's Vakil in 1773, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 295.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., f. 299 [footnote].

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 295.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., ff. 305-306.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., ff. 306-307.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., f. 308.

<sup>77</sup> Ultimate Report from the Persian Translator, British Library, Add. Mss. 13656, Papers on the Affairs of the Carnatic, f. 10.

<sup>78</sup> Ultimate Report from the Persian Translator, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 487.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., f. 499.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., f. 491.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., f. 492.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., f. 500.

<sup>83</sup> Ultimate Report from the Persian Translator, British Library, Add. Mss. 13656, Papers on the Affairs of the Carnatic, f. 4.

<sup>84</sup> Ultimate Report from the Persian Translator, OIOC, Home Misc Series 293, f. 496.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., f. 505.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., ff. 513-514.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., f. 507.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., f. 508.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., f. 509.

- <sup>90</sup> Ultimate Report from the Persian Translator, British Library, Add. Mss. 13656, Papers on the Affairs of the Carnatic, f. 8.
- <sup>91</sup> *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 181.
- <sup>92</sup> Wellesley to Dundas, 25 January 1800, British Library, Add. Mss. 37275, f. 8.
- <sup>93</sup> Henry Addington in London to Richard Wellesley, 28th September 1802, in *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 152.
- <sup>94</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>95</sup> *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 187.
- <sup>96</sup> Neil Edmonstone from Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 11 June 1799, Elmore.
- <sup>97</sup> Neil Edmonstone from Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in Britain, 19 January 1800, Elmore.
- <sup>98</sup> Michael Fischer, *A Clash of Cultures: Awadh, The British and the Mughals*, 96.
- <sup>99</sup> Valentia, vol. I, 135.
- <sup>100</sup> Ibid., 116.
- <sup>101</sup> Ibid., 108, 112; *Additional Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette*, April 15, 1802, recounts details of Wellesley's visit to Awadh.
- <sup>102</sup> Valentia, vol. I, 133.
- <sup>103</sup> Captain Frith from camp at Patab Gurh to James Law in London, 20 December 1801, Home Misc Series 235, f. 561.
- <sup>104</sup> John Lumsden in Lucknow to Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta, 16th September 1798, British Library Add. Mss. 37281, f. 44.
- <sup>105</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>106</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>107</sup> Ibid., f. 45.
- <sup>108</sup> Wellesley to Lumsden, 23 December 1798, quoted in D. P. Sinha, *British Relations With Oudh: 1801-1856* (New Delhi: K. P. Bagchi & Co., 1983), 19.

- <sup>109</sup> *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 190.
- <sup>110</sup> Neil Edmonstone at Fort William to Lt. Col. William Scott in Lucknow, 5 June 1801, in *The Asiatic Annual Register for 1807*, vol. IX, [London: 1809], 80.
- <sup>111</sup> *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 206.
- <sup>112</sup> Adrian Sever, *Nepal Under the Ranas* (Sittingbourne, U.K.: Asia Publishing House, 1993), 25.
- <sup>113</sup> Captain W.D. Knox in Benares to William Kirkpatrick, 12th March 1801, OIOC, Mss Eur F 228/29, f. 13 (v.).
- <sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 15.
- <sup>115</sup> Captain W.D. Knox in Benares to Neil Edmonstone, 18 April, 1801, OIOC, Mss Eur F 228/29, f. 24.
- <sup>116</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Patna to Willima Kirkpatrick, 22nd October 1801, OIOC, Mss Eur F 228/29, f. 50.
- <sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 51 (v.)-52.
- <sup>118</sup> Neil Edmonstone at Fort William to Lieutenant Colonel William Scott in Lucknow, 27 May 1801, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 527, Letters to the Residents at Lucknow, vol. II, f. 11.
- <sup>119</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Scott to Mornington, 18 February 1800, OIOC, Home Misc Series 235, f. 530.
- <sup>120</sup> Sa'adat Ali Khan in Lucknow to Richard Wellesley in Calcutta, 14th January 1801, OIOC, Mss. Eur 228/29, f. 32 (v.).
- <sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 32 (v.)-33.
- <sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 33 (v.).
- <sup>123</sup> Neil Edmonstone at Fort William to Lieutenant Colonel William Scott in Lucknow, 27 May 1801, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 527, Letters to the Residents at Lucknow, vol. II, f. 13.
- <sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 14.
- <sup>125</sup> Extract of a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Scott Resident at Lucknow to Mr. Edmonstone, 2 July 1801, OIOC, Home Misc Series 235, f. 509.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., ff. 509-510.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., f. 511.

<sup>128</sup> Neil Edmonstone on the River [Ganges] to Henry Wellesley and Lt. Col. Scott at Lucknow, 19 September 1801, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 526, Letters to the Residents at Lucknow, vol. I, f. 82.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., ff. 86, 89.

<sup>130</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to William Kirkpatrick in Kanpur, 1st May 1801, OIOC, Mss. Eur F 228/29, f. 3.

<sup>131</sup> Richard Wellesley from Monghur to Henry Wellesley in Lucknow, September 28, 1801, British Library, Add. Mss. 13, 527, Letters to the Residents at Lucknow, vol. II, f. 99-100.

<sup>132</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Patna to William Kirkpatrick, 22nd October 1801, OIOC, Mss. Eur 228/29, ff. 50-51.

<sup>133</sup> Valentia, vol. I, 108, 112; *Additional Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette*, April 15, 1802, recounts details of Wellesley's visit to Awadh.

<sup>134</sup> Charles Metcalfe in Kanpur to J.W. Sherer, 17th February 1802, quoted in John William Kaye, *The Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, vol. I (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1858), 46.

<sup>135</sup> *Additional Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette*, April 15, 1802.

<sup>136</sup> Charles Metcalfe in Kanpur to J.W. Sherer, 17th February 1802, quoted in John William Kaye, *The Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, vol. I (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1858), 46.

<sup>137</sup> Neil Edmonstone at Fort William to Archibald Seton, 6th August 1803, British Library. Add. Mss. 13, 576, Letters to A. Seton, Agent in the Ceded Provinces, 1803-1805, f. 12.

<sup>138</sup> Lawrence Dundas Campbell, *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1804*, [London: 1806], 10.

<sup>139</sup> Sinha, 36.

## CHAPTER NINE

- <sup>1</sup> C. Newton, *Calcutta Landmarks* (Calcutta: Amrita Bazar Patrika, n.d.), 6.
- <sup>2</sup> Marquis Curzon of Kedleston, *British Government in India: The Story of the Viceroys and Government Houses*, vol. I (London: Cassell and Company, 1925), 208.
- <sup>3</sup> *Valentia*, vol. I, 72.
- <sup>4</sup> *Hartley House, Calcutta*, notes on the 1908 edition, 367.
- <sup>5</sup> *Valentia*, vol. I, 40.
- <sup>6</sup> *Sketches of India*, 2.
- <sup>7</sup> Sir James Mackintosh to Mr. Sharp, June 1804, quoted in Pierce, 283.
- <sup>8</sup> *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary*, April 19, 1802, 1.
- <sup>9</sup> *Calcutta Gazette*, November 4, 1802, 2.
- <sup>10</sup> *Calcutta Gazette*, May 6, 1802, 3.
- <sup>11</sup> See the *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary*, May 4, 1802, 1, for a report of Harris's gift; and the *Calcutta Gazette*, May 6, 1802, 2, for an account of the breakfast.
- <sup>12</sup> *Calcutta Gazette*, May 5, 1803, 3.
- <sup>13</sup> *Calcutta Gazette*, Nov. 4, 1802, 2.
- <sup>14</sup> Curzon, 109.
- <sup>15</sup> *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1803* (London: 1804), 72.
- <sup>16</sup> *Valentia*, vol. I, 37.
- <sup>17</sup> *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1803*, 72.
- <sup>18</sup> "Splendid Fete, given by Marquis Wellesley, in honour of the Peace of Amiens," *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1803*, 70.

