# The Transitional Mints of the Deccan

# Summary

As the British extended their control of India during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a number of areas that had active mints fell under their management. Some of these mints were kept in operation for a number of years after they were taken over by the British. Bhandare has used the term 'transitional' to describe mints of this type 1, and that convention has been used here, although the term 'provincial' is sometimes used in the records. There are a number of examples of this happening on the western side of India, where various territories came under the control of the Bombay Presidency in the first half of the nineteenth century. Pridmore has recorded the coins of some of these mints (e.g. those of Sūrat), but, for some reason, he chose to ignore others, even quite major mints such as Poona and Ahmedabad. Some publications 2 give listings of coins from these mints with headings such as 'EIC', but provide no supporting documentary evidence for the attributions and these are sometimes incorrect. A study of the records stored in the India Office Library has therefore been undertaken to fill some of this gap.

Inland from Bombay was the area known as the Deccan, with the mints of Poona, Nasik/Chandore and Aḥmadnagar, which were all acquired in 1817/1818. To the north lay the mints of Sūrat, Aḥmadābād and Broach and to the south were the mints of the "Southern Maratha Country", Bagalkot and Belgaum-Shahpur. Bankot, though not strictly a 'transitional' mint, is included here because it behaved as a local mint. Bhakkar, in Sind, is also covered in this chapter. The records are not completely clear about the operations of these mints, but what archival evidence does exist can be combined with knowledge of the coins themselves to produce a much clearer picture.

# Circulatory context

One important consideration in a discussion of the transitional and local mints is the fact that the coins issued from the mints that came under British control, together with those that remained under the control of native rulers, circulated together with many older types of coin in any one area. Local money-changers or shroffs found a niche for themselves in exchanging one type of coin for another at a rate that allowed them a profit. This rate of exchange is referred to in the records as the "bazar" rate. Once the British had gained control of the different regions, they instructed their local officials to collect examples of all the coins circulating in these regions and send them to Bombay for assay. The assay master at Bombay published two tables, one in 1817 3 (covering the Northern districts) and another in 1821 4 (covering the whole Presidency), establishing an official exchange rate between all of the different coins in circulation, allowing the local officials to accept the coins in payment of taxes. As the grip of the British tightened on the territories in their possession, the number of different coins that were acceptable in payment of taxes was gradually reduced and hence the coinage gradually became more standard. However, standardisation throughout the Bombay Presidency could not be achieved until the mint at Bombay had acquired the capability of meeting the demand of the entire Presidency and it could not do this until a new steam-driven mint was introduced at the beginning of the 1830s. Even then, the coins of the neighbouring states crossed into British controlled areas and continued to be used by the local population. The old (pre-steam) mint at Bombay could not meet the demand for the whole Presidency and this provides the explanation for the existence of the transitional mints. They were essential in providing sufficient currency until about 1834/35, because the Bombay mint could not satisfy the demand, although many of the transitional mints were closed before then.

Coins in circulation in the Bombay Presidency in 1820 are shown in the appendix at the end of this section 5.

# Aḥmadābād Mint

Aḥmad Shāh I, sovereign of the independent state of Gujarāt, founded the city of Aḥmadābād in AD 1411 and it became the capital. Akbar annexed Gujarāt in 1572/3 and from then on Aḥmadābād was an important mint town of the Moghuls, the majority of the emperors having coins struck there.

Moghul rule continued until the end of the reign of Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur. The city was then taken by the Marathas who, in 1755, were ejected by a Moghul army under Momin Khān, who restored the rule of the emperor, at least nominally. In 1757 Momin Khān surrendered Aḥmadābād to the Marathas, an event that ended all Moghul connection with the place. Between 1757 and 1817 the city was either in the hands of the Marathas or held on lease by the Gaikwars of Baroda. In 1817 an agreement was struck between the Gaikwar and the British to hand over Ahmadābād to the latter. This

was duly implemented and the British took over the city including the mint 6.

However, the British had been established in the city for many years before 1817. A Company of 32 Englishmen, led by Mr Aldworth had arrived at Aḥmadābād in 1613 and a house had been bought and a factory established in 1614 7, but they had not obtained any right to coin money. They were obliged, therefore, to have their bullion coined at the local mint and several references exist in the records concerning the problems that this caused (e.g. the cost) 8.

After the British took control of the city in 1817, the Collector, Mr. Dunlop, found the mint closed and the supply of circulating medium so low as seriously to impede trade9. This is confirmed in a letter from Dunlop to Government in which he proposed to abolish a nominal currency called "Aunt" (sometimes spelt Ant) and in which he explained the background to the problem. He stated that in 1780/81 the mint had been closed and sicca rupees had become scarce, so the merchants resorted to transfers in each other's books as a method of mutual payment. This was referred to as "dealing in aunt". In 1805/06 this had been prohibited and this prohibition had continued all the time that sicca rupees were available. However, the mint had been closed again (no date given) and dealing in "aunt" had restarted and still continued in 1818 when Dunlop wrote the letter 10

Dunlop appears to have re-opened the mint in December 1817 11:

In reference to your letter of 20th February approving of my proceedings with respect to the Sicca mint at this place, I have the honor to transmit for information of Government an abstract statement of the sums coined, and showing also the amount of profit, which has been brought to the credit of Government.

The system reported in my letter of 28th December was continued until the end of February, when the receipt of your letter above referred to, directing me not to seek a higher rate of profit than might be sufficient to cover all expenses, determined me to fix the same rate of mint charges as that taken at the mint in Bombay, namely three per cent, which is considerably cheaper than the natives have been accustomed to get their bullion coined, so that the small advantage which accrues to Government on this rate, did not appear more than sufficient to cover incidental expenses, or more than should reasonably be paid for coin to secure it from being melted up for common purposes.

The amounts allowed both for wastage or melting and forming the coins were found by experience to be too large and have been accordingly reduced, but the contractors for smelting, I have reason to believe, have gone rather too far, and that some small increase to the present allowance will be requisite, the bullion now melted at 3 rupees per thousand less than the rate formerly reported to Government.

Every savings of this description is immediately carried to the credit of Government, and the whole profit is up to the end of June amounting to Rupees 31421.1.82, and the mint continues to be supplied with bullion, so that there does not appear any prospect of the working being stopped.

It seems only requisite for me to notice the large amount of profit which appears during the first months, the Mint had not been worked before for a considerable time, siccas had consequently obtained an artificial value, from their scarcity, and bullion sold from this cause at a very low price, as compared with sicca rupees.

Several other causes concurred to produce the same effect. Dollars have been imported freely for inland speculations, which were all abruptly stopped by the war, so that there was a great competition at that time to have them coined, as the only means of saving the interest, or disposing of their commodity.

Under the circumstances of trouble and responsibility to which the coinage of upwards of twelve lacs and a half of rupees, has subjected me, and the large profit which has resulted from my superintendence, I have the honor to request you will submit my claim to Government for remuneration.

The duties of Mint Master were long performed by the Collector at Surat, for which, I am informed, he received a monthly salary, and I request that Government may be pleased to grant me an allowance, either on this principle or such other as may appear most advisable to the Right Honorable the Governor in Council.

