



peace or in oppsition they all the while were closely watching him and his contemporaries. President Aungier of Bombay had several dealings with Shivaji and with most of his contemporaries also. The President has given expression to his views in two dispatches to the Directors in London, which might be taken to be a fair representation of contemporary opinion about Shivaji.

In No. 272 Vol II he says:—"With a success as happy as Caesar's in Spain; he came, saw, and overcame and is reported to have taken so vast a treasure in gold, diamonds, emeralds, rubies and wrought corall that have strengthened his arms with very able sinews to prosecute his further designs."

"He being no less dexterous, thereat than Alexander the Great was for, by the agility of his winged men (himself terming them birds) he took in less than eight months what he had delivered to Jaysing" and in No 279 Vol II, "But it is too well known that Shivaji is as second Sertorious, and comes not short of Hannibal for Stratagems." The Company found him to be, "the fairest enemy and noblest friend."

No greater praise can be bestowed on an opponent by his contemporaries.

### Summary.

The purpose of this introduction is to examine the English records and to discuss how far they would be helpful to the study of the life and times of Shivaji. From the very nature of the existing records, it is not possible to discover anything in them which would be useful for the study of his early life and the beginnings of his career. Shivaji is first mentined in the Records in December 1659. The question which would naturally suggest itself to anybody is where is the student to look for historical materials covering this very interesting period in Shivaji's life. The simple and the only answer to the query is and will ever be to carry on researches in the family records of persons with whom he mixed, conversed and had consultations and in whose company he matured his plans. Some records of this type are to be found in Rajwade's 15th volume.

In this volume we have published with expert and experienced help everything which we could discover in the India

Office Records concerning the life of Shivaji. Not only that there has been no conscious omission but we have added something from the collection made by Messrs Sen and Divekar which we thought would be of assistance to the study of the life and times of Shivaji. Extracts from Dutch and Portuguese sources which are to be found in the India Office are not included in this volume because they are not English Records and if this volume meets with the approval of the public and is patronised by them we might be encouraged to plan the collection and publication of Dutch, Portuguese and French records on similar lines. Marathi and Mahomedan records have been receiving some attention for the last quarter of a century.

The whole collection of English records having now been made available in this volume, I thought of examining the extracts with a view to see what assistance they could give to elucidate some of the prominent incidents in Shivaji's life. With this end in view I have discussed above some of the incidents which the factors have referred to and the discussion gave us the following results.

1. The report of the Afzal incident in this volume is based on hearsay and the report gives us no information about the place, time and persons involved in the struggle except the victor and the victim. The result is that the English records are not of any help on the point.

2. The Panhalla and Kolhapur incident is reported from personal knowledge. But the reporters have not cared to give the details.

3. The report of Shasta-Khan's incident is presumably based on Shivaji's own letter to Raoji Pandit. But the reporter failed to report where the incident took place. Curiously enough the Surat report gave us a proof how news improves in passage from south to north and also in course of time.

4. The Jayasing incident is imperfectly reported.

5. The Surat incident is fully reported. I have analysed all the reports and have come to the conclusion that the details about cutting of heads and dismembering of body are based on



Anthony Smith's reports alone. The Dutch records do not support his yarns nor does the 'Quisseh' published by Sir Jivanji Modi in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society volume VI Nos. 1 and 2 at pages 80-81. The conclusion to be drawn is that even for Surat incidents we cannot *implicitly* rely on the English Factory Records.

6. Oxinden was present at Shivaji's coronation. But he does not appear to have moved about and mixed freely amongst the people. He has not mentioned the guests who were assembled there, neither has he cared to mention any details about ceremonies etc. For a full account of the coronation we shall be forced to have recourse to other sources.

7. The raid on Hubli is reported fairly accurately.

8. The references to Shivaji's literacy are direct and conclusive.

9. The English East India Company came in direct conflict with Shivaji's fleet at Hendry-Kendry. We have in this volume a full account from English sources about the incident.

10. This record reveals the relations between Shivaji and the English so fully as no other collection has yet done. I have tried to bring out the salient points involved, in the discussion on this very interesting topic. I have also commented on a number of other incidents and the evidence available in these records regarding them. The examination of these merely strengthens the conclusions drawn above.

To sum up, it can be stated that unless the interests of the Company were directly at stake the factors have neither been very inquisitive nor very precise in their statements. To give the details of several incidents in Shivaji's life as and when they happened, was not the object with which the letters were written. The incidents in Shivaji's career come in casually and therefore, the places, exact dates or names of several persons who were in command of Shivaji's forces etc. are not usually mentioned; to the writer whether *x* or *y* was in command did not concern in the least nor did he mind the exact date. To students of Shivaji's life on the other hand, it is these details that are the



most important, as the nature of the main incidents is already fairly known from other sources. Herein the English records have, therefore, mainly a corroborative value and the most they do is to put a limit to the time before which any incident might have happened. But to fix the exact date we must resort to other sources; and in spite of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's high authority I venture to submit that only Marathi sources can supply this deficiency as no other source can. The incidents discussed above have revealed the inherent defects of the English records.

For the first time we are presenting to the public verbatim copies of *all* the extracts concerning Shivaji which are to be found in the India Office. I have suggested above some tests by which the records should be tested for their dependability and examining in this way the most famous incidents in Shivaji's eventful career I have brought out the deficiencies with which we are faced at every step. I have not done this in any factious or carping spirit, but with the single purpose of appraising the records at their proper value. Sir Jadunath Sarkar says "the records of the English factories on the Bombay coast and inland are of the highest value for *dates* and *facts*." Only a close student of Shivaji's life can see how far this high praise is justified. Did Sir Jadunath find the exact dates and places of Afzal Shasta and other incidents in the transcripts of the records which he got at "great cost"? They are found in Jedhe chronology and these are exact and correct dates which Sir Jadunath has accepted without any demur. Chronologies are not treatises and if they have no formal preface or conclusion it is none of their fault. It is a sad mistake to expect these things from such documents. Sir Jadunath has laid down a few tests by which Jedhe chronology is to be tested. I accept these tests, I also admit that the document we possess to-day is not the original. The only test, however, which should be applied to it is to see how many dates concerning Shivaji which are found in it are wrong. Out of a total number of 168 dates concerning Shivaji only half a dozen seem to be wrong; but those who know anything of the Modi script and have read for themselves original documents know very well how mistakes creep in, in the process of copying and how to correct them. There are just two or three entries which have so far baffled all explanation. Sir Jadunath says



that the dates about Muslim dynasties were copied from short Persian manuscripts; it may be that some of the dates relating to Muslim dynasties might be proved to be demonstrably wrong but does it, therefore, follow that what the Jedhes noted down from personal knowledge about Shivaji is wrong? The chronology is to be used as material for the life of Shivaji and as such we must expect accuracy in the document where some incident with regard to Shivaji's life is concerned. The mistakes made in reading Modi script have now been corrected, so Sir Jadunath need not hereafter complain about that.

"The only contemporary records of Shivaji's and even of Sambhaji's times that now survive are in English and Persian and none at all in Marathi." This is what Sir Jadunath is pleased to assert in his bibliographical note to the life of Shivaji; we have printed here the full text of the English records and we have tested a few incidents to see how far they help us in "fixing dates and events." Now what does Sir Jadunath mean by a state-paper? If he means the inward and outward registers, of course, they are not yet discovered. When Rairy Castle passed into Moghul hands and later on into the hands of the East India Company almost the whole of the record was lost. But that does not mean that there are no records. The central place where you should expect rich material has no doubt disappeared, but letters went out from Shivaji's court and letters used to be received at Shivaji's court from other families; and so long as such families have not absolutely disappeared there is no cause for despair. The process of unearthing, sifting, editing and publishing may prove to be very troublesome and exacting but all the same Persian or English records can hardly be any substitutes for Marathi records. There are obvious and natural limitations placed upon the English and even Persian records, which no amount of partisan blindness can remove. We have herein the full English records concerning Shivaji but in spite of all our researches the English records have not fully and clearly told us as to why he would not be in league with the Moghul and crush out the Muslim dynasties in the Deccan. This is however to be found explained in Shivaji's own letter to Maloji-Raje Ghorpade printed by the late V. K. Rajwade (Saraswati Mandir.)

There is a letter written by Shivaji to Vankoji in which he has explained the way he relieved Vijapore when Dilal Khan had attacked it and forced him to retire to Pedgao beyond the Bhima. He also informed his brother of the return of Sambhaji after fully realising that he could never get proper opportunities at the Moghul, Vijapore or Bhaganagar court. Shivaji also gave his opinion that the fort of Ahiwant was like the fort of Panhala. Can there be any extract either in the Persian or English records to take the place of an original letter of this nature ?

Shivaji's instructions to quartermasters and soldiers are embodied in a circular dated May 1671 in which he says that he has made ample provision for horses (grass-gram etc.) and also sufficient provision for soldiers and enjoins on the soldiers strict discipline. He further orders them to conduct themselves in such a manner that the change for the better from Mohamedan rule may be felt by the subjects. Can Sir Jadunath discover Shivaji's instructions to his soldiers from Persian sources ?

Shivaji's letter to Peshwa Moro Trimbak was published by Rajwade as far back as 1903 (Vol. 8 th No. 12) in which he instructs Moro Trimbak to go to Sinhgad because he has received information of some treachery. He also writes that he has postponed his departure to Konkan and further issues detailed instructions to deal with the situation at Sinhgad. Whence are these details to be discovered except from Marathi sources ?

Shivaji's policy with regard to the imposition of duty on salt is explained in a letter from Shivaji. (Rajwade's Vol. 8 th No. 27) In this collection the factors have said that salt is very cheap in Shivaji's territory but they have not explained his policy which is enunciated by him in a letter in Marathi. Is it to be neglected because it is in Marathi ?

The instances cited above and the discussions on the English records will make it abundantly clear that in spite of the English records being contemporary and in spite of their being carefully preserved they do not record events with a punctilious regard for accuracy either with regard to dates or facts. They cannot reveal to us the mind of Shivaji as a few letters by him can do. The English learnt things after, sometimes long after, their occurrence and in many cases the source



of their knowledge was rumour or hearsay. The fact is that there are obviously certain limitations which are imposed upon every kind of document by its very nature. It is not possible to find unbiassed contemporary opinion about Shivaji and his contemporaries in Marathi documents as we find it in this volume or as we might find in Dutch, Portuguese and French records. It is not possible to get a correct idea of JayaSing's expedition from Marathi letters; for that we must read his own letters. It is not possible to form an absolutely correct idea of all the forces which were combining against Shivaji from time to time, from Marathi records, but we must search for such firmans as were issued by several Muslim states in the Deccan. But the motives which were uppermost in his thoughts, the plans which he made, the homage which he received and all the numerous living details about his life and times are to be learnt only from Marathi sources. The analysis to which the English records have been subjected above reveals to us the farthest limit to which the documents can be used as also the natural limitations of the records.

A similar study will disclose the limitations of such documents which Sir Jadunath roundly styles Persian state papers. Are Padshahinama and Alamgirnama going to disclose the secret motives of Aurangzeb? Most of the volumes referred to by Sir Jadunath are books prepared to order, and it is too much to expect that they will disclose the whole truth. The motives with which the Moghul and Vijapore generals were actuated and the means they adopted in their campaigns must be studied from the firmans which they issued in their campaigns from time to time. Such firmans are being discovered, though with great difficulty by assiduous investigators, and no state-paper can take their place ( Shiva-charitrapradip 93 ).