- <sup>19</sup> Valentia, vol. I, 37; *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1803*, 70.
- <sup>20</sup> *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1803*, 70.
- <sup>21</sup> Curzon, 109.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>23</sup> Valentia, vol. I, 37-38.
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid., 38.
- <sup>25</sup> *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1803*, 70.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid., 71.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid., 72.
- <sup>28</sup> Curzon, 210; *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1803*, 71.
- <sup>29</sup> NBE to Charles Edmonstone, 10 December 1802, Elmore.
- <sup>30</sup> NBE *Autobiography*, ff. 37 (v.)-39.
- <sup>31</sup> Curzon, 118.
- <sup>32</sup> NBE to Charles Edmonstone, 3 December 1800, Elmore.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>34</sup> NBE *Autobiography*, f. 34.
- <sup>35</sup> *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1801* (London: 1802), 45.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid., 31-32.
- <sup>37</sup> G. Smith, *Life of William Carey*, D.D. (London: John Murray, 1885), 1.
- <sup>38</sup> NBE in Calcutta to William Kirkpatrick, 1 May 1801, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/29, Edmonstone and Wellesley's Negotiations with Oude, f. 5-6.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid, f. 6.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid., f. 7.

- <sup>42</sup> Ibid., ff. 7-8.
- <sup>43</sup> NBE from Calcutta to James Achilles Kirkpatrick in Hyderabad, 30<sup>th</sup> July 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70.
- <sup>44</sup> "Proceedings of the College of Fort William," in Home Miscellaneous Series, DLIX (October 31, 1801), Indian National Archives, New Delhi, 12; Ibid., April 24, 1801, 1-6.
- <sup>45</sup> *The Calcutta Gazette*, Feb. 11, 1802, 2.
- <sup>46</sup> *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes, 1816-1823*, vol. V, Calcutta: S.G. Printing, 1869, 287.
- <sup>47</sup> John William Kaye, *The Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, vol. I, London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1858, 33.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid., 22, 34.
- <sup>49</sup> Edwardes, *Glorious Sahibs*, 52.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid., 82.
- <sup>51</sup> Henry Truitt in Calcutta to William Adam, 16 July 17, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 109/81, f. 96.
- <sup>52</sup> John Adam in Calcutta to his father, Aug. 4, 1795, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 109/81.
- <sup>53</sup> In addition to formal occasions, Neil, as was common with most senior Company men, kept a "table," or regular dinner parties to which favored young employees were invited.
- <sup>54</sup> Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, f. 35.
- <sup>55</sup> NBE to his father, 6 March 1800, Elmore.
- <sup>56</sup> NBE's *Autobiography*, f. 35.
- <sup>57</sup> R.C. Wellesley's *Despatches* edited by Martin, Vol. III, xi, note.
- <sup>58</sup> An East-India Register and Directory for 1803 (London: Cox, Son, and Baylis, 1803), 1.
- <sup>59</sup> NBE's *Autobiography*, f. 36.

- <sup>60</sup> Ibid., f. 34 (v.).
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid., ff. 36-37.
- <sup>62</sup> *The Asiatic Mirror*, #1699 (September 18, 1816), contains an advertisement for the sale of this house.
- <sup>63</sup> NBE's *Autobiography*, f. 39.
- <sup>64</sup> Ibid., f. 39 (v.).
- <sup>65</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, "General Observations of an Officer employed to take a Military Survey of a Country," OIOC, Home Misc Series 657, f. 29.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid., f. 30.
- <sup>67</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid., f. 31.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid, ff. 33-34.
- <sup>71</sup> Ibid., ff. 34-36.
- <sup>72</sup> Ibid, ff. 38-41.
- <sup>73</sup> Ibid., f. 43.
- <sup>74</sup> Ibid., ff. 43-46.
- <sup>75</sup> Ibid., ff. 50-51.
- <sup>76</sup> NBE's *Autobiography*, f. 36.
- <sup>77</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Achilles Kirkpatrick in Hyderabad, 2 July 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, ff. 30-31.
- <sup>78</sup> NBE to Charles Edmonstone, 23 February, 1803, Elmore.
- <sup>79</sup> NBE's *Autobiography*, ff. 36-37.
- <sup>80</sup> India Records Series, Fort William—*India House Correspondence and Other Contemporary Papers Relating Thereto, Public Series vol XIII: 1796-1800*, ed. P.C. Gupta (Calcutta: S.N. Guha, 1959), 447.

- <sup>81</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Achilles Kirkpatrick in Hyderabad, 11 October 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, ff. 60-62.
- <sup>82</sup> Ibid., f. 2.
- <sup>83</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Achilles Kirkpatrick in Hyderabad, 30 July 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70.
- <sup>84</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in Britain, 23 February 1803, Elmore.
- <sup>85</sup> NBE in Madras to William Edmonstone in Calcutta, 5 June 1700, Elmore.
- <sup>86</sup> NBE in Calcutta to his uncle B. Harene, 22 October 1798, Elmore.
- <sup>87</sup> Sir Archibald Edmonstone's will, dated Sept. 1794 (later additions undated), Elmore, ff. 16-17.
- <sup>88</sup> Ibid., f. 17.
- <sup>89</sup> Ibid., f. 24.
- <sup>90</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>91</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Sir Archibald Edmonstone, 8 September 1800, Elmore.
- <sup>92</sup> Neil Edmonstone in Calcutta to Charles Edmonstone in Britain, 23 February 1803, Elmore.
- <sup>93</sup> *Ecclesiastical Returns, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1801-1803*, OIOC.
- <sup>94</sup> The Wellington Despatches, 462.

## CHAPTER TEN

- <sup>1</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone (afterwards NBE), in Calcutta, to James Achilles Kirkpatrick (afterwards JAK), in Hyderabad, 24 January 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, f. 3.
- <sup>2</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to JAK, in Hyderabad, 26 April 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, f. 11.

<sup>3</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to JAK in Hyderabad, 18 May 1802, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/83, Kirkpatrick collection, ff. 38-39.

<sup>4</sup> NBE to JAK, 29 August 1802, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/83, f. 50.

<sup>5</sup> JAK, Political Memoir on Mysore, November 1799, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/28, ff. 3-5.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., ff. 5 (v.)-6.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., ff. 6 (v.)-7.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., f. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., f. 12 (v.).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., ff. 18-18 (v.).

<sup>12</sup> Nani Gopal Chaudhuri, *British Relations with Hyderabad: 1798-1843* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1964), 291.

<sup>13</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to JAK, in Hyderabad, 23 May 1801, OIOC, Mss. Eur F 151/107, f. 47 (v.).

<sup>14</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to JAK, in Hyderabad, 8 December 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70.

<sup>15</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to Barry Close, in Poonah, May 30 1803, cited in *The Wellesley Despatches* (1815 edition), 106.

<sup>16</sup> *The Wellesley Despatches* (1815 edition), 214.

<sup>17</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to JAK, in Hyderabad, 26 April 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, f. 12.

<sup>18</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to JAK, in Hyderabad, 22 May 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, f. 13.