Details of the amount of coin produced at the mint are also shown in this extract and have been summarised in the following table:

Month	Value
	(Rs.Qtrs.Raes)
Dec 1817	95067.02.00
Jan 1818	211556.03.30
Feb 1818	218083.02.98
Mar 1818	206785.00.00
Apr 1818	205668.02.00
May 1818	177324.00.00
Jun 1818	150124.02.00

Amount of Silver Coin Produced at Ahmadābād

In February 1818, the mint committee in Bombay, whilst agreeing with Dunlop's actions in restarting the mint, suggested that the Judge and Magistrate (one person) at Aḥmadābād should visit the mint two or three times a month and indiscriminately take a few coins and send them for assay at Bombay. Thenceforth this provided the means of controlling the quality of the coins issued from the mint 12:

...As a means of placing the mint however, as far as possible under the control of the mint officers at the Presidency, in the same manner as the Surat mint formerly was, the Judge and Magistrate should be instructed to proceed without any previous notice two or three times in the month, at the least, to the mint and oftener when much business is going on, and to take a few pieces indiscriminately from the hands of the workmen – say not fewer than ten – and dispatch them under his seal at the end of the month, to the Mint Master at the Presidency for examination.

In October 1818, the mint committee recommended that the coinage should continue but the Financial Committee resolved that the Aḥmadābād authorities should be asked for their opinion on the necessity for this, given that a new uniform coinage (for the Bombay Presidency) would soon be issued following the installation of a new mint at Bombay 13. Of course, the new Bombay mint did not actually become operational until the 1830s, when a steam driven mint started operations, but, in 1818, consideration was being given to the possibility of building a local machine-driven mint (see Dr Stewart's pattern coins.).

As far as the copper coinage was concerned, Dunlop found that there was a shortage in 1818, but that this was caused by the shroffs deliberately taking the coins out of circulation. He therefore immediately began striking copper pice at the mint, with the effect that the hoarded copper was released into the market and minting was stopped 14.

In reference to my letter of 6th May, I request you will have the goodness to acquaint the Right Honorable the Governor in Council that the shroffs of this place had so completely engrossed all the former pice coinage, with the view of [forcing] the people to accept of a much smaller number than had been fixed for the rupee, that no change was to be obtained in the city.

Finding it impossible to ascertain the persons by whom this monopoly was made, it became necessary for me immediately to coin other pice, for which purpose I purchased one hundred maund of copper, on the best terms procurable (an account of which shall be afterwards forwarded) and yesterday began making pice of the same weight as those now current here, and I am happy to say with the very best effect, as pice are today in sufficient numbers at every shop for the established rate of 64 per rupee.

The object I had in view being thus answered I shall not carry the experiment any further at present, than the quantity of copper already purchased (with the approbation of Government) than may from time to time be necessary to defeat similar interested combinations of shroffs.

The copper coinage of Aḥmadābād was discussed by Wiggins in 1981 15. He believed that copper pice were only struck dated 1234 and 1236 and that those given the date 1233 (1817/18), by Masters 16, were the result of an incorrect reading because this date was too early for the EIC. However the letter from Dunlop (above) would seem to refute this and coins dated 1233 are included in the Stevens catalogue 17 (indeed Wiggins had one of these in his collection, so his view may have changed after writing his paper). Pice dated 1232 and sold in the Noble sale (Noble (1995), sale 48, lot 2170) must be pre-EIC or may be a mis-reading. Unfortunately, there were no photos of these coins in the sale catalogue. Coins dated 1235 have been reported by Masters and in the Noble sale so this date is included in the catalogue 18.

In 1819 the standard for the Aḥmadābād rupee was established by the assay master at Bombay 19:

I am not aware that the professed standard weight in troy grains or quantity of pure silver in the Aḥmadābād sicca rupees has hitherto been declared,...; perhaps the best standard would be weight 181 troy grains and purity or touch 85½ per cent. Each coin would thus contain 154 grains and a small fraction of no importance, of pure silver. I suggest this standard because it is very nearly the actual average of the coins of last year.

There are further references to the results of assays of the coins from the Aḥmadābād mint in 1821 20, and in 1828 the Collector was able to report 21:

...there is no other coin current in this collectorate except the Aḥmadābād sicca rupees which are always received in revenue payments and struck by the Government at this place.

No record of the date of final closure of the Aḥmadābād mint has been traced. By 1832 the mint had stopped producing copper coins because a proclamation was issued in that year concerning the rate of exchange of the new Bombay quarter annas for the old Ahmadābād pice 22:

The Right Honorable the Governor in Council is pleased to give notice that the old pice called Ahmadabad, being genuine coin and not counterfeits, shall continue until further orders to be current throughout the several Purgannahs comprizing the Ahmadabad collectorate and will at all times be exchangeable for the new copper currency to the extent of the supply in the revenue treasuries of the district and Sudder station at the rate noticed below.

Sixty new quarter anna pice for 68 Ahmadabad pice.

Rupees and half rupees exist dated 1249 (1833/34) so the mint cannot have been closed before then, and Masters 23 lists coins dated 1250 and 1251 so the mint may have continued in operation until 1835, although no coins of these dates have been seen by the current author.

The coins themselves consist of silver rupees and copper pice dated from AH 1233 to AH 1249 (1817 to 1834). The silver coins come in two varieties, one with the date to the right and above the top line on the obverse, the other with the date to the left and below the top line on the obverse. There is also a small gold coin that appears to emanate from this mint. The weight of the three known examples (3.07g, 3.0g and 3.10g) is less than would be expected if the coin was denominated as one-third of a mohur (3.6-3.9g) and more than that of a quarter mohur (2.7-2.9g). A possible explanation is that these three coins are third-mohurs and that the low weight can be accounted for by some event in their lives such as mounting into jewellery and subsequent removal causing loss of metal.

# Aḥmadnagar Mint

There is no clear reference to the site of a mint operating under British jurisdiction in Aḥmadnagar. There was a Maratha mint at Wabgaon (Vaphgaon), which is close to Aḥmadnagar 24, so perhaps this mint was operational during the 1820s. In any case, an entry in the records does suggest that a mint was operational 25.

Mint	Number	Comments
Candeish	80,000	
Ahmednuggur & Nassick	205,000	Chandore rupee

Average annual coinage for 10 years prior to 1833/34 at the Presidency and subordinates.

Alternatively, the table might simply refer to coins supplied to the Nasik and Aḥmadnagar collectorates from the Chandore mint. The design of the coins is not known.

# Pattern Coins for Aḥmadnagar

In 1820, consideration was given to a request to establish a mint at Aḥmadnagar by Captain Gibbon 26. The mint was to produce coins for the whole Deccan with Captain Gibbon himself acting as mint master. The coins were to consist of silver rupees (double, single, half, quarter and eighth) and copper pice (double, single and half) and specimens of the rupee and pice were sent to Bombay. In the event, the proposal was rejected on the grounds that a serving officer could not undertake such work and there were no plans to establish a mint master for the Deccan. However, a specimen of a copper pattern

rupee for the Deccan dated 1820 exists in the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay and was published by P.L. Gupta 27. There is a high likelihood that this is an example of the pattern rupee submitted to Government by Gibbon.