This discussion will have gone a long way in bringing out the limitations of all the sources found in various languages which can be properly used as materials for the life and times of Shivaji. Before I conclude it would not be inopportune to state briefly what contribution this volume is likely to make to the study of Shivaji's life.

- (i) This correspondence has disclosed the relations between Shivaji and the English fully,



- (ii) Hendry-Kendry,
- (iii) Shivaji's trade policy.
- (iv) Treaty between Shivaji and Vijapore,
- (v) Capture of Rajapore by Shivaji—transfer to Vijapore and re-capture by Shivaji.
- (vi) Rustum Jamma delivers Rangna to (121) Raoji Pandit before Shivaji's return from Agra.
- (vii) More details about Netaji.
- (viii) Marriage on 8th June 1674.
- (ix) Idea about Shivaji's contemporaries and his times.
- (x) All the stages in the contemporary opinion about Shivaji from "rebel" "rogue" to the "Noble Prince Shivaji Raja."
- (xi) Contemporary opinion about Shivaji.

Corroborative use.

- (xii) Literacy.
- (xiii) Karnatak expedition.
- (xiv) Expeditions of Kudal--Hubly--Carwar.

Starting with a very humble beginning Shivaji founded a kingdom for himself during a short period of twenty-five years. He fought with three Mahomedan dynasties the greatest amongst whom was the Moghul and that while the greatest Moghul was reigning. His genius gave Deccan the opportunity to rise to her full height and demonstrated to the world that once the spirit to be free is fully roused and is stimulated, nurtured and fostered under proper leadership, no amount of reverses can quell it. It was the living memory of Shivaji and his ceaseless and dauntless efforts which kept the flag flying during the dark period when Anrangzeb personally led and directed his forces against the Marathas. The memory of Shivaji and his times is a rich heritage for the Deccan. Many of her sons, notably the late V. K. Rajwade, have made ceaseless efforts to collect together the materials for a sufficiently accurate and a sufficiently connected account of Shivaji's life and the work of Rajwade is inspiring the efforts of many a research student at Poona, Dhulia, and other centres in Maharastra.



During the twenty-five years of his life which were full of struggles Shivaji came either in contact or conflict with three Mahomedan dynasties, four European companies and went up and down through the whole territory from Gujerat to Tanjore. There are bound to be very rich materials in several languages which can throw new light on several incidents in Shivaji's career which are awaiting discovery. The publication of all the extracts from the English factory records is one part of the great work which must be done. There cannot be any monopoly in the affair. All those who come in contact with Shivaji have some contribution to make and these contributions must be sought for in different quarters and in different languages.

There is a good deal of rich first-class material published in Marathi. I have briefly tried to demonstrate the use to which it can be put. Sir Jadunath has used not more than half a dozen letters from Marathi and he claims that though based as it is on English and Persian records his biography of Shivaji "So far as existing materials go is definitive." The claim is fantastic even for Sir Jadunath Sarkar's self-complacency. First-class historical material from Marathi sources he has not used, possibly because he cannot use it properly; and curiously enough Sir Jadunath has gone on to employ secondary Marathi materials such as Bakhars, some of them in their English translations, to fill in the considerable gaps left in his book after use had been made of such English and Persian records as were available to him. The Bakhars, Maratha scholars have learnt to ignore since Rajwade subjected them to a searching analysis and found that they contained merely a few particles of truth floating in a sea of absurdity. The researcher must learn to make a clean sweep of these ready-made materials. A researcher must build up his story inch by inch based on such facts as can be ascertained from contemporary documents such as diaries, letters, firmans etc. This process is laborious exacting and not likely to yield quick results. But it is the only one possible if the foundations of our historical edifice are to be firmly and truly laid.



# English Records on Shivaji

(1)

F. R. Rajapur p. 89	} HENRY REVINGTON AND RANDOLPH TAYLOR TO THE COMPANY	{ Dated Rajapore 10 December 1659
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Our business at this present is not soe much about your present business as your future, if you thinke fitt to make it soe. Therefore wee come to speake of things that may bee, and not what is already done, as followeth. Into what an exigency the Portugalls all alongst this coast are now reduced unto by their and our common enemy the Dutch, wee beleive Your Worshippes are advised something of, but whether fully or no is uncertaine; therefore wee shall, being soe neare their head and having held correspondence with it and received information from it, advise you the condicion of it, by which you may easily judge of the members of other townes belonging to it. From Goa hath binn sent this yeare an ambassador unto the Queene of Decann, who hath binn an enemy unto them through the instigation of the Dutch at Vingola, [Vengurla] whose bribes (shee being a mercenary queene) made her to send formerly an army against it; which so much animated the Dutch, there enemy at sea, and so much discouraged there own souldyers in the citty, as made them send the premention[ed] ambassador, with a pishcash of 100,000 serapheens [sic], to prevent her intencions of sending an army this yeare; who, wee beleive, made peace with her, because there ambassador, coming through the towne of Raibagg, advised us as much. But no sooner was hee gonn, but the Dutch with another pishcash supplantts them in the favour of this princess againe, being (as before said) a mercenary queene, and obtaines her command for 1000 horss to goe against it; which was sent and, the army coming by Raibagg, the Generall desiring to see us, wee gathered in discourse from him as followeth. That the reasons of his going against Goa was first to demaund the Kings right, which was the two fortified places of Bardeis and Salceets [sic], which formerly belonged to a king of Vizapore, who dying and leaving foure brothers, they warred each with other, and the eldest, having destroyed the two youngest and overcome the third, forced him to fly; and hee making Goa his citty of refuge, hee was soone afterward converted into the Christian faith; upon which the King



his brother, because hee might live like the brother of a prince gave him the two premencioned places : which hee enjoyed, and dying left them by testament unto his sonn : who being baptized into the Romish faith, and dying without an heire, left them by testament unto the King of Portugall ; and ever since they enjoyed and received the revenues of them very peaceably and quietly untill now, the Dutch being there enemy and keeping all manner of releife from them at sea, the Queene laies claime to theis places and demaunds 20,000 pagodas yearly of them for the revenues of such places as they inhabit on the borders of her country ; which at this tyme they are not able to pay, having no releif from Portugall ; so that what the yearly revenue comes to is spent in the maintayning of souldyers for there owne defence, and a great deal more to, because there is now no trade and therefore there can bee no custome. So that at present they have more holds then they can long hold ; and wee are informd from themselves that, unless there happens a warr with [between?] the Dutch and English, or a releif comes from Portugall, its impossible for them to subsist in Goa itself above three yeares more ; for the Governours of Goa are not beloved among the people in Goa, and all the feadolgors in Goa etc. places, that are the props and maintainers of theis places yet, are now conveying there estates away as fast as they can ; and when they have don that ( which will not bee long a doing ), they will desert the places and leive them to those that will take them. Therefore, if Your Worshipp please to take it into your consideration and finde out some way to treate with the King of Portugall, wee are well assured by wise men heere that you may have what places you desire upon honourable tearmes ; for thats the thing they stand upon, and say that they had rather loose there citties and castles unto there enemies honourably then deliver them up to there freinds dishonourably ; although they are inclynd to the latter, were the conditions agreable with the former. The army that lay before Goa made an assault upon Bardeis, worsted them, and tooke possession of some part of the outer works ; but by a supply of souldyers out of the citty they beate the Moore back, regaind what they had lost, and kild him 4 or 500 men with little loss to themselves. This yeare the Dutch expected land souldyers to come upon there shippes ; but wee heare they wanted men in Batavia. Yet we beleive they will not want long, and if they once bring but 500 or 1000 men before Goa, as they may very well doe, by landing them at Vingola to joyne with the Moore,



its very probable that they will take it. But if Rustum Jemah etc. proves succesfull in his present designs, the Dutch will faile of assistance from the Moore, if the Portugall bee but as liberall to him as they have binn to the Queene, because he is a man of his word; and then if the Portugals should bee driven to desert the place through necessity, and declare that they deliver it up to the English, and wee therupon enter it with a feiw men, it may bee a sufficient ground for us heerafter to claime it, though wee were forced out of it by the Dutch. It was beleivd and told us by Rustum Jemah himself, who is much the Englishes freind, that hee should have binn sent this yeare against Goa, as formerly hee hath bin, but the Queene suspects him to bee her enemy, and so indead hee is; which leads us to another subject, as worthy of your consideration as the former. The person that is cald King of this country is knowne to bee the bastard of this Queenes husband, and she, notwithstanding that, would have the crowne settled on him; but some of the Umbraves of this country, knowing him to bee spuriously begotten, will not give him homadge and refuses to goe to court; and these are Rustum Jemah, Bull Ckaune [Bahlokhani] Shawgee [Shahaji] and Sevagy; which latter lyes with an army to the no[rth] ward and commands all alongst the coast from the upper Choul unto Dabull; against whom the Queene this yeare sent Abdle Ckaune with an army of 10,000 horss and foote; and because shee knew with that strength hee was not able to resist Sevagy, shee counselld him to pretend freindshipp with his enemy; which hee did. And the other (whether through intelligence or suspicion its not knowne) dissembled his love toward him, and sent his mother as a hostage, assuring him of his reality; upon which Abdle Ckaune advances, and the two armies lay within little distance of each other, while with a party from each theis two went to meete and imbrace each other. And having had some discourss publicquely, they desired to bee private; when Sevagy with a dagger from out of his bosome stabd the other to the hart. After which, the signe being givin, his army, consisting of Rashpootes, Hendooes, etc., fell upon the Moors, kild about 3,000, and put the rest to flight; which they pursuing, in there pursute tooke the great castle of Panella, some eight miles from Collopoore, where wee livd; which was the onely place of refuge for the King and Queene to fly unto in tyme of perrill and hath taken possession of all the port and inland townes; which hath made some of the port,towne governours fly from there



governments unto this port of Rajapore, which is at pesce, because it belongs to Rustum Jemsh, who is a freind of Sevagies and is now upon his march toward him, and within feiw dayes wee shall heare of his joyning with him, and then wee shall (according to H[enry] R[evingtons] promise unto him at his coming downe) send him all the granadoes which last yeare hee desired, and advised us to spare Sevagy some, promising that, if wee would lye with our shippes before Danda Rajapore Castle, that Sevagyes men should assist us ashore, hee having already taken the town of Danda Rajapore, but not the castle, wherein there is a great treasure, part of which wee may have and the castle to [o] give him but the rest. And this is the buisness that wee have to recommend unto you; which H. R. hinted unto Mr. Mathew Andrews in a particuler letter, but hee presently putts it into his next generall, whereunto Mr. Forster sighnes, and Mr. Gray writes for every office boy to take notice of, and commands us to act nothing in it; which hee need not have donn, for how cann wee or hee act anything in this buisnesse before you send out two or three shippes and men for the purpose? But wee may bring things in the meane tyme to such maturity and ripenesse as that hereafter they may bee ready for you to pluck; and so much wee are resolved to doe. One months tyme more will, wee beleive, put an end to this trouble; for Sevagyes father, Shawjee, that lyes to the southward, is expected within eight dayes with his army, consisting of 17,000 men, and then they intend for Vizapore, the King and Queenes residence, whose streng [t]h consists onely in men, and they are not above 10,000 souldyers; so that in probability the kingdome will bee lost. And if it sproves so, all that Rustum Jemah hath promised us, of a tancksall of remitting you part of the salt peeter costomes, and of assisting you in taking Danda Rajapore Castle, which are three things wee doe desire to bee instrumentall in, will as certainly bee performed. Wee onely want power and means, and a good head a Suratt. [ E. F. India 1655-1660 pp. 247-51 ]

( 2 )

F. R. Rajapur p. 103.	} H. REVINGTON AND FACTORS TO WILLIAM MINGHAM COM- MANDING THE RAJAPORE MERCHANT.	{ Dated Rajapur 14 Jan. 1659/60

Since our coming up from Jettapore wee have not understood the Commanders minde of Sevagies forces now lying in Rajapore, notwithstanding wee invited ourselves unto his presence



the next morning ( after coming up at night) hee desiring our absence from his presence till the presente evening, when wee desired his excuse till tomorrow morning, and then wee intend to visett him, after which you may expect to heare further from us.