<sup>19</sup> NBE, in Fort William, to JAK, in Hyderabad, 23 May 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, f. 16.

<sup>20</sup> JAK, in Hyderabad, to NBE, in Calcutta, 27 May 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, f. 20.

- <sup>21</sup> Ibid., f. 21.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid., f. 22.
- <sup>23</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, JAK, in Hyderabad, 2 July 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, ff. 26-27.
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid., f. 31.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid., f. 34.
- <sup>26</sup> JAK, in Hyderabad, to NBE, in Calcutta, 19 July 1803, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70 f. 47.
- <sup>27</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to John Collins, at the Court of Sindhia, 3 June 1803, contained within *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 327.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>29</sup> *Glorious Sahibs*, 36-37.
- <sup>30</sup> Richard Wellesley, in Calcutta, to General Gerard Lake, Official no. 4, Secret, 27 July 1803, OIOC, HMS 485, Secret Consultations on the Marathas, ff. 91-93.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid, f. 97.
- <sup>32</sup> Richard Wellesley, in Calcutta, to His Majesty Shah Allam, in Delhi, 27 July 1803, OIOC, HMS 485, Secret Consultations on the Marathas, f. 103.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid., f. 105.
- <sup>34</sup> Gerard Lake, in Headquarters at Camp 4 Coss on the Delhi side of Secundia, to Richard Wellesley, in Calcutta, Sept. 10, 1803, OIOC, HMS 485, Secret Consultations on the Marathas, f. 269.
- <sup>35</sup> Richard Wellesley, in Calcutta, to Gerard Lake, 1 August 1803, OIOC, HMS 485, Secret Consultations on the Marathas, ff. 142-143.
- <sup>36</sup> Gerard Lake to Wellesley, in Calcutta, 12 August 1803, OIOC, HMS 485, Secret Consultations on the Marathas, ff. 215-217.
- <sup>37</sup> William Scott, in Lucknow, to NBE, in Calcutta, 10 September 1803, OIOC, HMS 485, Secret Consultations on the Marathas, 491.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid., f. 493.

- <sup>39</sup> Ibid., f. 495.
- <sup>40</sup> "The Mahratta War," in *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1803*, London, 1804, 1.
- <sup>41</sup> *The Asiatic Miscellany*, W. Chambers and Sir W. Jones (ed.) (Calcutta, 1777), 149.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>43</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: Selected and Abridged from a Series of Familiar Letters Written During Seventeen Years Residence in India*, vol. II (London: White, Cochrane and Co., 1813), 41-44.
- <sup>44</sup> Estimate based on the observations in 1801 of George Thomas. From William Francklin, *Military Memoires of Mr. George Thomas who . . . rose from an Obscure Situation to the Rank of General in the Service of the Native Powers in the North-West of India*, (London: Stockdale, 1805), 297.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>46</sup> Richard Wellesley (letter written by NBE for Wellesley's signature), to Gerard Lake, 24 September 1803, OIOC, HMS 485, Secret Consultations on the Marathas, f. 503.
- <sup>47</sup> NBE, "Memoir of the Situation in Bundelkhand," British Library, Add. Mss. 13591, Papers Relating to Bundelkhand, f. 1.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid., f. 5.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid., f. 6.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>51</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to Captain Baillie, Agent to his Excellency the Commander in Chief in Bundelkhand, 2 February 1804, British Library, Add. Mss. 13591, Papers Relating to Bundelkhand, f. 11.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid., f. 12.
- <sup>53</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to Captain Baillie, in Bundelkhand, 5 July 1804, British Library, Add. Mss. 13591, Papers Relating to Bundelkhand, f. 17.
- <sup>54</sup> Neil Edmonstone, "Memoir of the Situation in Bundelkhand," British Library, Add.. Mss. 13591, Papers Relating to Bundelkhand, f. 7.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., f. 8.

<sup>57</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to Captain John Baillie, in Bundelkhand, 9 September 1804, British Library, Add. Mss. 13591, Papers Relating to Bundelkhand, f. 26.

<sup>58</sup> John Baillie, in Banda, to NBE, in Calcutta, 30 November 1806, OIOC, HMS 636, f. 326.

<sup>59</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to John Baillie, 13 June 1814, British Library, Add. Mss. 13591, Papers Relating to Bundelkhand, f. 14.

<sup>60</sup> Moon, 321.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 322.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 326.

<sup>63</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to JAK, in Hyderabad, 9 January 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/71, Kirkpatrick Collection, f. 1.

<sup>64</sup> *The Wellington Despatches*, 465-67.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to John Baillie, 13 June 1814, British Library, Add. Mss. 13591, Papers Relating to Bundelkhand, f. 14.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> *The Wellington Despatches*, 465-67.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 471.

<sup>70</sup> Lord Castlereagh, in London, to Richard Wellesley, in Calcutta, 9 September 1803, cited in Martin, vol. IV, 32. Castlereagh informed Wellesley that the Company's stock had fallen since the commencement of the Maratha wars from 215 to 160.

<sup>71</sup> Martin, vol. IV, 520.

<sup>72</sup> *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 250.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

- <sup>74</sup> Arthur Wellesley, in Bombay, to Major Malcolm, 30 March 1804, *The Wellington Despatches*, 332.
- <sup>75</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, JAK, in Hyderabad, 16 August 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, f. 43-45.
- <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 45.
- <sup>77</sup> JAK, in Hyderabad, to Richard Wellesley, in Calcutta, 7 December 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/64, f. 35.
- <sup>78</sup> JAK, in Hyderabad, to NBE, in Calcutta, 9 March 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/64, f. 2.
- <sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>80</sup> JAK, in Hyderabad, to NBE, in Calcutta, 11 July 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/64, f. 8.
- <sup>81</sup> JAK, in Hyderabad, to NBE, in Calcutta, 9 March 1806, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, f. 17.
- <sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>84</sup> Translation of a letter from Meer Alam to Major Kirkpatrick, Resident at Hyderabad, received 8 July 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/64, f. 41.
- <sup>85</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, JAK, in Hyderabad, 22 May 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, f. 25.
- <sup>86</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to JAK, in Hyderabad, 16 June 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, f. 30.
- <sup>87</sup> Translation of a Verbal Statement made by a Female Intelligencer in Hyderabad, 20 June 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/64, f. 49.
- <sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>89</sup> JAK, in Hyderabad, to NBE, in Calcutta, 29 July 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/64 f. 15.
- <sup>90</sup> Translation of a verbal statement made by the same female Intelligencer in Hyderabad, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/64, f. 50.
- <sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 50 (v.).

<sup>92</sup> Statement made by Rajah Toog Teewan Dos of Intelligence which was verbally communicated to him by Syed ood Dowlah, a near relation of Meer Aulum, August 14, 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/64, No. 3, f. 51.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., f. 52.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., f. 54.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Translation of a written Statement delivered by Gholaumee Sahib, of Information which he received from Kysur Jung the former Aruzbeyu of H.H. Secunder Jah, August 28, 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/64, f. 61.

<sup>97</sup> Translation of a letter from Shuhgur ool Moolk to Major Kirkpatrick, Received 25 September 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/64, No. 20, f. 73.

<sup>98</sup> JAK, in Hyderabad, to NBE, in Calcutta, 9 October 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/64 f. 94 (v.).

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., f. 95 (v.).

<sup>100</sup> JAK, in Hyderabad, to Richard Wellesley, in Calcutta, 7 December 1804, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/64, f. 34 (v.).

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., f. 26.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., f. 34.