Bagalkot, Belgaum, Shāhpūr and Dharwar Mints The British knew the area in the south of the Bombay Presidency as the "Southern Mahratta Country", which contained mints such as Shāhpūr, Belgaum, Bagalkot and Dharwar that were acquired in 1817/18.

There are fewer references to these mints in the records, particularly later in the 1820s, than there are for some of the other mints and the analysis of those coins that were produced, where and when, is therefore rather scant.

The first reference to the mints in what the records refer to as the "Southern Mahratta Country" occurs in 1820 when the commissioner for the Deccan referred to a problem encountered in paying the troops with so many different types of coin in circulation. He recommended that a new mint should be established to replace those at Shāhpūr and Bagalkot 28:

I have the honor to submit together with its enclosures, the copy of a correspondence with the Acting Principal Collector and Political Agent in the Southern Mahratta Country which has taken place in consequence of the complaints that have been preferred by the troops of the losses sustained by them in the depreciation of the currency in which they are paid.

I have instructed Mr Thackeray to make such immediate alteration to the rates at which coins are paid into his treasury as may be most likely to check the fluctuation which is experienced in the values of the currency, and I beg leave to submit to the consideration of the Honorable the Govr in Council the arguments by that Gentleman in favour of establishing a new mint, that may supersede the coinage of the old ones at Buggrekotta and Sharpore.

By 1821 some action had been taken on this proposal and a new mint had been established at Belgaum 29:

I have the honor to enclose for your inspection one of the first coins struck at the mint which was lately transferred from Sholapoor [I presume that this is Shahpoor] to Belgam. The impression of the new coin differs from that of the old only in bearing the date of the present currency, and the same weight and proportion of alloy are still observed...

The Commissioner was able to report to the Bombay Government in May of 1821 30:

I have the honor to forward for the information of the Honble the Governor in Council, copy of correspondence with Mr. Thackeray in regard to the mints and coins in the Southern Maratha Country.

In concluding our final settlement with Chintamun Row, in which the relinquishment of his mint at Shahpoor was an express condition, it became necessary to consider the best means of supplying its place, particularly as the Shahpoor rupee is also coined by the chief of Kittoor. I, in consequence, suggested to Mr Thackeray to stop the mint at Kittoor as well as Shahpoor, and instead of supplying their place by a new mint of the same coinage at Belgaum, to abandon our own mint at Bagrekotta [= Bagalkot], and establish one new mint for the whole at Dharwar.

The rupees of Bagalkot and Shahpur were well respected in the area:

As the Shapoor rupee is at present to be coined at Belgaum, I trust that no great inconvenience will be felt by the merchants who used to carry their bullion to Shapoor and Kittoor. The management of the late Shapoor mint are far more respectable than those of any other mint in the Dooab. They merely coin the silver that is brought to the mint, without having any other concern in it, so that the satisfaction that they give to the owners of the silver is the best test of the integrity of the coin. This security and the rules which have been laid down, will I hope, under a [regular] superintendence, prevent any abuse in the new mint at Belgaum.

In my letter of the 7th October last, I endeavoured to point out the evils to be apprehended from any sudden innovation with respect to the mint. Further experience has convinced me that it would be inexpedient to stop the coinage of either the Bagulkota or Shapoor rupee, until a superior currency is ready to supply their places in the markets of the Dooab. Much pains have been taken to prevent the depreciation of these coins, and the very favourable rates at which they exchange in remote and foreign bazars is the best proof of their intrinsic value – in the bazar of Sholapur the local currency is far less acceptable than the rupees of Shahpoor and Bagulkottah. If therefore we abolish

these coins, before they are superseded by the natural operation of a superior currency we shall only make a blank in the circulation, which will be filled up by an inferior substitute.

I would therefore submit the expedient of continuing the coinage of the Shahpoor and Sicca rupees at Belgaum and Bagulkotah.

The idea of establishing a mint at Darwar, proposed above, was discussed further in the same letter:

With respect to the expediency of re-establishing a mint at Dharwar, although Darwar itself is not a place of much trade, its situation is central, it is near the large trading town of new [Hoobly?], and it is the seat of an ancient mint. The coin originally struck here was the Darwar Pagoda and as the revenue of the adjacent Talooka were formerly collected exclusively in this coin, its value was perhaps overrated. In Tipu's time the Bahaduree Pagoda was struck at Dharwar and the general currency of this coin both here and in Mysore would make it far preferable to the Darwar Pagoda, if it were thought advisable to re-establish a gold coinage.

There are indeed several considerations which would make it desirable to coin the Bahaduree Pagodas at Darwar – it is money of account in many parts of the district, it is more acceptable than any other coin in some of [the] countries that trade with the Dooab and its parent mint in Mysore is said [to] be losing its character for integrity. Much of the gold that supplies the mint of Mysore is carried from Goa through the Dooab, and if there were a mint to keep it here, a new channel of commerce would be opened between the district and the coast. The situation of Darwar would also be more favourable for a gold than a silver currency as the former is much more portable.

For these and other reasons, I think a mint for Bahaduree pagodas might be set up at Darwar, and tried for one year. It could at any time be stopped, it would be attended with little expense, and no inconvenience that I am aware of, and until the experiment be tried, it is difficult to judge whether it would be better to adopt the old gold coin of the place or a new silver one.

The integrity of the coin will be best supported by the kind of security noticed in the 2nd paragraph of this letter and if the coiners are prevented from working on their own account it will be easy to check abuses in the mint...

...To check this evil I would propose that a proclamation should be immediately published, excluding all coins from the revenues of the ensuing Fasli, except the Madras pagodas and rupees; the Bahaduree or Ikeree and Darwar pagodas, the Soortee or Bombay rupees, the Sicca or Bagulkotah, and Belgaum (cidevant Shapoor) rupees. Objections may I know be made to this measure but all that have struck me are counterbalanced by its advantages.

The proposal to reduce the number of coins accepted into the treasury was adopted almost immediately 31 and by 1823 the desired effect had been achieved 32:

Adverting to the state of the currency, I beg leave to solicit the attention of the Honble the Governor in Council to Mr Thackeray's observations on the subject of mints and to his former correspondence on this head, which has been already laid before Government.

It appears that a great improvement has been brought about by the abolition of the Kittoor and Moodhal mints and the transfer of that of Shapoor belonging to Chintamun Row, to Belgam. The exclusion also of the inferior coins from the collections, a measure which Mr Thackeray had judiciously adopted, has had the good effect of silencing also the mints of Kolapore and of the Jageers, and Mr Thackeray is of opinion that what is now chiefly wanted, is the substitution of one uniform coinage for the currency of the Belgaum and Baggrecotta [Bagalkot] mints.

The Bagalkot mint is believed to have closed about 1833 33.