( 3 )

F. R. Rajapur p. 104	} HENRY REVINGTON, RANDOLPH TAYLOR, &c TO SURAT.	{ Dated Rajapore 4 Feb. 1659/60
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Since our last, Sevagyes forces ( whose actions you can not but here of, being so neare us ) hath gonne on succesfully and possessed themselves of severall port townes on the coast; amongst which Dabull being one, the Governour runn from thence hether to Rajapore with three of Abdell Okaunes jounkes ( whom Sevagy kild )...; where being come, his sonn, Fosell Okaune, joyning forces with Rustum Jemah, lord of this towne, they both write to the Governour of Rajapore to receive what goods were in theis jounkes ( as the Governour informd us ), while they marched towards Sevagyes forces, then lying at Panella; and in the way encounters with each other, in which encounter Fozell Okaune, being in the front, was first routed and many of his men kild, and afterwards persued; while Rustum Jemah had only some of his men slaine and himselfe suffered to retreat back unto Hookery. Which newes coming downe to Rajapore put the Governour into such a fright that hee would presently have runn from hence, without making up any accompt with us or the towne; but wee perswaded him to stay till hee heard from his master, who wee are informd, and doe beleive, is Sevagyes friend, because the Queene was not his nor hee hers, and his syding with Fozell Okaune against Sevagy was lookt on only as a warlike pollicy, for hee now sitts still while Sevagy proceeds beyond him to Vizapore. But all this did not really (though semingly) prevaile with this Governor to stay; for hee told us hee would come to us the next morning and give us a note upon the towne for monyes that our broker had disbursed upon our house ( being already about 700 pagodas ) and for 2,000 pagodas that our sheroff Timogy sent unto Rustum Jemah and had taken a bill for it in the Englishes name ( unknowne to us; which bill, at his being imprisoned at Raybagg... hee sent downe to us, desiring us to receive it of the aforesaid Governour. Now, it was no more then reason in us to demaund this mony of the Governour, because that Tymogy, our sheroff, owed us about the same some...; and besides, how doe wee know but, our sherff being imprisoned ( as before ), and 4 or



5,000 pagodas forced from him so unjustly, might make him become insolvent and not able to pay what hee owed the Company? Therefore wee, finding this Governour the next morning not so good as his promise, sent for him, and heard that hee [had?] runn away in the night downe to Jettapore, aboard the Dabull jounkes, intending to bee gon; upon which wee presently sent downe to the *Diamond* ( who was then lying ashore trimming ) to haule off and fall downe belowe the Dabull jouncks; which accordingly she did, and being mand with about 20 lascarres and halfe a dozen of our selves, desired the Governour of Rajapore to come aboard us; when wee demaunded a reason for his running away in that nature. And hee not given [giving] any reason, wee demaunded our mony; which hee paid us in goods to the vallew of 1200 pagodas, as per the inclosed list, and for the rest hee said hee would pay us afterward. But at this instant comes 500 or 600 men to Rajapore, and 200 downe to Jettapore to take theis jouncks of Abdle Ckaunes, and desired our assistance; which wee denyed, and returned answer that wee came downe only to even our accompt with the Rajapore Governour, and after wee had donn our owne businesse, they might doe what they pleased. Afterward they required us to deliver up the Dabull Governour, the Rajapore Governour, and the Suttaly [Satavli] Governour, who came all aboard; which wee denyed, being not consistent with our religion to deliver up any man to his enemy that comes under our protection; and besides, there being aboard of us was only to make up an accompt depending betweene the Rajapore Governour and the English; which when that was donn, they had liberty to goe where they pleased. This angred them, but pleased the Governours, in so much that, upon the newes and sight of Sevagyees men, they presently desired us to take possession of two of there jounks and to owne them. But that wee would not doe; only, if they would deliver into our hands the jounk of about 300 tonns, wee would [keep?] possession of her till the rest of the mony was paid, and that wee would have liberty to imploy her this monsoone on the Companies accompt, without any detriment to the Company for any damage that should happen to her; with which they were content, and drew up a writing among themselves, for us to shew unto Sevagyees forces, that this jounk was the Englishes; which being donn, they desired us to carry them to Vingola; but that wee could not answer to Sevagy; therefore desired excuse, and encouraged them to goe aboard there other two jounkes and sayle for Surrat or some towne under the



Mogulls command. But they would not goe, the souldyers in the great jounk (being upwards of 50, with there weomen, being 150) declaring for Sevagy; upon which hee protested against them and hired one amydea, wherein, with a letter of recommendation from H. R. to the Chaif of the Dutch in Vingola, hee went; where hee is under there protection. Thus having donn our buisness the best we could, H. R. went ashore, to acquaint Sevagyes men that, as wee were strangers in this country and merchants, wee weare not to meddle or side in fighting with any party, but to trade with all, if wee could; and that Governours were gonn and left two of there shippes (the other being ours, for mony oweing us), which wee beleived would yeild to them. And the next day wee went up to Rajapore, leaving Mr. Mingham commander of the jounk, whom wee have named the *Rajapore Merchant* and intended to have fild her with rice, beetlenutt etc. and so sent her to Persia and Coung, which must needs have gaind the Company mony, wee paying nothing for her hull, and lascarrs wages heere being 50 per cent. less then in Surrat, and there provisions too; but having no mony, this our intention was frustrated, and now wee think of sending her up to you at Basseene, from whence (or Chaule) she might gaine the Company a considerable peece of mony unto Persia. But when wee are thinking of this, another thought arises: how wee shall get mony to pay lascarrs and to buy shippes provisions sufficient to carry her up to you? and a little poulder etc. necessaries shee wants; for here is no mony to bee had, Vougy and all the merchants and exchange men being gonn. Which leads us to Rajapore, where being come up, the next morning the Generall desired to speak with us. And the next day R [andolph] T [aylor] went over the river to know his minde; which was made knowne by demanding the aforesaid Governours, but it was told him they were certainly gonn. The hee required us to take the jounks; which was denied him. Afterwards hee demaunded of H. R. the goods and jounk wee had; of which the former was offerd him, provided hee would give us a bill upon the towne with Vougy Sheppotts, the Desies, etc. merchants hands for the payment of as much mony as wee had them delivered us for; which hee promised and desired the goods to bee sent for up, but untill the writing was made and delivered, wee would not send for or deliver the goods. And upon that, and some other discourse about D [anda] R [ajapore] C [astle], which his master hath a great minde for us to helpe him in taking it, or rather the mony in it (of which the

Companye is largely advised), wee parted; and afterward went dawne to Jettapore about the Rojapore Merchant; in which tyme the souldyers in the great jounck, being fearefull of having there weomen abused by the soldyers of Sevagy, altered there prementioned resolution of delivering there shipp up to Sevagy, and stood upon there owne defence, and tooke the men belonging to the other of there shippes and weyhd anchor, falling downe belowe us and Sevagyes forces, who lay on both sides watching there motion, but she fired through them and came to an anchor beyond the command of there gunns. Upon which Vouggys and Velgy being in Jettapore, Sevagyes men ceises on them, because the English would not take the jounke for them but lett her goe which caused us to send them word that wee would fire the town; about them, if they delivered us not our broker. And upon that they all runn up the hill, sending Velgy away before them; which made us follow them to the topp of the hill; where being come, they were all below the hill; unto whom wee sent Mr. Gyffard and the commander of the *Diamond* to demand our broker. But instead of delivering him, they kept Mr. Gyffard to and sent the *Diamond*[s] commander back to bid us to come no further; and in the meane tyme they marched away with about 200 souldyers as farr as Carrapatann that night; from whence wee have received letters from Mr. Gyffard that they say, unless wee take theis jounkes and deliver them our goods, they will keepe him and Velgy. Now wee recommend this business...unto your consideration, whither it bee fitt for us to take theis jounkes for them, one of which lyes in the river empty, and the other full of men and weomen; or whether wee should deliver the jounke and goods in our possession to them whom it concernes not. In our reasons it appeares unreasonable, although they doe detayne Mr. Gyffard and our broker; whom they cann but keepe prisoners so long as wee cann have a letter carryed to there master Sevagy, who is so great and noble a person as wee beleive hee will never maintaine this action of deteying any of us upon so unreasonable accompt. And wee thinke it more fitt that Mr. Gyffard suffers imprisonment in a just cause by them then wee unjustly to doe anything that might cause a just imprisonment by others; besides the dishonour that would redound to our nation by delivering up so many soules into the hands of there enemyes who are no otherwaies to us then freinds and the looseing of so many weomens lives (for anything wee know) by pining and greiving in extremity, if not by merciless cruelty, for the redemption of one



Englishman from imprisonment, who hereafter, wee hope, will bee rewarded for his suffering... Your letters to Cale Velho could not as yett bee sent forward by land, theis poore people being afraid to pass through or by souldyers; yet this cossett will venture up the coast, for the trouble is now running downe, and wee hope in one months tyme it will bee gonn so farr, as our business will bee donn; for wee are now boyling peeter in Rojapore and are sending up to boyle more at Nemtovad, which wee hope to have all downe before the raines falls.... As for the other goods, they are and might bee now bought cheape, notwithstanding theis troubles, and without trouble might bee brought to port after the raines; but as wee begunn, so we end, your not sending mony to pay our debts or to buy more goods makes us uncapable of doeing any other buisness (besides the salt-peeter) for our imployers against next yeare... Intrest of one per cent [per-month?] runs deepe in a principall of 5,000%. [E. F. India 1655-60 pp. 354-58]

( 4 )

F. R. Rajapur } HENRY REVINGTON TO SIVAJI { Dated Rajapore  
p. 109. } 13 Feb. 1659/60.

To Sevagy, Generall of the Hendoo Forces.

How much freindshipp the English hath promised to act for you against Danda Rajapore Castle your servants Dorogy etc. wee beleive hath informd you; but how much injury wee have recived from them wee are ashamed to tell you. Only thus much bee pleased to understand: that because wee would not take the jounkes lying in Rajapore River, and bee enemies to those who were our freinds, therefore hath our broker and one Englishman binn carryed away by your servants and kept and abused in prison for 25 dayes; and although now our broker is released, yet still the English man is detayned and imprisoned in Carrapatann Castle, to the sorrow of us and feare of all merchants in the port townes under your command, beleiveing that this action will hinder there and our trading. But wee are patient and hope for satisfaction by a letter from you unto the cheife of theis your forces. Therefore wee pray that theis may come to your hands, and intreat your answer to this for the restoring of our English man and what else hath binn taken, against your command. [E. F. India, 1655-1660. pp. 358-9.]