<sup>104</sup> NBE in Calcutta, to JAK, in Hyderabad, 6 July 1805, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, f. 49.

<sup>105</sup> NBE, in Calcutta, to JAK, in Hyderabad, 21 August 1805, OIOC, Mss. EUR F 228/70, f. 63.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., f. 65.

<sup>107</sup> Richard Wellesley, in Calcutta, to Gerard Lake, 2 March 1804, OIOC, Home Misc Series 485, Secret Consultations on the Marathas, Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, f. 4.

<sup>108</sup> NBE, Secret and Confidential Notes on Holkar, Fort William, 28 July 1804, OIOC, HMS 626, f. 21.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., f. 23.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., f. 25.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., ff. 27-28.

<sup>113</sup> Minute of the Chairman, Jacob Bosonquet, to the Committee, 23 December 1803, OIOC, Minutes of the Secret Committees, 11 April 1782 to 9 April 1806, L/P & S/I/9.

<sup>114</sup> Neil Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, ff. 36-37.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

<sup>1</sup> Charles Cornwallis to Lt. General Ross, 6 September 1803, in *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquess Cornwallis*, vol. III, ed. Charles Ross (London: John Murray, 1859), 501.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Cornwallis to Ross, 18 December 1803, in Ross, 508; Cornwallis to Ross, 14 October 1804, in Ross, 518.

<sup>3</sup> Wickwire, 265.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Kaye, 183.

<sup>6</sup> *Papers Presented to the House of Commons Relating to East India Affairs viz. Copies of all letters from the late Marquess Cornwallis, Governor-General of Bengal*, ordered to be printed 19th February, 1808, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Kaye, 239.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Mr. Robinson to George Barlow, October 1, 1805, 185.

<sup>9</sup> Neil Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, ff. 40-41.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., f. 41.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., f. 43.

- <sup>12</sup> Copy of Testimonial from George Barlow, September, 1837, attached to Neil Edmonstone's *Autobiography*, f. 20 (v.)
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 20.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 42.
- <sup>15</sup> Charles Grant and George Smith, Chairs of the Board, from East India House, to Lord Minto, 8 March 1806, Papers Respecting the Appointment and Recall of Sir George Hilaro Barlow, the Proposed Succession of the Earl of Lauderdale and the Actual Succession of Lord Minto to the Governor-Generalship of India, OIOC, HMS 506, f. 233.
- <sup>16</sup> Testimonial from Sir George Barlow, September 1837, contained within Edmonstone's *Autobiography*, f. 20-21.
- <sup>17</sup> Kaye, 239.
- <sup>18</sup> Neil Edmonstone on the Ganges near Plassey to Barry Close at Poona, August 18, 1805, *Cornwallis Papers*, 9.
- <sup>19</sup> Charles Cornwallis to the directors, August 28, 1805, *Cornwallis Papers*, 6.
- <sup>20</sup> Quoted in Kaye, 237.
- <sup>21</sup> Neil Edmonstone on the Ganges near Berhampore to Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick, August 21, 1805, *Cornwallis Papers*, 12.
- <sup>22</sup> *The Wellesley Despatches* (1877 edition), 811.
- <sup>23</sup> Cornwallis to Arthur Wellesley, 16 August 1805, in Ross, 541.
- <sup>24</sup> Barlow at Ft. William to Castlereagh in London, 9 June 1806, OIOC, Mss. EUR 176/29, f. 67.
- <sup>25</sup> Sir George Hilaro Barlow from Fort William to Lord Castlereagh in London, 15 March 1806, OIOC, Home Misc Series 506, f. 13.
- <sup>26</sup> Cornwallis to Lt. Col. Malcolm, 14 August 1805, in Ross, 540.
- <sup>27</sup> John Collins in Lucknow to Barlow, 19 October 1805, OIOC, Mss. EUR/F 176/28.
- <sup>28</sup> Sir George Hilaro Barlow from Fort William to Lord Castlereagh in London, 9 June 1806, OIOC, Home Misc Series 506, ff. 149-153.

- <sup>29</sup> George R at Saint James, to the Directors, 28 May 1806, OIOC, HMS 506, f. 285.
- <sup>30</sup> Lord Minto to the Chairs, 29 May 1806, OIOC, HMS 506, f. 312.
- <sup>31</sup> Barlow in Calcutta to Thomas Grenville, 16 January 1807, OIOC, Mss. EUR 176/29, f. 115.
- <sup>32</sup> W. F. Elphinstone, Chairman of the Court, and Edward Parry, Deputy Chairman, to Minto, 6 June 1806, OIOC, HMS 506, ff. 331-342.
- <sup>33</sup> Claudius Buchanan, *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India* (1805; reprint 1811), 14.
- <sup>34</sup> Eli Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793-1837* (Cambridge, 1967), 2.
- <sup>35</sup> George D. Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858* (London, 1961), 80.
- <sup>36</sup> Penelope Carson, "An Imperial Dilemma: The Propagation of Christianity in Early Colonial India," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 18 (May 1990): 173.
- <sup>37</sup> Cyril H. Philips, *The East India Company, 1784-1834* (Manchester, 1961), 159.
- <sup>38</sup> David Hempton, "Evangelicalism in English and Irish Society, 1780-1840," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, ed. Mark A. Noll (New York: Oxford, 1994), 162.
- <sup>39</sup> Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, 13.
- <sup>40</sup> Quoted in Hugh Pearson, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Claudius Buchanan* (New York, 1818), 91.
- <sup>41</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Bombay to Jonathan Duncan, Governor in Council, 15th February 1808, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 150.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.
- <sup>43</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Kirby Hall to the Court of Directors, 25th May 1813, OIOC, Home Misc Series 59, f. 533.
- <sup>44</sup> Buchanan, *Memoir*, 14.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

- <sup>46</sup> Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, 40.
- <sup>47</sup> Buchanan, *Memoir*, 59, 60, 62.
- <sup>48</sup> Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, 54; Pearson, *Memoir of the Life*, 138.
- <sup>49</sup> Claudius Buchanan, from Buddruch, 31st May, 1806, in "Letters Written During Travels Through Part of British India Between 1806 and 1808," OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 6.
- <sup>50</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Kirby Hall to the Court of Directors, 25th May 1813, OIOC, Home Misc Series 59, f. 534.
- <sup>51</sup> Claudius Buchanan from Jagannath, 14th June 1806, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 12.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>54</sup> Claudius Buchanan from the Plain of Skulls, Jagannath, 20th June 1806, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, ff. 19-20.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 22-23.
- <sup>56</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Kirby Hall to the Court of Directors, 25th May 1813, OIOC, Home Misc Series 59, f. 513.
- <sup>57</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Ganjan, 29th June 1806, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 26.
- <sup>58</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Vizagapatam, 12th July 1806, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 28.
- <sup>59</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Madras 6th August 1806, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 33.
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 34.
- <sup>62</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Tanjore, 1st September 1806, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 38.
- <sup>63</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Tanjore, 2nd September 1806, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 40.