The earlier proposal to establish a mint at Dharwar in the Doab appears to have been accepted 34:

With regard to the proposal of establishing one regular mint at Darwar for the whole of our possessions in the Southern Maratha Country, we see no material objection to the measure, providing the several cautions adverted to in the 3rd and 6th paras. of this report be kept in mind and that the receipts are likely to cover the charges.

and there is an entry referring to the number of coins produced at Dharwar from 1823.

Mint	Number
Dharwar including the Rajah of	266,000
Colapoor	

Average annual coinage for 10 years prior to 1833/34 at the Presidency and subordinate 35.

This seems to imply that coins were produced at Dharwar throughout the 1820s, at least from 1823, until at least 1833/34 though exactly what coins were produced there is not known. Presumably, They were gold pagodas of some sort, as proposed by the commissioner in his letter above

# Bandar Dholarah Mint

#### Introduction

Dholarah or Dholera is an old port city, located in Dhandhuka Taluka of Aḥmadābād district in the modern state of Gujarāt. Dholera's commercial importance dates back to the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The creek on which it stands was then open to shipping, so it was quite an important, though small, port on the Gulf of Khambhat (Cambay). This part of the Kathiawar peninsula first came into the possession of the EIC in 1802 as a result of treaties signed with the leading political powers in the region, namely the Gaikwads of Baroda and the head of the Maratha Confederacy, the Peshwa. During the American civil war (1862-65), Dholera emerged as the chief port for cotton export in Gujarāt, supplying cotton from upcountry cotton-growing regions to Bombay. However, by the end of the nineteenth century the port had silted up and was no longer used. Attempts to revive it are under way.

#### **Archival References:**

In 1816 the Collector of Kaira (Mr Rowles), the district under which Dholera was jurisdictionally located, wrote to the Governor in Council at Bombay informing him that there was a shortage of copper coins in the area and asking to be allowed to re-establish a 'pice manufactory'36:

I request you to represent to the Right Honble the Governor in Council that the copper currency within the Kaira Collectorship is extremely bad and that the lower orders of society, whose labor is compensated by a daily payment in pice, are considerable sufferers from this circumstance.

In addition to the badness of the pice, a further inconvenience is experienced arising from the different degrees of value set upon them, and not only in different towns and villages are pice of different weights and value in circulation, but even in the same place.

The class of society that benefits from this want of uniformity in the copper circulation are the many changers who speculate with the commodity, as a merchant with any article of traffic, and thus obtain an advantage in addition to what they are justly paid on exchanging copper for silver or vice versa.

The copper currency in the districts subordinate to the Guicowar, the Peshwa, the Nawab of Cambay and in fact throughout the province generally, with the exception of this jurisdiction, is brought under control, either by the establishment of manufacturies or by sanctioning such pice only to pass in circulation as are of a certain weight, which is ascertained at an office fixed for that purpose and the approval is notified by a stamp [the countermarked coins of the area].

The pice in circulation in this jurisdiction are chiefly manufactured at Bhownugur by a class of people called Purjea Soonees, and are of a very inferior description with regard to the metal they are composed of, as well as their weight. Consequently they are much cheaper than any other pice, and the poor person who may receive payment by a given number of pice, instead of a certain proportion of a rupee is a material sufferer from the depreciation.

The reason why no measure has hitherto been adopted to remedy this evil within the Kaira jurisdiction, originates in a measure proposed by the Honble the Court of Directors, communicated in their letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> September 1808, and replied to by my predecessor on the 13<sup>th</sup> April 1809, when it was suggested that 50,000 rupees worth of pice of British manufacture should be forwarded for the use of these districts, but the suggestion has not since been adopted.

Under date the 25<sup>th</sup> August 1810, I had the honor to submit a petition relative to the establishment of a pice manufactory at Dollerah, to which the sanction of Government was communicated on the 10<sup>th</sup> of the following month permitting me to make an experiment of the plan proposed.

The manufactury was accordingly established and about four hundred and nineteen maunds of copper were worked into pice and circulated at the proposed rate of 64 for a rupee.

As the experiment was only extended to Dollarah and its vicinity, this quantity of pice proved sufficient for the circulation and I stopped the manufactory, fearful that a more extensive issue might tend to detract from the value of the pice and thereby not only be productive of a loss but also baffle that part of the object which was to keep the exchange at a given number of pice for a rupee of a given value.

The pice above stated to have been manufactured for Dollerah are now become inadequate to the demand and it would be expedient to set the manufactory again on foot, provided the objective is not extended and rendered applicable to the whole of the jurisdiction.

A sense of the benefit that will accrue, both to Government and to the Public, from the establishment of a regular pice manufactory, makes me solicitous to submit the subject for the consideration of the Right Honble the Governor in Council, and to request his sanction to the introduction of a manufactory at this place for the use of the jurisdiction generally.

The Governor passed the request to the Bombay mint committee who replied that they were not in favour of copper coins being produced anywhere in the Presidency except in the Bombay mint but that they would like to have specimens of all the copper coins in the district sent to them 37:

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 1<sup>st</sup> instant giving cover to the copy of one from the collector of Kaira and desiring us to suggest the most advisable means to be adopted for supplying the collectorship of Kaira with copper pice.

In reply we request you will have the goodness to state to the Right Honble the Governor in Council that in our opinion it is not desirable to sanction private coinages of any description and that as all our other mints are now abolished, not only the Kaira Collectorship, but all the districts subordinate to this Presidency should in future be supplied with copper pice from the Bombay mint.

To ascertain how this might be effected in the best manner, it was necessary that we should inform ourselves of the actual value of what Mr Rowles appeared to consider the best description of Pice in circulation in the Kaira district and we have accordingly been endeavouring, but in vain, to trace any account on our records of the expense or outturn of the four hundred and nineteen (419) maunds of copper stated, in the eighth paragraph of that gentleman's letter, to have been coined into pice at the pice manufactury at Dollera in 1810.

Under these circumstances we beg to recommend that the collector be directed to send down by an early opportunity specimens to the number of sixty four (64) of each sorts of the different kinds actually current within his district for examination, and in the meantime, judging from the description Mr Rowles has given of them, we may state that we have little doubt that a superior coinage may be introduced of a weight sufficient to secure a regular supply from this mint without incurring loss even in the event of the price of copper becoming much higher than it is at present.

A copy of this was passed to the Collector at Kaira with instructions to send examples of the copper coins in circulation there, to Bombay.

In December of 1816, the assistant collector of Kaira replied to the mint committee's request and sent the copper coins as ordered 38:

I have the honor in reply to your letter dated 30<sup>th</sup> August last, with copy of a letter to your address under date the 24<sup>th</sup> of that month from the mint committee, on the subject of a coinage of pice for this jurisdiction, to transmit specimens to the number of sixty four of each sort of the different kinds of pice now current within this collectorship.

I beg leave to refer the Right Honble the Governor in Council for every information which seems requisite in regard to these specimens (ten in number) to the annexed memorandum.