(5)

F. R. Rajapur } H. REVINGTON TO FOSELL { Dated Rajapore  
p. 108. } CKA, ABDLE: CKA: SONN. { 13 Febr'y. 1659/60

Wee beleive before this comes to your hands that your sarvant Mahmud, Sheriff Governour of Dabull, hath writt to you all buisness, therefore wee shall be breif, not knowing, neyther whether this may come to your hands; but if it doth, you may please to beleive that the English are your freinds, because wee are told and have heard that our good freind, Rustum Jemah and yourselfe joynd forces togeother and went hand in hand against your enemy, and therefore wee were willing to doe what your Dabull Governour et prv: [sic? and private] people desired, and besides it was against our religion and reason to fight against you our freind, and deliver your shippes to your enemyes. But because wee did not doe this, one English man was carried perforce away, and put in prison, with our cheif broker, by Sevagyes souldyers; but now wee cannot helpe all this, because you have great buisness, yett hope to see peaceable tymes againe for the good of your country.

(6)

F. R. Rajapur } H. REVINGTON &c. TO { Dated Rajapore  
p. 108. } RUSTUM JEMAH. { 13 February 1660

The good that the English promised unto this towne hath beene in some measure begunn already by your good encouradgment, but it is our unhappinesse that such trouble is come as makes us incapable of proceeding any further at present, yett since your Maldarr [Amaldar] came hether with a letter from you to us wee are very glad to understand the continuance of your command over us in this towne, which wee resolve not to leave, and are sorry that your servant Abdle Careeme left it, whom wee hope hath acquainted you with all passadges and that you are pleased with what we have donn, which wee think will please you and displease nobody else, for you may bee confident the English will never doe any injury to so good a freind and wee hope you will look upon us as your servants and not suffer one of us to bee imprisoned in Carrapatann Castle for no other reason but because wee would not take the jounkes of Fosell Ckaunes for Sevagyes men nor deliver the goods amounting 1171½ Pago. which Abdle Careeme gave us for your account. Wee beleive that Sevagy never gave his command to abuse us for denying that action therefore wee have writt to him and sent this letter to you desi-



ring that you would send one of your servants to him with it. Likewise wee have sent another letter to Fosell Oka; which when you have read, you may send to him if you please for wee would be freends to all them that bee yours. What you want from us that wee have to sell you may command before another because wee are your friends &c.

( 7 )

F. R. Rajapur } HENRY REVINGTON, &c. { Dated Rajapore 15  
p. 110. } TO SURAT. { February 1659/60.

Our broker writt a letter to Rustum Jemah and Sevagy when hee was imprisoned with Mr. Gyffard; and afterward a maldarr from Rustum Jemah was sent downe, with one man of Sevagyes, with order that what had bin taken from the towne of Rajapore should bee restored, and that our Englishman and broker bee released. After which our broker was sent us; but Mr. Gyffard is kept by a rogue Bramman in Carrapatann Castle, out of here and expectation of a bribe. Wee have writt to Sevagy and Rustum Jemah againe about him (they being certainly freinds), acquainting them with there roguery, who may chance to bee turnd out for it, as Dorogy the cheife commander of the forces that carryed him away first, is. [ *English Factorie in India, 1655-1660, p. 358.* ]

( 8 )

F. R. Rajapur } HENRY REVINGTON & } Dated Rajapore 30  
p. 113 } FACTORS TO SURAT[?] { February 1659/60.

Mr. Gyffard hath binn in prison for the space of one month; the reason of it you will read at large in the enclosed letter, which is copy of what wee sent to Surat, since which Rustum Jemahs servant sitts downe in Rojapore, in the Custom House, and Sevagy hath commanded all things that his souldiers tooke from the townes men to bee restored and our broker is already released and so likewise will Mr. Gyffard, who is in Carrapatann Castle, under a Braminy that only expects a bribe for his releasment; but wee will not doe that, but have writt up to Rustum Jemah and Sevagy, whose letters will wee beleive turne him out of his place for this action, as the latter did the Commander of those men that carryed him and our broker away first.

( 9 )

F. R. Rajapur } HENRY REVINGTON &c. { Dated Rajapore 23  
p. 114. } To Surat { February 1659/60.

Since our last generall wee received advice from Mr. Phillipp Gyffard of the Governour of Carrapatann Castles intention to



send him from thence ( where wee supplied him every day with meate and drinke) unto Suttoly or Chelna [ Khelna or Vishalgad] Castle; and having notice which way they intended to steere, wee waylayd them with about 30 men, some ten miles up from Rajapore, and (thanks bee to God) mett him in a towne, tended upon by 25 souldyers, from whom wee rescued him without any prejudice on eyther side. This action, wee confess, was done out of passion, because wee had not patience to stay till our friend S[e]vagyes answer came unto our letter in our last mentioned, having so good oppertunity before. [*English Factories in India, 1655-1660, p. 359.*]

( 10 )

Factory Records, } HENRY REVINGTON { Dated Rajapur  
Rajapur p. 122. } &c. TO SURAT { 19 March 1659/60.

Rustum Jemah being (as before wee informed you) freind to Sevagy, hee still enjoyes his owne towne of Rajapore, and hath two or three more given him by Sevagy, which Abdle Carseme, the former Governour of Rajapore, is come downe to governe; with whom came about 100 souldyers. ...

Wee have writt Rustum Jemah all the buisness: but wee feare that, now Sevagy and hee are joynd, that great matters at present will not admitt of smaller to enter his consideration. And besides wee see how Sevagy sends 3 in 4,000 men all along this coast, not to take townes but to get mony to maintaine his army; and so wee beleive Rustum Jemah may doe, for this is a true beginning (though not a faire one) to the purpose. Wee have received letters from Rustum Jemah who bids us not bee afraid; but wee finde that if a Governour cann bring but mony to his master (per fas aut nefas) in a tyme of necessity, there will bee no dispute made where had you it, or how did you gett it, but Shawbash, and well donn, thou good and faithfull servant, when hee hath brought it. ...

The Companies granadoes wee could sell to Rustum Jemah for great proffitt, but hee would pay for them out of the customes of Rajapore; which wee acquaint you with and desire an answer whether wee shall sell them on such termes or no. ...

Tymes are dangerous, and although Rustum Jemah bee our freind, yet letters miscarries to him and his to us, as some feiw dayes since his letters to us was taken away by some of Sevagyes forces and the fellow drubd, for the comman souldyer they understand not there masters mindes. ...



If you shall object and say wee are none of the Companies servants (because you have said so) and therefore will have nothing to doe with us, wee only desire this: pay the Companies debts, for which wee are now imprisond in Rajapore for (although in our owne house), and then, upon your discarding letter, you shall see and heare how wee will leave the Companies service. ... [*English Factories in India*, 1655-1660 pp. 364-367].

## ( II )

F. R. Rajapur } THE FACTORS AT RAJAPUR { Dated 5 April  
p. 127. } TO H. REVINGTON. { 1660.

## ( EXTRACT )

Yours of the 2d. instant from Rayapatan and another of the 3d. ditto from Aniscorah were delivered us yesterday: the first by the peunon you returnd, and the latter by the maldar that came from the King; who misinformd you that the phirmaund hee brought was for the English, for that at his arrivall here it was delivered to the Governour, Abdell Careem (to whom itt was directed), in same place and forme that you received yours in. The importe thereof is cheifely to command the Governour to assist and furnish the English with all things necessary for transportation of the mortar peeces and granadoes whether Syddy Jore shall require them to bee sent, and that with all expedition possible. ...

Wee sent this morning to the Governour for a receipt for the mortar peece and four granadoes hee received for his master; but hee refuzeth to give any acknowledgiment thereof, alledging that they were sent up by vertue of a letter from Rustum Jemah unto you and therefore his receipt is needless; which answer, as hee is a rogue, and wee in the condition wee are, must accept of. The Governour tells Tapidas that the two men that came last night from Rustum Jemah brought him a copy of the letter you first wrote to Siddy Jore, and that his master is much displeased with the English for selling the granadoes to Syddy Jore, when they were first promised him; for which cause hee intends to remove the English from all his ports and entertaine the Dutch, having for that end sent them some clothes etc. to Vingola. But this is so like the rest of this gent [lemans?] fables that wee cannot beleive more of this story then that the copy of said letters is sent him; which how it comes to pass, itt would bee worth enquiring after. Wee are now glad to heare of the victory you say the King hath obteyned against Sevagy, and hope your next



hour was not indebted one pie to our employers, only a certaine sum of money was lent to a person of quality in that country per our Sheroff there, in the name of our nation, and some money deposited per the said Sheroff in building a howse for the Honourable Company in Rojapore, which sum was to be repaid per the Governor of that towne unto the said Sherroff. For recovery of these summs, which concerne not the Honourable Company, the said H. Revington &ca. have not only involv'd themselves into trouble, brought a scandall upon our nation, but what wee feare may be of worse consequence, made those people (our former friends) our present and future enemies.

To prevent the evill consequence wee, the President and Councill of India, Persia, etca., doe concurr to send our declarations to the Governors of that country, disowning the hostile and unwarrantable acts of the said H. Revington and his adherents. And as wee have formerly disowned Henry Revington, the chief actor, so doe wee now discard Randolph Taylor from the Honourable Company's service, for refusing to comply with our orders when wee appointed him Chief there, but contrarily contynnuing the only maintainour of H. Revington in his unwarrantable courses; and shall write to the rest (whome wee are so charitable as to think misled per the other) to repaire unto us, there being no employment for them there, and least the pretence of their engagements there for the Honourable company should impeed their coming, wee shall send to the merchants of that towne a certificate under the hands of the Sheroffs of this place, that they are contented to stay for their mony till such time that wee are accommodated, which wee expect suddenly from Persia and then shall wee cleare our employers debt in that factory.

( 14 )

F. R. Rajapur	}	THE FACTORS AT RAJAPUR	{	Dated 17 April
p. 131				

(EXTRACT)

Yours of the 13 instant arrived unto us yesterday;...hoping this will find the person returnd from Vizapore that went to the King about the granadoes, which wee should be very glad were sould; being joyfull that the shell you have broke so much pleased the Genrall. Wee can but wonder at the fredome of Rustum Jemah[s] brothers coming into the camp, concluding that they have been as much concernd in their brothers actions as he himself. But we beleive, by what you write, its agreeable with the



genrall discrecion [discretion?] to conceale there misdeads in this troublesome tyme then to call them to accompt and afflict the punishment due for such offences as they are questionless guilty of. Pray advice if the Mair Mahmod Cossim be the same that was Governour formerly of Rajapore. Wee are very glad for your incounter with Fazell Ckawn, hoping his discourse unto you was reall, though when he sayth he wrote to his Governour, Mahmod Sheriffe, to deliver what he had of his fathers to the English, we beleive hee ether complemented or elce expects to have from the English what was delivered out of his jounks. Wee shall be glad to know the effect of Velgyes discourse with his Banian, who doubtlesse knowes the whole buisnesse better than his master.....Yesterday came a letter from Vaugy to a Bramani of this towne, wherein he writes of his safe arrivall to Hookery and kinde reception there, Rustum Jemah sending a coach to meete him and two doolyes to light him to Madonias house, where hees permitted to remaine at present. When further punishment will be inflickted, we know not; but we heare that Timogy, for feare of bearing Vaugy company, is privately gott away from Hookery; which we rather beleive, for that his servant here hath sterd [steered?] the same course, having caryed his wyfe and children and what elce hee could with him. Wee should be very glad that Sevagys forces that were at Vizapore were gonn towards home, as is reported, that so there might be the more hopes of gayning that castle out of his hands, and concequently of an end of these troubles. Please to advise the opinion you have of Panella, and whether there is any probability of redemoion. ... [ *E. F. India* 1655-1660. pp. 373-4 ].