- <sup>64</sup> Ibid., f. 42.
- <sup>65</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Ramnadpooram, 29th September 1806, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 52.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid., f. 58.
- <sup>67</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Tanjore, 2nd September 1806, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 48.
- <sup>68</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Trivandram Palace of the King of Travancore, 27th October 1806, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 69.
- <sup>69</sup> Buchanan, *Memoir*, 13.
- <sup>70</sup> William Ward, Journal, quoted in Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, 55.
- <sup>71</sup> Claudius Buchanan, *An Apology for Promoting Christianity in India* (Boston, 1814), 51.
- <sup>72</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Cochin, 5th December 1806, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, ff. 79-80.
- <sup>73</sup> Ibid., f. 82.
- <sup>74</sup> Ibid., f. 83.
- <sup>75</sup> Ibid., f. 104.
- <sup>76</sup> Ibid., f. 107.
- <sup>77</sup> Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia* (New York, 1812), 68, iii.
- <sup>78</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Cochin, 5th December 1806, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 108.
- <sup>79</sup> Ibid., 109.
- <sup>80</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>81</sup> Ibid., ff. 109-110.
- <sup>82</sup> Ibid., 113.
- <sup>83</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Cochin, 23rd January 1807, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, f. 127.

- <sup>84</sup> Ibid., f. 126.
- <sup>85</sup> Ibid., f. 127.
- <sup>86</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Bombay, 10th February 1808, OIOC, Mss Eur D 122, ff. 142-143.
- <sup>87</sup> Ibid., f. 144.
- <sup>88</sup> Ibid., ff. 144-145. The inquisition was ended permanently in Goa in 1812.
- <sup>89</sup> Buchanan, *Memoir*, 27.
- <sup>90</sup> NBE, *Autobiography*, f. 43.
- <sup>91</sup> Copy of a Testimonial from George Barlow, September 1837, attached to Neil Edmonstone's *Autobiography*, f. 21.
- <sup>92</sup> Thomas Sydenham to Neil Edmonstone, 23 July 1806, OIOC, Home Misc Series 507, ff. 528-529.
- <sup>93</sup> Thomas Sydenham from Hyderabad to George Buchan, Chief Secretary to the Government at Fort William, 14th September 1806, OIOC, Home Misc Series 509, f. 348.
- <sup>94</sup> Ibid., f. 349.
- <sup>95</sup> Translation of an Arzee found in the Palaces of His Highness the Nizam, transmitted to Calcutta by Thomas Sydenham, resident at Hyderabad, OIOC, Home Misc Series 509, f. 352.
- <sup>96</sup> Ibid., f. 352.
- <sup>97</sup> Thomas Sydenham from Hyderabad to George Buchan, 14th September 1806, OIOC, Home Misc Series 509, f. 343.
- <sup>98</sup> Ibid., 344. The two sepoy involved were Kulas Singh of the 15th regiment and Subah Singh, regiment not given in the letter.
- <sup>99</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>100</sup> Ibid., ff. 345-346.
- <sup>101</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, "Report on the Subject of the Freedom of the Press in India," fol. 130; Testimonial from Sir George Barlow, September 1837,

contained within the "Autobiography of Neil Benjamin Edmonstone," British Library, Add. Mss. 36471, f. 21.

<sup>102</sup> Neil Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, f. 43.

<sup>103</sup> Neil Edmonstone to Thomas Sydenham, 1st September 1806, OIOC, Home Misc Series 509, f. 372.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 373.

<sup>105</sup> George Hilario Barlow in Calcutta to Richard Wellesley in Britain, 19th February 1807, OIOC, Home Misc Series 509, f. 147.

<sup>106</sup> Neil Edmonstone to Thomas Sydenham, 1st September 1806, OIOC, Home Misc Series 509, f. 373.

<sup>107</sup> Neil Edmonstone at Madras to George Buchan in Calcutta, 19th September 1806, OIOC, Home Misc Series 509, f. 315-317.

<sup>108</sup> Neil Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, f. 43.

<sup>109</sup> See R. E. Frykenburg, "New Light on the Vellore Mutiny," in *East India Company Studies*, ed. Kenneth Ballhatchet and John Harrison (Hong Kong, 1986); P. Chinnian, *Vellore Mutiny* (Saidapet, Madras, 1982); Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: 1707-1858* (Cambridge, 1985), 150; John Scott-Waring, *Observations on the Present State of the East India Company* (London, 1808), iii; Philips, *The East India Company*, 160.

<sup>110</sup> J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward* (London: Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1859), I, 118-120.

<sup>111</sup> Neil Edmonstone, Proclamation to the Muslim Residents of Calcutta, 19th February 1804, OIOC, Mss Eur F 228/70, f. 12.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 13.

<sup>113</sup> NBE to James Achilles Kirkpatrick, 21 February 1804, Mss Eur F 228/70, f. 9.

<sup>114</sup> NBE to Carey, 8 September 1807, letter, OIOC, Home Misc. Series 690, fol. 56.

<sup>115</sup> Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, 183; Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, from Calcutta, to [Reverend William Carey, at Serampore] 8 September 1807, OIOC, Home Misc. Series 690, fols. 57-58.

<sup>116</sup> William Ward, Journal, quoted in Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, 185.

- <sup>117</sup> John Adam, Minute in Answer to Objections Against Permitting the Establishment of a Christian Press at Surat," OIOC, the Adam's Papers, Mss Eur F 109/56, f. 3.
- <sup>118</sup> Neil Edmonstone, "Autobiography," f. 42.
- <sup>119</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>120</sup> NBE to Thomas Sydenham, 1st September 1806, OIOC, Home Misc Series 509, f. 373.
- <sup>121</sup> George Hilario Barlow to Thomas Grenville at Fort William, 12th February 1807, OIOC, the Barlow Papers, Mss Eur 176/29, f. 135.
- <sup>122</sup> Neil Benjamin Edmonstone from Fort William to [Reverend William Carey at Serampore] 5 October 1807, OIOC, Home Misc. Series 690, fol. 141; Thomas Twining, *A Letter to the Chairman of the East India Company. On the Danger of Interfering in the Religious Opinions of the Natives of India* (London, 1807), 21.
- <sup>123</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, 160.
- <sup>124</sup> Scott-Waring, *A Letter to the Reverend John Owen* (London, 1808), 33; Scott-Waring, *Observations*, xlv.
- <sup>125</sup> Scott-Waring, *A Letter to Owen*, 33; David Hopkins, *The Danger to British India from French Invasion and Missionary Establishments* (London, 1809), 14.
- <sup>126</sup> Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1808, quoted in Andrew Porter, "'Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, (25: 3), 369.
- <sup>127</sup> Scott-Waring, *Observations*, xiv.
- <sup>128</sup> Id., xlv; Hopkins, *Danger to British India*, 26.
- <sup>129</sup> Hopkins, *Danger to British India*, 50.
- <sup>130</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Kirby Hall to the Court of Directors, 25th May 1813, OIOC, Home Misc Series 59, f. 536.
- <sup>131</sup> Twining, ii.
- <sup>132</sup> Scott-Waring, *Letter to Owen*, 81, 8.
- <sup>133</sup> Scott-Waring, *Observations*, xii, xxxvi.