In reference to the 3<sup>rd</sup> paragraph of the Committee's letter to your address, I have the honor to submit a statement exhibiting the result of the manufacture of pice which Mr Rowles, in the 8<sup>th</sup> para of his letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> July last, reported to have been carried out at Dhollera, under the authority of Government dated 25<sup>th</sup> August 1810. The quantity of copper coined did not exceed 330 maunds, 1 quarter, 1 pennyweight...

In the same letter he provided a list of the different types of pice sent to Bombay:

Bhaunagar, old Bhaunagar, new Goga\* Dhundroka\* Dollerah\* Dholka Kaira Mondeh Nerriad Naupar

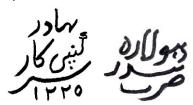
He stated that those marked with a \* were of the Dolerah coinage of 1811 & 1812. They are place names, marked on the map as Dhandhuka and Gogo (as well as Dholera). Exactly what this means is not entirely clear, but it will be discussed further below. He also added a statement of the number of pice produced:

330 maunds 11¼ [gr] copper coined into pice at 64 per rupee, yielding 725,990. Value rupees 11,343 . 2 . 37

This whole event provoked considerable discussion within the Bombay mint committee about the necessity to improve the coinage of Bombay but as far as the Kaira copper coinage was concerned, it was eventually decided that 50,000 rupees worth of pice should be sent to Kaira from Bombay 39 and no further pice coinage took place at Dholera.

# The Coinage:

Recently, copper coins with mint-name 'Bandar Dholarah' were identified by Dr. S. Bhandare. The coins are rather crudely struck specimens on which, as is usual, only part of the legend can be seen. The date is rarely visible, but specimens have been found with clear dates AH1225 and 1226, both of which match exactly with the duration of the functioning of the 'manufactory' as indicated in the archival reference reproduced above. The coins weigh about 8-9g and have a diameter of about 19.5-21.5mm. A full-die impression, showing complete obverse and reverse dies, can be created:



The obverse carries a Farsi/Hindustani inscription *Sarkar Kampani Bahadur* followed by the date, and the reverse carries a legend *Bandar Dholarah*. Both inscriptions are enclosed within circular borders – on some coins it is composed of a saw-toothed inward edge. On one coin, the saw-teeth are replaced with semicircles. There appears to be a difference in placement of legends – on coins dated AH1225, the word 'Bahadur' appears at the top, 'Kampani' and '..kar' in the word 'Sarkar' appear below it and the date is placed right at the bottom of the design, beneath a divider formed by 'Sar...' 'Sarkar'. On coins dated AH1226, the word 'Bahadur' appears after the word 'Sarkar' and it seems the word 'Kampani' forms the last horizontal divider at the bottom. Contrary to the issues of the previous year, the date 1226 appears right at the top. Depending on this variation, the coins may be classified as 'Type 1' and 'Type 2'.

There is also a noteworthy degradation noticed in surviving specimens of both types. On some coins, the legends are executed in retrograde, on others the words 'Sarkar', 'Kampani' etc. are ill-executed, the 'Ka' looking more like the Indian numeral '4'. This observation seems not in congruence with the fact that the 'manufactory' was run for a relatively short time only as an 'experiment', and one would presume the issue was not long enough lived to induce so many die-variations and executional changes in the design.

Another significant aspect to be noted is that at least two of the known coins are overstrikes. The under-type in one instance is a copper falūs, struck in the name of Muhammad Akbar II, issued by the Maratha government mint at Ahmedabad. It is listed as T6 for the Ahmedabad mint by Maheshwari & Wiggins 40. It is plausible that the second piece also has the same under-type, although it is not as clear as it is in the first instance. This is interesting inasmuch as both coins have the 'Dholarah' overtype of reasonably crude calligraphy. The under-type is listed by Maheshwari & Wiggins as

bearing RY9 and AH1232/RY10. It appears to have been struck during a period of a temporary re-occupation of the city by the Peshwas after almost ten years of control by the Gaikwads of Baroda (for further discussion on Aḥmadābād coins, see Shailendra Bhandare - 'Maratha Issues of Ahmedabad', ONSNL 184, 2005 and Alfred Master – 'The post-Mughal coins of Ahmedabad, or a Study in mint-marks', JASB-NS, vol. XXII, 1913). The fact that the under-type is dated to AH1232 clearly indicates that the issue of 'Dholarah' coins, albeit of a cruder execution, went on for at least seven years after the Company's 'manufactory' situated there struck coins in AH1225 and 1226. These later coins would fall into the category of 'Katchha' pice, as identified by Barry Tabor 41, and have been discussed in more detail by Bhandare & Stevens 42. It is possible that these coins were struck at one of the other mints mentioned in the list above.

Bankot (Fort Victoria)
Mint

Around Bombay itself, and down the coast, was the area known as the Concan which had a Northern and Southern district, some of which came under British control as early as the mid-eighteenth century, but mostly fell under their control after about 1817.

The British are not known to have produced any coins in the Northern Concan and this area will not be discussed further. However, this is not true of the area known to the British, in the early nineteenth century, as the Southern Concan. This district lay on the west coast of India to the south of Bombay (Mumbai). Bankot, with its fort and nine surrounding villages, had been ceded to the British by the Peshwa in 1755 and 1756 but it was not until 1819, following the final Mahratta war and the acquisition of further territory, that the area was formed into the separate collectorate of the Southern Concan. Initially Bankot, which was also known as Fort Victoria, was the headquarters of the collectorate but in 1820 this was transferred further south to Ratnagiri, and in 1830 the three subdivisions to the north of Bankot Creek were transferred to the Northern Concan collectorate and the Southern Concan was reduced to the rank of sub-collectorate. This situation only lasted for two years and in 1832 the Southern Concan was again raised to the status of collectorate43. The Southern Concan was also known as Ratnagiri after the place of its headquarters.

The currency of the Concan was mixed, the brisk sea trade bringing into the district every sort of Indian coin. Up until 1835, the main coin was the Chinchoree rupee (struck at Poona), and later the Surat rupee (struck at Surat and Bombay), supplemented by various older rupees known as Chanvad, Doulatabad, Hukeri, Chikodi and the Emperor Akbar's Chavkoni, or square rupee. After 1835, the Company's rupee gradually superseded this heterogeneous currency until, by 1880, the Imperial currency was the sole circulating monetary medium 44.

Following the creation of the collectorate in 1819, a copper coinage was issued to meet the needs of local tradespeople and Pridmore catalogued the coins45. They are crudely struck, consisting of three denominations: double pice, pice and half pice, and variously dated 1820 and 1821. Similar coins dated 1828 and 1829 will be dealt with in the section on the Rahimatpur mint.