( 15 )

F. R. Rajapur	} THE FACTORS AT RAJAPUR	{ Dated 23 April
p. 133		
( EXTRACT )		

Yours of the 19th and 20th instant were delivered us last night...The ardas mentioud in the front of the first of yours wee received enclosed in Mr. Gyffards; which, though useless at present, the Rajahs [Sivaji's?] men haveing not appeared this way since the tyme wee formerly advisd you of ther departure, yett may pleasure us upon any such occasion as that was for which wee desired it, and prevent what inconveniences then seemingly threatned us. Wee take notice of what Rustum Jemah hath wrote you, parte whereof, as his desire to have your company in Hookery or your returne to Rajapore, this Bramyny that



hee hath sent downe signified unto Tapidas, to the end hee might acquaint us therewith; which what to think of wee know not, being soe much juggling and baseness amoungst the best of them in this country; but wee beleive your answer thereto will oblige him to declare his minde a little more fully, and if you could bee assured that hee had no ill meaning in his inviting you to Hookery, in respect to our future quiett (upon any alteration of the tymes) it would bee very convenient that you accepted of his invitation and give him a vissitt, by which wee should bee cleared of all jealousies that his misinformation may have caused a conception of; but this wee doubt not but you will seriously consider of before you put it in execution.

The next buisness we meat withall is that about the grana-does, wherein you desire our openions, which wee incert to bee agreeable with yours, provided the agreement may be made authentique by the Queens signifying unto you her approvall thereof, which upon any alteration of government wee conceive may bee an assistance to us for the recovery of our right, in case any enemyes of the present genralls (Syddy Jore) should for the future roguisly alledge that hee abused his trust with those blanks the Queene had given him her chop toe; or least upon change of the Government unto Sevagy, hee as our enemy may plead the like, although all unreasonable ... [*E. F. India* 1655-1660. pp. 374-5.]

( 16 )

F. R. Rajapur p. 136	} THE FACTORS AT RAJAPUR TO H. REVINGTON	{ Dated 28 April 1660

( EXTRACT )

The small vessell wee formerly advised you was going to Surrat is heere still, the laskarrs denyeing to goe through feare of the Syddyes vessalls of Danda Rajapore, who are said to bee abroad, lookeing out for the Persia etc. vessalls that belong unto this port; but the owner of the vessell, who is one of this townes merchants, having promised them to gett the Englishes noat unto said Syddy, they are contented to proceed, provided he cann procure the same; for the effecting whereof he makes it his suitt for three or four words under our hands, which if you please to grant and draw out, we will likewise signe thereto, he being a poore man and having imployed a great part of his stock in this small boate and her cargoe. Here is no newes worth advising you,



Rustum Jemahs men sitting all heere still; only it is said that Syddy Jore hath sent men to take possession of Carrapatann, Sandall, etc. townes, the certainty whereof we beleive you are better acquainted with then we. [ *E. F. India*, 1655-1660. p. 376 ].

## ( 17 )

F. R. Rajapur } THE FACTORS AT RAJAPUR { Dated 30 April  
p. 137 } TO H. REVINGTON { 1660  
( EXTRACT )

The favour the Queenes scribevan promised you in procuring a quick dispatch to your buisness wee are glad to heare, and the kindnesse hee hath donn you in giveing you a vissitt is generally taken notice of heere as a perticuler favour, being lookt upon by all as a very eminent person; which questionless the Dutch finde to bee accordingly, or elce they would not allow him so large a sallery as 1000%. per annum to drive on there buisness with his King against the Portugall, though I hope they will find but ill success to such endeavours, and that by one trick or other hee will assure them hee is a Bramine. [ *E. F. India*, 1655-1660 pp. 376-7. ]

## ( 18 )

E. F. India } REVINGTON TAYLOR & { Dated Collapore  
1655-60 p. 377 } GARWAY TO RAJAPUR { 30 May 1660

Yours of 19th May wee have received, and approve very well of your denying Rustum Jemahs Maldars the granadoes, for it was a trick that they intended, to gett them from Syddy Joar and not to carry them to him. Wee come now to answer unto your other letter ( which hath no date ), wherein wee read as much as wee heare here, that Rustum Jemah is very sorry the English hath been disgusted by his servants, and to satisfie us hath commanded his two brothers and son in law to court H. R. highly, which they have donn; but at this tyme great actions are in agitation, and wee are jealous hee hath some snake under his hearbe, that there is something in his hart which his tounge hides by fare language. Otherwise, why should he pretend to fetch away the granadoes in Syddy Joars name, and desire H. R. to returne to Rajapore, now that the tyme of yeare calls all merchants up into the country ?...



## (19)

<i>Dutch Records (at the India Office) Letters from India, 1660-1661, Vol. 24, No. DCLXIV.</i>	(EXTRACT) (Translation)	{ 10 June 1660 (New style) 31 May 1660
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REPORT FROM COMMANDER ADRIAN ROTHASS TO THE  
HONORABLE JOAN MAETSUYCKER GOVERNOR GENERAL  
AND THE COUNCIL FOR INDIA ON THE EVENTS  
OF HIS MISSION TO THE COAST OF INDIA FROM  
27 July 1659 to 10 June 1660.

In the kingdom of Visiapour the position has become somewhat more favourable. The rebel Suwasie [Shivaji], who had brought his troops close to the capital and about 4 hours distance from Wingurla, was driven off by the Desai of Condal [Kudal] and defeated in a bloody fight by the King's troops, joined by those of the King of Golconda who had come to his assistance. Peace has now again been restored in the disturbed provinces.

## (20)

F. R. Rajapur } p. 140	H. REVINGTON, &c. TO FORT St. GEORGE	{ Dated Rajapore 5 June 1660
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(EXTRACT)

The Panella Castle is closely besiedgd and Sevagy, the Queens grand enemy, in it with about 5 or 6,000 men. The Queens genrall, Sallibut Okawn, a Syddy, hath promised to buy some granadoes, which undoubtedly will bee the chiefest disturbers of the besiedgd. [E. F. India, 1655-1660. pp. 577-8].

## (21)

F. R. Rajapur } p. 145	RICHARD NAPIER, &c. TO SURAT	{ Dated Collapore 15 June 1660
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(EXTRACT)

The Companies granadoes etc. remaine still in Rajapore; but Vauggy is not there to receive them, being, for his roughish practizes against Rustum Jemah and the English, carryed up to Hookery, where hee accompanies Abdle Creame, [Abdul Karim] the former Governour, in restrand: who was likewise discarded [from ?] the Government of said towne for the like abuses towards Mr. H. R. etc., and a new Governour sent downe in his place; but when Vauggy will returne wee know not. There is no newes here meriting your notice; but if any profers at Panella, where Mr. Revington now is, wee doubt not but hee will acquaint you therewith. Wee (God bee thanked) remayne sure from all troubles,



though the country is still disquieted with what occasioned by the rebellion of Sevagy. [ *E. F. India*, 1655-1660. p. 379. ]

## ( 22 )

F. R. Stuart } PRESIDENT ANDREWS TO HENRY { Dated 2 Aug-  
Vol. 85, p. 178 } REVINGTON SURAT { gust 1660

## ( EXTRACT )

Consider what little reason there was for such a dispose [ of the Company's 'granadoes' to Rustum Zaman ]; hee but a subject; the country all in an uprore; no certainty what party would prevaile, there being on foote at that time so many; and last of all the small faith of Moores or Hindoes prompted mee not to advise to the practic of that I saw so little probability to prosper, but rather to wait another opportunity. Though hee was your friend then, yet hee might be overpowred by the Queen, whose subject hee was, and shee not his friend. [ *E. F. India*, 1655-1660. p. 382. ]

## ( 23 )

F. R. Rajapur } H. REVINGTON TO SURAT { Dated Collapore  
p. 147 } ( EXTRACT ) { 12 October 1660

The not selling of the Company's granadoes unto Rustum Jemah is more then you cann answer, although Mr. Andrewes pretends that hee hath given an answer for it, but his answer is both weake and dishonest which I come to prove, vizt, first, if you looke about the middle of my letter to the deceased President &ca. Councell dated the 7th May 1659 from Raybagg you will find written thus much: whatever hee ( Rustum Jemah ) doth now is of force after his death, whoever should commande Rajapore afterwards, according to the lawes of the country, provided you cann but shew his hand, or bring sufficient witnesses. Now by this the Company cannot but looke upon your first reason as weake, for though, as you say, there were trouble in the country, and although Rajapore should have binn taken away from Rustum Jemah by the Queene, yet his bills for so much mony from the towne of Rajapore would bee in force, and the mony secure, because wee could have paid ourselves out of our owne customes, as well as have received it from the towne, and who would not sell such a commodity ( which is not every ones commodity ) at a little tyme, for so great profit.



6 Dec. 1660 ]

English Records

CSL

( 24 )

*Dutch Records (at  
the India Office)  
Letters from In-  
dia, 1659-1660.  
Vol. 23, No.  
DCLI*

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL,  
JOAN MAETSUYCKER, AND  
COUNCIL FOR INDIA TO  
THE DIRECTORS OF THE  
DUTCH EAST INDIA  
COMPANY.

Dated 16  
December 1660  
( New style )  
6 Dec. 1660

(EXTRACT Translation)

The country of Visiapour has been much disturbed last year, owing to the bad Government of the old queen, who has roused her subjects to rebellion by her extortions. One of these rebels named Siwasi has been so successful that several towns and castles have fallen into his power and his troops already occupied the suburbs of Visiapour. We hear, however, that he has been obliged to retreat. On account of these disturbances it has been impossible to present to the King the gifts we sent last year. We reported the death of Governor Tollegan and the appointment of his son in his stead. But without any reason the queen has taken the post from him and given it to Charechan, the son of the well known Chanchanna former Commander-in-Chief of the army. This alteration of Governor at first caused much dismay at Winguria.

(25)

Indian Antiquary }  
Vol. L, 1921, p 315 }

( REFERENCE )

{ About middle of  
March 1661

.....And afterwards in dispiht of all the king of Vijla]-  
pore could doe, hee tooke Rajapore,<sup>1</sup> a great port, plundered it,  
and seised our English merchants, Mr. Revington, Mr. Taylor  
and digged up the English house for treasure, and kept the mer-  
chants in prison about eight months.....

[ Escaliot's letter to his brother dated Surat 28 January 1664 ].

1. 'The loss of the letter, just referred to, [ dated 10 and 13 April, O. C. 2385 ] is the more to be regretted because it contained some account of the disaster which had overtaken the factors stationed at Rajapur'.....and again 'In the absence of any account of the disaster from the English records, the story must be pieced together from other sources'—E. F. 1661-64, pp 3 and 4. The date is fixed from the Dagh Register 1661 p. 215.

( 26 )

Orme Mss. Vol. 155 pp. 1-21	}	TO MR. MATTHEW AN- DREWS [AND] MR. JOHN LAMBERTON	{	Dated Soangur [Songarh] 10th June 1661
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( EXTRACT\* )

Yours of the 2d of May I received in Soangur Castle the 8th June, unto which I reply, the original of our disaster adds no fuel to our discontent, it being first our duty to our Masters to stand or fall with their estate and innocency in ourselves, which made us fear no evil, that we did not run away ( although we could have done it ) at Savagee's approach. ... ..