- <sup>134</sup> John Scott-Waring, *Remarks on the Sermons Preached Before the University of Oxford* (London, 1808), 63.
- <sup>135</sup> Hopkins, *Danger to British India*, 3.
- <sup>136</sup> Scott-Waring, *Remarks on the Sermons*, 43; Hopkins, *Danger to British India*, 54; Scott-Waring, *Observations*, lxvii.
- <sup>137</sup> Andrew Fuller, *An Apology for the Late Christian Mission to India* (London, 1808), 4.
- <sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 73 (emphasis in original).
- <sup>139</sup> [John Scott-Waring], *A Vindication of the Hindoos: Part the Second* (London, 1808), 106, 6.
- <sup>140</sup> Buchanan, *Christian Researches*, 142.
- <sup>141</sup> Claudius Buchanan, *Letter from Tanjore, India, September 1, 1806* (New Haven, Conn., 1809), 2; Buchanan, *An Apology*, 8-9.
- <sup>142</sup> Buchanan, "Christian Researches in Asia," in *The Works of Claudius Buchanan* (New York, 1812), 33-34.
- <sup>143</sup> John Shore, Baron Teignmouth, *Considerations on the Practicability, Policy, and Obligation of Communicating to the Natives of India the Knowledge of Christianity* (London, 1808), 4, 7, 9, 13.
- <sup>144</sup> Edward Perry to Henry Dundas, Memorandum Transmitted by the Chairs to Dundas, 26th August 1808, OIOC, Home Misc Series 59, Buchanan's Letters, f. 465 (v.).
- <sup>145</sup> Henry Dundas at Melville Castle to Edward Perry, 6th September 1808, OIOC, Home Misc Series 59, f. 473.
- <sup>146</sup> C. Buller to the Court of Directors, 10th May 1813, OIOC, Home Misc Series 59, f. 497 and following.
- <sup>147</sup> Claudius Buchanan at Kirby Hall to the Court of Directors, 25th May 1813, OIOC, Home Misc Series 59, f. 513.
- <sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 535.
- <sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 513 (v).

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., f. 522.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 529.

<sup>152</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, 164; Scott-Waring, *Remarks on the Sermons*, 10.

<sup>153</sup> Hopkins, *Danger to British India*, 23.

<sup>154</sup> East India Question, *Debates at the General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock on the 22nd and 26th June, 1813 on a Bill Pending in Parliament for a Renewal of the Company's Charter* (London, 1813), 185.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 220.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 221, 241; Charles Marsh, *Substance of a Speech by Charles Marsh Esq. in a Committee of the House of Commons, July 1, 1813* (London, 1813), 6.

<sup>157</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time*, vol. 26 (London, 1813), 105.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 827.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 870.

<sup>160</sup> Joshua Marshman, *Advantages of Christianity in Promoting the Establishment and Prosperity of the British Government in India* (London, 1813), 5.

<sup>161</sup> "Papers Relating to the East India Company's Charter," *The Edinburgh Review* 20 (1812): 471.

<sup>162</sup> Indicophilus [pseud.], *An Essay on the Propagation of Christianity in India, Occasioned by the Proposed Renewal of the East India Company's Charter* (Edinburgh, 1813), 7-8.

<sup>163</sup> Andrew Porter, "Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1780-1914," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* (20: 3), 372.

<sup>164</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, 870; Carson, 184 ff.; quoted in Pearson, *Reverend Claudius Buchanan*, 69.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

<sup>1</sup> Neil travelled to Diamond Harbor to meet Minto's ship, conveyed him via the state barge back to Calcutta, and then introduced him to the other members of government. As recorded in *The Asiatic Annual Register for 1808* (London: 1811), 8.

<sup>2</sup> Minto in Barrackpore to NBE in Calcutta, 26 January 1813, Memorandum and Correspondence between Lord Minto and Mr. Edmonstone, 1809-1813, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11305, f. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Valentia, vol. I, 184.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>6</sup> Minto in Barrackpore to NBE in Calcutta, 25 January 1813, Memorandum and Correspondence between Lord Minto and Mr. Edmonstone, 1809-1813, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11305, f. 66.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, f. 67.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., ff. 67-68.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., f. 69.

<sup>10</sup> NBE to Minto, 25 January 1813, Memorandum and Correspondence between Lord Minto and Mr. Edmonstone, 1809-1813, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11305, f. 72.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., f. 73.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Neil in Calcutta to Minto in Barrackpore, 26 January 1813, Memorandum and Correspondence between Lord Minto and Mr. Edmonstone, 1809-1813, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11305, f. 87.

<sup>15</sup> NBE to Minto, 25 January 1813, Memorandum and Correspondence between Lord Minto and Mr. Edmonstone, 1809-1813, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11305, f. 75.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., f. 76.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., f. 75.

<sup>18</sup> Minto in Barrackpore to NBE in Calcutta, 26 January 1813, Memorandum and Correspondence between Lord Minto and Mr. Edmonstone, 1809-1813, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11305, f. 81.

<sup>19</sup> Neil in Calcutta to Minto in Barrackpore, 26 January 1813, Memorandum and Correspondence between Lord Minto and Mr. Edmonstone, 1809-1813, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11305, f. 93.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Denis Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973 [reprint 1938]), 131.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in Curzon, *British Government in India*, 212.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Minto in Barackpore to General Malcolm, 27 June 1809, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11286, Copies of Letters from the Governor-General from 1809-1812, f. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Sir George Hilario Barlow to Lord Minto, 28 July 1806, Cleveland Public Library, John G. White Collection, Wq 091.92 B249l, Letters to Lord Minto, f. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Minto in Fort William to Barlow in Madras, 15 July 1809, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11286, Copies of Letters from the Governor-General from 1809-1812, f. 27.

<sup>27</sup> NBE, *Autobiography*, f. 47.

<sup>28</sup> NBE in Fort St. George, Madras, to Captain J. Sydenham in Hyderabad, 24 March 1810, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11668, The Minto Papers, f. 47.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., f. 48.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., ff. 48-52.

<sup>32</sup> Neil Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, f. 44.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., f. 45.

- <sup>34</sup> Ibid., f. 51.
- <sup>35</sup> NBE to Minto, both in Calcutta, 28 June 1812, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11305, Memorandum and Correspondence between Lord Minto and Mr Edmonstone, 1809-1813, ff. 56-57.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid, f. 56.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid., f. 57.
- <sup>38</sup> Minto, Minute on Quitting the Government of India, National Library of Scotland, Mss.. 11336, f. 4.
- <sup>39</sup> Minto in Barrackpore to Colebrooke, 9 July 1810, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11286, Copies of Letters from the Governor-General from 1809-1812, f. 174, discusses a friendly dinner engagement; Minto in Barrackpore to NBE in Calcutta, 20 March 1808, National Library of Scotland, Mss.11283, Copy Book of Letters Written by the Governor-General, 1807-1808, f. 252, discusses the prisoner exchange.
- <sup>40</sup> Minto in Barrackpore to NBE in Calcutta, 24 December 1807, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11283, Copy Book of Letters Written by the Governor-General, 1807-1808, f. 122.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid., f. 123.
- <sup>42</sup> NBE, Memorandum Regarding Sindh, 3 March 1808, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11721, The Minto Papers, f. 45.
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid., f. 49.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid., f. 51.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid., f. 64.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid., f. 65.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid., f. 66.
- <sup>48</sup> NBE, Memorandum, 10 March 1808, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11721, The Minto Papers, f. 68.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid., f. 70.

- <sup>51</sup> Ibid., f. 71.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid., f. 74.
- <sup>54</sup> NBE, *Autobiography*, f. 46.
- <sup>55</sup> *Glorious Sahibs*, 43.
- <sup>56</sup> NBE in Fort William to Mountstuart Elphinstone, 6 March 1809, OIOC, Home Misc Series 657, f. 190.
- <sup>57</sup> Minto in Barrackpore to NBE in Calcutta, 11 May 1808, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11284, The Minto Letters, f. 91.
- <sup>58</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Charles Metcalfe in the Punjab, 20 June 1808, OIOC, Home Misc Series 592, f. 25.
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid., f. 27.
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid., f. 29.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid., ff. 39-40.
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid., ff. 40-41.
- <sup>63</sup> Ibid., ff. 42-43.
- <sup>64</sup> Ibid., ff. 47-50.
- <sup>65</sup> Ibid., f. 50.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid., f. 51.
- <sup>67</sup> Ibid., f. 57.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid., f. 58.
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid., f. 61.
- <sup>70</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Metcalfe in the Punjab, 11 July 1808, OIOC, Home Misc Series 592, ff. 163-164.

