

The Ceded & Conquered Provinces

Summary

The Nawāb Vizier of Awadh, Sadat 'Alī, was forced into a treaty to cede various of his territories to the East India Company, a treaty which was signed on the 10th November 1801. The territory was divided into seven districts: Gorakhpur, Allahābād, Cawnpur, Farrukhābād (actually ceded by the Nawāb of Farrukhābād), Etāwāh, Bareilī and Moradabad. On the removal of the Nawāb's officers in 1802, the Governor General, Lord Mornington (afterwards Marquis of Wellesley), created a Board of Commission to determine how the new territories should be run. This was led by the Governor General's brother, Henry Wellesley, whose appointment was not approved by the Court of Directors in London. Henry Wellesley consequently resigned in 1803 and the Board was dissolved with the Collectors of each district being placed immediately under the control of the Board of Revenue 1.

At about the same time, General Lake was engaged in the second Maratha war, which led to him capturing, *inter alia*, Dehlī on the 11th September 1803 and Āgra on the 18th October.

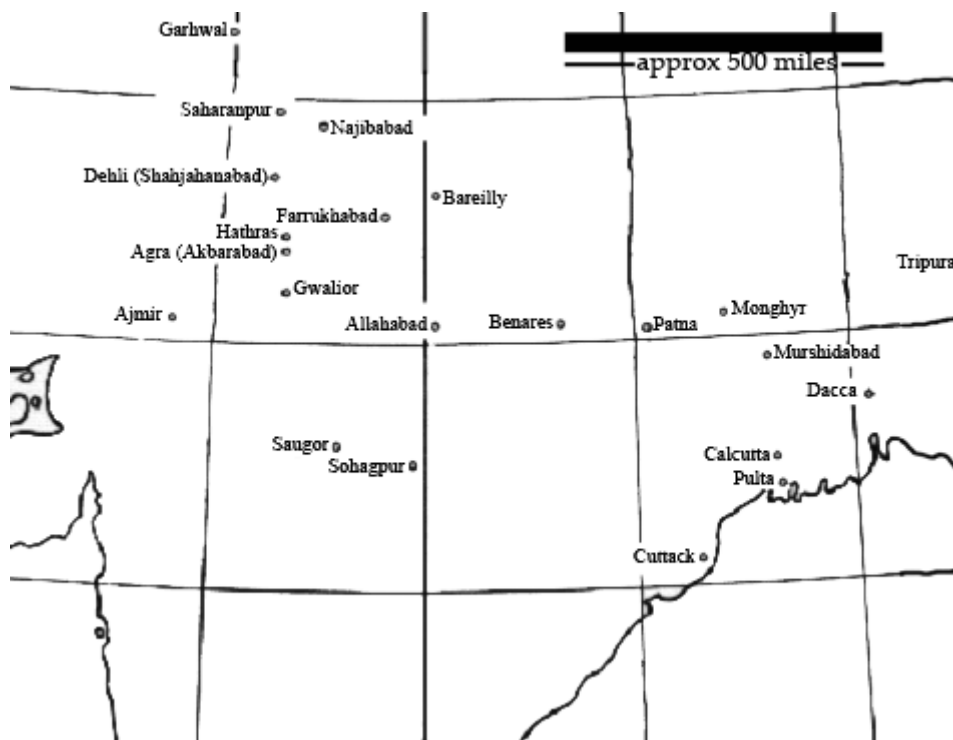
These territories became known as the Ceded and Conquered Provinces and they brought with them the working mints of Allahābād, Bareilī, Farrukhābād, Sahāranpūr, Dehlī, Āgra and possibly Najībābād and Hāthras (but see later).

By these means therefore, the East India Company acquired at least six and possibly more working mints, which therefore fall into the category 'transitional mints', that is mints that were kept operational for some time after they fell into British hands, but whose output continued in the native style. After due consideration, the mints at Allahābād, Bareilī, Sahāranpūr and Najībābād and Hāthras (if they existed) were closed in 1805 and a new mint was built at Farrukhābād to produce a new style of copper and silver coin. This mint was closed in 1824

The mint at Dehlī was kept in operation for a considerable number of years to supply coins for payment of the Emperor and was not closed until 1857/58, whilst that at Āgra was probably closed at the same time as most of the other mints, in 1805, although no record of this has been found.

Further mints were acquired after the third Maratha war in 1818 and these included Saugor and Sohagpur. Sohagpur was closed quite quickly but Saugor was kept open for quite a few years (see p. 479 *et seq.*). At about this time, consideration was given to opening a mint at Ajmēr, but this never happened. A new mint was built at Saugor to supply Farrukhābād-rupees to the Central Provinces. This mint was eventually closed in 1835.

Detailed Discussion



Ajmēr Mint

There had been a Moghul mint at Ajmēr since the time of Akbar and this continued to operate under the Marathas 2. Several entries in the records refer to the possibility of opening a mint at Ajmēr, initially in 1818 3:

I have the honor to transmit a copy of a report received from Mr Wilder on the subject of a mint being established at Ajmere.

It would appear from Mr Wilder's report that many advantages would accrue from this measure in the district of Ajmere, but I apprehend still greater benefits would arise if the Most Noble the Governor General should deem it proper to recommend to all the petty states assuming the right of coinage to issue rupees of an equal or even superior value to our Sonaut or Kuldar rupee, as a great part of the specie remitted to Rajpootana for the payment of the troops is said not to return into our bazaar or treasury as it is bought up by the bankers of the country to send to different mints for the purpose of being recoined into rupees of very inferior value, but current in the country, whilst our rupee is depreciated, that is to say it will not purchase grain or other produce of the district at its intrinsic value in proportion to the coin in currency. I feel myself however, treading on ground of which I am perfectly ignorant as I am quite at a loss how to account for the offer of the banker, and from whence his profits are to be derived.

In 1819 the Calcutta mint committee went so far as to recommend that a mint should temporarily be established at Ajmēr 4:

...7th and the temporary establishment of a mint in Ajmer and one at Saugor to convert the present currencies into that improved coin.

Although the Bengal Government agreed with this suggestion, they postponed making a final decision 5, and no mint ever appears to have been opened at Ajmir, although one was established at Saugor (see later in this chapter).

Āgra (Akbarābād) Mint

The records of the EIC held in the British Library have been studied. No information about the mint at Āgra has yet been discovered although the Calcutta mint master was sent to Āgra in 1820 for some unspecified reason 6.

Āgra was captured by the British on 18th October 1803 during the second Maratha war. Thus, coins struck there after this date must have been issued under the authority of the British. These include silver rupees and copper pice.

Allahabad Mint

Allahābād was transferred to the British from the Nawāb Vizier of Awadh in 1801 7. Originally there had been a Moghul mint there, but this seems to have been closed some time before the cession to the British, because it was reopened by them in May 1802 and began producing two types of rupee known as the Lucknow and Shumshary rupees 8. The Lucknow rupees have the fish found on the coins struck at Lucknow by the Nawāb Vizier, whilst the Shumshary rupees have a sword. A 'pucka house' was rented, at the rate of 80 rupees per month, to act as the mint and treasury 9.

In 1803 a Mint Committee was appointed,

consisting of the Magistrate (???) and Collector (Mr Richard Ahmuty). This committee was charged with superintending the mint and making suggestions to the Governor General about how it might be better regulated 10.

Their first task was to report to the Governor General their views on the idea of introducing a new copper coinage into the Ceded Provinces 11. They replied to this in September 1803 12 and again in December 13. The Mint Committee considered that a new copper coinage would be found useful because the existing pice in circulation were worn almost flat and had lost a certain amount of weight. They considered that a small profit might be derived for Government from such a coinage, but warned that the price of copper would go up once the local merchants came to hear of the proposed new coinage. They therefore recommended that the Government should quickly purchase sufficient copper to manufacture about 3,000,000 pice with a weight equal to that of 1½ rupees for each pice. Their recommendation for the design was that of the Allahābād rupee. The Governor General had also asked for advice from Bareilī and Farrukhābād, so the ideas of the Allahābād



Mint Committee were not the only suggestions that were under consideration and they did not result in a new copper issue.

In September 1803 the Mint Committee also sent an account of the coins produced since the mint had been reopened (see table below) and explained that the charges made for recoining silver brought to the mint had been adjusted to match those at the Lucknow mint, which was controlled by the Nawab Vizier 14.

Date	Shumshary Rupees	Lucnow Rupees
May to December 1802	128,179	124283.2.6
January to April 1803	66,664	100,637.8.6
May and June 1803		225,758.5.9

In May 1804 the Allahābād mint was ordered by the Governor General to suspend coinage due to a suspicion that the silver content of the rupees produced there was below standard 15. The matter was further investigated and the suspicion was confirmed 16. It also became clear that the Collector, Richard Ahmuty, must have known about the debasement and had tried to conceal it. He was dismissed from his post, the dies for the rupees were sent to Calcutta for storage 17 and the mint was never reopened. Richard Ahmuty went on to serve on the Mint Committee at [Bareilī] but was allowed to resign from the EIC in about 1808 18.

The identity of the two types of rupees is difficult to ascertain. Allahābād rupees, with dates of AH 1216 or later, show a sword and ball on the obverse (see below). These seem to have developed over a number of years as shown below and are presumably the 'shumshary' rupees:



AH 1211. Sword & star. Also 1212 & 1214



AH 1215. Sword & star



AH 1215. Sword & distorted star/ball



AH 1216. Sword & ball



Rupee with letter A on reverse. Dated 1217



More recently a rupee with a sword and ball and the letter A on the reverse has come to light. This coin is dated 1217, and must fall into the British period. The 'A' could have several meanings – 'Allahābād' or, more likely, 'Ahmuty', being two.

Bareilly Mint

Immediately following the cession of the territory by the Nawāb Vizier in 1801, the Collectors of Rohilkhand, Messrs. Deane and Leycester farmed the mint of Bareilī to Atma Ram and his partner, Sheojee Mull, for a price of 9001 rupees per year. However, these two were caught in fraudulent practices soon after they received the farm, and they were committed for trial and found guilty by the Muḥammadun law officers, who assisted at their trial, and the farm was annulled. The mint was then brought directly under the control of Government (from 13th March 1802) and a darogah was appointed at a salary of 80 rupees per month and an establishment of 56 rupees a month for 'mutsudies, peons, paper, pens etc'.

The person first appointed to the office of darogah was Ali Muzaffar Khan, a respectable native of Bihār. On his being promoted to the position of a Jehsuldar in November 1802, he was succeeded by a person called Muzzubher Hooseyn, a native of Bhangulpoor, who continued in this role until at least December 1803 19.

This entry in the records also reveals the reason for the presence of at least two of the letters found on the Bareilī rupees:

When the system of farming the mint was abolished, no alteration was introduced into the standard of silver except to rectify the abuses. But, in order to mark the period at which the change of system took place, the Persian letter He (H) which, as the first letter of the name of the late Subah (Hooseyn Ali Khan) had been

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stamped upon the rupee, was discontinued, that of Wa (W) being substituted in its stead, in compliment to the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor.

The Persian letter *alif* (A) is also found on some of the Bareilī rupees. Since we know that *he* immediately preceded *wa*, and since both *he* and *alif* are dated 1216, it seems likely that the *alif* marked coins preceded those marked *he*. Perhaps the *alif* stood for Atma Ram who farmed the mint immediately following the cession.

The rupees produced at Bareilī were examined by the mint master at Calcutta and reported on in March 1803 20. His view was not at all complimentary. He considered, *inter alia*, the design to be easily susceptible to drilling, and doubted that an extensive coinage of such a design was practicable.

In June 1803, a mint committee was established to superintend the mint and to suggest to the Governor General any regulations that might have been required to improve its activities 21. This Committee consisted of the Agent to the Governor General (Mr FitzRoy) and the Magistrate and Collector. They were asked to provide detailed statements of the money coined since the mint had come under the control of the EIC in 1801. They were unable to provide figures for the first few months (from the date of cession until 13th March 1802) because Atma Ram, the man to whom it had been farmed, had left no papers following his removal from office. However, complete records were available from the 13th March 1802 and were provided to Calcutta as requested 22 (see graph below).

In 1803, the mint committee at Bareilī, like those at Allahābād and Farrukhābād, were asked for their opinion on the value of introducing a new copper coinage into the Ceded Provinces 23. The Commercial Resident at Bareilī appears to have been the only EIC source of copper within the Ceded Provinces (21,500 rupees worth). He suggested to Calcutta that this copper should be sent to the mint at Bareilly and turned into coins. The Bareilly mint committee were asked for their views on this matter and they were reminded that they should provide their ideas on the general matter of a new copper coinage for the Ceded Provinces 24. They eventually replied to the matter of the copper coinage in March 1804 25 when they considered the matter on two principles:

1st how far the measure was necessary for the relief of the community and 2^{ndly} whether, though not absolutely necessary, it would be advisable to adopt it, as furnishing Government with means of disposing of a quantity of its copper on advantageous terms.

On the first principle, the Committee compared the rates that the pice were sold at over the previous ten years in large towns, by asking the shroffs for information. However, the results were inconclusive and contradictory. No pice had been coined in the region since the cession, and the pice in circulation consisted of Nudjeeb Khannees, which had been coined at Najībābād about 45 year previously, and Shumsher Shahis, which bore the figure of a sword and had been produced at Bareilī. Following this, a type of pice called Mutchelee Daurs had been produced, bearing a fish, and then Kuttaur Shahees stamped with a type of dagger. These were the four main types of pice in circulation and, since there seemed to be an abundance of them, the Committee did not consider that a new copper coinage was really necessary on these grounds.

On the second principle of whether Government could make a profit from a copper coinage, the Committee considered this unlikely, and so this also did not provide grounds for supporting a new copper coinage.

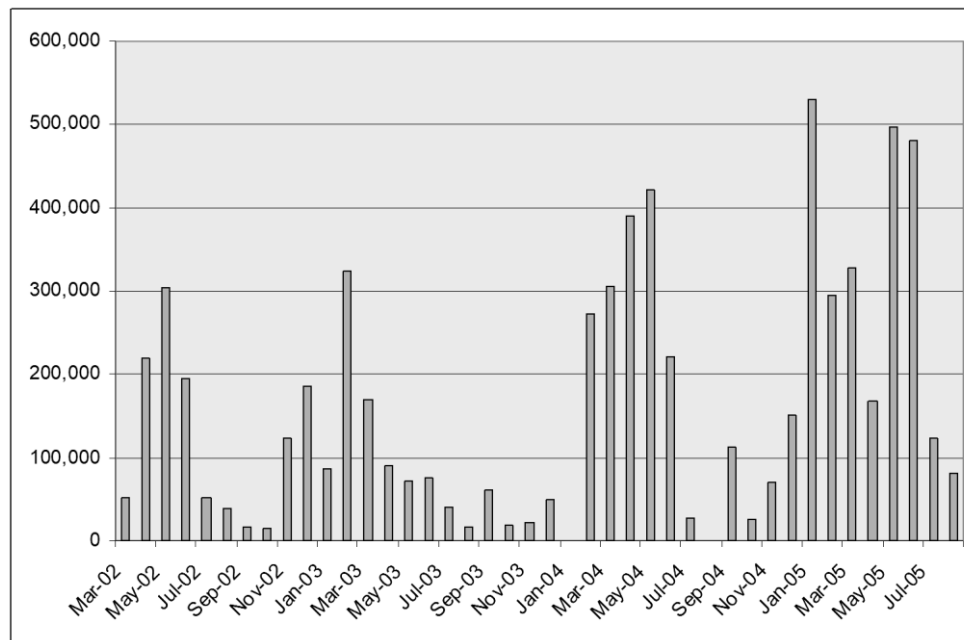
However, the Committee did consider that a new copper coinage would be necessary if a new silver coinage was introduced.

The authorities at Calcutta must have considered using the Nudjeeb Khannee pice as the model for the proposed new copper coinage, because the Bareilī mint committee wrote to them in August 1804 suggesting that this might not be the best option. This letter also contained much more information about the proposed reformation of the coinage in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces 26.

In June 1804, the Bareilī mint committee forwarded a letter from Mr Blake, who had superintended the mint at Patna (see chapter 5), with his observations and estimates of costs of a new silver coinage for the Ceded Provinces 27. Mr Blake was clearly the expert that was needed to implement a new uniform coinage for the Ceded Provinces, and, subsequent to this letter, he was appointed mint master at the Farrukhābād mint (see section on Farrukhābād mint).

The Bareilī mint committee wrote again, in April 1805, about the proposals to reform the currency 28. Despite having interviewed numerous people they had been unable to obtain any useful information.

Following the decision to close all the mints in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces except for the mint at Farrukhābād (see Farrukhābād section), the mint committee at Bareilī informed Calcutta that their mint ceased operations on the 26th September 1805 29. The coining implements were sent to Farrukhābād in September or October and the dies were sent to Calcutta in October 30 31.



Mintage of rupees at Bareilly 1802 to 1805 32

Total output for the mint from March 1802 to end July 1805 was reported to be 6,921,959 Rs 33. In August 1805 the mint committee was asked to send the figures for mint production directly to the Accountant General 34 and these figures are shown in the graph above.

Dehlī Mint

Dehlī was the site of a Moghul mint from the time of Humayun. Successive Emperors had coins struck with this mint name until AH 1048, when Shāh Jahān had a city built near Dehlī, which he named Shāhjahānābād with the epithet *dār-al-khilāfa*. Coins with this mint name were struck by his successors.

The Moghul Emperor, Shāh 'Ālam II, who was nominal ruler of what remained of the empire, was in Dehlī for the greater part of his reign, but was a mere puppet. In 1803, during the second Maratha war, Lord Lake took Dehlī and thenceforth the rule of the Moghuls was confined to the palace and the emperor had no official function 35.

Although the British had effective control of the mint at Dehlī, it remained nominally under the authority of the Moghul Emperor, and it is therefore debatable as to whether or not it falls into the definition of a transitional mint. However, there are several interesting entries in the records referring to this mint and it has therefore been included as such. Sanjay Garg has published much information from the records held in the National Archives of India 36. The present discussion is based on the records held in the British Library in London, many of which are the same as those held in Dehli, but a few new points are added to the work of Garg.

Gold and Silver Coins

The first reference to coinage at Dehlī found in the EIC records occurs in 1806 when the Dehlī Resident (Mr Seton) wrote a long letter explaining that the emperor insisted on his stipend (58,000 Rs) being paid in Dehlī rupees but that these were not easily available. They had to be bought on the open market, but there was a batta of 3% or more. In the letter he stated 37:

No mode of defeating this attempt [i.e. by the shroffs to charge high batta] appeared to me so effectual as that of increasing the local circulation of the Delhi rupees, by coining into that specie the Bareilly rupees then in the treasury. I found however, that from the inferior quality of this last specie and from the expense of coining and the wastage of the Delhi mint, the measure would be attended with loss, and that 100 Bareilly rupees would only produce 94Rs 14ans. Of course, the idea was abandoned.

The next reference is found in a series of letters (dated 1813) in which a Mr Fraser, the First Assistant to the Resident, asked for a percentage of the mint duties to be paid to him. This was rejected by Government. However, the letters also state that:

...the mint is under the superintendence of the officer in charge of the Revenue Department...

thereby confirming the direct control of a British official 38.

By 1816, a decision had been made to put machinery into the mint at Dehlī. The machinery was actually built in Calcutta and sent to Dehlī but there was no-one there who knew how it worked 39. The plan was to

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strike Farrukhābād rupees at the Dehlī mint and, by January 1818, all that was needed were the dies 40. The mint master at Calcutta was instructed to prepare the dies for Dehlī 41 but the mint committee and the Bengal Government were becoming uneasy about their ability to control the quality of the output of a mint at Dehlī 42-43. A letter to Metcalf (the Dehlī Resident) contains the following statement:

On the supposition that a regular mint is to be maintained at Delhi, it would undoubtedly be convenient that the impression of the rupees there coined, should correspond with the coinage of the mint at Farrukhābād and that consequently dies should be furnished to [?] the Mint Master at Farrukhābād.