But God be thanked, we are not in fault, but in misery for our sins towards God, not Sevagi, out of whose hand pray God deliver us by his provident [*sic*] and our own endeavours, which prompted us to write to you before from Waysetty [ Vansota ] Castle, and now we are further encouraged by your letter to write again, which we accept of, in hopes you following our advice in this particular, will be a ready way to gain our liberty, vizt,

Sevagi, you may please to know, was the only person we had to work withall about Danda R. C.....[Danda Rajapur Castle] and to that purpose talked with Dowrowgis, his chief servant the last year about it, and understood that if that Castle were taken from the Siddy, all this country about it would fall into Sevagis hands, and that if we assisted him in that business, there would be nothing in reason, either for money or port towns but should be given or granted.

Upon this subject the Braman at Rajahpore, when we were prisoners, talked with us something, promising us a handsome seat called Meate Bunder upon the Coast, but at this time we told him our intentions was lost through his imprisoning and robbing us, and how to discourse about it farther we knew not, without he [repaid] us able [? all] again.

After this he set a [sum] of Pagodas on our heads, to gain our liberty, and so sent us prisoners to Waysetty Castle. Now his reason for this is nearly arbitrary, and more we know not what to say, unless you can give yourselves a reason why he robs all Banians, Moorsmen, Persians, and Arabians, and after-

\* The contemporary version of these extracts is missing. The copy here given was made by Robert Orme in 1785, according to whom, 'The above appears to be written from the English servants of the Company who were kept in confinement by Sevagi'



wards imprisons, frown and drubb them for more money, and if you can do that, you may know why he dealeth hardly, tho' not so har[d]ly with us.

Here are several brave Persians and Arabians, that he tra-paned from aboard ship this year, who suffers worse then we do, and the only reason we [blank] he hopes to have our assistance against Dada Rajapore Castle, for we believe his demanding a [sum] of Pagodas from us is only to bring us to secure him in that particular, therefore we are resolved to [treat] with him, as we desire you to do as followeth.

1stly, First to restore to us our liberty, and what hath been taken from us, or at least our liberty.

2dly, That he must pay the charge of our ships; now if he doth not ask us what that must be, this may secure us a hole to creep out of our obligation (if we please) by asking more than he will give, but if he should ask, we will tell him a 10000 pago. for every ship, and that 4 ships are requisite, which being reasonable, will be beleived the sooner, and yet we have another hope to creep out at, for we may demand all the money beforehand, which he will never do.

3rdly, He must give the Company a port town convenient for shipping, and liberty to build a Castle on their own charge, but with his assistance of labourers, stone and time [?lime], for which we will pay.

4thly, Half custom of the town is to be ours and we to pay nothing either for goods imported or exported.

5thly, A Tanksall for a current coyning of silver all over his country, and that no Mallabars shall be countenanced by him, which we think fit to put in, because at Rajapore he told us he was a Mallabar himself, and has of them at command; these as circumstances.

6thly, That we must have liberty to buy saltpetre without trouble.

7thly, That he gives a house in the port town for accomodation and housing our goods.

These are the particulars we intend to discourse of about, and desire you in your next letters to write kindly unto him, letting him know that you are very sorry H. R. staying in Rajah-pore when he was going to Goa (as indeed he was), should find so bad entertainment, when that the cause of his staying was not only for our advantage but his too; and then you may particula-rize the prementioned business and particular conditions, while

we are doing what lyes in our power that is just and handsome for our releasement.

But it is possible he may say (being a perfidious man himself), how shall I beleive these promises, and what security shall I have for the performance of this, when you have your money and liberty, or only your liberty?

To this we have no more to reply then to say, we have more reason to doubt his performance in giving us a town &c. privileges, after we have done the business than he to doubt our endeavours in doing it, because it was our proposition not his; and besides, it was our proposition to his servant Dowrowgy, when we were out of his hands, and at liberty, as well as now in prison; therefore we rather expect some security from him; but if he should be insolent and say we were now in his hands and he would keep us and our money till the business was done that keep us and kill he may; but for money and service he never would have from us so long as he kept us.

We expect every day to be called by Rowgee Fundett who is sent by Sevagi to examine us, we having not seen Sevagi since we passed Rajapore.

This we write as privately, intending to write more after our examination, and therefore we keep the cossen [sic, ? cossid] by us. This day the Braman enordered a Moorman to be tortured with stripes before our face, we suppose to terrify us, and this day we have privately given it out to one that is likely to tell him again, that if we are not released, or any one dies, there were those in Surat that would grant Orangzeebs desire in transporting an army into Decan, which hitherto the English would never do, because they were friends with the Queen of Decan, but she being now deposed and gone, it would be as little prejudice as trouble to us, were it to be revenged, and this we beleive will fright him more than the stick did us.

And let us tell you a profer to Shesta Ckaune, who lies about the hill not above 7 gow or 40 course off us, would be very acceptable to the C...[Ckaune, Khan] as the business may be carryed, and then Sevagi may be soon routed, for all the difficulty is in Chasta Ckaunes coming down the hill, but of this let nothing be said or done before we advise you to it. What you writ to Sevagi was very well; the letter the Braman hath, who broke open ours before we came, and tomorrow he sends it to Sevagi. What answer will be returned we know not, but let what will be, be sure your answer to him about the Castle be as we advised, and if he



writes for money, please to tell him, as we have done by letters, our masters will never pay a pice for our liberties; and although you have money of theirs in your hands, yet you dare not pay 1000 pagodas much less a greater sum; and one thing more we must give you a caution of, not to beleave any report that speakes we should do or say anything contrary to this, for it is possible they will write to you [that] we have agreed to pay so much money for our liberty to hear what you will say, as they did by Velgy when he was in Kelna, and we in Waysetty, that he confest we had 4 mans of gold in Nauggees house buried, when there was no such thing, only to hear what we would say; therefore pray give no credit to any report contrary to what we write and desired and write nothing contrary to our desires.

And further that if you write about the Castle, that you would give us some latitude in case of necessity to steer another way than we have already laid down, which we promise you shall not be so far out of the way as to be a dishonour to our employers, and therefore let Sevagi know from you, that you have left the conclusion of this buisness to H. R. &c., therefore inform [them] it is needless to spend time in writeing so far as Surat since [blank] had liberty to [blank] here. We have no paper but this tore out of books; our other letter, after examination, must be writ in Banian paper, which we must beg of the cursed Braman, with whom our Broker Vilgy is talking, but of what we as yet know not.

Our granadoes were not sold to the Siddy of Dandah, but to Sciddy Joar, the King's Generall, who hath now Carapatan and the Island too, and himself gone to his country.

Our Cosset in his way saw Rustan Jemah, who told him he [had] written 3 letters to me to go away, I am glad to hear so much, for by that he must know of Sevagis intentions; but he speaks a gross untruth, and as I wrote before in my letters from Waysetty when I know what your [blank] intention is concerning me I shall then speak that which shall give them advantage and reason enough to do what they please against him. Even now one of our keepers are sent to the Rajah about what my other letter will tell you, therefore we end this and rest.

Your assured loving friends,

Henry. Revington

Rand. Taylor.



Upon better considerations we think it better to tell him that our ships are of several burthens; and we know not how long time it may be before the Castle is taken [or] how many ships this business may require, therefore cannot set down their charge as 10000 pagodas a shipp, and when you write him, do not inclose his letter in ours, but give it privately to one of the cossets to deliver us, and pray prefer our liberty before anything else, which when he hath granted, then tell him you will confirm what we shall have concluded with him, otherwise not. Pray send us paper, quills, penknife and wax. If we should write a letter for money, let it signify nothing and let the Rajah know so much. The news we writ in our last of Vilgy's being released, we find now to be false, he being brought hither among other Banians of Rajahpore under pretence for speaking for us in our business, so that now you may employ whom you please in buying pepper.

The Captain Chaule hath returned an answer to us, but such an one as a heathen would not do, being all together uncharitable, of which he may hear hereafter; yet he saith, if he hath your order, he will send what we want, because he saith that Goa was nearer us than him when he is from us miles and Goa 180 miles Grand Villaco.

Pray let Mr. Gray be entertained into the Commrs. service again, and this copied out fair.

Here is one named Sombole a prisoner in this Castle, who came this year from and was taken amongst the rest with 2000 dollars worth of goods belonging to Hodge Zahad Beaque. The man knowing me desired me to write thus much, and that his master would send 100 pagodas to release him. I have advised him not to declare who is his master, least they set a great sum on his head so that he hath entered what lost in his own name.

Mr. Napier died about a month since in Rajahpore.

Ced Kisonogy that owes the Com. 3400 pagodas in Rajahpore for cloth and lead is dead, drubb'd to death in Kelna, upon which news his wife poisoned herself in Rajahpore, so that now it will be some trouble to find his money; but money he hath to my knowledge in Persia and was sent in goods this last year upon a junk to Gombroon and is not as yet returned; therefore if the Agent of Persia doth not lay out for these shippes next monsoon, I hope you will, and they will pay the Company &c. all they have lost with advantage for this affront, for now the Queen is banished most of the Umbraws make it their business to rob and spoil this part of the country, and they only keep the bastard king a



time for name's sake, because they know not who else to set up, Shasta Okaun having taken Durvice the Heir to this crown in one of Sevaji's Castles.

You must excuse the rudeness of my writing which I cannot put into a handsome form through the unhandsomeness and meanness of my accommodation; besides I am so watched, that I am forced to write by piece meals.

H. R. wants some shirts, breeches and cotton waistcoats which if you can send me, pray do. The Company owes him money, which he paid their clamorous creditors in Rajahpore as appears by the books ballances the first of Jaunary, which books hope to find in Rajahpore again, so that you may pay yourselves for what you send him, if the Company hath discarded him. He wants likewise a small tooth comb for among 170 prisoners he cannot keep himself so clean as he would do.

What goods you buy this year, let not be brought down the hill to the northward of Goa, but to the southward, as Carwar, and there you must have a great care how money is seen, for you know it belongs to Rustam Jemah.

Thus you see how times change men and they that were the greatest promoters of trade when we came first into the country are now the greatest destroyers, but it's no wonder, for the sword must spoil before it can mend anything.

We hear of an army coming from Agra and Sevagi is providing for them and hath lately enlarged and strengthened his country by overcoming the 2 Rajahs of Dulvice and the Rajah of Singapore, by which means he commands all the Coast from Danda Rajahpore Castle to Carapacam, which he threatens and resolves the next Monsoon to command as far as Goa, and then farewell Goa in a short time.

We all, as well as R. H. [Sic? H. R.] want cloaths. If you can furnish us the [therewith it] will be very acceptable by the cossetts, with whom one of our four men may be sent to bring them, or else write to the Capt. at Shaule to furnish us from them [thence], whither we have sent to be supplied and desired him to value himself for their amount upon you.

The Company and ourselves have lost to the amount of 12,000 pagodas, among which the Mercore piece they have rated at 500 pagodas and 2 shells at 1000; the rest of the shells are we think remaining in Rajahpore, but these 200 are not all the Company's, because there was 300 of the *Eagles* owners and 250 of H. R. &c.; the rest the Company's 1000.

We estimate the Company's loss to be about 2 or 3000 pagodas, and the other 8 or 9000 is H. R., R. T., &c., but if you reckon Kismoggy's debt, which this country must pay, then the sum lost will be about 15 or 16 thousand pagodas or thereabouts, and they owe Vauggy 3000 pagodas or thereabouts besides [blank]. We stopp as per your advises formerly, and unto Velgy the Company owes 2300 pagodas.