<sup>71</sup> NBE, Memorandum Respecting the Credibility of the Supposed Intrigue Between Rajah Runjeet Sing and Amrut Row, 25 August 1808, Home Misc Series 592, f. 257.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., f. 259.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., f. 260.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., f. 265.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., ff. 267-268.

<sup>77</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Charles Metcalfe in the Punjab, 20 June 1808, OIOC, Home Misc Series 592, ff. 63-64.

<sup>78</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Metcalfe in the Punjab, 29 April 1809, OIOC, Home Misc Series 595, ff. 78-79.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., f. 76.

<sup>80</sup> NBE in Fort William to Lt. Col. Ochterlony, 6 February 1809, British Library, Add. Mss. 37283, Wellesley Papers, Series II, Volume X, f. 35.

<sup>81</sup> NBE in Fort William to Charles Metcalfe at Ranjit Singh's court, October 31, 1808, British Library, Add. Mss. 40862, Ripon Papers, vol. I, 1704-1832, f. 25.

<sup>82</sup> NBE in Fort William to Charles Metcalfe at Ranjit Singh's court, October 31, 1808, British Library, Add. Mss. 40862, Ripon Papers, vol. I, 1704-1832, f. 26.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> NBE, *Autobiography*, f. 39.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes of the Years 1806 to 1815*, volume IV, ed. Hugh David Sandeman, (Calcutta: 1868), 185.

<sup>87</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Mounstuart Elphinstone, 19 August 1808, OIOC, Home Misc Series 657, f. 61.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Mounstuart Elphinstone in Peshawar to Gilbert Elliot, Lord Minto, in Calcutta, 8 March 1809, OIOC, Home Misc Series 657, f. 200.

<sup>91</sup> Mountstuart Elphinstone, in camp at Vizierabad, to NBE in Calcutta, 3 August 1809, OIOC, Home Misc Series 657, f. 517.

<sup>92</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Mounstuart Elphinstone in Peshawar, undated, probably May 1809, OIOC, Home Misc Series 657, f. 396.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 400.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 403.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 404.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 406.

<sup>97</sup> Neil Edmonstone to Minto, 26 February 1811, Memorandum and Correspondence between Lord Minto and Mr. Edmonstone, 1809-1813, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11305, f. 5. Neil asked that Minto issue a memorandum stating clearly that he had been left in Calcutta because the governor-general needed him there, not because he was out of favor, to prevent anyone from misunderstanding the issue. Minto readily complied with this request.

<sup>98</sup> NBE, *Autobiography*, f. 50.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 51.

<sup>100</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Minto, 26 June 1811, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11620, The Minto Letters, f. 117.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> NBE, *Autobiography*, f. 47.

<sup>103</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Minto, 26 June 1811, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11620, The Minto Letters, f. 118.

<sup>104</sup> Thomas S. Raffles, in Batavia, to NBE in Calcutta, 2 October 1815, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 12120, f. 76.

<sup>105</sup> Thomas S. Raffles, in Batavia, to NBE in Calcutta, 2 October 1815, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 12120, f. 68, 75.

- <sup>106</sup> NBE, *Autobiography*, f. 52.
- <sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 52-53.
- <sup>108</sup> NBE in London to J.E. Elliot, 30 March 1824, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 12120, f. 168.
- <sup>109</sup> NBE in Portland Place, London, to the second earl of Minto, 27 April 1824, National Library of Scotland, Mss. 11747, The Minto Papers, ff. 193-194.
- <sup>110</sup> *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes of the Years 1806 to 1815*, volume IV, ed. Hugh David Sandeman, (Calcutta: 1868), 324.
- <sup>111</sup> NBE, *Autobiography*, f. 56.
- <sup>112</sup> *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes of the Years 1816 to 1823*, volume V, ed. Hugh David Sandeman, (Calcutta: 1868), 11.
- <sup>113</sup> NBE, *Autobiography*, f. 55.
- <sup>114</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Lord Moira, 26 January 1815, Cleveland Public Library, John G. White Collection, F091.92 bEa77L2, Letters from Lord Moira and others, chiefly on finances and the Nepalese war, f. 102.
- <sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 109.
- <sup>116</sup> Lord Moira, from Camp at Agra, to NBE in Calcutta, 26 February 1815, Cleveland Public Library, John G. White Collection, F091.92 bEa77L2, Letters from Lord Moira and others, chiefly on finances and the Nepalese war, ff. 188-190.
- <sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 189.
- <sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 192.
- <sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 195.
- <sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 197.
- <sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 197-198.
- <sup>122</sup> Lord Moira, in Futtighur, to NBE in Calcutta, 20 March 1815, Cleveland Public Library, John G. White Collection, F091.92 bEa77L2, Letters from Lord Moira and others, chiefly on finances and the Nepalese war, f. 199.
- <sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 205.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., f. 210.

<sup>125</sup> NBE in Calcutta to Mounstuart Elphinstone in Peshawar, undated, probably May 1809, OIOC, Home Misc Series 657, f. 404.

<sup>126</sup> NBE, Minute by Mr. Edmonstone, 22 April 1815, OIOC, Home Misc Series 604, f. 12.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., f. 19.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Minute by Mr. Edmonstone, 22 April 1816, OIOC, Home Misc Series 604, f. 41 and 45.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., f. 5. Neil is quoting a Minute he received from Moira.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., f. 6.

<sup>132</sup> Extract of a Secret Letter from Bengal, 18 August 1811, quoted in *Papers Respecting the Pindarry and Mahratta Wars* (London: J.L. Cox, 1824), 1.

<sup>133</sup> Extract from Captain Sydenham's Memorandum on the Pindarries, 1809, quoted in *Papers Respecting the Pindarry and Mahratta Wars*, 1.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 2-3.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>136</sup> NBE, Minute on the Pindarries, 31 March 1814, OIOC, Home Misc Series 598, f. 53.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., f. 54.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., f. 57.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., f. 73, 84.

<sup>140</sup> NBE is quoting Hastings in a Minute Neil issued on 30 May 1814 concerning Amir Khan, OIOC, Home Misc Series 598, f. 388.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., f. 389.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., f. 391.

<sup>143</sup> Minute by Mr. Edmonstone, 22 April 1816, OIOC, Home Misc Series 604, ff. 50-52.

<sup>144</sup> NBE is quoting Seton's Minute of June 21, 1814, OIOC, Home Misc Series 598, f. 397.

<sup>145</sup> NBE, *Autobiography*, f. 55.

## CONCLUSION

<sup>1</sup> *Supplement to the Government Gazette*, no. 139, June 22, 1818, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Neil Edmonstone to Charles Milner Ricketts, 17 January 1818, OIOC, Mss. EUR D 1234/6, Miscellaneous Correspondence.

<sup>3</sup> Account taken from James Wathen, *Journal of a Voyage in 1811 and 1812 to Madras and China* (London, 1814), 2-5.

<sup>4</sup> "Sonnet," written at sea, 5th December 1815, in *The Calcutta Gazette*, no. 138, January 15, 1818, 3.

<sup>5</sup> *The Government Gazette Extraordinary*, January 10, 1818, Elmore.

<sup>6</sup> Neil Edmonstone to C.M. Ricketts, 4 December 1817, OIOC, Mss. EUR D 1234/6.