It will, however, in that case be very essential that due precautions should be taken for guarding against any defect in the coinage of the Delhi mint in regard to weight or standard.

For this purpose, besides the regular transmission of specimens to Calcutta, the Vice President in Council is of opinion that a regular establishment should be attached to the Delhi mint, that is to say, that the offices of the Mint Master and Assay Master must be disjoined and that qualified persons should be appointed to those situations respectively. The aid of an European foreman too, will probably be required by the former.

Under the most economical arrangement those objects could not, it is presumed, be attained without an additional expense of about 20,000 rupees per annum.

It becomes, therefore, a question whether the charge of such an establishment will not outweigh the advantages attending the proposed arrangements and whether in a financial view, indeed, it be necessary or expedient to maintain a separate mint at Delhi on any footing.

The Vice President in Council observes that the net revenue of the Delhi mint is stated in Mr Egerton's letter of 28th April 1813, at sicca rupees 20,000 per annum, a sum which would evince that its operations were of some extent and importance.

This amount would, however, be absorbed by the proposed increase in the establishment, and if it should therefore appear proper still to maintain the Delhi mint for the public convenience or profit, it will remain to be determined whether notwithstanding the advantages of uniformity in the currency, it may not be advisable to continue to coin at Delhi a distinct currency for local purposes, of which any slight inaccuracy will be comparatively of little importance.

You are requested to furnish Government with a report of your sentiments on the above points. You will of course notice the usual extent of the operations conducted at the Delhi mint, their influence on the public convenience and the degree in which the coinage there may appear to you to include bullion which would otherwise find its way to the mint at Farrukhābād.

Should it appear to you necessary independently of financial objects to maintain a mint at Delhi from consideration towards his majesty the King, you will naturally notice that circumstance also, although the Vice President in Council presumes a very limited extent of operations would probably suffice to satisfy the feelings of His Majesty.

Pending the discussion of the present questions, you will, of course, refrain from the coinage of Farrukhābād rupees.

Metcalf replied that he did not consider it necessary to operate a mint at Dehlī at all and proposed that, not only should the new mint not start operation, but that the existing mint (which was still striking Dehlī rupees) should also be shut. He goes on to state that a few coins would be required each year to satisfy the Moghul Emperor (referred to as the King):

I do not apprehend that it is necessary to maintain a mint at Delhi from consideration towards his majesty the King. At the Delhi mint a new coinage takes place every year commencing on the anniversary of his Majesty's accession to the throne, which is marked with the number of the year of his reign. On the public celebration of the anniversary of the accession, the Resident presents to his Majesty a portion of the gold and silver coinage for the new year, and the continuance of this custom, which would merely require the stamping of a few coins once in a year, is all I imagine that can be requisite to satisfy the feelings of his Majesty.

In a subsequent letter he gives figures for the output of the mint:

Statement of the Amount of Coinage Issued from the Dilhee Mint and Duties Received Thereon from 1st June 1816 to end May 1817, and from 1st June 1817 to 28th May 1818 inclusive.

		Amount Coined
<i>June 1816-May 1817</i>	<i>Gold Mohurs</i>	<i>457</i>
	<i>Rupees</i>	<i>78,148-12</i>
<i>June 1817-28th May 1818</i>	<i>Gold Mohurs</i>	<i>41</i>
	<i>Rupees</i>	<i>59,323-12</i>

From this it can be seen that very small numbers of mohurs were minted at this time, with a higher number of rupees.

Government agreed with Metcalf's assessment and instructed that the new mint should cease before it started and the machinery should be sent to Farrukhābād. However, the letter continues:

...still causing however such a number of coins to be annually struck as may be necessary for the purpose of the satisfaction of the feelings of his Majesty.

It is not clear exactly when the Dehlī mint was closed, although the formal production of Dehlī rupees ceased in 1818 and most of the staff of the mint were put out of work, and later paid a small pension 44. Parts of the silver and gold mint must have remained open for some years because presentation pieces, or nazaranas, are known right up until AH 1258 (1842), and the mint must therefore have been open then. At the latest, it must have been closed when the Emperor was deported following the Mutiny (1858). There is a brief discussion concerning the appropriate presentation of *nuzars* (presentation pieces) to the Emperor in 1835 45.

In 1821 the machinery that had been sent to Dehlī was still lying there, unused and decaying. The following letter was sent by the Dehlī Resident to Calcutta 46:

I consider it my duty to report to you that there are several mint implements of apparently excellent manufacture at present deposited in the go-downs of this mint which will assuredly never be brought into any kind of use here.

The natives employed in the mint to coin a few hundred rupees once a year to present to his Majesty on the anniversary of his coronation do not even know the application or use of the articles to which I allude, and it strikes me that much of the apparatus requisite to complete the machinery is wanting.

The implements are lying rotting here to no purpose. If sold on account of Government in this city they would fetch a mere nothing and I should suppose the things might be very serviceable in some of the regular mints.

Perhaps they might be sent with advantage to Benares or Farruckabad or even to the Presidency, but on this point you will be better determined than I can venture to do, and I therefore solicit your orders. It is a pity that such work and such materials should be unemployed.

The machinery was eventually sent to Farrukhābād

Copper Coins

Copper coins in the name of Muḥammad Akbar II are known for years from 1810 to 1818, although no entries in the records have been found appertaining to the production of a copper coinage for this period.

In 1826 serious consideration was given to the construction of a new copper mint in Dehlī, to the extent of planning the cost of manufacture and the establishment required 47

	Rs
120 pice of 8 massas each to be made out of each one seer of copper the value of which never exceeds	1:13
Manufacture of this one seer of copper into 120 pice	0:1
Total expense	1:14

Establishment

	Rs
1 mint Darogah including expense of stationery per mensum	40: :
1 Mohurriir	16: :
1 Chupprassy	4: :
20 artificers at different rates of pay average each 6 rupees	120: :
Total monthly expense	180: :
The above establishment per diem Rs 6 being competent to coin per diem 2 maunds and 12 seers each at 1 anna per seer is equal to	5:12
The excess of charge per diem	-:4
will be amply defrayed by the variation in the price of the metal which sometimes falls as low as 1 rupee 6 annas per seer	

The establishment of a copper mint was again proposed in 1829 48 but was finally rejected 49.

Farrukhābād Mint

Background History 50

Muḥammad Khān, a Pathan born at Mau-Rashidabad in 1665, was a mercenary freebooter for much of his early life. His support of the Moghul Emperors, Farrukh Siyar, who gave him the title of Nawāb, and then of Muḥammad Shāh, enabled him to create a power-base in the region, which subsequently became known as Farrukhābād. In so doing, he established the line of the Bangash Nawābs. Following his support for Farrukh Siyar in 1714, he was awarded fifty-two villages at a site at which he determined to build a city named in favour of the Emperor.

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The fortunes of the Bangash Nawābs were very unsettled. They constantly faced, or initiated, aggression from, or against, their neighbours, Rohilkhand and Awadh, or from Marathas. The defeat of the Marathas by the Durrānīs at Panipat in 1761, temporarily removed one threat, but Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawāb Wazir of Awadh, took advantage of this and tried to seize Farrukhābād in 1762. Shujā-ud-Daula was defeated in several battles by the British and, by 1765, he no longer posed a threat to the incumbent Bangash Nawāb, Aḥmad Khān, a son of Muḥammad. However, the Marathas then returned in 1769 and Aḥmad Khān was sorely pressed to keep them at bay. He died in 1771 and was succeeded by his son Muzaffar Jang, who combined with the Nawāb Wazir of Awadh to expel the Marathas in 1773, only to find that his territory was then subordinate to that of Awadh.

By 1777 the Nawāb Wazir had agreed that the British should establish a force, known as the temporary brigade, at Fatehgarh on the outskirts of Farrukhābād. Once this force was in place, and paid for by the Nawab Wazir, try as he might, he could not get it removed and the cantonments remained there for many years (see later for importance to the mint). Muzaffar Jang died in 1796, probably poisoned by his eldest son. As a result, the title of Nawab devolved to Muzaffar Jang's second son, who received an allowance of Rs 50,000 per year, but all power was given to an older half-brother. When this older brother tried to reduce his allowance, the young Nawab went to Bareilly and negotiated a deal with the British, in which he ceded all of the Farrukhābād territory for an annual allowance of Rs 108,000. Thus the Farrukhābād area came into the possession of the British on 4th June 1802.

The Bangash Nawabs issued rupees which became very popular in the region and on which the British eventually based the rupee that was to be used across Northern India.



Rupee of the Bangash Nawabs. Mintname Ahmadnagar Farrukhābād

The Transitional Coinage

When Farrukhābād was ceded to the EIC in 1802, it came with a working mint. That this mint was kept operational is revealed by an entry in the records detailing the output of the mint at this time 51:

From date of cession to the end of 1802	557,670
From 1 st Jan 1803 to 30 th Sep 1803	1,057,334
October 1803	50,154
November 1803	104,189
December 1803	175,100
January 1804	135,467
February 1804	318,087
March 1804	151,120

In 1803, the Acting Agent to the Governor General suggested that the control of the mint should be overseen by a committee consisting of two people: the Judge & Magistrate (one person) and the Agent to the Governor General. This was sanctioned by the Governor General 52.

The poor state of the mint buildings was also a cause for concern soon after the mint was acquired and the new mint committee went ahead and spent money (Rs. 485.10) repairing the buildings as they saw fit before asking for permission to do so. This was sanctioned by the Bengal Government but with a warning that, in future, expenditure must be approved before it was incurred 53. This little exchange gives some indication of the limited scope of action that the Committee actually had.

In February 1805, the Farrukhābād mint committee wrote to the Bengal Government requesting that the hammered coinage should be replaced by a milled coinage 54. The reason they cited for wanting to make this change was that the hammered process had several imperfections, and they went on to describe one of these in detail:

The defect in question is found under the head of multa in every monthly account, and arises from the partial impression of the two figures on the planchet, or piece of metal, and from the planchet being thrown out of its horizontal position when struck by the hammer, causing dents and scratches (multa) on the surface of the image. The allowance for multa not only reduces the amount of public tax (no duty being levied on one tenth of the bullion, on account of this blemish), but also affords an opening to shroffs to reject the defaced rupee or

receive it below its intrinsic value, to the great embarrassment of merchants, and loss and vexation to individuals.

The mint committee went on to state that the implements used to strike the coins (presumably the dies) required repair after 8,000-10,000 coins had been produced, and that they produced about 15,000 coins per day. This implies that they needed to replace dies at the rate of more than one a day. They went on:

We therefore further request to be furnished with such as are used at the Presidency mint, and which we conclude are manufactured after the European model, namely 1st a mold for casting the plates of metal, 2nd a laminating engine and rollers for giving the plate its uniform and exact thickness, and 3rd a steel trepan to shape and cut off the planchet at one and the same time.

In the same letter the Farrukhābād rupee was recommended as the coin that the British should establish as the currency throughout the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, and they also confirmed that gold coins had not been produced at Farrukhābād for some time.

In April 1805 the Governor General wrote to the mint committee at Farrukhābād informing them that he 55:

...has determined on the immediate introduction of a new silver and copper currency, of an uniform weight and standard, into the provinces ceded by the Nawaub Vizier to the English East India Company, and into the conquered provinces in the Doab and on the right bank of the river Jumna, including the zillah of Bundelcund, to be denominated the Lucknow sicca rupee of the 45th sun, struck at Farrukhābād, corresponding in weight and standard with the rupee at present struck at Lucknow, in the dominions of the Nawaub Vizier, and thence denominated the Lucknow rupee, and to select the town of Farrukhābād to be the place at which a mint shall be established for striking the new silver and copper coin to be established in the said provinces.

I am further directed to acquaint you that His Excellency in Council has been pleased to appoint the Judge and Magistrate of zillah Farrukhābād for the time being, and the Agent or Acting Agent to the Governor General at Farrukhābād for the time being, to be a committee for the superintendence of the business of the mint at that station, and to appoint Mr Robert Blake to the joint offices of Mint and Assay master for the immediate conduct of the business of the mint at Farrukhābād, subject to the authority of the Mint Committee, above mentioned.

In the meantime, the mint committee at Farrukhābād was instructed to continue producing the then existing type of rupee and to report whether or not the existing mint building would be suitable for the new coinage.

A letter was sent to Robert Blake, who was then at Bareilly, informing him of his appointment and instructing him to proceed to Farrukhābād.

The mint master at Calcutta was informed that:

The Lucknow sicca rupee of the 45th sun is to be of a circular form, and one inch in diameter, and is to bear the same impression as the nineteenth sun sicca struck in the Calcutta mint, with an exception to the sun, or year of the reign of the present King Shah 'Alam, and to the name of the place at which the coin is struck. The new coin is to bear the 45th sun and the words 'zurb Farrukhābād' are to be substituted for the words 'zurb Moorshedabad'. The edges of the new silver coin are to be milled, and the dies are to be of the same size as the coin so that the whole of the impression shall appear upon the surface of it.

In preparing the dies for the new silver coinage in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, you will cause a private mark to be put upon all the dies, but in such a manner as not to be distinguishable by the naked eye, or by persons unacquainted with it. You are desired to register such private marks in the records of the mint, in order that you may be enabled to discover any defaced or defective coin which may be hereafter found in circulation...

...The Governor General in Council understanding that machinery, which you have been instructed to prepare for the mint which the Government have it in contemplation to establish at Fort St George, is completed. I am instructed to desire that you will appropriate as much of that machinery as may be necessary to the use of the mint at Farrukhābād...

...I am further directed to acquaint you that the Governor General in Council has determined on the introduction of a new copper coinage in the Conquered and Ceded Provinces, to be also struck in the mint at Farrukhābād, consisting of pure copper, and corresponding in form, size and impression with those prescribed for the new silver coinage intended to be immediately established in the said provinces. The pie is to be of the same size as the rupee and the half pie of the same size as the half rupee, increasing in thickness in proportion to the difference in weight between silver and copper coin. It is not intended that smaller copper coin shall be struck than a half pie. In preparing specimens of the new copper coin you will regulate the weight of each pie at 290 grains troy weight. It is necessary to add that the edges of the new copper coin are not to be milled, or to have any mark or impression thereon...

These extracts contain several points worthy of further discussion. Firstly, Robert Blake, the newly appointed mint master at Farrukhābād had at one time been in charge of the mint at the Patna before its closure in 1796

(see chapter 5). When that mint closed Blake took on the role of assay master. This job finished early in 1799 when it was noticed that Blake had obtained over Rs 3000 more than he should have done when he finished his job as mint master. He undertook to repay this money but by 1800 he had failed to do this and it emerged that he had actually invested it in an indigo plantation that had gone wrong. He was unable to repay the money immediately and was given an extension until January of the following year (1801). In fact, he managed to repay the money before this 56. Subsequently, in 1802, Blake was asked to go to Bareilly and help with the newly acquired mint at that place (see above and 57). This is rather strange when one considers that, in 1800, the Government had been surprised by the fact that *public money should have been misappropriated by the late assay master, Patna, or in any way blended with his private concerns.*

Secondly, it is interesting to note the link between the creation of the new Farrukhābād mint and the introduction of machinery at the Madras mint, with the machinery due to go to Madras being redirected to Farrukhābād. New machinery then had to be built for Madras where the mint master, Benjamin Roebuck, experienced considerable difficulties in getting it to operate effectively 58.

Thirdly, it is clear that right from the start of the new coinage, it was considered important that the coins should contain a secret (or privy) mark. These marks were discussed by Pridmore 59.

Fourthly, the proposal to issue copper coins weighing 290 grains: no copper coins of the proposed type have been identified up to this time (but see below).

The Calcutta mint master, H.P. Forster, was not happy with the proposal, and in June 1805 he replied to the Governor General that he had prepared specimens of the proposed new coinage but 60:

Were it permitted me to offer an opinion on the subject, I would venture to suggest the propriety of making the coin in question more obviously distinct from the Calcutta sicca rupees than the mere alteration of the date of the year and place of coinage render them, which to the bulk of people not acquainted with the Persian character is no distinction at all, and they will of course be liable to be imposed upon. At the same time I would with deference recommend that the inscription on the copper coinage be not the same as that on the silver, as it furnishes a ready means of imposing on the public by silvering them over with quicksilver and passing them for rupees and half rupees and, under the idea that His Excellency will approve of the suggestion, I have likewise prepared distinct dies for the pice and half pice with an inscription in the Persian and Nagree characters on one side expressive of their denomination and value. The reverse remains the same as directed.

Pridmore (Bengal No. 342) recorded a copper pice that might be an example of the copper coins mentioned by Forster (recorded in this catalogue under No. 8.117).



8.117

Copper pattern prepared by Forster

Despite these forebodings of the mint master, in August 1805 the Governor General went ahead and published a Resolution in Council that established the new coins along the format that he had originally proposed, including the statement 61:

...A copper coin of the forty fifth sun weighing two hundred and eighty four and a half grains troy and consisting of pure copper shall be established.

This resolution was an updated version of a resolution originally put together in 1803 and known as Regulation 45.

Blake decided that the existing mint building at Farrukhābād was not suitable for the new coinage and indeed was not able to provide the quantity of coins needed by the army. He, therefore, selected a site near to the cantonments to build a temporary mint to meet the immediate needs of Lord Lake's army 62. It is not clear whether this mint started producing the new coins. More likely this temporary mint continued to strike the old Farrukhābād rupees until the bullion, which had already been delivered, was minted.

In February 1806 a Colonel Morris offered to rent or to sell (for Rs. 12000) his property at 'Futy Ghur' to Government for use as a mint and this was accepted 63-64. In fact, it is likely that this was where Blake had established the temporary mint because the records contain an invoice, from Colonel Morris, for renting the buildings from October 1805 to May 1806.

In the meantime, in February 1805, the Agent to the Governor General at Bareilly had written to the mint committee at Farrukhābād asking for the new copper coins, pice and half pice, to be produced to meet a shortage of copper coins at Bareilly 65. This was supported by the Bengal Government:

the Honble the Governor General in Council authorizes you to direct the Mint and Assay Master at Farrukhābād to coin such quantity of pice and of half and quarter pice, as you may deem necessary, as a medium of exchange in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, after making such enquiries respecting the quantity required for that purpose as you may judge to be advisable from the Agent to the Governor General at Bareilly and other local officers. The Acting Commercial Resident at Bareilly will be accordingly directed to furnish you on your application with such quantity of copper from the Company's stores as you may require for the above purpose. The Governor General in Council, however, desires that you will report at an early period of time the quantity of pice which you may propose to be coined under the foregoing orders.

No entry pertaining to the quantity of pice coined has been found in the records, so it is not certain that this ever happened. However, the above instruction from the Governor General does not seem to leave much room for the local authorities at Farrukhābād to avoid complying.

The report of an investigation by a Board of Commissioners undertaken in 1807 66, contains a list of dead stock, including:

*30 pairs of dies as follows:
 28 prs for the new 45 Sn Rps
 14 prs fit for use
 14 prs reported unserviceable
 2 prs of plain dies for the half rupee
 3 prs of dies for the copper coinage
 12 prs of concave dies
 5 prs of ditto for ½ and ¼ rupees
 58 prs of plain dies for forming the planchets
 37 spare ditto ditto
 4 prs plain dies for ½ rupee
 7 prs ditto for ¼ rupee
 5 spare ditto ditto*

This inventory contains three pairs of dies for the copper coinage, implying that a copper coinage might well have been undertaken as directed in 1805. If that was the case, then copper coins with the same design as that of the 45 sun rupees should exist, although none is currently known. The coin is likely to have the following characteristics: same size and design as the Farrukhābād rupees, weight 18.8g or 18.4g depending on which of the figures, shown above, is taken.