This is what we can remember, which we advise you of for your satisfaction, besides we owe to severel Raybagg merchants the 15000 pagodas returned in bills of exchange, which hath been Tymoggy's trouble and amounts 600 more on account of our former debt, so that the Company will not be much loosers, but we shall if our masters right us not.

Pray advise us what the Company writes concerning us, and then you shall hear further from

Your very loving friends, H. R., R. T.

As yet we have not been spoken to by the Braman about any business.

The Nocquedah of the Surat Jounk that came to Rajahpore is in Kelna, where he has had the strapado so barbarously given him, as that his hands and arms are dead and their use lost. Welgys hands continued dead for 1 month and was fed by another like a child.

The like cruelty I beleive was never known, for men to be robbed of all and then to be wrackt for having no more. I pray God deliver us from the hell we are in and from another.

Remember me to the padre, and desire him to remember us in his prayers. H. R.

We have now talked with the Braman who first of all demanded money from us which we having denied, having lost all; and for our masters, tho they were monied and great men; yet they would sooner spend money to revenge themselves than give any to release us out of an unjust imprisonment. This being told him with some earnestness and some other circumstances, according to our promise to you in our other letters, he fell off from the discourse of money unto business, and demanded what business we could do for his master, if we had no money. We told him that when we met his master we intended to speak of some business that might have been for his advantage and our masters too, of which he knew something already, and then he desired us to speak our minds, which we did according to our other letter of the business of D[anda] R[ajahpore] C[astle]; desiring farther that



we might be set at liberty now and be doing our masters business against the ships came to Rajahpore, and after the rains were over, we would send to Sevagi to conclude the business, unto which he hath hearkened, and we are confident the business pleaseth him well, but he cannot beleive we are real in what we say, and therefore denyed letting us have our liberty or money 'till the business was done.

Then we bid him keep the money for security, to which he answered, when we were gone we would not value the money, for, saith he, how can you [blank] my master that he wronged you. We know we should not have done what you have done, therefore we must keep you till Sevagi is at leisure to talk and make friends with you. We replied, that in keeping us, he would injure our masters more than he hath already done, for now we are to buy pepper &c. commodities which the ships will want; to which he answered, there was no buying goods, for all the Coast was in his masters hands, and then he named the port towns [which] were under his masters commands, among which Dabul is one, that we may accept of; but we told him it was in vain to talk anything about the business, unless he intended to give us our liberty, without which we should be lookt upon as his slaves and not his friends, after which he replied, if we were not in his hands, our men would enter the Castle first, and keep it for themselves, but we gave him to understand, that to enter the Castle after we had made a breach must be his men's work, and that his men must lie under breast works &c. upon the Island, plying small shot, and securing, the mortar pieces; therefore he need not fear any such thing but we had reason to question his performance of conditions after we had done the business, and therefore desired to know what security we should have, unto which he said his word. Upon that we replied, if his word were sufficient for us, was not our word sufficient for him? But then he answered, that they had wronged us and so had not we them. In time, after we told him upon which conditions the business might be done according to our other letters, he told us that notwithstanding all this discourse, he must have money, for his master Sevagi could not attend the other business, therefore bid us set down quiet for a month or two and afterwards it may [be] his master would look upon us, [at] which we rise [sic] telling him his master might slight the business, yet the Mogull would give the English 3 lack of rupees to take it for them, therefore bid him chew upon that cudd, upon which he said how, how, how, what's that, and sat

down again, and we told it him again and went away while he only said he would give us a Jebob for that too.

Two days after Sevagi came to Marr Town below this hill where he staid about two days, called for the Persians and Arabs and demanded money from them, and so commanded them to the Castle, and hath delivered them and all the prisoners unto Rowgie Punditts hands, to do with them as he thinks fit, which is very bad; but for us, we are to sit still till his return from Cullean Boondy, a town which the Mogul took lately from him, which he hopes to retake this rainy times, and then we shall hear and see him, so that being unwilling to keep the cossett any longer, we this day went to the Braman and desired to know what answer Sevagi returned to your letter, who told us that he had little to reply unto it, and what that was he would write you, but withall bid us write unto you for money, and that without money we should not be let go, that we were taken with other merchants and had all taken from us, that everybody had money put upon their heads and those that paid it was let go, and those that did not were put in irons and drub'd, therefore as you were our brothers, you must get some money and release us; unto which we replied that for money they would give none, therefore it were better to write of business. No, no, saith he, you must write about money, and that he would do so too, and then we asked him how much he would write for. He said 100000 pagodas, but we told him that was a sum which if you should sell all you and the Company had in Surat, you could not make. But, saith he, there is a great deal of difference between the buyer and the seller. Let them write what they will give, and I will tell you what I will take. But they will give nothing at all, replied we again. But however, do you write as well as we, saith he, which we promised him to do, and so we have, desiring him in his letter to you he would not insert what he hath taken in all from the English, but only write that he had taken about 3,500 pagodas of the Company, for which we have two reasons.

First, because when you write to restore what hath been taken away and our liberty &c. [and other] conditions for taking the aforesaid Castle, he may be the more willing to part with so much then all and besides have the greater confidence in us.

2dly. Because he may think we are afraid to let our masters know what we have lost, and consequently that our masters do not look upon us as such great men as he thinks we are; and if



we can get what the Company hath lost with our liberties, we shall be content to loose the rest, we knowing our masters will take such care of us as to gain for us what we have lost when they see fitting.

But we fear there is no money will be repaid. Pray God send us our liberty, which as you desire to be instrumental in and to have our advice, so we shall gladly afford it, therefore desire you to write a letter to Sevagi exactly as we have writ in the enclosed, unless you find more writ then we have advised you, and take great care that your translation gives not so much allay to their translation as may make it appear grosser than the original. Vauggee is dead, and severall vessels cast away upon the coast, all the Umbraws are divided, and we beleive Vizapore will be plundered. One thing H. R. thinks would be good for you, to write to Rowgy Punditt the Braman; for money you can pay none but what is due to him upon account wages, which he desires you insert as followeth:

We having not taken up more than one years wages vizt.

H. R. 1½ years wages 666 rupes, which if that will clear him, and he demands it of you, he will pay it, but more, if he were your own brother or father, he durst not do it, neither will your masters.

With the letter you send to Sevagi you must send somebody who knows how to speak the honour of our country and the English, and how willing we were to make Sevagi our friend, and how sorry you are he understood us not better and who this must be know not except Hossan, who having learned his lesson, will, we beleive do the business handsomely.

By that time your answer comes, Sevagi may be returned and then we shall understand each other better and hope to bring this unhappy business to some better end.

We want money and cloaths, the former hope will come from you, and the other any Braman in Choule may send us with your order where Hossan [in] this rainy time may furnish himself with a Pallenkeen and leave his horses there.

To conclude. This Castle is the only aim he hath, and could he be persuaded to the beleif of us, he would be real to us, therefore, whoever comes to him must make it his business to persuade him to beleive us, and for our purposes we may very well promise and endeavour the business upon these conditions, which he will be bound to, but whether you approve of the conditions or not, let



not him know so much, for if you do not like them, you may make some evasion or other when we are at liberty, and one thing let us inform you that that Castle is not to be taken by the English for themselves, without good store of men, and where will you have them but from Sevagi, which was our design, and he to have the country and Castle too, but now we being prisoners he will have country and Castle too, giving us any other port town to build a Castle upon. We pray God to send us out of his hands, so we rest

Your loveing freinds

Soangur June 28 [ sic ? 10 ]

H. REVINGTON. RAND: TAYLOR

Racd. June 28, 1661.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

PHIL. GYFFORD.

Let Hossan or any other that brings the letter for Sevagi enquire about Basseen, where Sevagi is, and thither carry the letter and deliver it into his own hands, for we fear these Bramans make letters to speak what they please, and send us copy of it in English, and pray hasten the business.

Yours H. R.

[ E. F. India 1661-64 pp. 5 to 9 ].

(27)

E. F. India }  
1661-64 p. 50 }

CHAMBER TO PRESIDENT  
AT SURAT

{ Dated 19  
October 1661

Wee are much aggrieved to heare how you are abused by the Surat Governor, and that he hath confined you prisoners to the companies howse. If this be indured by these Governours, they will presume further; and wee have the like complaint to present concerning Xaigee ( who is father to him that is the Visapore Generall and hath Mr. Revington in durance ); for hee came in July last to Porta Nova and robbed and pillaged the towne; whereof the Companies merchants were the greatest losers, having taken from them in ellephants, callicoes, broad cloth, copper, benjamen, etc. goodes to the value of 30,000 pardawes and are utterly unable to pay the Company their remaynes in their hands, being about 4,000 pa [ godas ], unless our masters will licence us to vindicate them by their shipping at sea, for this Xaigee hath now Porta Nova in possession.

(28)

Orig. Correspondence }  
Vol. 27. No. 2900 }

CONSULTATION AT  
SURAT

{ 25 Oct. 1661

( EXTRACT )

The President propounded the Companies commission for the taking of Danda Rojapore Castle; but there was the same want

of men and shipping objected. The President also having a commission directed to President Wyche, which was not to be opened untill the Persian action was finished (and yet remayns sealed), supposing the same may give further instructions concerning Danda Rojapore, that affaire lies dormant untill a greater force awake it. [E. F. India 1661-64, p. 17]

(29)

E. F. India }  
1661-64 p. 50 }

CHAMBER TO  
COMPANY

{ 28th Nov.  
1661

It was declared that there was now reason for ships to call at Porto Novo, since, "the towne is wholly destroyed and the merchants totally ruined by Xagee, the Visapore King's generall" ... 'your fort is weakely manned; and this is a time not to be unprovided, when wee have noe lesse then five or six armies within the compasse of 100 miles about us'

(30)

F. R. Surat } PRESIDENT AND  
Vol. 85 p. 257 } COUNCIL OF SURAT TO { Dated Swalley Marine  
THE COMPANY { 7 December 1661

(EXTRACT)

The 10th Aprill we made our addresses to you from whence now we shall begine, ending that subject where then we concluded, which was with Mr. Henry Revingtons imprisonment by Sevagy, a rebell unto the King of Decan; who kept him and seven more English in prison six months, demanding a vast summe of mony for their releasement. Though we writt many perswasive letters unto him for releasement, yet they would not be taken notice of, till Mr. Revingtons sicknes (being a dropsey) caused a feare of his death, that upon his peroll [i. e. parole] and promise of returne when well, leaveing all the rest but his chyru-rgion [surgeon] behind him, he was sent away from him, and came to us the 17th of October passed, in a weake condition. Noe meanes nor care was nor is omitted for the restauration of his health, but [we] feare his recovery. The rest are all in prison, and [we] have not heard from them since Mr. Revingtons arrivall. The country all in a cumbustion; no tradeing nor civill commerce. The rebell of one side, the King of this country for the other, and divers discontented nobles within the kingdome, rent it all to peeces. What will be the end, God knowes; but to gaine the other Englishes liberty we shall use all meanes possible. [E. F. India 1661-64 p. 11-12].



( 31 )

E. F. India	}	INSTRUCTIONS TO	{	1661
1661-64 p. 18		A VESSELL		

All Malabar vessels met with were to be seized, as being 'our ancient enemyes'; and in addition, any belonging to Bijapur ports, 'from st. Johns [ Sanjan ] unto Goa', in retaliation for the imprisonment of the Rajapur factors.