<sup>7</sup> Neil Edmonstone to C.M. Ricketts, 17 January 1818, OIOC, Mss. EUR D 1234/6.

<sup>8</sup> *The Government Gazette Extraordinary*, January 10, 1818, Elmore.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> The account of Mrs. Edmonstone's "At Home" was given in the *Supplement to the Government Gazette*, no. 125, October 16, 1817, 2; Neil's dinner was mentioned in the government Gazette, no. 116, August 14, 1817, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Account from the *Government Gazette*, no. 136, January 1, 1818, 2.

<sup>12</sup> Neil Edmonstone, *Autobiography*, f. 59.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 60.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> All were mentioned in the Last Will and Testament of Neil Edmonstone, Public Record Office, Prob/11/1947.

<sup>16</sup> One of Neil's daughters would later recall Baillie visiting her father and that Neil possessed a large emerald ring given to him by his friend.

<sup>17</sup> Hastings in Calcutta to Lord Canning in London, 2 February 1821, OIOC, Mss. EUR/F 142/23; *Ibid.*, Lord Canning to Hastings, 20 August 1821.

<sup>18</sup> Francis Rawdon Hastings, Lord Moira, Address on Operations in India with their Results from the 30th April 1814 to the 1st January 1823, British Library, Add. Mss. 38411, f. 177.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 180.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 180-181.

<sup>22</sup> Debate on February 8, 1826, over Hastings' *Expose*, in *Debates at East India House, 23 March 1825 to 22 December 1830*, vol. II (London: Black, Parbury & Allen, 1830), 423.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, First Debate on Hastings' *Expose*, 23 March 1825, 261.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Debate on February 8, 1826, 420.

<sup>25</sup> Debate on the 30th April 1816, in *Debates at East India House, 20 December 1815 to 16 December 1818*, vol. I (London: Black, Parbury & Allen, 1818), f. 30.

<sup>26</sup> Debate on the 23 March 1825, in *Debates at East India House, 23 March 1825 to 22 December 1830*, vol. II (London: Black, Parbury & Allen, 1830), f. 245.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 248.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 246.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 255.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Neil Edmonstone, "Report on the Subject of the Freedom of the Press in India," OIOC, Home Misc Series 536 A, f. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., ff. 5,17.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., ff. 5, 94.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., ff. 105-107.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., ff. 20-21.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., f. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., ff. 13-14.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., f. 32.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., ff. 33-34.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., f. 31.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., f. 130.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., f. 131.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., f. 123.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., f. 134.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., f. 139.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., ff. 140-141.

<sup>51</sup> "John Adam's Statement as to the Allegations in Mr. Buckingham's Petition," OIOC, Mss. EUR F 109/70, f. 4.

<sup>52</sup> East India House, 19th July 1824, from *The Sun*, on the "Liberty of the Press in India," OIOC, Mss. EUR F 109/64, f. 49 (v.).

<sup>53</sup> "Copy of a Minute From His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General dated 7th October 1822 respecting the state of the press in India," OIOC, Home Misc Series 532, f. 723.

<sup>54</sup> Neil Edmonstone to Richard Colley Wellesley, 31 March 1836, British Library, Add. Mss. 37,311, the Wellesley Papers, series II, volume XXXVIII, f. 316; Neil at Broadstairs to Richard Colley Wellesley, 14 October 1836, Add. Mss. 37,311, ff. 381-382.

<sup>55</sup> Neil Edmonstone, from India House, to Sir John Cam Hobhouse, 20 January 1840, letter attached to *Autobiography*, ff. 4-5.

<sup>56</sup> *The Englishman and Military Chronicle*, printed in Calcutta, June 30, 1841, Elmore.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Quoted in above article.

<sup>60</sup> NBE, *Autobiography*, f. 58.

<sup>61</sup> Copy of a Testimonial from Sir George Barlow, September 1837, appended to NBE's *Autobiography*, f. 21.

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*London Chronicle*

*The Edinburgh Review*

*The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*

*The London Chronicle*

*The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*

*World*

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

### EDUCATION

Ph.D. studies, Florida State University, 1995-2003

--Major Professor Dr. Bawa Singh

--My major field is British Imperialism, with an emphasis on the British in South Asia.

--Dissertation: "In the Company's Secret Service: Neil Benjamin Edmonstone and the First Indian Imperialists, 1780-1820."

--My minor fields are early modern England, Chinese history and the Middle East.

M.A., University of Central Florida, Summa Cum Laude, 1995

--Major Professor Dr. Elmar Fetscher

--My major field was European history.

--Thesis: "The Secretary's War: Neil Benjamin Edmonstone and the Conquest of India."

B.A., University of Central Florida, 1993, in History

### PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

#### Publications:

--"The Star in the East: The Controversy Over Christian Missions to India, 1805-1813," *The Historian* 60, (Spring 1998): 507-522.

--"The Amboyna Massacre in English Politics, 1624-1630," *Albion* 30, (Winter 1998): 583- 598.

#### Research and Conferences:

--I recently completed a study on the life of Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, a senior East India Company civil servant in India from 1783-1818.

--I presented the paper, "Rethinking the Reign of Asaf-ud-Daula, Nawab of Awadh" at the 2002 Southeastern Conference for the Association for Asian Studies in Knoxville, Tennessee.

--I presented the paper "Images of Empire: Prejudice, Politics and Penury at the

Round Table Conference, 1931” at the 2001 Southeastern Conference of the Association for Asian Studies in Tallahassee, Florida.

#### TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- Assistant Professor of History, Lingnan University, Hong Kong, 2003-2004 academic year. I taught Twentieth Century Europe (HST 357), World History to 1500 (HST 111), and The Historical Experience in Film (GEB 262) in the Fall semester. In the Spring I taught World History Since 1500 (HST 112) and Environmental History.
- History Lecturer, Lingnan University, Hong Kong, 2002-2003 academic year. In the Fall semester, I taught World History to 1500 (HST 111) and The World Since the Industrial Revolution (HST 192); in Spring semester I taught Nineteenth Century Europe (HST 356) and World History Since 1500 (HST 112).
- Adjunct Assistant Professor of History at Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina, 2001-2002 academic year. In the Fall semester I taught World Civilization to 1500 (HIS 1101) and The Modern Middle East (HIS 3336). In the Spring semester, I taught Modern India (HIS 3332) and World Civilization from 1500 (HIS 1102).
- Florida State University, Teaching Assistant, Spring 2000. I had full classroom responsibility for one section of American Civilization (AMH 1000).
- Florida State London Study Center, Teaching Assistant, Spring 1998. I had full classroom responsibility for one section of World History from 1815 (WOH 1030) and one section of World History to 1815 (WOH 1023).
- Florida State University, Teaching Assistant, Fall 1997. I had full classroom responsibility for one section of World History from 1815.

#### AWARDS

- I received the J. Leitch Wright Award in 1997 for excellence in historical writing.
- I received the Edward H. and Marie C. Kingsbury Award for 1999-2000.

## MISCELLANEOUS

### Service:

2002-3: I am web site manager for the History Programme at Lingnan University and secretary for the Policies and Curriculum Committee.

2001: I gave four presentations on the Afghan conflict in 2001, including discussions on Islam, the Middle East and the policies of the United States in the area. I also served on the newsletter committee for Appalachian State University's History Department.

### Scholarly Societies:

I belong to the Association of Asian Studies, the American Historical Association and Phi Alpha Theta. I also participate in several e-mail lists dealing with history—H-Asia and H-Albion--to stay current on recent trends and publications.