A number of "copper-looking" 45 sun rupees have been seen by the author and were reported in JONS some years ago 67. One of these coins has a weight of 9.6g (148 grains), which approximates to the proposed weight of a half pice. However, it is the same diameter as a rupee, which was the size specified for the pice. The half pice was supposed to be the same size as the half rupee.



8.118

Copper "Farrukhābād Rupee"

By 1807 a few problems began to emerge concerning the mint master, Mr Blake. The first of these was a complaint from the accountant general that no accounts had been submitted for the operations of the mint 68, to which Blake replied that he had been too busy building the new mint, which was now ready for operation (written in March 1807) 69.

The second problem arose from the fact that Blake had moved into a bungalow on the newly purchased site and had found a number of items of furniture, which he refused to return to Colonel Morris 70. He was ordered to do so but he claimed that Colonel Morris had said that he could have them. At that point Government decided that it was a personal matter between Blake and Morris, who should sort it out themselves. Blake appears to have returned the furniture.

In July of 1807, the Governor General proposed that the position of mint and assay master should be divided, with Mr R Graham being appointed mint master and Mr Blake as assay master 71.

Production of the new 45 sun coins had clearly begun by July 1807 (and probably sometime before this) because a letter refers to the fact that they were being issued at a rate below that of their intrinsic value 72. This means that the 'old' Farrukhābād rupees may have continued to be struck until early in 1807, although mintage figures are only available until the middle of 1805.

Date of cession to the end of 1802	557,670
1803	1,386,777
1804	2,658,719
January to June 1805	2,036,284

Table showing mintage

The coins themselves would have been the same type as that issued by the Bangash Nawābs of Farrukhābād, and known dates that fit into the British period are: 1217/39, 1218/39, 1219/39, 1220/39. Other AH dates that have been reported by KM (1224/31, 1225/31, 1227/31, 1228/31) do not seem to fit to the recorded facts given above. Perhaps these coins were issued from a local mint outside of the area controlled by the British, in imitation of the Farrukhābād coins? Alternatively, these dates may have been recorded erroneously? A rupee dated AH 1228, RY 39 has been seen by the author and perhaps all the reported dates should be RY 39 but, even so, these dates seems to be anomalous.

The records do contain a list of dates of Farrukhābād rupees collected for examination 73:

RY: 1, 2, 4, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 39.



8.94

'Old' Farrukhābād rupee dated AH 1217 and issued under British authority

The New Coinage



8.105

New Farrukhābād rupee

In August 1807 Mr Graham took on the responsibilities of master of the mint at Farrukhābād. However, in November he requested leave of absence and Mr Yeld, who had been mint master at Banāras for many years (see chapter 7), was asked to move temporarily to Farrukhābād to cover Graham's absence 74.

A Board of Commissioners had been examining the running of the new mint at Farrukhābād⁷⁵ and they produced their report in October 1807:

The machinery used in the European process of coinage appears to us to be generally in an inefficient state at present, and the laminating machines we found could not be used until the ingots had been prepared for them by the hammer.

In consequence of the defective state of the machinery, the want of skill of the workmen, and of our entertaining doubts with respect to the practicability of preparing proper machinery at this place, it appears to us that it would not be advisable, at present, to attempt to carry on the coinage generally by means of the laminating and cutting machines, and that no fixed establishment should therefore be allowed for those machines or for the adjustment of the planchet.

The melting was reported to us by the Mint and Assay Masters in the first instance to be very defective and those officers stated that it had been found impracticable to reduce the metal to a perfect fluid state, but this difficulty, we are happy to say, has been overcome upon actual trial in our presence. A difficulty experienced from a want of proper moulds for casting ingots fit for the laminating machine was also complained of, but it may also, we think, be easily surmounted in a short time.

The persons at present employed in carrying on the different processes by machinery appeared to us to be very inexpert, and we should not have supposed that they could have had any experience whatsoever. Those in particular who were collected as adjusters had never, we understood, been employed before in that process.

It would seem that the production of blanks was carried out manually by duraps, as was the case in many of the other Bengal mints (see e.g. Calcutta and Banāras):

The coinage also carried on by Daraps appeared to us to be coarse and imperfect. The tools used in this process are very defective and do not admit of the workmen producing as good planchets as might be fabricated even by the ordinary process in use among the natives.

The planchets made by the Daraps, not being circular, and the concave and collar dies as they are at present used, not having the effect of rendering them so, the milling dies are likely to be greatly injured in being applied to such planchets, and the milling is consequently imperfect.

The process of milling the edge of the coin was to be kept secret:

...We suggested to the Mint Master to apply for new milling dyes, and we recommend that these dyes be always furnished from the Presidency as they cannot be properly made here at present, and it is desirable that the construction and use of the milling machine should not be generally known.

Overall the commissioners did not consider the mint to be well run and requested the mint and assay masters to undertake a series of trials to determine what needed to change:

There appeared to us to be a want of order and arrangement throughout the different departments of the mint. The duties of the several officers and workmen had not been defined, and some general regulations for the conduct of the business were evidently wanting.

The actual loss incurred in the processes of refining and milling had not, we understand, been ascertained, but our orders to the Mint and Assay Masters of this date have in view to obtain accurate information on this point, as well as to ascertain the loss likely to be incurred in adjusting the planchets by the European process...

...we have deemed it necessary to direct the Mint and Assay Masters to carry on conjointly a series of experiments in person, and we hope that from the results some judgement may be formed with respect to the measures which it may be necessary for your Lordship in Council to adopt for regulating the establishment in future.

The Board of Commissioners returned to the mint in December 1807 but found little improvement and the Bengal Government agreed with their recommendation that 76:

...no attempt should be made to introduce the European process of coinage at Farrukhābād until such arrangements shall have been adopted as may afford a more satisfactory assurance that it can be introduced with effect

In other words the new Farrukhābād mint appears to have been only partially mechanised to start with.

In December 1808 Mr Yeld 'surrendered charge of the mint at Farrukhābād' 77 presumably to a Mr Donnithorne who was definitely mint master in 1809. Donnithorne and Blake between them appear to have been able to improve the functioning of the mint 78:

The mechanical abilities of both Mr Donnithorne and Mr Blake might we think be advantageously employed in preparing on the spot most of the articles now supplied from Calcutta. Both gentlemen are equally perfect in the practical as well as the theoretical parts of mechanics, and the two milling machines on which Mr Donnithorne is now engaged, promises to equal the most delicate execution of a professional artist. The corrections he has given to the milling machines now in use have already removed a defect to which that part of the process had till now been liable.

Blake took the opportunity to ask for some back-pay and his request gives an interesting insight into the ways that the British in India earned their livelihoods 79:

I beg leave to submit to the consideration of the Board my claim to a further remuneration for the duties performed by me as Mint and Assay Master at Farrukhābād from the 25th April 1805 to the 2nd July 1807.

Shortly after the cession I was encouraged by the Marquis Wellesley to come up into this part of the country to carry into effect the views of Government for the reformation of the coin in the upper provinces and I in consequence quitted the indigo pursuit in which I was engaged near Patna, where it is presumable from the success of others in that quarter I might, had I remained, have acquired ere this a competent fortune.

From the rainy season of 1802 I remained (with a short exception) until April 1805, at Bareilly in expectation of the post with which I was afterwards honored, and during the whole of this period I received no pay or emolument tho' repeatedly employed by the lieutenant Governor and Board of Commissioners, and subsequently under the orders of Government by the Agent to the Governor General, in making assays and reports of the various coins current in this quarter of India and in preparing the table of rates and in deputation to investigate and report on the commerce of cumman and Almoah. The expense incurred in the duties here mentioned was defrayed from my private funds.

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He had received Rs 1500 per month but now asked for Rs 2500. This seems a bit cheeky given his history of 'borrowing' money from the Patna mint but, nevertheless, he was granted an extra 309 rupees per month for the 26 months that he had held the job.

The output of the mint, in the early years of its operation, is known:

Date	Value of Rupees Produced
1807/08	3,398,877
1808/09	5,553,341

New machinery, built by Mr Da Costa 80, appears to have been delivered to the Farrukhābād mint in 1810. Da Costa was responsible for building and/or erecting machinery, not only at Farrukhābād, but also at Banāras, Madras and Dehlī 81. Presumably this was the point at which the Farrukhābād mint was finally fully mechanised.

Once the Farrukhābād rupees became established, the inevitable counterfeiting began and a letter from the Board of Commissioners for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces gives a list of the mints, and their owners, that had been established to produce debased Farrukhābād rupees 82.

Guarding the mint against theft was the responsibility of the army, who had to provide Sepoys for the job. This was obviously not always very pleasant as revealed in a letter from Donnithorne, who was still the mint master in 1815 when the letter was written:

The Commanding Officer of the station having lately visited the mint, signified his wish that the guard should at all times be within the wall of the compound instead of living on the outside, and thereby leaving the charge of the treasure to the few [Sepoys] on duty. The proposed arrangement is in my opinion a very salutary one, and I beg leave to enclose an estimate of the expense which will be incurred in erecting a building 70 feet long and 14 broad, and solicit the Boards sanction for the work being immediately commenced on, as the guard together with arms and accoutrements are exposed to all kinds of weather.

The expense of Rs 453.4 was approved.

In 1816, the Board of Control proposed that the Farrukhābād mint could usefully be employed in producing copper pice if the proposed weight of the coin was reduced to that of the Banāras pice 83:

In consequence of the small quantity of silver which has for some time past been brought to the Farrukhābād mint by individuals for coinage, we have had it in contemplation to suggest to your Lordship the expediency of employing that mint in the coinage of copper pice on account of Government so as to defray from the profits of such coinage, the establishment, which is necessarily kept up for the occasional calls of the silver coinage. By sections 43 to 52, Regulation 45, 1803, establishing a copper coin for these provinces, individuals are invited to bring copper to the mint for the purpose of its being manufactured into pice of a specified weight and size, but no application of this nature appears to have ever been made to the mint by any individual and a coinage on account of Government at the weight there specified of 284½ grains would be productive of no profit.

On the contrary it would be found that by throwing into circulation pice of that weight at the prescribed tale of 32 whole and 64 half pice for a rupee, the persons taking them would be supplied with a maund of copper at the price of only rupees 51 and as the market price for copper here is seldom less than rupees 68, they might be expected to remelt immediately the whole of such pice for the sake of so large a profit.

There can, at the same time, be no doubt that if the weight of the pice were to be reduced so as to assimilate more nearly the intrinsic value of the coin with the market price of the metal, a considerable advantage might accrue to Government from the coinage.

We accordingly beg leave to recommend that the prescribed weight of the Farrukhābād pice be reduced from 142¼ grains for the single or half pice, to 100, at which weight if delivered into circulation at the same tale of 64 per rupee, the maund of copper would cost the parties taking such pice, rupees 72½ and no inducement would remain to them for remelting the coin...

... We beg leave to observe that the copper coinage established at Benaras by Regulation X 1809 is fixed at the same rate which we have here proposed, of 100 grains, and that it appears to have been very extensively introduced into circulation.

In 1817 a decision was taken to extend the production of Farrukhābād rupees to other mints in the Presidency:84

Regulation XXVI, 1817. Authorizing the circulation of Farruckabad rupees coined in either of the mints of Calcutta, Farruckabad or Benaras or at any other mint established by order of the Governor General in Council.

Whereas it may from time to time be found expedient to coin rupees of the weight and standard of the Farruckabad rupee at the mints of Calcutta or Benaras, it has been deemed advisable to rescind so much of

section 2 of Regulation 45 of 1803 as tends to limit the coinage of Farruckabad rupees to the mint of Farruckabad and to direct that the following enactment be henceforth in force.

The silver coin denominated the Farruckabad rupee and of the weight and standard prescribed by section 2 of Reg. 3 of 1806 struck at the mints of Calcutta, Farruckabad or Benaras or at any other mint established by order of the Governor General in Council is hereby declared to be the established legal silver coin in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.

The output from the Farrukhābād mint for the preceding few years was published in 1818 85

Date	Coinage on account of Government	Coinage on Account of Individuals
1813	1,861,795:01:03	4,945,355:12:03
1814	2,385,843:14:11	647,851:00:02
1815	2,543,247:02:08	151,217:11:10
1816	2,764,656:15:01	655,644:07:08
1817	5,875,424:00:01	1,943,031:02:11
1818	2,890,168:06:01	2,190,208:15:09

Following the third Maratha war, in July 1819 an investigation by the Calcutta mint committee arrived at the following recommendations 86:

1st The abolition of the Benaras rupee

2nd The limitation of the currency of the Upper Provinces to a rupee of the value of the present Farruckabad rupee

3rd The carrying into effect the alteration of the standard of that rupee as already sanctioned.

4th The discontinuance of the mint at Farruckabad

5th The coinage of the new Farruckabad rupee at the Benaras mint and consequent improvement and extension of that establishment.

Should these arrangements meet with the approbation of Government, we conceive it would be found advantageous to give them as early effect as possible, as the difference of standard at present existing and the distant situation to which bullion is necessarily sent to be coined into Farruckabad rupees, entail much inconvenience and expense on the remittance of treasure to the Upper Provinces on public account. Their enforcement is not indispensably connected with the following propositions, which do not perhaps admit of so early a decision.

6th The substitution of the new Farruckabad rupee for the currencies of the newly acquired territory

7th and the temporary establishment of a mint in Ajmer and one at Saugor to convert the present currencies into that improved coin.

This is the first mention of the closure of the Farrukhābād mint and also the first mention of the establishment of a mint at Saugor or Ajmēr (see relevant sections).

At the same time it was proposed that the silver standard of the Farrukhābād rupee should be changed to that of the Calcutta sicca rupee 87.

The Bengal Government was keen to ensure that the Farrukhābād rupees issued from the different mints could be recognised and issued orders that secret marks should be added to the coins 88:

It is understood that the dies recently sent by the Mint Master at Calcutta to the Benaras mint (being the same that Mr Saunders had himself used) have a distinct private mark from that borne by the dies in use at the Farruckabad mint.

You will be pleased to instruct Mr Saunders to be careful to preserve the same distinction in all dies, which he may hereafter furnish to the Mint Masters at Benaras or Farruckabad respectively, distinguishing also by different marks those which he may himself eventually hereafter use, or which he may have occasion to send to the mint at Saugor or elsewhere.

This letter also contained a resolution which made, *inter alia*, the following points:

1. That the coinage of the Benaras rupee be discontinued.
2. That the Farruckabad rupee be declared the legal currency of the province of Benaras
3. That the standard of the Farruckabad rupee be assimilated to that of the present Calcutta rupee
4. That the Government will receive Farruckabad rupees at par with the present Benaras rupees in payment of the land revenue and in liquidation of all other public demands and will pay them at the same valuation within the Province of Benaras.
10. That the Farruckabad mint be continued only during such time as may be found requisite for effecting the arrangements necessary to the full efficiency of the Benaras mint. The Farruckabad rupee of the new standard to be in the mean time coined at both mints with such separate private marks (not discoverable by the naked eye) as may serve to distinguish the coinage of the several mints.

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The standard of the new Farrukhābād rupee was 89:

Weight	Troy grains	180.234
Pure Silver		165.215
Alloy		15.019

In 1820 Mr H.H. Wilson, the Calcutta assay master, was sent to Farrukhābād to investigate the operation of the mint there 90, and the Calcutta mint committee reported to Government in April 1821 that everyone agreed that the Farrukhābād mint should not be kept in operation after the Banāras mint became fully capable of producing the Farrukhābād rupee 91. By 1823 the improvements to the Banāras mint were complete and consideration was again given to closing the Farrukhābād mint 92:

We have the honor to acknowledge the letter of the Secretary to Government in the Territorial Department dated the 31st ultimo, forwarding to us the report of the Superintendent of Public Buildings announcing the advanced state of the Benares mint and calling upon us to give our opinion respecting the expediency of abolishing the mint at Farruckabad.

The abolition of the mint at Farruckabad was first suggested on general grounds by the Mint Committee in their letter to Government dated the 28th July 1818. In the following year (26th July 1819) the measure was further recommended on special consideration, it appearing that the average net charge of the Farruckabad mint had been, for the preceding 6 years, 59000 rupees a year. No more than 18 lacs had formed the preparation of coinage on individuals' account.

In our letter to Government of the 3rd April 1821 forwarding the report of Mr Wilson on the Farruckabad mint, we had occasion to repeat the same recommendation founded on the continuance of the same circumstances, the low amount of private coinage and high average of net charges, anticipating also from the extended powers of the Benares mint when completed, ample means of effecting the recoinage on public account of such mixed currencies as still circulated in the Upper Provinces.

Although we had no reason to expect that the views taken by us on these occasions were inapplicable to more recent occurrences, yet in order to rest our opinion on secure grounds we have obtained from the Accountant General a statement of the proceedings of the Farruckabad mint subsequent to the date of our late communication or for the years 1820/21 to 1822/23. From this it appears that the average of the individuals' coinage for the last three years has continued to be but 18 lacs a year, that in the third of these years it was less than 18 lacs and that it may be expected to be still less in the current year, 1823/24, the first four months having coined but 41,000 rupees. The expenses of the Farruckabad mint have continued to bear much the same proportion as formerly, and the average net charge of the period under review is above 51,000 rupees per year.

Under the circumstances therefore we have only to repeat the opinion we have already expressed and to recommend the abolition of the Farruckabad mint as appearing to us to be no longer necessary for the accommodation of individual commerce nor essential to the convenience of Government in any proportion to the annual expense it entails. The Benares mint will be now fully adequate to this latter object as far as the old provinces are concerned, and the temporary demand which may be expected in those newly acquired will of course be more expeditiously and economically met by the subsidiary mint at Saugor. This mint we presume must be equally forward with that [at] Benares and perhaps it may be found expedient to transfer to it some of the apparatus and establishment of the Farruckabad mint when no longer required at that station.

	Coinage for Individuals	Coinage for Government	Copper Coinage
1820/21	2,030,507	3,459,066	0
1821/22	2,714,092	2,710,807	0
1822/23	794,043	180,476	0
1823/24 (1 st 4 months)	41,612	5,639	0

On 30th April 1824 the Collector at Farrukhābād was instructed to pack up the mint and send the useful equipment to Saugor 93:

I am directed by the Committee for superintending the affairs of the mint at this Presidency to request you will on receipt of this letter stop the operations of the mint under your charge and pack up and transmit with Captain Presgrave to Saugor such part of the Farruckabad mint machinery as may appear necessary or useful to him for the Saugor mint.

I am also directed to inform you that Captain Presgrave has been authorised to select such artificers as he considers calculated to assist him in the operations of the Saugor mint.

The Farrukhābād Collector, Mr Newnham, was not happy about this, not because of the mint, but because of the people who would lose their jobs⁹⁴. He stated that he had had only two months experience as mint master and:

I had no sort of wish to be involved in the responsibility of closing an old concern and discharging the hundreds of people who have been connected with an establishment which was local with the Patan Dynasty at Farruckabad...

...The regular establishment is another subject for your instructions. Until all is arranged and the stock cleared out many must be retained on their responsibility. Some are also grown old and infirm in the Company's employ, some look for pensions in common [with] invalid servants, and it is not the usual custom of the British Government to suddenly throw people out of bread. Perhaps a donation may be extended to all...

Some employees of the Farrukhābād mint were offered the chance to move to Saugor, where a new mint was being built but most declined.

Newnham was asked for a list of people he considered deserving of a government pension, a list that included people who had worked there almost since the mint opened. For instance 95:

Bishendass, Darogah, paid 50 Rs/month, started 1807 for 18 years, aged 70, From 1807 to 1817 he was employed as a Darogah in the melting department at 35 Rs per month & from 1818 succeeded Thaskoordass as Darogah.

The people affected by the closure also included a Mr Blake, who appears to have been Robert Blake's son 96. He seems to have been offered a job at Saugor, but not on terms acceptable to him. However, this does not seem to have been communicated to Newnham:

No intention of your Committee to employ Mr Blake at Saugor in a situation correspondent to that which he held at the Farruckabad mint has ever been made known to me.