( 32 )

E. F. India	}	SURAT TO	{	1661
1661-64 p. 27		COMPANY		

We need not discourse of the necessity of a place of your owne to reside in, being that since the open trade we have by these people (that looke upon us as women, not men) been still abused for noe cause, taking all pretences for an occasion of affronting us.

( 33 )

F. R. Surat Vol.	}	THE PRESIDENT AND	{	Dated 11 January
85 p. 287		COUNCIL OF SURAT		1661/2
		TO THE COMPANY		

(EXTRACT)

There is noe trade at Rajapore ; the whole country being a meere feild of blood; the King of Decan at open warrs with this King Oranshaw, severall rebells within the country of Decan warring both with their owne King, one another, and this King allsoe, that we cannot but feare it will reach hither suddenly.

[ F. F. India 1661-64 p. 30 ]

( 34 )

E. F. India	}	ROYAL WARRANT	{	21 February 1662
1661-64 p. 99		TO		
		PRESIDENT OXENDEN		

CHARLES R.

Whereas complaint hath been made unto us, on behalf of the company of merchants Trading into the East Indies, that divers English men, having noe relation or dependance on the said company, doe saile the Indian jouncks, teach the natives there to build and navigate ships, and trade in those parts to the greate prejudice of the English nation, contrary to Our royall charter graunted to the said company, Our will and pleasure is that you cause all such disorderly persons, residing within your jurisdic-



tion and agency, as shall in the said manner violate the privileges, immunities, and powers graunted by Our said Charter to the said East India company, to the prejudice and discouragment of trade in those parts, to be forthwith seized and sent for England. And for so doing this shall be sufficient warrant and authoritie unto you. Given at Our Court at White hall, the 21th of February, in the 13 yeare of our reigne.

By His Majesties Comaund,  
EDWAR NICHLAS

(35)

E. F. India	}	SURAT TO	{	27 Feb. 1662
1661-64 p 76	}	COMPANY	{	

The want of money.....is very greate.....The reason is .....you being pleased to disowne all debts ( which is a new thinge here ) :.....and last of all, the searsity was never soe great as now caused by the Governour taking all merchants money into his hands for accompt of the kinge, which before they sould to whome they pleased and what price they could best agree with the Sherofe of the towne; but he gives them his owne price and make[s] them what weight hee pleases. That hath frighted most of the merchants from this place, that to this day there is not a shipp gone out of the port to Persia, which is the onely port that supplies them in the monsoon with money. The oppression and wronge of this Governour to all merchants, our selves, Dutch, Persians, are soe great that there is a generall complaint. Not a weeke passes our heads but he creates some new trouble towards us or other. The Dutch are not permitted to sell their goods as formerly, their copper being called into the kings mint. The Persian[s] forced by delayes and demurrsto pay twice the custome of the place for dispatch. [So] that untill their pride, by a just calling them to accompt for injuries and delayes, bee brought downe, you cannot trade here with any freedome or profit.

(36)

Factory Records	}	PRESIDENT ANDREWS	{	Dated Surat
Surat Vol. 85		AND JOHN LAMBTON TO		10 March 1661/62
p. 294		"THE DISCONSOLATE PRISONERS IN RAIRE CASTLE"		

(EXTRACT)

Your severall letters of the 28th December, 16 January and the 3rd Ditto were received, wherein wee read that which you and



wee see much desire, earnestly thirstinge after your liberty. Wee cannot blame you for that, but you must understand that wee have our hands full of buisnesse, many shipps to dispeed, advices also to give aboute our Honble employers affaires in many places to bee acted, which takes up all our time and not to spend it unnecessarily in inditing and sending costly letters to a Rogue that takes noe notice of them, for never yet any answere was returned. Nor indeed to your selves, were you not Christians and our country men, being that see much wee have been sleighted and disowned by you, which in your letters still you continue practizing disrespect and abusive language which have caused us to avoyd the trouble of reading them, not troubling our selves with writing, being that it will, you say, bee but a divertment; yet wee shall not further enlarge on this subject, because it may bee your closer imprisonment, caused by the nonsucceeding of your designe, hath made you more impatiently abusive as you were in your last letter; which wee shall wave and come to tell you that the Bill of Exchange was noe sooner presented, but ready money by the President himselve paid out; see much did wee desire your liberty, and now if knew wee how probably to obtaine it, without answering the demands of those unreasonable men, wee should not faile to put it in practice; but our answere to you, and them also, is to part with noe money; for though the good opinion you have of your selves have caused you to set a vallue upon your selves, yet indeed wee knowe not for what, unlesse disobedience to orders, abusing superiours, bee commendable ... How you came in prison you knowe very well. 'Twas not for defending Companies goods. 'twas for going to the Seige of Pannella and tossing balls with a flagg that was knowne to bee the Englishes... It [i. e. Sivaji's action] was but as any other would doe, having power to revenge himself of such affronts; for marchants are not to sell their goods, when if of that nature as grana-does, to goe and shoote them off against an enemy; for marchants while trading in a strainge country and may live quietly, if not meddling must looke for a requitall of their deserts. Wee... must tell you plainly and none but what rehearsed is the cause of your imprisonment; Mr. Revington himself having mentioned the comands of Sevagee [?not] to sell any, are cast in your teeth of being at Pannella Castle because he would returne the injury as hee hoped more to his satisfaction if he could obtaine money than to word it... [E. F. India 1661-1664. p. 87.]



## ( 37 )

Letter Book } THE COMPANY TO SURAT { Dated London 19  
Vol. 3. p. 113 } March 1662  
( EXTRACT )

If at the arriveall of these ships Danda Rajapore shall bee in posession for the use of the Company, then wee require that, with what conveniency you can and with discreete manadgment, you remove from Surratt and settle your Presidency in that place, and there secure and fortifie your selves as well as you can, with what English are in those parts, till wee shall bee advised from you of your condition; and then wee shall proceed to furnish you with all things needfull that your advices shall require.

[ E. F. India 1661-1664. p. 97. ]

## ( 38 )

F. R. Surat } COMMISSION TO CAPT. E. MASON { Dated Swally  
Vol. 2, p. 76 } OF THE ROYAL WELCOME { Marine 27  
IN HIS VOYAGE TO PERSIA { March 1662  
[EXTRACT]

What Mallabarrs or Decan vessayls you shall encounter endeavour the mastering, take out what merchantable and set the vessayl on fire, the men set on the next shoare you come at, if it can be done conveniently.

## ( 39 )

F. F. India } INSTRUCTIONS FROM KING { Dated  
1661-64 p. 128 } CHARLES TO SIR ABRAHAM { March 1662  
SHIPMAN  
( EXTRACT )

Our maine design in putting Our self to this great charge for making this addition [the island of Bombay] to Our dominions being to gain to Our subjects more free and better trade in East Indies, and to enlarge Our dominions in those parts and advance thereby the honour of Our Crown and the genrall commerce and weale of Our subjects,.....

## ( 40 )

F. R. Surat. } THE PRESIDENT & COUNCIL { Dated 10  
Vol. 85. p. 302 } OF SURAT TO THE COMPANY { April 1662  
( EXTRACT )

Pepper also, from Carwar; for none cann bee gott at Reja-pore, nor the English released. Wee intend, if possible, to take some of their jounckes from Mocho, gaine their liberty and restitution of estate of Your Worships etc. taken from Mr. Henry Ravington; for many letters wee have sent to Sevagee that de-

clares it, and received noe answeare; and shall now send unto the Kinge of the country; wishing our endeavours may bee more effectuall. [E. F. India 1661-1664. p. 80]

( 41 )

F. R. Surat Vol. 85, p. 311	} PRESIDENT ANDREWS AND COUNCIL 'AT SURAT TO RANDOLPH TAYLOR,' 'PRISONER IN RAIRE TO SEVAGE'	{ D. Surat 17 May 1662

( EXTRACT )

It is now some weekes past since wee heard from you, that wee are unacquainted with your condition or of that of the Country, not knowing where either the Kinge of Vissapore or Savagee is, that wee might adresse our selves by a letter unto them for your release, therefore have sent a letter to either unto your selves to send forward to them...

Wee shall, soe soon as the *Hopewel* and *Royal Wellcome* retournes from Persia not fayle to give commission to the latter end of August or begining of September for them both to lye on the Coast neare Vingola, the one and the other neare Carrapatan that if possible wee may sease on some Jouncks coming from Mocha and Persia and not to give liberty to any Decanner, if that way can prevaile for your liberty, if our letters doe not. Tis reported theould Queene is to returne, and if it bee our good fortune to light on hir, surely the King will not faile to procure your release for hir beside a returne of satisfaction. What you heare or can heare concerning hir, or any Jounckes or persons of quallity expected, give us advise that wee may proceed accordingly.

Wee most willingly would procure your freedome, but how to treate by sending a person into soe remote a Country and into an Enemyes (wee know not whether) is most [?] certain. Knew wee but any certainty of attaining your desires, and our expectation answeares such a mission, wee would not spare [sic] a parcell of money that wee could disburse.....[E. F. India 1661-1664, p. 88.]

Wee shall send the Letter unto the King of Vissapore by another conveyance, sopping it difficult for you to doe.

( 42 )

F. R. Surat Vol. 2, p. 84	} CONSULTATION in SURAT	{ 21st July 1662

( EXTRACT )

Wee considered the captive condition of the Honble. Companies servants and loss of our Honble. employers and their owne

estate in Decan, for whome, though wee have used means for their libertie, by writing both to Sevagee and the King of Decan, yet have they now been restreyned 17 monthes, and have no hope of redemption without payment of a great ransome. Wee as members of the same body, being very sensible of their affliction and injurie done to our employers, doe in justice think it fitt and required from us, to recover their libertie and our Masters and their estates by force, since all faire means hath already been administred and prevayl not.

To which end wee at this tyme met, and after some Consultation, concluded theseizure of their vessayles at their retourne from Mocha to be the most effectuall means for their liberty and feizable, because we expect the two shippes aforesaid [the *Royall Welcome* and the *Hopewell*] to be on the coast. To the performace thereof, wee have now sent two expresses, with Commissions to the Commanders of both shippes, to put out of harbour upon receipt of the same (or so soone as the weather will permitt), the *Hopewell* to ply it off Rojapora and Carrapatam, and the *Royall Welcome* to lie before Vingula, Dabull and ports adjacent, for surprizall of the Queen of Decan at her retourne from Mocha, being expected to land at the former Port, limitting them to the 20 of September for this employment.....and then they are to retourne to Carwarr...

( 43 )

F. R. Surat	} COMMISSIONS TO CAPTAINS EDWARD	{ Dated
Vol. 85, p. 383		
	MASON AND JAMES SNOW OF THE	21 July
	<i>Royall Welcome</i> and the <i>Hopewell</i>	1662

[The purport of these commissions is, as stated in the letter to Randolph Taylor of the 17 May 1662, to seize on any ships belonging ] "to any Deccan people, either to the Kinge of Decan, Sevagy, or any marchants of the country" and "on the Queen of Decan which wee are credibly informed will retourne form Mocho this yeare and probably to Vingula, because shee from thence set out. Use hir with all the respect requisite to bee shewed soe eminent a person, but take great care shee escape not your hands, being once possess of hir." [Captain Mason was to proceed to "Vingola" and Captain Snow to "the Ports of Rajapora and Carrapatan" ]