# The Coins and their Use

On the 30<sup>th</sup> June 1820, Mr. Pelly, the collector responsible for the Southern Concan, wrote to the Governor and Council of the Bombay Presidency stating that the people of the area were suffering considerable inconvenience because of the lack of copper coins available for everyday commerce. He believed that this was caused because the copper coins were exported more profitably for their metal content rather than being exchanged for rupees. He had tried to intervene by sending pice from areas where there were fewer difficulties, to those where the problem was most acute, but this had not succeeded. He therefore proposed that a copper coinage should be undertaken, either locally or in Bombay, consisting of pice and half pice exchangeable at the rate of 64 and 128 to the rupee respectively. Pelly's proposal was referred to the mint committee who agreed that it seemed sensible, given the circumstances, and recommended that the contract for striking the coins should be open to competition and that, before authorising the coinage, the collector should send specimens to Bombay for examination 46:

I beg leave to represent for the information of the Honble the Governor in Council that for some months past considerable inconvenience has been experienced in this Zillah owing to a scarcity of copper coin, which has been withdrawn from circulation principally owing to the course of exchanges having rendered its exportation the most profitable remittance that could be made, to other quarters — at Malwar when the fixed quantity of copper exchangeable for a rupee was largest, the inconvenience has naturally been most severely felt. I have endeavoured to lessen it, by sending thither supplies of pice

from other Tallookas – but this expedient if long pursued would obviously be merely shifting, not removing the evil. What appears to be required [is] the issue of a sufficient supply (perhaps half a lack) of this circulating medium, at such a rate as may stop its exportation. And I would respectfully suggest that a coinage of copper pice of 64, and half pice of 128, to the rupee, be undertaken for this Zillah, either here or at Bombay – I venture to recommend the half pice, because the inferior classes of inhabitants who are the greatest consumers of trifling retail articles, are always sure to suffer by the lowest denomination of coin in a Country, being of comparatively high value, since scarcely anything they buy is charged lower than the smallest current coin – and probably would not be charged much higher, even if its intrinsic value were far less. The numbers have been selected from the convenience they afford of each of them dividing by the annas in a rupee, without a remainder – they possess moreover this further advantage, that as the pice now commonly current are not generally widely different from this same standard value, inconvenience from the introduction of the proposed new pice is not, I think, to be apprehended.

Ordered that a copy of the preceding letter be transmitted to the Mint Committee with directions to offer their opinion on the suggestions offered by Mr. Pelly for relieving the scarcity of copper coin in the Southern Concan.

The mint committee responded 47:

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> instant, referring to us one from the Collector in the Southern Concan dated the 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo and desiring our opinion on the suggestion offered by Mr Pelly for relieving the scarcity of copper coin in that district.

In reply we request you will do us the favour to state to the Honble the Governor in Council that under the circumstances stated by the Collector, we are not aware of any better mode of supplying the deficiency than by adopting Mr Pelly's suggestion of undertaking, or rather authorizing, a coinage of copper, to a certain extent, on the spot.

The rules we would recommend would be the same as for the Broach copper coinage, namely that the division should, as Mr Pelly proposes be 64 whole, or 128 half, pice per rupee, and the privilege of coining should be assigned to a sort of competition to the person who may be willing to coin the heaviest pice to be exchanged at that rate, but without requiring any share in the profits. Before, however, finally authorizing the coinage, it might be advisable that a few specimens of the proposed coin should be forwarded to the Presidency for examination.

Ordered that instruction be issued to the Collector in the Southern Concan to invite proposals for coining copper pice comformably to the Mint Committee's suggestions.

Accordingly, in September 1820, Pelly advised the Bombay Government that he had issued an advertisement inviting tenders for making the new copper coins but that he had received only one reply, from Sootoophoo Din Purkar, who had recommended that 25,000 rupees-worth of each of three denominations should be struck 48:

Pursuant to the instructions conveyed in Mr Farish's letter dated the 21<sup>st</sup> July last, advertisement (as per accompanying translation) were issued, inviting tenders for coining copper pice to the extent of seventy five thousand rupees which will probably be required, the population of this zillah amounting to nearly six and half lacks of person; and the export of copper pice being a common mode of remittance by sea during the fair season.

Of the only tender which has been received in consequence of the above notification, I enclose a copy on its merits. With reference to the Bombay currency, I am not able to offer any decisive opinion, because I do not know the standard weight of copper, which there ought to be in each Bombay Rupees worth of Bombay pice. Those pice are not current here but having collected 50, and weighed them, I found they fluctuated from about 41 to 42½ tolas of copper for a Bombay rupee – the present tender offers a weight of 41 tolas of pure copper per Chinchoree rupee, a coin rupees 3..2..52 percent inferior to the Bombay rupee.

I enclose, as desired, specimens of the proposed coin. They seem, I think, better executed than the Bombay coin. Besides the pice and half pice, I would recommend to be coined about twenty five thousand rupees worth of the double pice, or half anna, as per specimen no. 3, which will be a great convenience and in no way objectionable that I can perceive, since, like the pice and half pice, a rupee worth of them may be divided by the annas in a rupee, without a remainder.

The contractor, it will be observed, expects that the copper (which is a British staple), should be allowed to be imported into this zillah free of customs. The Honble the Governor in Council can best determine whether this can be complied with; any abuse of the privilege (if conceded) might easily be guarded against by giving the contractor dustucks for the exact weight of copper necessary for the fulfilment of the contract and no more.

The security offered is wholly unexceptionable. The contractor will probably solicit an advance of 20 or 25,000 rupees.

PS Specimens of three kinds of coin are enclosed as follows:

No. 1 double pice or half anna, 32 to the Chinchour rupee.

No. 2 whole pice, 64 to the Chinchoree rupee

No. 3 half pice, 128 to the Chinchoree rupee

Sootoophoo Din Purkar's offer was as follows 49:

Your Honor having made notification that sealed tenders will be received in Southern Konkan Collector's Sudder Kutcherry for the coinage of copper pice on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of August 1820 to the amount of seventy five thousand rupees in the proportions of one third whole, one third half and the remaining third double pice, the whole pice to contain sixty four and the half pice one hundred and twenty eight and the double pice thirty two for each Ankosee Chinchoree rupee.

I wishing to have undertake the coinage of the seventy five thousand rupees in copper pice and tender to your honor the weight of copper for each rupee as follows Viz<sup>t</sup>: for every Ankosee Chinchoree rupee received I engage to deliver forty one tola of copper in pice, or in English weight, seventeen ounces one quarter Avoirdupois, the half and double pice to weigh the same for each rupee.

I have accompanying this tender sent muster of the different sizes of the coin in whole, half and double pice as I perceived was ordered in your Honor's notice.

I mention my friends Abdull Guffoor and Dayen Khaun, they having agreed to become security for my due performance according to agreement.

I also wish to make remark your Honor, this pice exceeds the Bombay average and I hope equally so in other respects as to execution etc.

I beg to mention to your Honor that I make so much weight in my tender because I hope and conclude your Honor not expect customs for the copper employed in this business, upon importation here.

Ordered that copies of the preceding papers together with the specimens of the copper coin accompanying them be referred to the Mint Committee.

The three proposed denominations were double pice, single pice and half pice, specimens of which were sent to Bombay, via Pelly, as had been requested by the mint committee. The original advertisement called for denominations of pice and half pice, and it is clear that the addition of the double pice denomination originated with Sootoophoo Din Purkar, although Pelly subsequently supported it.