The length of Mr Blake's immediate services and respect to his father who was for nearly half a century in the employ of the Honble Company appears to me to merit due consideration. As no official discharge has been notified to Mr Blake he must of course be entitled to his salary, nor can I suppose that Government in any case permanently entertain a person in a distinct line of employment on any known or implied acknowledgement that the occupation may be suddenly withdrawn unless on proof of misconduct.

In fact Blake demanded that several conditions be met before he moved to Saugor, in particular that he should be given an assistant to work with him. This was refused and he does not appear to have taken the job at Saugor.

Gwālīār Fort Mint

These coins were discussed by Barry Tabor in 2008 97. According to this account, the British advanced against Gwalior in 1802, whereupon the Maratha governor, Ambaji Ingliā, handed over the fort and surrounding territory without a fight. Tabor gives a quote from Malleson 98 which states:

...ceded districts were made over to Kirith Singh, successor to Lakinder Singh, by a treaty dated 17th January 1804 with the exception of the fortress and city of Gwalior, which the English retained...

Thus, the British held Gwalior fort between 1802 and 1806, and one type of rupee with a straight sword has been attributed to this period.

Hathras Mint

Rupees appear to have been issued from a mint at Hathras in the name of Shah 'Alam II from RY 25 (1783/84) to RY 30 (1788/89). Copper coins may also have been issued.

There is some indication in the records that this mint may have continued for a short time after the British acquired control at the end of 1801 99:

I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed extracts from the proceeding of Government in the judicial department, respecting a claim preferred by Rajah Dyaram to compensation for the loss sustained from the abolition of the mint at Hatras.

Although the Rajah may not possess any legal claim, strictly speaking, to compensation, yet adverting to the length of time which the mint was established and to all the circumstances of the case, the Governor General in Council is disposed to offer a favourable attention to the claim of the Rajah to compensation for the loss sustained from that cause. You are accordingly desired to consider in the formation of the ensuing settlement of the Rajah's estate, what deduction should be allowed on that account.

The coins issued may have been pice but none is known 100:

*...Regarding the copper coins current in these parts the following are some particulars
The pice current at Hatras are*

Bengal Presidency, Ceded & Conquered Provinces

1. *The Hatras pisa coined by Diaram which fluctuate in value from 36 to 46 for the rupee. Their general value is 45 per rupee.*
2. *The Munsooree of 64 to 66 per rupee*
3. *The Nuwabee 53 to 54 ditto*

The Hatras pice are current only at Hatras, [Surswe], Moorsawn and the villages round about, at Coel even they are at a discount.

Najibabad Mint

Najibabad was a Rohilla mint until 1774 when the Nawab Wazir of Awadh took the town. The town passed to the British in 1801 and the mint may have continued operations until 1805. This conclusion, reached by Ken Wiggins, led to an examination of the records to determine if Najibabad did indeed operate under British control. However no archival evidence has come to light to support this assumption and, indeed, the evidence that has been found indicates that the mint was closed before the British took control.

The first relevant entry occurs soon after the British acquired the territories, and is a letter dated 26th January 1804, from the Mint Committee at Bareilly to the Bengal Government. This letter is significant in that it does NOT mention the production of rupees at the Najibabad mint at that time and, also, because it implies that the mint had been closed for some time. What it does refer to is the production of pice at an earlier time 102:

...About forty-five years ago, Nudjub-ul Dowlah coined pice for the first time at Nudjeebabad, out of copper brought from the hills of Surrungur. These pice, which weighed [...] Maushes, were termed Nudjeeb khaanees...

... [Copper formerly used] to be imported from the Seereenagar hills of Nudjeebabad while the coinage continued at that place but, since the abolition of the mint, I do not find that any has been brought either thither or to Bareilly.

Much later, in 1833, Prinsep, the assay master of the Calcutta mint, undertook an investigation of the coins circulating in the Najibabad area and this provides the second piece of information found in the records. Prinsep had requested 103:

... 100 of each of the following rupees to be sent for assay:

Nujeebabad Rupees RY 1 to 17

Nujeebabad rupees struck by Zubita Khan

ditto

Golam Khan

Chundousi rupees

The rupees duly arrived, were assayed and Prinsep made a detailed report to Government 104 in which, *inter alia*, he discussed the problem of *batta*, which was imposed by the shroffs. The British authorities had always assumed that *batta* was an evil practice imposed to swindle the general populus but Prinsep came to the conclusion that this assumption might have been quite wrong:

It has commonly been urged as one reason for our not noting the date of coinage upon our currency, that it would be a sure source of exaction to the native money changers, who would apply a different rate of batta to each different year's coin as they were in the habit of doing with the native currencies. Examination, however, proves in all cases that the shroffs were right in so doing and they were better able therefore to judge of the value of the currency than ourselves, who were unsuspecting of the gradual depreciation constantly taking place in the multifarious coins of Shah Aulum's reign. The fault was in the coins themselves, and I have no doubt that the date might be very safely stamped upon our own rupees without causing any of the dreaded perplexities of batta, as long as perfect uniformity of standard shall be preserved in their fabrication, but I may have to recur to this subject on a future occasion.

The idea of marking coins with their date of issue was not resumed by the British until many years later with the rupees of the new uniform coinage being dated 1835 and subsequently 1840 and then 1862 right up until 1876.

Prinsep went on to discuss the history of the Najibabad coins:

The Nujeebabad mint was established by Nujeeboodoulah, the Rohilla chief who exercised so powerful a sway on the fortunes of the last monarchs of Delhi. The rupees struck by him and by Zabita Khan were of the Delhi standard but very few of them are now to be met with because, as explained by Mr Ravenshaw, they are in demand for ornaments on account of their purity of metal. The coins of Nujeeb were marked with a Kathar or dagger and those of Zabita Khan with a Khunjur or short sword.

There appears however some mistake in Mr Ravenshaw's information on this head, as the subjection of Rohilkhund occurred in 1774 (sun 16 of Shah Aulum). Zabita Khan did not rise into power until 1783 so that of

the present series of specimens the first years (sun 20 to 24) belong to Nujeeboodoulah and sun 25 and 29 to Zabita Khan – but the Khunjur and Kathar do not appear upon any of them.

The principal part of the Nujeebabad coins now current, belong to a period subsequent to the annexation of the Rohilkhund province to the soubah of Oude and they bear the distinguishing symbol of a [rooce?] muchlee on the obverse and a crescent on the reverse with the usual Shah Aulum distick.

Prinsep produced a table of all the coins that he assayed and summarised the results as follows:

As before remarked there is a gradual deterioration in the value of the Nujeebabad rupees throughout the table, but for convenience they will admit of a division into three principal qualities.

Down to the 29th sun the weight is about 173 grains, the regulation weight of the old Farruckabad or Lucknow rupee. Their fineness is also 12 better and they may safely be valued at par with the present currency.

From the 30th to the 40th sun, the quality ranged a little on either side of 6 better in assay and 170 grains in weight. The average value may be called 97 Fd Rs 6as for 100 Nujeebabad rupees. It is worthwhile to notice that the Delhi rupees 38th sun inserted in the table adopted by Government in its resolution before alluded to, has the same value (97..3) and it is probable that the Shah Aulum coins struck at the several mints immediately subject to the Delhi government of the day, could be all more easily assimilated in value by reference to their dates than to the places of their fabrication, as will be noticed presently in regard to the Chundousee rupee.

The third division of Nujeebabad rupees comprehends the years 41, 42 & 43 when the operations of this mint were suspended. By far the larger portion date in the year 42 – the average assay of them is 1 dwt better, the weight 169 grains and the value only 94/8 Farruckabad rupees per cent.

It is worth noting that Prinsep recorded that the operations of the Najibabad mint were suspended in RY 43 of Shah 'Alam (i.e. 1800/01) before the annexation by the British. This of course, leaves the question of where were the rupees bearing later dates produced? A number of places have been suggested as a possible candidates but no conclusion has yet been reached 105.



Najībābād rupee AH 1221, RY 46

Prinsep also goes on to discuss a rupee that he named the Chundousee rupee:

The Chundousee rupee, of which I have only received one specimen, of the 29th sun, from the Board, agrees in every respect (except the place of its fabrication) with the Nujeebabad rupee of the same date. It bears the device of the [rooce?] muchlee and a flower in lieu of the moon. The town of Chundousee being also in Rohilkhund, both mints were probably subject to the same control. I cannot venture to assert that the same provisions of the rate of batta may be made to embrace the two coins, although from Mr Ravenshaw's not sending any specimens of the latter coin, it is probable they both pass under one general denomination.

The identity of this 'Chundousee' rupee is not known, although Prinsep does identify it as RY 29 with a flower instead of a moon symbol. This presents an opportunity for further research.

In conclusion, no coins appear to have been produced at Najībābād under the control of the British EIC. (However, see [Mahapatra Manorani](#))

Sahāranpūr Mint

Sahāranpūr was a Moghul mint and, later, was controlled by the Rohillas. It was taken by the Marathas in 1788 and ruled by a number of governors appointed by Sindhia until 1803 when the area was ceded to the British EIC. The mint continued to operate for the next two years and appears to have been shut down in 1805/6 106. This is confirmed by an entry in the records of the EIC dated 26th September 1805 107:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under date the 24th ultimo instructing me to transmit to the Mint Master at Farrukhābād the dies and other implements of the mints of this district.

I beg in reply to state that when the mints under my charge were abolished by order of Government, I did not consider that the dies might be afterwards required, and I ordered them to be broken up. I shall acquaint

the Mint Master at Farrukhābād with the circumstance, and should it be necessary, shall furnish him with dies similar to those which I have inadvertently destroyed.

The earliest dates for EIC coins would be AH 1218, RY45, but no way of distinguishing those coins struck under Maratha control from those of the EIC is known. The coins in the catalogue presented below, are mainly taken from Maheshwari and Wiggins, and 19th Century Krause & Mishler, but more work is required to create a really definitive list of these coins.

There are a number of varieties of the rupees, particularly those dated 1218/45, differing in the symbols on both obverse and reverse and it is likely that coins dated 1219 and 1220 will also occur in different varieties. The symbol next to the RY on the reverse is most often the most visible of these symbols, and the present catalogue records varieties of this symbol.



8.129

Sahāranpūr rupee, AH 1220, RY 47

A rupee is recorded with the date AH1220 RY 49 (KM South Asia). The mint was definitely closed by this time, so either the date is a mistake or the coin was struck elsewhere.

Saugor Mint

The First British Issues from the Saugor Mint

When the British acquired Saugor in 1818, they found a working mint, with a full work-force, that had been in operation for many years, having been established in 1782/83 (Sambat 1839), although some authorities give 1779, based on Prinsep. As Maheshwari and Wiggins 108 have pointed out, Prinsep seems to have made a mistake about this and actually gave the date as 1782 as well as 1779.

The IOR records contain an entry showing the mint output for several years prior to the British takeover 109.

Sumvat Year (AD)	Value of coins produced (Rs)
1863 (1806/07)	378,888
1864 (1807/08)	400,738
1865 (1808/09)	94,379
1866 (1809/10)	274,384
1867 (1810/11)	148,787
1868 (1811/12)	98,716
1869 (1812/13)	314,405
1870 (1813/14)	167,023
1871 (1814/15)	49,502
1872 (1815/16)	27,662
1873 (1816/17)	39,600

As can be seen from the table above, mintage in the last few years of Maratha rule was very low but the same entry reveals that in the eight months before the British took over, the output increased to 163,167, presumably as a result of the war and the need for cash to pay the troops. The same entry then shows the mint output for the first few years of British rule (see below).

The coin produced at Saugor was called the Saugor Balashahi and was said to contain '80 ruttees of silver and 10 ruttees of alloy' 110. The source of the silver was also given:

Of about 800,000 rupees coined since the commencement of the British administration, it is calculated that 350,000 rupees have been coined from dollars brought from Calcutta via Benares and melted down here, 50,000 rupees from crude bullion brought from the same direction, 200,000 from Serenuggur rupees melted down, 100,000 from Nagpur rupees and 100,000 from various other rupees in circulation in the district. Benares also formerly supplied the greatest quantity of bullion consumed at this mint.

From 10 th to 31 st March 1818	62,501
--	--------

April 1818	93,751
May	61,618
June	82,566
July	92,896
August	71,142
September	51,575
October	43,778
November	82,285
December	73,745
January 1819	22,078
February	21,292
March	29,261
April	17,199
May	21,350

Output of the Saugor mint from March 1818 to May 1819

Rupees from many other mints in the area were also in circulation:

(Nagpoor, Serenuggur, Jalound, Seronge, Rathgurh, Bhilsah and Gurrah Kotah rupees)

and the other local mints were given as:

...Rathgurh, Bhilsah, Bhopal, Seronge, Jhansi, Tirhee, Serenuggur, Punnah, Chutterpore, Eisagurh, and Gurrah Kotah, and the rupees of the under mentioned places mix sufficiently into the general circulation to entitle them to equal consideration in their effect on the currency. Nagpore, Chandah, Sohagepore, Sudhourah, Jalound and Oojain.

All of these rupees were of lower quality than the Saugor rupee and this caused some concern to the authorities, who quickly decided that they should introduce the Farrukhābād or Banāras rupee into the newly acquired territories. This, they decided, would require the establishment of a new mint but where should this be sited? At least three options were considered, Saugor, Jubulpur and Hussangabad (see below for further discussion).

Amongst the earliest entries in the records referring to the Saugor mint is a discussion of the salaries paid to the mint employees. At the time that the mint was taken over by the British, the salaries were based on the number of coins produced by the mint. Since the mint output had increased, the salaries had also increased and Mr Maddock (Assistant to the Agent to the Governor General) suggested that the employees should be paid a fixed salary in future. After some discussion this was agreed 111. The mint establishment was reported to be:

One Darogah, one assayer, two weighers, one engraver, two melters, two stampers, and twenty five smiths.

In addition:

1 Jemadar and 7 Sebaudars at a monthly salary of 25 rupees per mensum are kept up for the protection of the mint

At the same time, Mr Maddock noted that:

I take the opportunity of noticing a complaint which has been more than once preferred to me by the Darogah. He says that the coinage, greatly increased as it is, would be half again as expensive, but that a mint [that] is working at Gurrah Kotah has imitated the dye of the Saugor rupee and that half as much specie as is monthly coined at Saugor is issued with the same impression at Gurrah Kotah, but being somewhat inferior to the Saugor standard serves to depreciate in character the Saugor currency and from its close resemblance to the rupee of the mint, is productive of much confusion in all mercantile transactions. He requests that the abuse may be rectified.

There is, therefore, no doubt that the Saugor mint was kept in operation and that it falls into the category of a transitional mint, although, by 1819, the output had begun to tail off again. It is also clear that the Saugor rupees were extensively copied, albeit crudely, in a mint at Gurrah Kotah (see below for further discussion).

The coins produced during this time must have been those showing RY 55 of which there are two types recorded by Maheshwari & Wiggins and a quarter rupee is known 112 (see Cat. No. 8.134 to 8.136). Crude examples of these were presumably the output of the Gurrah Kotah mint.



8.134

The Saugor Balashahi

An entry in the records of 1825 contains the following statement 113:

...an application has been made to me by one or two of the head shroffs to permit the old mint to remain open till the coinage of the new mint has come into full play. To this application I was led to give a discouraging reply.

This reveals that the old mint at Saugor remained operational nearly until the new mint was opened in 1825 and this is further confirmed by a quote from Presgrave (eventually mint master of the new Saugor mint) who stated in 1833 114:

...It does not at first sight appear why the prices of bullion and foreign coins, whose intrinsic values are perfectly known, should thus vary in the Market as compared with the coinage of the Honorable Company but this fluctuation, it is known, does exist and may be exemplified in the Balashy rupee, formerly the Mahratta coinage of this city and continued under the Honorable Company's Government until the opening of the present Saugor mint.

The Balashy rupee has been for many years the current coin of this part of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories. The natives therefore have been long accustomed and still continue with few exceptions to make it the medium of all their transactions. It is inferior to the Farruckabad rupee. The difference in intrinsic value may be taken at 10 per cent. It generally however passes for more than its assay value. Sometimes the difference is not more than 4½ or 5 per cent. At others, as during the collection of land revenues, it falls, or rather, the Farruckabad rupee becoming more in demand rises consequently in premium to a difference of 12½ or 13 per cent.

In addition to the silver coins, there are copper coins known dated RY 55 115. No entry has been found in the records referring to the issue of copper coins, but it seems likely that these were issued during the British period together with the silver coins. Photos of two types are shown below, but whether these were the type issued by the British is not known



8.139



8.138

Copper pice

Rupee dated 1819*Rupee dated 1819*

This coin was first published by Prashant Kulkarni 116 and the present information should be read in combination with his paper.

Maddock reported in June 1819 117:

The Darogah of the mint had frequently complained to me that the Saugor rupee was imitated by that coined at Gurrah Kotah and that this was done so much from system that if any slight alteration was made in the device of the Saugor rupee it was certain to be copied in a few days at the Gurrah Kotah mint. The rupee which was coined there, he stated, was inferior in value to the Saugor one, and therefore as it was almost impossible to distinguish between them, the credit of the Saugor mint, and the value of its coinage, were injuriously affected by this imitation.

On my questioning him regarding the inferiority of the rupees coined by him in the present year, to those of older date, he urged in excuse that he could not be answerable for all rupees that were circulated as Saugor ones, for that the Gurrah Kotah rupees passed universally for Saugor rupees, and that it was often difficult even to persons skilled in the examination of money to distinguish them. He ended by desiring that some additional inscription might be made in the dye in characters that would not be understood by the Gurrah Kotah people, and that unless something of this kind were done, he could not be responsible for the Saugor coinage.

As I remained in doubt whether this exercise was well grounded or whether the coinage was really deteriorated, I immediately procured 50 rupees coined that morning from the mint, and sent them to Mr Newnham to request he would procure them to be assayed. He forwarded them to the Accountant General conceiving that the point would be best ascertained in Calcutta.

I thought it impossible to allow the operations of the mint to go on, while the Darogah disavowed his own responsibility and that it was necessary either to shut up the mint or comply with his request respecting an additional inscription. I was told that it would be likely to alarm and distress the shroffs if the mint was closed. I therefore gave up that idea and directed to be inserted on the rupee in very small characters on one side the word "Saugor" in English and the year of our Lord on the reverse. I at the same time requested Captain Stewart to procure directions to be sent to Gurrah Kotah to prevent any further attempts at imitation. Although there are several objections to be made to an innovation in the appearance of the coin, they were perhaps less than what might have been urged against shutting up the mint, and what I have done on the occasion will, I trust, be approved by His Lordship. I am of opinion however that a mint such as Saugor, the superintendence of which is in the hands of a native officer, can be expected to show a proper degree of regularity under this Government. Formerly the whole business of coining was introduced between the shroffs and the Darogah, and the Government scarcely interfered in their transactions. The Darogah and all his establishment were paid a percentage on the coinage and could not be called the servants of Government. Now they receive regular salaries, and though their responsibility is not diminished, they feel much less interest in their own operations than formerly.

Were it not that the Gurrah Kotah rupees would continue to pass for Saugor ones, and that a deteriorated coin would thus be forced into circulation, I should consider it advantageous to stop the present coining at Saugor, whether a mint on an amended principle may be established here or not. Indeed if the examination of the rupees that have been sent down to Calcutta proves them to be inferior to the former standard of the mint, I shall be obliged to have recourse to that measure and probably to dismiss from office the greater part of the persons employed in the establishment.

Thus, it is clear that we can assign the very rare coins with the word Saugor and the date 1819, to this event. The word Saugor is very crudely written.

The New Mint at Saugor

In 1819, the Calcutta mint committee reviewed the information that had been collected and proposed an overall strategy for the coinage of the territories outside Bengal including the closure of the Benares and Farrukhābād mints, making the Farrukhābād rupee the only currency of the Upper Provinces, and the establishment of a mint at Saugor and Ajmir (see pp. 413 & 457) 118:

...7th and the temporary establishment of a mint in Ajmer and one at Saugor to convert the present currencies into that improved coin.

The Bengal Government approved most of these recommendations and in 1820 confirmed the plan to build a new mint at Saugor 119. At the same time they stipulated that this new mint should be capable of producing between 20,000 and 25,000 rupees per day and that Captain Presgrave of the 26th Native Infantry should become the assay master on an allowance of 600 rupees per month (in addition to his military pay). Henceforth, Presgrave was the key driving force in establishing and operating the new Saugor mint. His first job was to build the necessary machinery and he was sent to the Calcutta mint to undertake this task. However, the Calcutta mint master (Saunders) was not able to help very much because he had limited room in the Calcutta mint and all of his mechanics were fully occupied in repairing the machinery of that mint. Saunders therefore suggested that Presgrave should look for a company in Calcutta who could manufacture the machinery at an estimated cost of less than Rs 10,561. Presgrave duly approached Messrs Kyds and Co and Messrs Calman and Co for estimates for building the required machinery 120. They both submitted estimates (Kyds for Rs 12,000, later reduced to Rs 9,930, and Calman for Rs 8,570) and Messrs Calman and Co were selected 121.

Having got the machinery under way, Presgrave next turned his attention to the mint building itself. He considered the existing mint building at Saugor to be totally unfit for the purpose and presented his own plans for a new building. Although the plan itself is not contained in the records, Presgrave wrote a very full description that gives a good idea of what the mint would have been like 122:

References to the plan of the Saugor mint

The chimnies a. a. a. a. of the melting room furnaces are to be independent of the walls of the rooms, though placed close to them. They are to be 5 feet square at the bottom and to be carried up tapering to a height of 32 feet. The spaces for the flues to be one foot square within and of the same area from the bottom to the top. An arched opening one foot square to be left in three sides of each chimney at the distance of four feet from the ground, that thereafter three furnaces may be attached to each chimney.

The chimnies b. b. and bases for the annealing furnaces, to be built as in the plan up to the level of the floor of the rolling mill rooms, and the two hollow spaces to be filled in with rubble. On these will afterwards be built the furnaces. The chimnies are from this floor to be carried up tapering to the height of 25 feet, the flues to be one foot square within and of the same area throughout. An arched hole of 1 foot square to be left in the side (towards the room) of each chimney at the height of 30 inches from the floor. The space c. between the base of the furnaces to be arched over, leaving an open communication between the capstan rooms below, though perfectly level with the floors of the laminating rooms above. The beams to be laid exactly as in the plan of the floor. No other distance will answer for the admission of the vertical wheels or the machinery they are to receive. The floor to be boarded with stout planks. The doorways d. d. d. d. towards the mint yard and outer veranda, to have iron bars fixed in them, that the men who work at the capstan may have a free circulation of air though, at the same time, they can have no thoroughfare into the mint, the entrance to the capstan rooms being by the outer doors e. e. e. e. The door f. to be the only communication from the laminating rooms (above) to the mint by the means of stairs of either wood or masonry.

The walls of the (lower or) capstan rooms to be built up 9 feet, when the beams (which are one foot thick) are to be placed on the walls. The walls of the laminating rooms (above) to be 12 feet high. No wall or partition to be built between the laminating rooms, the whole to be open from one end to the other, which will give a space of 62 feet by 30 for the accommodation of the rolling mills, annealing furnaces, cutting presses and shear blocks.

All the spaces towards the veranda and marked across with a single line, to be arched over as doorways but they are afterwards to be closed up with masonry. The advantage of this will be that they may be opened at any future period, should circumstances require it, without injury to the buildings. It may be found advantageous to fill them up with open work for the purposes of ventilation.

All the doorways to the interior of the mint and those not marked across with a single line should have strong doorways and doors.

The outer veranda to consist of nicely squared posts with a strong plate of timber on their tops to support the burgahs on which the tiles are to be laid.

The burgahs to be placed so close that a large square flat tile (generally 1 foot square) may reach from the centre of one to that of the other. Two layers of tiles set in good line to form the roof of these verandas, which are to be enclosed between the posts with strong wooden lattice or rail work, and to be afterwards divided off with kutchha brick partitions into offices or store rooms as necessity may suggest.

None of the floors to be made of pukka work excepting those of the two wings in the front of the building, Viz Mint Master's and Assay Master's offices.

Presgrave estimated that the cost of this would be about Rs 25,000, and with some modifications, notably to strengthen the building, this plan was accepted. The building was proposed to be sited at:

a spot near where the old and new sheer Mow roads cross each other, about a mile to the south of Mr Maddock's house' 123

Things started to become a little more difficult after this. First of all the Benares mint found that it desperately needed new laminating machines and asked if they could appropriate the machinery that had just been built for the Saugor mint. This was authorised and further machinery had to be built for Saugor. This seems to have

been undertaken by another company called Jessop & Co because they informed the Calcutta mint committee in 1821 that the machinery had been ready for some time and requested that it should be moved to the mint 124. The second delay was caused by the length of time it took to build the mint building itself.

In view of these delays Presgrave, in 1821, was assigned to the vacant position of assay master at the Farrukhābād mint 125 and he asked if he could take a number of articles prepared for use at Saugor, with him, by boat, to his new job 126. These items were listed as:

- 2 large assay furnaces*
- 50 Europe fire bricks*
- Assay beam and scales*
- Glazed box for scales*
- Two cases for assays*
- Two iron trays for assays*
- Anvil, tongs, pokers etc*
- One new cutting machine*
- One milling table*
- Cupel moulds*

At last, in 1824 the Collector of Farrukhābād, who was in charge of the mint at that time, was ordered to shut the mint at Farrukhābād and to let Presgrave choose whatever machinery he needed to take with him to Saugor 127.

The new mint at Saugor opened in 1825 with the following establishment 128:

Role	Cost
Two English Writers	80
General Superintendent	100
Jumma Khurch Nuwers	20
Wassil Bakee Nuwers	20
Import and Export Bullion Accountant	20
Cash Keeper	50
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Presses	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Refiners	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Laminating Room and Rollers	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Dross Spillings etc	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Milling	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Coins	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Artificers and Mistrus	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of materials such as iron, wood, charcoal	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Annealing furnaces	20
Mutsuddee	10
Besides the above a due proportion of carpenters, blacksmiths, bhusteers and lascars estimated at	130
Foreman	
Assistant foreman	50
	750

The coins produced were Farrukhābād rupees that can be distinguished from those produced at the other mints (Benares , Farrukhābād and Calcutta) by the absence of privy marks (see catalogue pp. 295-297, 395-396 & 461)).

Originally, Presgrave had been appointed to the position of assay master at the Saugor mint, and the agent to the Governor General was to be the mint master. However, when Presgrave eventually arrived he found

himself both mint master and assay master mainly because no one else knew anything about the operation of the mint 129.

Copper Coins

In 1826 the production of copper pice at the Saugor mint was approved. The first copper coins may have been the rather crude 'Ek Pai Sikka' coins first described by Kulkarni 130:



8.142

"ek pai sikka" pice

The coins have on the obverse a Persian inscription *sanah julūs 45 shāh 'ālam bādshāh* with a trisul in the *sīn* of *julūs*. On the reverse is the legend *ek pai sa (or sata) masa* (=This coin weighs seven mashas).

Later copper pice were struck with much greater skill (see below).

An entry in the records dated 1833 gives the output of copper from the various Bengal Presidency mints, including Saugor 131:

	Calcutta	Benares	Saugor
1813 to 1825 or 1826	587,785		
1815 to 1820		593,657	
1820 to 1823		253,320	
1823 to 1826		89,000	
1826/27		74,161	
1827/28		214,267	6,898
1828/29	105,192	78,336	
1829/30	170,200	85,399	82,700
1830/31	402,116		40,828
1831/32	567,416		73,207
1832/33	268,976		79,755

Number of pice produced in rupee value

Closure of the Saugor Mint

In anticipation of the introduction of the steam-driven mint in Calcutta, in 1828 the Bengal Government issued a resolution that the Saugor mint should be abolished 132:

Resolved the mint of Saugor be abolished and that the establishment attached to it be discharged.

Ordered that the Agent to the Governor General in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories be directed to remit to the Benaras mint any bullion or uncurrent coin which may be in balance in the Saugor mint, and to send to Benaras such part of the machinery as, on communication with the Mint Master at that place, it may appear to be useful to transfer.

Mr Maddock will at the same time be instructed to report in what manner it may appear to him expedient to dispose of the buildings and such part of the machinery and stores belonging to the Saugor mint as cannot be advantageously transferred to Benares.

Ordered also that the above resolution be communicated to the accountant General that he may submit to Government any observations or suggestions relative to the business of the treasuries in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories which it may appear necessary or useful to submit with reference to the abolition of the mint.

but this closure was postponed soon afterwards 133.

An interesting problem arose a little later in 1828 when Presgrave was promoted to the rank of major. It appears that the regulations did not allow anyone above the rank of captain to be employed in the mint, but since nobody else could be found to replace Presgrave and since the mint was on the point of being closed, the Governor General passed a special resolution to allow him to continue in the job 134. The authorities then became worried about what would happen if he was promoted further 135:

...With respect to the prospect of Major Presgrave's promotion to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, the Vice President in Council deems it unnecessary to anticipate what may be determined on that occasion.

In 1830 the mint committee again agreed that the mint could be closed and at the same time the output of the mint, both on behalf of Government and on behalf of individuals, was published 136.

Year	Honble Company's Coinage	Individual's Coinage
1825/26	114,089	11,450
1826/27	438,419	41,477
1827/28	72,403	750,959
1828/29	13,966	535,538
1829/30	102,097	575,679
	740,974	1,921,103

Statement of coinage and charges from 1825/26 to 1829/30 of the Saugor mint

This was followed in 1831 by an instruction to the Agent to the Governor General in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories to close the mint 137 but again this was overturned and it was agreed that the mint should stay open until 1st May 1833 138. In fact the mint stayed open until later in 1835 139, by which time the new steam powered mint at Calcutta had come into full operation. The machinery of the mint was disposed of in early 1836 and the dies were defaced and sent to Calcutta 140

Impact of Nagpur rupee

The activities and problems of the Nagpur mint have been investigated in some detail by Kulkarni 141, and entries in the records of the EIC held in the British Library also refer to the problems that the authorities were having with the poor quality of the rupees produced at Nagpur. This was all the more annoying for them because the Nagpur mint was under the control of the British Resident (and this begs the question of whether or not Nagpur should be considered a transitional mint, like Dehli). Kulkarni published papers revealing that one proposed solution to the problem was to strike Nagpur rupees at the Saugor mint, although the authors of the papers were unsure whether or not this had actually been carried into effect. Entries in the records of the British Library reveal that, in 1826, the mint at Saugor was instructed to coin 14 anna pieces, which would equate to the Nagpur rupees, but by 1832 this order had not been put into effect 142. The Calcutta authorities did not agree with the view that this should now happen (in 1832) and informed Saugor that the original order should continue to be suspended 143. So it would appear that Nagpur rupees (or their equivalents) were never minted at Saugor and that the authorities relied on their ability to produce sufficient Farrukhābād rupees to drive the Nagpur rupees out of circulation. Eventually the problem was solved by closing the Nagpur mint, but not until 1854, and even then the Nagpur rupees proved so popular that they commanded a premium over other types of rupees, leading to a substantial problem of forgery 144.

Coins Produced at the new Saugor mint

Silver

The only silver coin that was recorded by Pridmore was the rupee denomination. However, in 1831, Presgrave requested that further dies should be sent from Calcutta for '*rupees, four annas and eight anna pieces*', a request that he repeated later in the year 145. This appears to show that half and quarter rupees were struck at Saugor, although none have been identified.



8.143

Farrukhābād rupee produced at Saugor

Copper

The earliest copper coins issued from the new mint appear to be the rather crude type described above, although these may have been issued from the old mint. Later issues gradually improved in quality until the last issues, which are of such high quality that Pridmore considers that the dies must have been produced at Calcutta. However, this seems unlikely because the Calcutta authorities did not appear to know very much about Saugor pice when they wrote to Presgrave asking him to identify any Saugor pice amongst 6 that they sent 146. He replied in May 1835 147:

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I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 23rd April and for the information of the Mint Committee to inform you that of the five specimens of pice only one (No. 4) is of the coinage of the Saugor Mint. The remaining are, three of the Benares Mint and one a forgery upon the Benares coinage.

	Grains	
No.1	95.25	37 sun
No.2	94.7	37 sun
No.3	95.5	37 sun
No.5	96.4	37 sun
No.6	98.6	Sun 45, A Saugor Pice

The above pice I have returned with this letter

I have enclosed three specimens of the copper coinage of Saugor Viz

- No.6 *First Coinage. From 1826 to April 1833 bearing sun 45 and the Tirsoolee on both sides of the coin*
- No.7 *Coinage of 7 months in 1833 bearing 45 sun. On these the tirsoolee is only on one side of the pice*
- No.8 *The last coinage. 200 maunds of copper sanctioned by Government after the coinage had been discontinued*

The pice bear no private mark but are known and easily recognized by their general appearance. All Saugor pice bear the sun 45. The same is borne by the Farrukhābād rupees, whilst all the pice coined at Benares and, I believe, in Calcutta too, bear sun 37.

It may not be out of place here to state that a most extensive and barefacedly open manufacture of almost all kinds of copper pice has been carried on for the last 20 years or more at Nagoud, a town in the Rewah country, also in various other villages in that neighbourhood and in Boondilkhund.

In consequence of the appearance of base pice intended for circulation as Saugor Mint pice, I was not unsuccessful in discovering four shops (at Nagoud) and several coiners, some of whose dies were seized.

The profession of the proprietors of these shops is to coin 'Bissennaut' pice', that is Rewah pice which they did by authority of the Raja. However, under this blind they have carried on for years a far more lucrative manufacture, that of forging all kinds of pice. This manufacture is not limited to the town and neighbourhood of Nagoud, although the term Nagoudia is applied to all spurious coins whether gold, silver or copper in this part of India. The name arises from the fame of the particular place for the manufacture of base coin.

So long as the petty Rajahs of the surrounding states are permitted to have mints and strike their own coin, encouragement will be afforded to the fabrication of base money.

The system, amongst the petty Rajahs, is to have an enclosed piece of ground containing houses for the accomodation of coiners. Within this enclosure, any, and as many, people who will pay two rupees a month for every anvil they employ, may live and work at making pice for any merchant who may bring copper and pay them for their labour, an understanding existing between the Rajah (who does not trouble himself about what is coined) and the coiners, that if any of the latter are traced out as forgers and application is made for them by the British authorities, the Rajah will not protect but deliver them up. At the same time he will himself offer them no molestation or hinderance, they, with their risk before them, taking their own precautionary measures to avoid detection by strangers. In this way they coin for merchants the Rajah's pice openly and in the day, whilst the fabrication of pice requiring circumspection is carried on away from public observation and during the night.

I beg to enclose specimens of some of the forgeries that have been practiced upon the Benares and Saugor mint

From the information contained above, Pridmore identified three varieties which can be distinguished by the symbol in the *śin* of *julūs* on the obverse (see Cat. Nos. 8.146 to 8.148).

Sohagpur Mint

When the British acquired the new territories in 1818, as well as Saugor, mints were operating at Sohagpur and Jubalpur. The mint at Jubalpur was closed immediately and no coins appear to have been issued whilst the mint was under their control. However the mint at Sohagpur continued to function for a time and a small number of coins were issued during this period:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 26th December and to subjoin such replies as I am able to furnish to the queries contained in it.

1st. There is at present no mint in the districts under my superintendence. There were formerly two, Viz. one at Jubbulpoor and the other at Sohagpoor in the Duchunteer or Southern Valley of the Nerbudda. The mint at Jubbulpoor was suppressed immediately after the transfer of the district to the British Government; that at Sohagpoor was suppressed by me some months ago.

2nd. *The coin which was struck at the Sohagpur mint is denominated the Sohagpoor rupee. Its gross weight and fineness is said to vary, but I could not understand the explanations which I received on this point. The coin is an exceedingly debased one, and the establishment of the mint appears to have been on a most objectionable footing in every respect...*

4th & 5th. *I subjoin also a statement of the monthly coinage at the Sohagpur mint during six months of the present Mahratta year of account commencing with the first Shaboon, corresponding with the 7th June 1818. I have not obtained any account of the coinage of preceding years, but I suppose that this is not of much importance as the mint has been suppressed. The coinage has probably been considerably less in that portion of the present year during which the mint was in operation, than in the corresponding months of some years previous, owing to the disturbed state of the country before the commencement of the campaign in the hills.*

Month	Coinage
Shaboon	15,857
Rumzan	12,438
Shawal	4,728
Zeekaad	4,551
Zilhig	8,877
Moohurrun	9,129

10th. *The Sohagpur rupee is current in the Duchunteer and in the Western Pergunnahs of that district. It is the principal currency and the revenue is at present paid in it.*

The coins issued from the Sohagpur mint were probably rupees of the type illustrated in the catalogue, two specimens of which are in the British Museum, and have been labelled by Prinsep as issuing from the Sohagpur mint.

References

- Misra B B, The Central Administration of the East India Company 1773-1834. Manchester University Press, 1959, pp. 200-201.
- See Maheshwari and Wiggins.
- Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 22, 4th December 1818. To Government from Ochterlony (Resident of Rajputana) 3rd Oct 1818.
- Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 18. 26th July 1819. Letter to Government from Calcutta mint committee, dated 26th July 1819.
- Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 33. 10th September 1819. To the Calcutta mint committee from Government, dated 10th September 1819.
- Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 124. From Government to Calcutta mint committee dated 14th July 1820.
- Wiggins K. W. (1996). Acquisition of Indian Mints by E.I.CO. Numismatic Panorama. New Delhi
Originally a Moghul mint, Allahabad was transferred to the Nawob Wazir of Awadh in 1773 and subsequently passed to the British in 1801. The mint continued to strike coins for some years after 1801, with a reference to it still issuing coins in 1806.
- Bengal Consultations, 1st September 1803. IOR P/90/23, No. 13.
Letter from the Mint Committee at Allahabad to Government dated 22nd August 1803.
...No.1 A report of the mint of Allahabad from the month of May, when the operation of the mint was re-established after the cession, to the 31st December 1802.
- Bengal Consultations, 24th August 1805. P/54/45 No 28.
Letter from the Collector of Allahabad (E.A. Cuthbert) to Government, dated 5th August 1805.
In reply to your letter of the 18th ultimo, I have the honor to inform you that my predecessor gave over in rent to Government for the unexpiring period of the Company's charter, a pukka house with other buildings expressly for a mint and treasury at a monthly rent of 80 rupees.
- Bengal Consultations, 2nd June 1803. IOR P/90/22, last page of meeting.
Minute
His Excellency in Council adverting to the orders passed on the 26th ultimo appointing a committee for the purpose of superintending the regulation of the mint at Farrukhābād, is of opinion that it will be expedient to place the mints established at Bareilly and Allahabad under an immediate control of a similar nature. The following orders are accordingly passed on the occasion.
A committee is appointed at Bareilly to consist of the Agent to the Governor General in the Ceded Provinces and of the Magistrate and Collector at that station, for the purpose of superintending the regulation of the mint at Bareilly and of jointly submitting to the Governor General in Council, from time to time, whatever suggestions may occur to them for the better regulation of the same.
A committee is appointed at Allahabad to consist of the Magistrate and Collector at that station, for the purpose of superintending the regulation of the mint at Allahabad, and for the other purpose abovementioned.
Ordered that the necessary instructions be sent to the Agent to the Governor General in the Ceded Provinces, and to the Collectors of Bareilly and Allahabad.
Ordered that the requisite orders be issued from the Judicial Department to the Magistrates of Bareilly and Allahabad.
- Bengal Consultations, 18th August 1803. IOR P/90/23, following No.7.
Minutes of the meeting
The Governor General in Council having reason to believe that the introduction of a copper coinage in the ceded provinces would be productive of great general utility without being attended by expense to Government, ordered that

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the Mint Committee at Allahabad be desired to report to his Excellency in Council their sentiments with regard to the expediency of establishing a coinage of the above description at the mint under their charge.