A translation of the actual advertisement appears in the records as follows 50:

Notice is hereby given

That at noon on the twenty sixth day of August, corresponding with Suravan sood 3<sup>rd</sup> Shalewan 1742 and 16<sup>th</sup> Zilkand 1235 Hejree, sealed tenders will be received at the Southern Konkan Collector's Sudder Cutcherree, for the coining of copper pice. The coins must be rendered in whole or half pice, the former consisting of sixty four (64)

the latter one hundred and twenty eight pice (128), to the rupee.

A specimen of each kind of coin must accompany the tender, and the contractor must give in the names of two sufficient sureties for the due performance of this engagement. The tender must contain in words, written at length, the weight of copper in Bombay seers, which the proposer will undertake to deliver for each Ankoosee Chinchoree rupee, at sixty four whole, and one hundred and twenty eight half pice to the rupee.

The tender offering the greatest weight (if in other respects approved of) will be accepted; and the whole profit of the transaction will be the contractors.

The contractor will be required to deliver at least one thousand rupees worth of copper pice per week in the proportion of half in whole, and half in half pice; to undertake to coin in the whole to the value of seventy five thousand rupees, 37,500 in half and the same quantity in whole pice, and he must desist from coining when that quantity shall have been completed.

The pice must be made of pure copper, and not mixed with any other material; each pice, and half pice cast, must be of uniform weights, should there be found any differences in weight, the contractor will be punished.

The mint committee was very complimentary about the process that Pelly had used to get the proposal from Sootoophoo Din Purkar and they considered the terms as advantageous to the community as could be wished or expected. The quality of the copper and the workmanship in the specimens submitted to the committee will do great credit to the individual undertaking the coinage, if the whole shall be completed in the same style. To ensure that future coins were of the same standard, Pelly was asked to send specimens, regularly, to Bombay for assay 51.

Sootoophoo Din Purkar had signed the contract by November 1820, and Pelly requested permission to advance him 25,000 rupees so that he could begin work on the first batch of coins 52.

Adverting to the 5<sup>th</sup> paragraph of my letter dated the 4<sup>th</sup> September last, and yours of the 2<sup>nd</sup> ultimo, I beg to report that the contractor for the coinage of copper pice for the use of this zillah, having executed his deed of agreement under proper security, I request authority to advance him the sum of twenty five thousand rupees, as mentioned at the conclusion of the paragraph above referred to.

Ordered that Mr Pelly be authorized to issue to the contractor for the coinage of copper pice for the use of his zillah an advance of rupees 25,000.

By early May of 1821 he had produced about 20,000 rupees worth of the pice and permission to start issuing the coins was sought and received 53.

With reference to your letter of 20<sup>th</sup> July and 2<sup>nd</sup> October last relative to the new copper coinage in this zillah, I have now the honor to report that the contractor has delivered upwards of twenty thousand rupees worth of pice into the treasury at this station, and as great inconvenience has for a considerable time past been felt throughout the different districts in the Southern Concan, from the scarcity of copper coin, I beg to solicit the permission of the Honble the Governor in Council to issue the quantity already received at the rate of sixty four pice, or one hundred and twenty eight half pice, per rupee.

Ordered that Mr Burnett be authorized to issue the copper pice received from the contractor at the rate of sixty four pice or one hundred and twenty eight half pice [per] rupee, of which the Mint Committee is to be informed.

In that month he was advanced another 25,000 rupees for the next batch of pice and the final 25,000 rupees in early November 1821 54.

I have the honor to report for the information of Government that the contractor for the coining of pice in this zillah has delivered copper coin to the amount of the sum advanced to him agreeably to the orders conveyed in your letter of the 28<sup>th</sup> November last and now beg to request the permission of the Honble the Governor in Council to make a further advance of twenty five thousand rupees on account of this contract.

Ordered that Mr Burnett be authorized to advance the sum of twenty five thousand rupees to the contractor for the coinage of pice on account of this contract.

In November 1821, Sootoophoo Din Purkar asked for another contract for a further 50,000 rupees-worth of pice on the grounds that he had all the people and tools necessary to undertake the coinage, which meant that it would be cheaper to strike another batch immediately, rather than have to start again 55.

Petition of Sootfooteen Purkar to J.J. Sparrow, dated 10th November 1821.

Represents that my present contract for coining copper pices nearly completed and I hope to your satisfaction, I therefore offer, if you are desirous of coining more copper pice to undertake the same on the terms of my present contract, because I have at present workpeople and mint implements, and if the former are once dispersed they cannot without great trouble be collected together, in which case I should not be able to undertake the contract at the present low rates. I therefore pray that you will take this petition into your serious consideration and issue such orders as you may deem proper.

However, the Accountant General had noticed the final advance of 25,000 rupees and drew the attention of the Bombay Government to the fact that no specimens of the new coinage had been received at Bombay for examination since the original specimens sent before the contract had been agreed 56.

With reference to your letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> instant, apprizing me of a further advance having been authorised to be made to the contractor for coining pice in the Southern Concan,

to the extent of twenty five thousand (25,000) rupees, and having ascertained from the Assay Master that no further specimens of the pice have been transmitted to the mint officer at the Presidency for examination since those received with your letter of the  $15^{th}$  of September 1820, to the address of the Mint Committee, I beg recommend that the attention of the Collector be called to this very important point in the orders conveyed to him on the  $2^{nd}$  of the following month.

Resolved that the corresponding orders be issued to the Collector in the Southern Concan.

Following this, the mint committee examined specimens in January 1822 and they reported that the quality of the coins was not equal to that of the specimens sent in September 1820, although they had to admit that the assay master was away, and that this was merely their opinion. However, they felt strongly enough to recommend that the coinage should be stopped and no further pice should be issued. The Bombay Government instructed the Collector to stop issuing the coins, but not to stop making more 57.

In May 1822 a further ten specimens were sent to Bombay and were again found to be of lower quality than the first samples and to be of slightly lower weight. This time the collector was instructed to stop the production of the coins and to report how many had already been struck 58.

I am directed by the Honorable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 19<sup>th</sup> ultimo and to inform you that the ten specimens of the half pice of the new copper coinage accompanying it are found on examination not to be so well executed [as] former samples transmitted to Government nor to be of the full weight. They are a grain lighter than those received in February last.

The Honorable the Governor in Council thinks it expedient to direct you to suspend the further coinage of copper coins contracted for by Sootoophoodeen Purkar and to report the value of those already struck by the contractor.

You will also be pleased to send up a number taken promiscuously of the different coins made under the contract for further examination by the Assay Master. The Mint Committee have been directed to suggest the number they may consider sufficient for this purpose.

He replied that of the original planned 75,000 rupees-worth, 70,897 rupees, 2 quarters and 44 reas worth had then been received into the treasury and that the greater proportion of the outstanding amount had already been struck and was awaiting delivery. Sootoophoo Din Purkar sent a petition to the collector for transmission to Bombay, in which he tried to explain why the coins were of lower quality than the original specimens and requesting that he should be allowed to complete the contract, which he was allowed to do 59.