Ordered that the Mint Committee at Allahabad be informed that, in the event of the measure being deemed advisable, it appears to his Excellency in Council that, in determining the weight and standard of the coin to be struck, it would be expedient to adhere to the weight and standard of the existing copper currency in the Ceded Provinces and to regulate the delivery of the new coinage from the mint according to the average relative value which copper coin has hitherto borne in those provinces in exchange for silver. Should the Mint Committee at Allahabad, however, be of opinion that the copper specie now in circulation is so much debased as to render it expedient to increase its intrinsic value, they are to state their sentiments with regard to the proportion which the new coinage should bear to pure copper.

Ordered that the Mint Committee at Allahabad be also informed that, in submitting their report on the above subject, they are to state the extent to which they would propose that the coinage should be made, and the probable expense or profit to Government in forming the necessary arrangements for carrying it into effect.

Ordered that the Mint Committee at Allahabad be also required to ascertain whether copper is to be purchased in the Ceded Provinces and, if so, in what quantity and at what price. The Committee are to be at the same time informed that a considerable quantity of copper is at present under the charge of the Commercial Resident at Bareilly, which may be appropriated to the copper coinage at the mint at that place and at Allahabad until further supplies can be obtained. The Committee are to be further informed that copper can be sent from the Presidency at the rate of about Sa Rs 62.4. per factory maund, including charges of transportation.

12 Bengal Consultations, 8th December 1803. IOR P/90/24, No.1.

Letter from the Mint Committee at Allahabad to Government, dated 21st September 1803.

In reply to the reference made to me and Mr Ahmuty in your letter under date the 18th August, with respect to the expediency of establishing a copper coinage in the Ceded Provinces, I have now the honor to respond to you the result of my enquiries on the subject and to lay before you for further information of his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council a statement containing the detailed particulars on the various points we were required to reply to.

From all the information I have been able to obtain by consulting the sentiments of some of the best informed inhabitants of this district on the subject of introducing a copper coinage, they appear to me to agree in thinking that such a measure would be productive of great general utility.

Notwithstanding the existing copper coin of this district is so much defaced that every appearance of impression is entirely obliterated by time, and consequently its original weight in some measure diminished, it has not sustained any loss in its relative value in exchange for silver.

It will appear by a reference to the accompanying statement that Government will derive a profit of 8 rupees per cent by the introduction of a copper coinage in this district, but it is to be observed that this profit arising to Government will in some degree fluctuate, as the price of copper rises or falls, and as the distance of the place from which copper is imported to be converted into coin may become greater or less, but to prevent Government sustaining any loss by the merchants raising the price of their copper, which in all probability will be the case when they hear that the introduction of a copper coinage in the Ceded Provinces is in contemplation, I would recommend the immediate purchase of the whole of the quantity of copper that would be required to produce a circulation of pice in this district to the amount of 3,000,000 lacks of copper specie, which would require 1130 maunds 1 seer 12 chuttacks of copper and which, at the rate of 65 rupees per maund, the price it is now to be purchased at in the district of Mirzapore, will cost Government Rs 73842 13 As 6 pie. The copper which the above sum will purchase when converted into coin, will yield to Government a profit of 5907 Rs 5 as 11 pie.

The standard weight of the pice which I would recommend to be struck, is that of the weight of 1 rupee 8 annas per pice, which, by my calculation, will make the weight of the new coinage correspond with the original standard weight of the copper coin now in circulation in this district.

Copper is not, I understand, to be had in the Ceded Provinces, excepting the copper mentioned in your letter to be in store under the Commercial Resident of Bareilly, but the profits arising to Government from the establishment of a copper coinage would be greatly diminished by the expenses attending the carriage of copper from such a distance. I trust the accompanying statement will furnish his Excellency the most Noble the Governor General in Council with every other information required in your letter, but I must regret the absence of Mr Ahmuty deprived me of an opportunity of consulting with him on a question of so much importance to the commercial and revenue interest of Government, and on which subject Mr Ahmuty's local experience and length of residence in this district would have enabled him to speak upon with more satisfactory information than I can at present be supposed to possess.

There then follows a statement showing the profit to be derived from a copper coinage.

The Governor General asked for another report, this time from Mr Ahmuty as well.

13 Bengal Consultations, 15th March 1804. IOR P/90/27, No 1.

Letter from the Mint Committee at Allahabad to Government, dated 26th December 1803.

We have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th August last requiring our sentiments with regard to the expediency of establishing a copper coinage at the mint at Allahabad and we beg leave to report to you that from the result of our enquiries, we are firmly of opinion that the introduction of the copper coinage will be productive of great general utility in the Ceded Provinces.

We have the honor to enclose a statement, by which it will appear that by admitting the highest rate of exchange (i.e. 33 pice per rupee) in the event of the copper being supplied by Government, a profit of 8 per cent will be derived from the introduction of the coinage in question; but it is to be observed that the profit arising to Government will in some degree fluctuate, as the price of copper rises or falls and as the distance of the place from which copper is imported may become greater or less.

For the present we beg leave to recommend that thirty lacs of copper pice be struck at the mint of the description hereafter specified. The coinage to this extent will require 1,136 maunds, 1 seer, 12 chuttacks of copper. The weight of the coin we recommend to be that of the existing currency when of full weight, Viz. Equal to one rupee and half of

(From www.psindiancoins.com)

the Lucknow standard for, although the coin now in circulation is in some measure diminished in its weight, it has not sustained any loss in its relative value in exchange for silver, nor does it appear that it is debased by any inferior metal. We are informed that copper is not to be procured in the Ceded Provinces but at Mirzapore a large quantity may be purchased at 65 rupees per maund. We have accordingly calculated the profit on a supposition that the copper is purchased at that rate.

There are two kinds of copper coinages in currency (musters of which we have the honor to enclose). The average exchange of the first is two to an anna, and the second, four to the anna. However, we have to recommend that the new copper coinage be, for the present, entirely limited to the first sort as the one most in demand and in circulation throughout the Ceded Provinces and Budelcund. The exchange between this species of copper coin and the Lucknow sicca rupee fluctuates from 30 to 33 pice per rupee but at present a scarcity of them prevail in this district. Copper may be procured at Mirzapore 'till it can be supplied from the Presidency. However, as the profit from the copper coinage will be comparatively very trifling to Government, we humbly beg leave to suggest, with a view to encouraging shroffs and other merchants, that they be allowed to import their own copper and the coin when struck be issued to them from the mint on their paying the charges of coinage.

You will be pleased to observe that it is intended that the new copper coinage should be struck with the same impression as the rupees of the Lucknow standard coined at Allahabad. It will therefore be necessary to issue a proclamation authorizing the new currency throughout the Ceded Provinces, and, as the old coin will be considerably diminished in value, the holders of such of the old coin as may be found of full weight should be permitted to have them stamped at the mint, paying one third of the established charge.

There is then a table showing the profit on a copper coinage.

14 Bengal Consultations, 1st September 1803. IOR P/90/23, No. 13.

Letter from the Mint Committee at Allahabad to Government dated 22nd August 1803.

We have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo and, in conformity to your directions, we beg leave to transmit the following accounts Viz

No. 1 A report of the mint of Allahabad from the month of May, when the operation of the mint was re-established after the cession, to the 31st December 1802.

No. 2 A report of the operation of the mint from January to April 1803, the charges, coinage and fees of Government rated at 1.14 per cent

No. 3 ditto for May and June, ditto rated at 1.4 per cent.

You will be pleased to report to his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor in Council that the merchants and shroffs having represented that 1 Rs 4 As per cent was levied at Lucnow for the charges, coinage and fees of Government, Viz. 13 annas for the former and 7 annas for the latter, whereas 1.14 per cent was taken at the mint, and, finding on enquiry the above representation perfectly correct, the Collector, in order to encourage the merchants, directed that from the 1st of May only similar duties to those levied at Lucnow should be taken at this mint – this explanation, we trust, will account for two separate reports being forwarded, Viz. One from January to April and the other for May and June.

Reply

Adverting to the information contained in the 2nd paragraph of the above letter relative to the Collector at Allahabad having authorised a reduction in the established charges of coinage from the 1st of May last, His Excellency in Council is pleased to direct that the Mint Committee at Allahabad be informed that, although his Excellency in Council approves of the reduction above mentioned, they are enjoined not to make any alteration, in future, in the charges and establishment of the mint without having obtained the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council.

The reports show the mint output as:

May to December 1802

Shumshany Rupees: 128,179

Lucnow Rupees: 124283.2.6

January to April 1803

Shumshany Rupees: 66,664

Lucnow Rupees: 100,637.8.6

May and June 1803

Lucnow Rupees: 225,758.5.9

15 Bengal Consultations, 10th May 1804. IOR P/90/27, No 1 & 2.

Letter from Government to Richard Ahmuty (Collector of Allahabad) 2nd May 1804.

I am commanded by His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council to desire that you will immediately suspend the coinage of gold and silver of every description at the mint of Allahabad, and that the business of the Allahabad mint may not be recommenced until you shall have received the special authority of His Excellency in Council for that purpose.

Letter from the Mint Committee at Calcutta from Government, dated 2nd May 1804.

I am directed by His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council to acquaint you that the Collector of Allahabad having been instructed to remit a part of the surplus receipts at that treasury to Lucknow, either in specie or by bills of exchange, as might be least expensive to Government, his remittances have been made by bills at the heavy charge of 3 per cent Hoondeaun.

The Allahabad rupee having been received by the Collector in all payments at his treasury as equal to the Lucknow sicca rupee, the intrinsic value of the two coins ought to be the same. In that case however, the remittances to Lucknow might have been made in specie at an expense not exceeding one per mille, and it cannot be supposed that the Collector, under the option left to him, would have remitted by bills instead of specie.

Under these circumstances His Excellency in Council considers it to be probable that the standard of the coinage at the mint of Allahabad has been depreciated considerably below the standard of the Lucknow currency, and he accordingly desires that you will adopt the necessary measures to enable you to ascertain the actual value of the

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rupees coined at the mint of Allahabad, and that you will report the result of your enquiries for the information of Government, at as early a period of time as may be practical.

The Collector of Allahabad has been directed to suspend the coinage at that mint, until further orders.

16 Board's Collections, 7th June 1806. F/4/199, No.4484.

Extract from the Public Letter from Bengal, dated 7th June 1806.

On the proceedings of the 29th May last, your Honble Court will find recorded a correspondence on the subject of the abuses practised in the late mint of Allahabad, while the superintendence of the coinage at that station was entrusted to Mr Richard Ahmuty as collector of that district.

With the declared view of relieving the [] from the expense of the Hoondeawun or exchange on all remittances from the treasury at Allahabad, it was recommended by Mr Ahmuty the Collector of the district to the late Lieutenant Governor & Board of Commissioners for the affairs of the Ceded Provinces, that the mint of Allahabad, then under his immediate charge, should be authorised to coin any bullion which might be tendered for that purpose into rupees of the Lucknow currency.

This suggestion was made in a letter from Mr Ahmuty dated 3rd September 1802, & on the 8th of the same month the Lieutenant Governor and Board of Commissioners authorised the proposed measure, enjoining Mr Ahmuty at the same time "to be careful that the intrinsic value of the rupee coined at Allahabad should be fully equal to that of the Lucknow sicca rupee".

The importance of a strict attention to this injunction is too obvious to require illustration. The circulation of a coin inferior in intrinsic value to the Lucknow rupee under that denomination & as of equal value with that coin, would have been a fraud on the public which could never obtain the sanction of the British Government.

It was accordingly understood by this Government & by the Board of Commissioners that the Lucknow rupee coined at the mint of Allahabad was in every respect equal in value and standard to the Lucknow sicca rupee coined under the authority of the Nabob Visier at the city of Lucknow. It appears, however, that so early as the beginning of January 1803, the Lucknow rupee coined at Allahabad & now known by the designation of the Mooteeshye rupee, from the name of Mr Ahmuty, was refused to be received in the bazar at Allahabad as equivalent to the Lucknow sicca. This circumstance ought to have induced Mr Ahmuty to institute an immediate enquiry into the conduct of the officers of the mint under his charge with the view of ascertaining whether the value of the Mooteeshye rupee was maintained at the proper standard or whether any abuses were practised by the persons entrusted with the immediate management of the coinage.

Instead of adopting this measure, it appears that Mr Ahmuty represented to the late Lieutenant Governor of the Ceded Provinces, then at Allahabad on his return to the Presidency, that the Lucknow rupee coined at Allahabad was of the proper standard, & that a combination existed amongst the shroffs to depreciate its value. No suspicion was then entertained by Mr Wellesley that any abuses had been practised & accordingly on the 6th January 1803 he issued a proclamation at the request of Mr Ahmuty declaring "that the new Lucknow sicca rupee coined at Allahabad was in no respect deficient or debased; that it was to pass current similar to the Lucknow sicca to which it was equal in value & that all who should require batta on its circulation would be considered as public criminals and be severely punished".

Under the sanction of this proclamation a debased coin was circulated for a period of nearly two years before the frauds practised at the mint of Allahabad were discovered, at a rate considerably exceeding its real value. It was received into the public loans at Allahabad as equal in value to the Lucknow sicca rupee, & it was paid at the same rate to the army to whom it became necessary to grant a compensation for their losses in consequence of this transaction.

The losses sustained by Government in consequence of the depreciation of the coinage at Allahabad has been very considerable but its amount cannot be ascertained. It is to be traced through various channels, in subscriptions to the loans at Allahabad, in the recoinage at the mint at Calcutta for remittances in specie from Allahabad, in batta paid at the treasury at Lucknow and at other treasuries on remittances from Allahabad, in the exchange on the Hoondeewun on bills in favour of the Commander in Chief, & in the issue of the Mooteeshye rupees at their bazar rate after the depreciation of the standard was known.

It appears that from the month of January 1803 to the month of [May] 1804, when the operations of the mint at Allahabad were discontinued, a debased coinage to the extent of Rs 3,155,712 was issued from that mint. The actual extent of the depreciation cannot be ascertained, but there is reason to believe that the debasement was progressive. On a remittance of Rs 277,980 of the Allahabad coinage made to the Presidency by Mr Ahmuty, the loss sustained when compared with the produce of a remittance of the Lucknow sicca rupee made from Lucknow, was 9067, the Allahabad rupees having proved to be inferior to the Lucknow sicca rupees to the extent of 3.988 per cent. These facts have neither been controverted nor denied by Mr Ahmuty. That gentleman has however attempted to vindicate his own conduct by a plea that his attention was almost exclusively occupied in raising supplies for the public service & that his confidence was betrayed & his credulity imposed on by those in whom he was obliged to confide. It remained therefore to be determined whether it can reasonably be believed that Mr Ahmuty could have remained in ignorance of the abuses practised in an establishment, for the conduct of which, he was personally responsible.

The report then goes on for several pages trying to show that Mr Ahmuty must have become aware of the fraud and tried to hide it. The Governor General did not accept Mr Ahmuty's explanation and dismissed him from office.

Attached are many papers relating to the subject.

17 Bengal Consultations, 4th October 1805. IOR P/54/47 No 30.

Letter from the Collector at Allahabad to Government, dated 20th September 1805.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ultimo and in reply beg leave to state that 30 setts of dies appertaining to the mint at Allahabad were transmitted by Mr Richard Ahmuty to the Chief Secretary Mr Lumsden on 6th August 1804.

Ordered that the Post Master General be directed to ascertain and report what is become of the dies transmitted to the Presidency from Allahabad.

18 Bengal Consultations, 6th April 1810. IOR P/55/59 No. 23.

Extract from a Public General letter from the Honorable Court of Directors, dated 6th September 1809.

You will have observed by our public dispatch of 11th April 1808 that Mr Richard Ahmuty has been permitted to resign the service

19 Bengal Consultations, 29th December 1803. IOR P/90/24, No. 6. Letter from Mr Seton (who was a member of the mint committee) to the mint committee at Bareilly, not dated but attached to the above letter, which was dated 10th September 1803.

Mr Seton thinks it his duty to take this early opportunity of laying before the committee such information as he is possessed of, relative to the mode in which the business of the mint at Bareilly has hitherto been conducted.

When the Honorable the late Lieutenant Governor and the Board of Commissioners took charge of their appointments, they found that (in conformity to the custom which has prevailed during the Government of the Nawab Visier) the mint had been let in farm by Messers Deane and Leycester, in their capacity as Collectors of Rohilcund, to a person called Atma Ram, whose annual jumma was Bareilly Rs 9001. As, however, it soon after appeared that fraudulent practices had been introduced by him into the coinage, the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor and the Board directed a criminal prosecution to be instituted against the aforesaid farmer and his partner Sheojee Mull, both of whom were accordingly charged before the then sitting magistrate of the town of Bareilly, by whom they were committed for trial, and, being declared by the Mohammedan law officers, who assisted at the trial, to be duly convicted of the crime laid to their charge, the farm was, of course, annulled.

After this the lieutenant Governor and the Board of Commissioners deemed it expedient, instead of continuing the custom of farming the mint, to change the system entirely, from its having an evident tendency to tempt the person holding the farm, to debase the coin below its prescribed standard. Upon this principal, and in order to bring the department under their own immediate inspection, the farm of the mint was abolished and the coinage conducted under the management of a Darogha or superintendent with a fixed personal salary of 80 rupees a month and an establishment of 56 rupees for mutsudies, peons, paper, pens etc, amounting in all to rupees 135 per month. This alteration took place in March 1802. The person first appointed to the office of Darogha was Ali Muzzuffer Khan, a respectable native of Behar and, on his being promoted to the position of a Jehsuldar in November 1802, he was succeeded by a person called Muzzubher Hooseyn, a native of Bhangulpoor, the respectability of whose character and conduct had been long known to Mr Commissioner Fombelle while stationed at this place, who accordingly recommended him to the situation of Darogha of the mint, which he still continues to fill.

When the system of farming the mint was abolished, no alteration was introduced into the standard of silver except to rectify the abuses. But, in order to mark the period at which the change of system took place, the Persian letter (H) which, as the first letter of the name of the late Subah (Hoossey Ali Khan) had been stamped upon the rupee, was discontinued, that of (W) being substituted in its stead, in compliment to the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor.

Mr Seton has the honor to lay before the committee the following statements viz.

(There then follows the list of statements A, B, C and D in the last letter).

On a reference to statement C, the committee will be pleased to observe that, during the whole of the period in question, viz. 18 months, the ruissom of Government has amounted to Bareilly rupees 9,569 – 10 – 3, from which, when the monthly salary and fixed establishment of the Darogha for that period (viz. Bareilly rupees 2448) are deducted, there remains a nett balance or profit to Government of Bareilly rupees 7121 – 10 – 3.

From the time of the mint being put upon its present footing, the sitting magistrate for the town of Bareilly for the time being, has had a sort of general superintendency of the department and it has been part of his duty to sign the daily entry of the book in which the quantity of specie or bullion brought for coinage is inserted, the number of rupees coined, and the amount of the duty to Government. It is from the book, as an authentic document, that the accompanying statement, No. A, to which Mr Seton has already adverted, is taken. The book itself is now laid herewith before the committee.

Mr Seton thinks it his duty to submit the information herein contained in the form of a minute, because, in the event of its being in any way erroneous, it is but just that he and he alone, as the only member of the Board who has been hitherto concerned in the management of the mint, should be responsible for such error, or for any mistakes (should any be found) in the accompanying statements.

Ordered that the statements received with the letter above recorded be entered in the appendix.

20 Bengal Consultations, 14th July 1803. IOR P/90/22, No. 21. Letter from the Acting Mint Master at Calcutta to the Government of the Ceded Provinces, dated 23rd March 1803. Letter From the Deputy Assay Master to the Acting Mint Master (at Calcutta), dated 23rd March 1803.

I beg leave to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 10th instant giving cover to a letter from Mr Blake and three muster Bareilly rupees, and, in obedience to his Lordship's orders to report on them, I transmitted the rupees to Mr Mackenzie the Assay Master and have the honor to enclose a report on their standard compared with Sicca Rupees. Conceiving it likewise to have been the intention of his Lordship's reference that I should offer my sentiments on other points relative to the rupees and the letter generally, I therefore venture to state it as my opinion that their shape is very objectionable, the edges being so very flat and broad that they be easily drilled more especially as they are not milled. The letters are likewise much too sharp and will be very subject to wear, as will be edges themselves, as they contain nearly as much angled surface as tho' they were milled. A Persian legend around them would in a great measure prevent their being drilled and at the same time be very ornamental.

As Mr Blake does not mention how many rupees a given number of workmen can fabricate in the course of a day, nor the rate of coinage per cent, it is impossible to shew whether they have any advantage over those coined in the Calcutta mint in this respect, but if I might conclude from their appearance, I should rather be inclined to suppose that the process must be much more tedious and am doubtful whether they could be furnished in an equal workmanlike degree for the purpose of a currency. Even two of these musters are cracked although it may be presumed they were made with as much nicety and attention as the mode will admit of.

As to the policy or impolicy of attempting to derive a revenue of such magnitude from the mint are questions for Government to decide on, and therefore shall only observe that if it be by way of duty either the coinage on account of

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individuals must be immense, or the duty so very high that it may induce people to counterfeit the coin to the public detriment.

From the Deputy Assay Master to the Acting Mint Master (at Calcutta), dated 23rd March 1803

I have to acknowledge receipt of your official letter to the Assay Master, accompanied with a copy of a letter addressed to the Honorable Henry Wellesley, Lieutenant Governor of the Ceded Provinces, by Mr Robt Blake, and to inform you that, agreeable to your request, I had assayed one of the Bareilly rupees transmitted with your letter, and found the assay to be 4/ 1/8 or 4.125 per cent worse than fine silver, being 1/8 per cent better than the Lucnow rupees sent to the Calcutta mint last year.

With respect to observations on the form of the rupees or other points relative to them, as a coin, which you request, I have only to remark that the form and size seem more adapted to medals than a currency, that the edges are low, the rims very broad, that they can be easily drilled, which in a coin of the fine metals should be avoided.

Ordered that copies of the above letter and of its enclosures, be transmitted to the Mint Committee at the Presidency with the following letter from the Secretary.

His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council having it in contemplation to establish a coinage of the same weight and standard throughout the provinces ceded to the Honorable Company by His Excellency the Nawaub Visier, his Excellency in Council is desirous of obtaining your sentiments on the occasion previously to determining on any final arrangement for carrying this important measure into effect. I am accordingly directed to desire that you will give the subject your most attentive consideration, and that you will report to His Excellency in Council your opinion with regard to the weight, standard and denomination of the coin which it may be expedient to adopt in the Ceded Provinces.

You will herewith receive copies of the proceedings held by the Honorable the late Lieutenant Governor and the late Board of Commissioners in the Ceded Provinces relative to the coinage, together with copies of the papers which have been submitted to His Excellency in Council on the same subject.

In considering this important subject, you are particularly desired to direct your attention to the probable effect which the introduction of the measure now in agitation, may produce in the several points of view most materially connected with it.

The principle internal objects proposed to be effected by establishing a standard currency in the Ceded Provinces are 1st to simplify the accounts of the Revenue, Commercial and Military departments; 2nd to counteract the rapacity of the shroffs by depriving them of the means which the great diversity of current coin in circulation throughout the Ceded Provinces at present affords them of regulating the exchange according to their pleasure; and 3^{rdly} to facilitate and promote the commerce of the country by rendering remittances obtainable on easy and reasonable terms.

Independent of the objects above specified, others present themselves, of an external nature, which are also of considerable magnitude. The surplus revenue of the Ceded Provinces is at present and will probably continue to be appropriated to the discharge of bills of exchange from the Presidency and from the Presidencies of Fort St George and Bombay. As the resources of these provinces increase and as the commerce of the country is improved and extended, negotiations through the channels of bills of exchange will naturally increase in proportion both on the part of Government and on that of individuals. It is therefore necessary in fixing on a coinage of a given weight and value, to advert to the relative value which such coinage may bear to the established currency of the different Presidencies, and other parts of the country, with which it is probable that negotiations of a financial or commercial nature may be transacted, as well as to the effect which such a measure is likely to have on the rates of remittances between the Ceded Provinces and the places above alluded to.

His Excellency in Council understands that bullion and dollars and other coin to a large amount, are exported from the Presidency and from the province of Benares to Rohilcund, and that after being coined in the latter province into the currency of the country, the specie so coined is re-exported into the interior of Hindustane, for the purchase of cotton and other purposes. As it appears that this exportation of specie has existed for a long series of years, and that it has invariably consisted of coin, hitherto denominated the Bareilly rupee, it is deserving of consideration how far an alteration in the weight, standard and denomination of the currency of Rohilcund may affect the traffic in question, and how far it may be expedient to check or encourage transactions of such a nature.

With the view of adding your deliberations on the very important subject now referred to you, I am instructed to add that His Excellency in Council has it under consideration to establish one or more general treasuries in the Ceded provinces, agreeably to the plan now in force in the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and in the province of Benares and, as soon as may be practicable, to direct that all bills which shall be hereafter drawn by either of the three Presidencies on the surplus funds of the said provinces, be drawn on the general treasury or treasuries above mentioned, instead of upon the treasury of the Resident at Lucnow, as has been hitherto the case.

His Excellency in Council desires that you will accompany your report with such further remarks and suggestions as may occur to you, connected with the subject now under consideration, and that you will transmit your report to His Excellency in Council with the least possible delay.

A committee consisting of the Agent to the Governor General in the Ceded Provinces and the Judge & Magistrate of zillah Bareilly has been appointed to the superintendence of the mint established at Bareilly, and another committee composed of the Collector and Judge and Magistrate of zillah Allahabad has been appointed to the superintendence of the mint at that station, with directions to submit to Government whatever suggestions may occur to them with regard to the improvement of the coinage in the Ceded Provinces. These committees have been directed to correspond with you relative to the coinage and to furnish you with whatever information you may require from them connected with the subject.

I am further directed to inform you that Mr Leslie has been desired to assist you with your opinions and with whatever information he may possess relating to the subject now referred to you for consideration and report.

Ordered that the necessary instructions be transmitted to the Mint Committees at Bareilly and Allahabad and to Mr Leslie in conformity to the ninth and tenth paragraphs of the above letter,

21 Bengal Consultations, 2nd June 1803. IOR P/90/22, last page of meeting. Minute.

His Excellency in Council adverting to the orders passed on the 26th ultimo appointing a committee for the purpose of superintending the regulation of the mint at Farrukhābād, is of opinion that it will be expedient to place the mints established at Bareilly and Allahabad under an immediate control of a similar nature. The following orders are accordingly passed on the occasion.

A committee is appointed at Bareilly to consist of the Agent to the Governor General in the Ceded Provinces and of the Magistrate and Collector at that station, for the purpose of superintending the regulation of the mint at Bareilly and of jointly submitting to the Governor General in Council, from time to time, whatever suggestions may occur to them for the better regulation of the same.

A committee is appointed at Allahabad to consist of the Magistrate and Collector at that station, for the purpose of superintending the regulation of the mint at Allahabad, and for the other purpose abovementioned.

Ordered that the necessary instructions be sent to the Agent to the Governor General in the Ceded Provinces, and to the Collectors of Bareilly and Allahabad.

Ordered that the requisite orders be issued from the Judicial Department to the Magistrates of Bareilly and Allahabad.

22 Bengal Consultations, 29th December 1803. IOR P/90/24, No. 5. Letter from the mint committee at Bareilly to Government, dated 10th September 1803.

We were duly honored with your letter of 2nd July acquainting us that his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council had been pleased to appoint us, in conjunction with the Honorable Mr Fitz Roy, a committee for conducting the business of the mint at this station.

We have likewise the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th July, desiring us to submit to his Excellency in Council detailed statements of the money coined from the cession of Rohilcund, to the expiration of the year 1802, and from that period until the end of June, as also, a statement of the money coined in each month subsequently to the above periods.

We beg leave to observe in reply that, as the mint was farmed from the date of the cession of this province until the 13th March, and that the late farmer, at his removal, left no papers or documents of any kind at the mint, it is not in our power to obtain accurate information respecting the money coined during that period.

Previous to the cession it had been customary to let the mint in farm and, without adverting to the danger of the coins being debased, and to the many other abuses which, under a loose corrupt government, that system was likely to occasion, to consider the amount which the monopoly yielded as a branch of revenue.

In conformity to this ancient usage, the farm of the mint was continued by Messers Deane and Leycester, the Collectors of Rohilcund, and let for a year to a person called Atma Ram, at a jumma of Bareilly rupees 9,001. As, however, the Honorable the late Lieutenant Governor and the Board of Commissioners detected the farmer in various malpractices, they removed him from his farm and placed the department under the immediate management of Government, as detailed in the accompanying minute from Mr Seton, who was one of the members of the late Board of Commissioners when the change in question took place. This arrangement was introduced on the 13th March 1802, from time until now, the department has been conducted by a Darogha under the general superintending of the sitting magistrate of the town of Bareilly for the time being. From the 13th March 1802 to the end of August 1803, the bullion and specie coined at Bareilly, produced Bareilly rupees 2,075,120, and the duty payable to Government after deducting the salary and fixed establishment of the Darogha for that period, viz. Bareilly rupees 2448, has yielded the net sum of Bareilly rupees 7121.10.3.

In conformity to your instruction we have the honor to submit, enclosed, the following statements, viz.

- A. *Statement of the quantity of bullion and of the different descriptions of specie brought to the mint monthly at Bareilly for coinage, and of the number of Bareilly rupees coined monthly therefrom from 13th March 1802 to the end of August 1803.*
- B. *Statement of the rate at which the duty of Government is collected on bullion and on the different descriptions of specie brought to the mint of Bareilly for coinage, and the amount which it has produced monthly, from the 13th March 1802 (when the arrangement was first adopted) to the end of August 1803.*
- C. *Statement exhibiting the charges to which individuals are liable (exclusive of the Russoom on duty payable to Government) on bringing species of bullion to the Bareilly mint for coinage, as also the establishment of artificers and workmen entertained for conducting the business.*
- D. *A statement of the quantity of alloy mixed with the different sorts of specie and bullion brought to the mint at Bareilly to be coined into Bareilly rupees.*

On adverting to the statements A & B, it will appear that they are not exactly conformable to the requisition contained in your letter, in as much as, instead of submitting in separate documents the particulars relative to the coinage from the cession to the end of 1802, and from the commencement of 1803 to the end of June respectively, the particulars in question are comprised in one statement beginning with the 13th March 1802 (previous to which we had not the means of acquiring information) and continued to the end of August 1803. This has arisen from inadvertency on the part of the copier, he having transcribed the wrong document. As, however, the whole of the particulars required in your letter is contained in the statement, we trust, it will be sufficient to answer the purpose, and we therefore think it better to submit it in its present state, than to occasion still further delay by deferring the dispatch until fair copies of the proper and desired statements can be made for transmission. The difficulty of procuring the aid of copiers at this place being very great.

Previous to concluding, we beg leave to add an assurance that we shall exert ourselves to the utmost in endeavouring to prevent any irregularity or inaccuracy from finding its way into the department which his Excellency in Council has been pleased to place under our superintendency. We trust, however, we shall not be considered as deviating from the line of our duty if we take the liberty respectfully to observe that, as it is a branch, with the details of which we are unacquainted, it would be a great relief to our minds and, in our humble opinion, a measure highly beneficial to Government, if Mr Blake, whose thorough knowledge of everything connected with the coinage is indisputable, and who long superintended the mint at Patna, with so much credit to himself and so much advantage to the public, were employed in conducting the executive business of the department.

23 Bengal Consultations, 18th August 1803. IOR P/90/23, following No. 7. Minutes of the meeting.

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- Ordered that the Mint Committee at Bareilly be directed to submit a similar report (to that requested from Allahabad (vide)) with regard to the expediency of establishing a copper coinage at the mint under their charge.*
- 24 Bengal Consultations, 8th December. IOR P/90/24, following No. 15. Minute.
- Ordered that the suggestion of the Commercial Resident at Bareilly relative to sending the copper under his charge to the mint at that place for the purpose of being coined into copper currency, on account of Government, be communicated to the Mint Committee at Bareilly from the Revenue Department, with directions to submit their sentiments with regard to the expediency of adopting the same.*
- Ordered that the Mint Committee at Bareilly be informed that the value of the copper in charge of the Commercial Resident at Bareilly is stated to amount to 21,500 Rs.*
- Ordered that the Mint Committee at Bareilly be, at the same time, called upon for their reply to the orders of his Excellency in Council of the 18th August last respecting the introduction of a copper coinage into the Ceded Provinces.*
- 25 Bengal Consultations, 15th March 1804. IOR P/90/27, No. 2. Letter from the mint committee at Bareilly to Government, dated 26th January 1804.
- Replies to letters of the 18th August and 8th December on the matter of the copper coinage.*
- He then apologises for taking so long to reply. The matter is considered on two principles:*
- ' 1st how far the measure was necessary for the relief of the community and 2^{ndly} whether, though not absolutely necessary, it would be advisable to adopt it, as furnishing Government with means of disposing of a quantity of its copper on advantageous terms'.*
- On the first principle the Committee compared the rates that the pice were sold at over the last 10 years in large towns, by asking the shroffs for information. However, the results were inconclusive and contradictory.*
- The letter states that 'no pice have been coined here since the cession of these provinces'. It then goes on:*
- About forty-five years ago, Nudjub-ul Dowlah coined pice for the first time at Nudjeebabad, out of copper brought from the hills of Surrungur. These pice, which weighed Maushes, were termed Nudjeeb khannees...*
- At Bareilly, no copper coinage was known until about sixteen years ago, when it was introduced by Mehedee Ali Khan the then Aumil who coined pice called Shumsher shahees from their having the figure of a sword stamped upon them...*
- This coinage continued two years after which the same Aumil (Mehedee Ali Khan) substituted another species of pice called Mutchelee daurs from their having the figure of a fish stamped upon them...*
- A few years after, Viz. the Fuslee year 1201, another and improved copper coinage was introduced at Bareilly by Sembhoo Nant, the then Aumil of Rohilcund, whose pice were termed Kuttaur shahees, from their being stamped with the figure of a Kuttaur (a species of dagger)...*
- Mehedee Ali Khan then resumed as Aumil and the weight of the pice was reduced.*
- There is also another type of pice in circulation.*
- The letter then provides weight and fineness of the four major types of pice in circulation.*
- There does not seem to be a real necessity for a new copper coinage except for the fact that the current pice have been in circulation for a long time and are very worn.*
- If a new silver coinage were introduced then it would be necessary to have a new copper coinage.*
- On the 2nd principle:*
- [Copper formerly used] to be imported from the Seereenagar hills of Nudjeebabad while the coinage continued at that place but, since the abolition of the mint, I do not find that any has been brought either thither or to Bareilly.*
- There is then a calculation to show that it will be difficult to make any profit on a copper coinage, and a loss might even be incurred.*
- The number of pice that might be needed cannot be estimated.*
- Both the letter from Bareilly, together with one from Allahabad (see Allahabad) were sent to the Calcutta Mint Committee together with the specimens from Allahabad, asking for their comments.*
- 26 Bengal Consultations, 7th November 1805. IOR P/54/47, Nos. 26-40. Letter From the mint committee at Bareilly to Government, dated 14th August 1805.
- Very long letter discussing the copper and silver coinages and advising on how they might be altered and what rates of duty might be imposed.*
- Of interest is the fact that a coin called the Nudjeeb Khanneh was being considered as the standard for the new copper pice. The Bareilly Mint Committee was not convinced that this was the best thing to do.*
- There was also a statement that from the 13th March 1802 (when the mint was placed on its present footing) to 31st July 1805, the output of the mint had amounted to 6,921,959 Rs. The records contain a large detailed table showing output by year and from each type of rupee brought into the mint.*
- Also a list of all rupees current in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces and their value compared to the Lucknow Sicca – assayed by both Mr Blake and Calcutta.*
- 27 Bengal Consultations, 7th June 1804. IOR P/90/28, No. 15.
- Letter from the Bareilly Mint Committee to Government, dated 17th May 1804.*
- A covering letter for the next two.*
- Letter from the Mint Committee at Bareilly to Robert Blake, dated 23rd April 1804.*
- Asking Mr Blake a series of questions about what changes should be made at the mint.*
- Letter from Mr Blake to the Mint Committee at Bareilly, dated 8th May 1804.*
- I had the honor to receive your letter dated the 23rd ultimo and in compliance with your desire I will, to the best of my judgement, reply to your several questions relative to the carrying into effect a new sicca coinage in these provinces, and I trust from the many years experience that I have had in the business of minting in this country that my communications will be found satisfactory.*
- To give a just idea of the probable expense attending the introduction of a new coinage in these provinces, I will briefly state the various charges incurred in minting during my superintendence of the mint at Patna where every precaution was taken to reduce as low as possible the charge. The charge on refining silver of the present currency to the Lucknow standard will amount to seven annas per cent, and the wastage on refining to three and a half annas per cent. The waste on melting and coining silver to three and a half annas per cent. The proportion for contingent charges, including*

charcoal, firewood, [coire?] ashes, melting potts, furnaces etc. etc. to four annas per cent, and for the establishment of servants, artificers etc. etc. to six annas per cent. These are the actual expenses on coining; in all amounting to one rupee eight annas per cent. In the late provincial mints in addition to this, Government allowed the superintendent eight annas per cent commission on the amount of the coin issued. I may therefore venture to state that the whole expenses of a new coinage, including the superintendent's salary, costs of machinery, together with the necessary buildings etc etc, might be carried into effect, and the whole not to exceed the charge of two per cent on the amount of the new coins issued from the mint.

The Lucknow siccas rupees being of greater intrinsic value than any other species of rupee circulating in these provinces, it will be advisable to make the new coin of the same weight and standard.

On the introduction of new coinage, the measure best calculated to prevent any inconvenience arising either to Government or to individuals will be, the fixing a table of rates, specifying the number of the new coin that will be issued from the mint, for 100 Lucknow sicca weight of each species of rupees now in circulation, and at which rates the old coins will be received into the Public Treasuries. I have the pleasure to enclose herewith a list of the various descriptions of rupees, exhibiting their relative values compared with the Lucknow standard, their weight, rate of alloy and pure silver, contained in each species. The adoption of this measure and the proposed new coin being of a better fabrication and more difficult to counterfeit will soon establish its general currency.

A new mint being established and the old ones in which inferior coins are struck done away, I apprehend that it will not be the interest of any individuals to melt down the new coin to export it to the neighbouring states for the purpose of recoinage because the profit to an adventurer in this traffic will not cover the risk, and I am further inclined to believe that, although the balance of trade be paid in the new coin, much of it may find its way back again for the purpose of merchandize, the produce of these provinces.

The preparations necessary for a new coinage I think might be completed in the period of six months from the time orders are given for that purpose, but in a shorter time provided the heavy machinery belonging to the late provincial mints be furnished from the Calcutta mint where they were deposited at the time these mints were done away.

In the constructing buildings, machinery and furnaces for a mint, the difference in expense will be inconsiderable between the coinage of thirty thousand and fifty thousand rupees per day. As far as I can judge of the extent of the coin in circulation in these provinces, I believe that forty thousand rupees per day will be equal to the new coinage required. Having answered all your questions relative to the coinage, I beg your permission to mention some circumstances relative to my own situation. I hope I shall stand excused for this intrusion, this being the only opportunity that has offered in which I could with strict propriety touch on the subject. Two years have elapsed since I came into this part of the country at the request of the Honble Lieutenant Governor for the express purpose of enquiring into and reporting upon the states of the coinage in the Ceded Provinces. This I performed and made any report before his departure from this place, and in consequence I was directed to prepare musters of a proposed new coinage of the Lucknow weight and standard. These I had the honor to transmit to the Honble Lieutenant Governor at Calcutta. Since this time I had little encouragement to hope that this business would be speedily resumed again, and my not having received any remuneration for the trouble and expense I have incurred in this service has exposed [me] to inconvenience.

I trust from what I have stated that you will make favourable mention of me to the Mint Committee and I am not without hope that the many years I have served in the mints of this country (which I am bold to say I have performed with benefit to Government, and honor to myself) will give me some claim to his Lordship's patronage.

Attached is the list of rupees as stated in the letter.

The above letters with enclosures were sent to the Calcutta Mint Committee.

28 Bengal Consultations, 25th April 1805. IOR P/90/34, No. 11.

Despite having questioned numerous people about the proposals to reform the currency, no useful information was obtained. This is a very long letter.

29 Bengal Consultations, 24th October 1805. IOR P/54/47, No. 41.

Letter from the Mint C Letter from Bareilly Mint Committee to Government dated 5th August 1805.

Number Bareilly rupees coined in July 1805 = 123,374.

Mint Committee at Bareilly to Government, dated 30th September 1805.

We have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 24th August accompanying copies of regulations 45 of 1803 and 11 of 1805 and directing us to send the dies belonging to the mint at this place to your office, and the other implements of coinage to the Mint Master at Farrukhābād as soon as the operations of the Bareilly mint could be stopped without public inconvenience.

We have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Honorable the Vice President in Council that, agreeably to the 1st clause of the 41st section of the 45th regulation of 1803, the operation of the mint at Bareilly was discontinued on the 26th of this month and that, in conformity to the instructions contained in your letter, the dies shall be sent to your office as soon as an opportunity shall present itself. In further conformity to those instructions the implements of coinage belonging to the mint are about to be dispatched to the Mint Master at Farrukhābād.

30 Bengal Consultations, 1st November 1805. IOR P/54/47, No. 27.

See next ref.

31 Bengal Consultations, 19th December 1805. IOR P/54/48, No. 43. From the mint committee at Bareilly to Government, dated 12th October 1805.

In conformity to your instructions contained in your letter of the 24th August last and agreeably to our reply of the 30th ultimo, we have this day dispatched by water to the Presidency the dies belonging to the late mint at this place, under charge of a person called Purmanund, by whom, together with the chest containing the dies, a duplicate of this letter will be presented to you.

P.S. the chest contains a list of the several dies. The key of the chest is enclosed in this letter.

Ordered that the dies mentioned to accompany the above letter from the Mint Committee at Bareilly, be transmitted to the Mint Master at the Presidency to be deposited in his office

32 Bengal Consultations, 29th December 1803. IOR P/90/24, No. 7. Letter from Bareilly mint committee to Government, dated 6th December 1803.

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We have the honor to transmit to you herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, a statement of the quantity of bullion, and of the different description of specie brought to the mint at Bareilly for coinage, and of the number of Bareilly rupees coined therefrom in the month of November 1803. Ordered that the statement which accompanied the above letter be entered in the appendix. Appendix A (starting 13th March 1802) and Appendix E

March	50,723
April	219,858
May	304,047
June	194,629
July	51,629
August	37,739
September	17,155
October	15,084
November	124,200
December	186,171
January	87,160
February	323,540
March	168,576
April	89,741
May	71,159
June	75,649
July	41,160
August	17,057
November	22,110

Bengal Consultations, 27th October 1803. IOR P/90/24, No. 9. Letter from the mint committee at Bareilly to Government, dated 6th October 1803.

We have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency the most Noble the Governor General in Council, a statement of the quantity of bullion and of the different description of specie brought to the mint at Bareilly for coinage, and of the number of Bareilly rupees coined therefrom for the month of September 1803.

Number struck in September 1803 = 60,091.

Bengal Consultations, 24th November 1803. IOR P/90/24, Nos. 4 & 5. Letter from the mint committee at Bareilly to Government, dated 5th November 1803.

Statement of Bareilly rupees struck during October 1803 = 17,852

Bengal Consultations, 29th December 1803. IOR P/90/24, No. 7. Letter from Bareilly mint committee to Government, dated 6th December 1803.

We have the honor to transmit to you herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, a statement of the quantity of bullion, and of the different description of specie brought to the mint at Bareilly for coinage, and of the number of Bareilly rupees coined therefrom in the month of November 1803 = 22,110

Bengal Consultations 19th January 1804. IOR P/90/26, No. 8.

Number Bareilly rupees coined in December 1803 = 49,666.

Bengal Consultations 23rd February 1804. IOR P/90/26, No. 6.

Number of Bareilly rupees coined in January 1804 = 243,339

Bengal Consultations, 22nd March 1804. IOR P/90/27, No. 24.

Number of Bareilly rupees coined in February 1804 = 272,880

Bengal Consultations, 19th April 1804. IOR P/90/27, No. 15.

Number of Bareilly rupees coined in March 1804 = 306,332

Bengal Consultations, 24th May 1804. IOR P/90/28, No. 14 Letter from the Bareilly mint committee (Seton and Thornhill) to Government, dated 7th May 1804.

Bareilly rupees coined in April 1804 = 390,844.

Bengal Consultations, 21st June 1804. IOR P/90/28, No. 16. From the mint committee at Bareilly to Government, 5th June 1804.

Number Bareilly rupees coined during May 1804 = 421,021

Bengal Consultations, 19th July 1804. IOR P/90/28, No. 5.

Number Bareilly rupees coined in June 1804 = 221,038

Bengal Consultations, 23rd August 1804. IOR P/90/29, No. 18.

Number Bareilly rupees coined in July 1804 = 27,413

Bengal Consultations, 11th October 1804. IOR P/90/29, No. 12.

Number Bareilly rupees coined in August 1804 = 32,507

Bengal Consultations, 25th October 1804. IOR P/90/29, No. 13.

Number of Bareilly rupees coined in September 1804 = 112,790

Bengal Consultations, 22nd November 1804. IOR P/90/30, No. 15.

Number Bareilly rupees coined in October 1804 = 26,551

Bengal Consultations, 27th December 1804. IOR P/90/31, No. 31.

Number Bareilly rupees coined in November 1804 = 69,752

Bengal Consultations, 24th January 1805. IOR P/90/33, No. 24. Letter from the mint committee at Bareilly (Seton, Thornhill & Cockburn) to Government, dated 5th January 1805.

Number of Bareilly rupees struck in December 1804 = 151,338

(From www.psindiancoins.com)

- Bengal Consultations, 21st February 1805. IOR P/90/33, No 22. Letter from the Bareilly Mint Committee to Government, dated 5th February 1805.
 Number Bareilly rupees struck in January 1805 = 529,457
 Bengal Consultations, 21st March 1805. IOR P/90/34, No. 18. Letter from the Bareilly Mint Committee to Government, dated 5th March 1805
 Number Bareilly rupees struck during February 1805 = 294,548
 Bengal Consultations, 18th April 1805. IOR P/90/34, No. 13. Letter from Bareilly Mint Committee to Government dated 5th April 1805.
 Number Bareilly rupees coined in July 1805 = 327,856.
 Bengal Consultations, 16th May 1805. IOR P/90/35 No 12. Letter from the Bareilly Mint Committee to Government, dated 4th May 1805.
 Number of Bareilly rupees struck in April 1805 = 167,660.
 Bengal Consultations, 27th June 1805. IOR P/90/36, No.20. Letter from the Bareilly Mint Committee to Government, dated 5th June 1805.
 Number Bareilly rupees minted in May 1805 = 497,328
 Bengal Consultations, 25th July 1805. IOR P/90/36, No. 47. Letter from the Bareilly Mint Committee to Government, dated 5th July 1805.
 Number Bareilly Rupees coined in June 1805 = 480,004.
 Bengal Consultations, 24th August 1805. IOR P/54/45 No 29. Letter from Bareilly Mint Committee to Government dated 5th August 1805.
 Number Bareilly rupees coined in July 1805 = 123,374.
 Bengal Consultations, ?. IOR P/54/46 No ? Letter from the Mint Committee at Bareilly to Government, dated 5th September 1805.
 Number Bareilly rupees minted in August = 80,358
- 33 Bengal Consultations, 7th November 1805. IOR P/54/47, No. 26-40. From the mint committee at Bareilly to Government, dated 14th August 1805.
 Very long letter discussing the copper and silver coinages and advising on how they might be altered and what rates of duty might be imposed.
 Of interest is the fact that a coin called the Nudjeeb Khanneh was being considered as the standard for the new copper pice. The Bareilly Mint Committee was not convinced that this was the best thing to do.
 There was also a statement that from the 13th March 1802 (when the mint was placed on its present footing) to 31st July 1805, the output of the mint had amounted to 6,921,959 Rs. The records contain a large detailed table showing output by year and from each type of rupee brought into the mint.
 Also a list of all rupees current in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces and their value compared to the Lucknow Sicca – assayed by both Mr Blake and Calcutta.
- 34 Bengal Consultations, 24th August 1805. IOR P/54/45, No. 30.
 35 Wiggins KW, (1996). Acquisition of Indian Mints by E.I.CO. Numismatic Panorama. New Delhi.
 36 Garg S, (1992) Indian Numismatics, History, Art & Culture; Essays in honour of Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta. 2 Vols. Ed. By D.W. Macdowall, Savita Sharma, Sanjay Garg. Delhi, 1992.
 37 Bengal Consultations, 11th September 1806. IOR P/54/57, No. 29.
 38 Bengal Consultations, 21st May 1813. IOR P/8/17, Nos. 11-12.
 39 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/69, p. 318.
 40 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/70, No. 87.
 41 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/70, No. 75.
 42 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/70, No. 88.
 43 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/70, No. 104.
 44 Garg S, (1992) Indian Numismatics, History, Art & Culture; Essays in honour of Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta. 2 Vols. Ed. By D.W. Macdowall, Savita Sharma, Sanjay Garg. Delhi, 1992.
 45 Punjab Government Records – Delhi Residency & Agency 1807-1857. Printed at the Punjab Government Press, 1911.
 46 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/72, No. 78.
 47 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/77, No. 11.
 48 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/78, No. 34.
 49 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/78, No. 35.
 50 Neave ER, (1911), Farrukhābād, A Gazetteer, Vol IX of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.
 51 Bengal Consultations, 3rd May 1804. IOR P/90/27, No. 6.
 52 Bengal Consultations, 26th May 1803. IOR P/90/21, No. 11.
 53 Bengal Consultations, 13th October 1803. IOR P/90/24, No. 8.
 54 Bengal Consultations, 7th March 1805. IOR P/90/34, No. 18.
 55 Bengal Consultations, 25th April 1805. IOR P/90/34, No. 11.
 56 Ahmad QU, (1964-65) Indian Numismatic Chronicle Vol IV, part 1, pp. 41-51.
 57 Stevens PJE (2006), ONSNL, No.188, pp. 18-23.
 58 Stevens PJE (2004), British Numismatic Journal, Vol. 74, pp. 121-144.
 59 Pridmore F, Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Part 4, India. Volume 1, East India Company Presidency Series, Spink & Son, 1975.
 60 Bengal Consultations, 18th July 1805. IOR P/90/36, No. 26.
 61 Bengal Consultations, 15th August 1805. IOR P/54/45, No. 36.
 62 Bengal Consultations, 14th November 1805. IOR P/54/47, Nos. 44-47.
 63 Bengal Consultations, 23rd January. IOR P/54/50, Nos. 50-52.
 64 Bengal Consultations, 17th April 1806. IOR P/54/53, No. 33.

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- 65 Bengal Consultations, 10th April 1806. IOR P/54/53, No. 29.
- 66 Bengal Consultations, 20th November 1807. IOR P/55/6, No. 13.
- 67 Stevens PJE (1986), JONS, 103, p. 4.
- 68 Bengal Consultations, 22nd January 1807. IOR P/54/60, Nos. 27 & 28.
- 69 Bengal Consultations 12th March 1807. IOR P/54/62, Nos. 50 & 51.
- 70 Bengal Consultations 30th April 1807. IOR P/55/1, No. 40.
- 71 Bengal Consultations, 2nd July 1807. IOR P/55/3, No. 1B.
- 72 Bengal Consultations, 16th July 1807. IOR P/55/3, No. 29.
- 73 Bengal Consultations, 13th June 1815. IOR P/8/53, No. 18 & 19.
- 74 Bengal Consultations, 20th November 1807. IOR P/55/6, No. 10.
- 75 Bengal Consultations, 20th November 1807. IOR P/55/6, No. 13.
- 76 Bengal Consultations, 15th January 1808. IOR P/55/9, No. 2.
- 77 Bengal Consultations, 6th January 1809. IOR P/55/18, Nos. 46 & 53.
- 78 Bengal Consultations, 5th May 1809. IOR P/55/21, No. 16.
- 79 Bengal Consultations, 22nd July 1809. IOR P/55/23, No. 28.
- 80 Bengal Consultations, 23rd July 1813. IOR P/8/19, No. 21-23.
- 81 See relevant sections of the present book. See also Stevens PJE (2006), JONS, 188, pp. 18-23; and Stevens PJE (2004), British Numismatic Journal, Vol. 74, pp. 121-144
- 82 Bengal mint committee Proceedings. IOR P/162/69, p. 44. Letter from the Board of Commissioners at Farrukhābād to Calcutta Government, dated 31st May 1814
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- 85 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 17.
- 86 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 18.
- 87 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 27.
- 88 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 33.
- 89 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 34.
- 90 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/72, No. 18.
- 91 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/72, No. 24.
- 92 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/73, No. 124.
- 93 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/74, No. 220.
- 94 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/74, No. 249.
- 95 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/74, No. 338.
- 96 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/75, No. 8.
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- 98 Malleson Col. GB, An historical sketch of the Native States of India. Facsimile reprint, Gurgaon 1984.
- 99 Bengal Consultations, 13th May 1808. IOR P/55/12, No. 49. Letter from Government to the Board of Commissioners, dated 13th May 1808.
- 100 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/48, 29th March 1833, No. 3. From Beckett (at Agra) to Government, dated 19th November 1832.
- 101 Wiggins K W, (1996). Acquisition of Indian mints by E.I.CO. Numismatic Panorama, New Dehli.
- 102 Bengal Consultations, 15th March 1804. IOR P/90/27, No. 2. Letter from the Mint Committee at Bareilly to Government, dated 26th January 1804.
- 103 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/32, January, No. 21. Letter to Ravenshaw (Collector, Bijnore) from Prinsep, dated 19th January 1833.
- 104 Bengal Consultations, June 1833. IOR P/162/82, June, No. 6. Letter from James Prinsep (Assay Master, Calcutta) to the Calcutta Mint Committee, dated 13th June 1833.
- 105 Following discussions with Shailendra Bhandare, Jan Lingen and Barry Tabor.
- 106 Wiggins K W, (1996). Acquisition of Indian mints by E.I.CO. Numismatic Panorama. New Delhi.
- 107 Bengal Consultations, 17th October 1805. IOR P/54/47, No. 51. From the Collector of Saharanpore (Mr Guthrie) to Government, dated 26th September 1805.
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- 109 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 21. 10th June 1819. From JH Maddock (Assistant to the Agent to the Governor General at Saugor) to the Calcutta mint committee, dated 10th June 1819.
- 110 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 21. 10th June 1819. From JH Maddock (Assistant to the Agent to the Governor General at Saugor) to the Calcutta mint committee, dated 10th June 1819.
- 111 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 22, 4th December 1818.
- 112 Maheshwari & Wiggins, cited above.
- 113 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/76, No. 223. 19th January 1826. From Stirling to Wilder, 10th August 1825.
- 114 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/48, 29th March 1833, No. 8. 5th February 1833. Presgrave (at Saugor) to Bentinck.
- 115 Maheshwari & Wiggins, (1989), Maratha Mints and Coinage, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies.
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- 117 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 23. 12th June 1819. Letter to Government from J H Maddock (Assistant to the Agent of the Governor General), 12th June 1819.
- 118 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 18. 26th July 1819. Letter to Government from Calcutta mint committee, dated 26th July 1819.
- 119 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 69. 25th January 1820. From Government to Calcutta mint committee, dated 25th January 1820.
- 120 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 76. 3rd March 1820.

- 121 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 81. 14th March 1820. From the Calcutta mint committee to Government, dated 14th March 1820.
 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 82. 17th March 1820. From Government to Calcutta mint committee, 17th March 1820.
 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 83. 18th March 1820. From Calcutta mint committee to Captain Presgrave, 18th March 1820.
 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 84. 20th March 1820. From the Calcutta mint committee to Calcutta Mint Master, dated 20th March 1820.
- 122 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 125. 1st June 1820. Letter from Presgrave (Assay Master at Saugor) to Calcutta mint committee, 1st June 1820.
- 123 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/71, No. 126. 26th June 1820. From R. Phipps, Superintendent of Building, to Calcutta mint committee, 26th June 1820.
- 124 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/72, No. 10. 8th March 1821. To Calcutta mint committee from Jessop & Co, 8th March 1821.
 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/72, No. 21. 3rd April 1821. To Government from the Calcutta mint committee, 3rd April 1821.
- 125 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/72, No. 49. 8th June 1821. Letter to Calcutta mint committee from Government, 8th June 1821.
- 126 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/72, No. 52. 11th June 1821. From Presgrave to Calcutta mint committee, 11th June 1821.
- 127 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/74, No. 220. 30th April 1824. From Calcutta mint committee to H Newnham (Collector of Farruckabad), dated 30th April 1824.
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- 128 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/76, No. 223. 19th January 1826. Letter from Government to the Calcutta mint committee, dated 19th January 1826.
- 129 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/76, No. 415. 31st October 1826. From the mint committee to Government, dated 31st October 1826.
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- 131 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/82, August No. 11. 16th August 1833. Letter from the mint committee to Government, dated 16th August 1833.
- 132 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/77, No. 138. 24th April 1828. Letter to the Calcutta mint committee from Government, dated 24th April 1828.
- 133 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/77, No. 146. 5th June 1828. Letter to the Agent to the Governor General at Saugor and Nerbudda territories from Government, dated 5th June 1828.
- 134 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/77, No. 151. 17th July 1828. Letter from Maddock (Agent to the GG) to Government dated 21st June 1828.
 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/77, No. 167. 28th August 1828. Letter to the Calcutta mint committee from Government, dated 28th August 1828.
- 135 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/47, 30th October 1832, No. 3. 30th October 1832. Letter from Government to AGG Saugor & Nerbudda Territories, dated 30th October 1832.
- 136 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/79, No. 232. 8th December 1830. Letter from the mint committee to Government, dated 8th December 1830.
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- 140 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/87 January 1836, Nos. 9 & 10 Letter to Calcutta mint committee from Shore (Office of Commissioners at Jubulpur), 26th December 1835 and reply in January 1836.
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- 143 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/47, 2nd October 1832, No. 5. 2nd October 1832. Letter to the AGG Saugor and Nerbudda Territories from Government, dated 2nd October 1832.
- 144 see Kulkarni P, (1990), Coinage of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur, Indian Coin Society, Nagpur, Bombay.
- 145 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/80, Nos. 156, 157 & 158. April 1831. Letters to and from Presgrave etc.
- 146 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/86, April 1835, No. 51 Letter from the Calcutta mint committee to Presgrave, dated 23rd April 1835.
- 147 Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/86, May 1835, No. 33 Letter from Presgrave to Calcutta mint committee, dated 7th May 1835.