However, getting the coins into circulation was not proving easy. In December 1821, the commander in chief of the Bombay Presidency raised the matter of the troops in the Southern Concan losing as much as a quarter of their pay because they were being forced to receive part of it in *the Bankote pice*. The exchange rate of 128 new pice per rupee (this must refer to the half pice denomination) compared unfavourably to the old exchange rate of 160 old pice per rupee, and the use of the new pice to pay the troops was stopped. This incident does reveal the fact that the new copper pice were struck in a mint established at Bankot. This is evident not only from the above quote but also a reference to *the new copper currency issued from Bancote* in the same series of correspondence 60.

By 1823 it had become obvious that it would be impossible to get more than a small part of the 75,000 rupees-worth of pice into circulation in the collectorate within a reasonable timeframe. The new collector in the Southern Concan, Mr Dunlop, gave serious consideration to various possible options. Firstly, he thought about reducing the value of the pice so that the number per rupee was increased from 64. This was rejected on the grounds that, once started, the value would continue to decrease until it reached the value of the intrinsic copper content, at which point the pice would be sold for scrap metal and the whole *raison d'être* for issuing them would be lost. In addition the reduction in value would cause a considerable financial loss to Government. The second option was to keep the pice in the treasury for a number of years and release them slowly, at the authorised Government rate of 64 per rupee, as the community needed them. This would also confer a financial loss on the Government61. However, this second option seems to have been adopted almost by default, and there was a very slow release of the coins into circulation over the next few years.

Fortunately, in 1824, the Judge at Sūrat had another idea. For some time there had been a shortage of copper coins in Sūrat and the Judge suggested that some of the surplus coins in Bankot, in fact 10,000 rupees-worth, could be used to fill the gap 62. As soon as the Sūrat shroffs heard about this proposal they issued a petition stating that they had plenty of copper pice and could meet the requirements themselves if only the Government would allow them to over-stamp the coins with the Company's mark 63. The British authorities did not trust the local shroffs and this petition was rejected 64:

...that after a deliberate review of all the circumstances of the case, we are of the opinion that the native community of Surat cannot be in such great want of an addition to their copper currency as the money changers would wish us to believe and that it seems pretty plain that the object of the latter, in wishing to obtain the Government stamp on the pice in their possession, is to force a spurious coinage on the public at a rate above its marketable value.

That the copper circulation of Surat stands in need of a reform in common with that of every subordinate district, we do not in the least doubt, but conceive it would be idle, with the prospect of our efficient mint before us [this is a reference to the new steam-driven mint to be built at Bombay], to make the attempt with our present means, nor do we think it would tend to any good end, to allow of any further coinages of copper being undertaken, under the sanction of Government, as a private speculation.

We incline therefore to recommend, that the copper currency of Surat be left for the present as it is, that is, the old pice passing as heretofore, at their marketable value, and the circulation of the new (Concan) pice being under the proclamation which we presume has been issued, entirely optional, which will afford at least some sort of security to the lower classes against a worse currency being imposed on them, until we shall be able to supply them with an entire new coinage which cannot be imitated without machinery.

Ten thousand rupees-worth of Concan pice were shipped to Sūrat via Bombay, and a further 5,000 to Broach, which was also very short of copper coin. In fact the collector at Broach had already agreed a contract with local moneyers to strike 7,000 rupees-worth of pice, but was instructed to stop this, if possible, and wait for the Concan pice to arrive65. The pice were to be exchanged at 64 to the rupee, but the Sūrat shroffs refused to trade in the coins at that rate, and the experiment was not successful there 66. However, in Broach there was no such resistance and the coins quickly gained acceptance 67.

In 1826, the shortage of copper coins in Sūrat was felt even more acutely, and the judge asked that the collector be given permission to strike copper coins locally 68. However, the Bombay Government would not accept the proposition that the Bankot pice could not be used, basing their conclusion on the fact that they had been successfully adopted in Broach in 1824 69. They, therefore, sent a further 10,000 rupees-worth of the Bankot pice together with a proclamation declaring that they would be issued at 64 to the rupee and would be accepted back at the treasury at 64 to the rupee. A further 5,000 rupees-worth was also sent to Broach 70.

This time the pice were accepted and the following year, 1827, a further 20,000 rupees-worth were requested although the records are not clear about whether or not they were actually sent 71. A petition from the Sūrat shopkeepers of 1828 implies that they were not 72. What is certain is that 5,000 rupees more were sent to Broach in 1827 73, making a total of at least 35,000 rupees-worth that were sent to Sūrat and Broach (and possibly 55,000), of the original 75,000 that were produced.

This exhausted the stocks of the pice in the treasury of the Southern Concan, and when further demands were made in 1828, the collectors at both Broach and Sūrat were instructed to strike pice locally, though exactly what type these would have been is not known 74.

In 1831, a certain Nathooset bin Abaset sent a petition to Bombay asking for permission to open a copper mint at Penn in the Southern Concan. This petition was passed to the collector in the Southern Concan and he was asked for his opinion. He confirmed that all of the 1820/21 pice were now in circulation and that there was a need for more copper coins. Having spoken to Nathooset bin Abaset, he was able to confirm that the petitioner wanted to produce 50,000 rupees-worth of pice 75:

...half to be of the description coined at Bankote by Mr George Pelly in 1820/21 at the rate of (64) sixty four per rupee, and half, Doodandees, or old Poona pice, at the rate of (60) sixty per rupee, weighing 57 [per] Chinchoree rupee.

Following this petition and its rejection, the whole focus of the mint committee fell on the

new copper quarter annas (pice) produced in the new steam-driven mint supplied to Bombay by Boulton & Watt of Soho, Birmingham, England. Because of the great shortage of copper coins throughout the Presidency, the new mint concentrated first on meeting this need as opposed to the silver coinage. Once the mint was up and running so that the coins could be produced in sufficient numbers, a difficult enough process in itself (see chapter 5 and also 76), it soon became clear that getting the coins into circulation was going to be yet another challenge. At first the coins were simply sent to the different collectorates throughout the Presidency in the expectation that they could be exchanged for the old pice when these came into the treasury. However, the rate of exchange of 64 quarter-annas for one rupee, inhibited this to such an extent that, for instance, in Bombay itself there was little or no demand for the new coins, with less than 50 rupees-worth having been issued by November 1831 77.

A new approach was taken in 1833 78, the intention being to target the collectorates one by one and offer favourable terms of exchange for a short period to get the new coins accepted. The Northern Concan was chosen as the first place for this new approach, which proved to be successful, and, in 1834, the second collectorate to receive the new coins was the Southern Concan, by then referred to as Ratnagiri 79. This approach again proved successful. Henceforth, the copper coinage for the Southern Concan would be the uniform coinage of the Bombay Presidency eventually replaced in 1844 by the uniform copper coinage for all of British India.

# Bhakkar Mint

The province of Sind was conquered and annexed to British India in 1843 by Major-General Sir Charles Napier, whose reputed telegram *'Peccavi'* (Latin for 'I have sinned' i.e. Sind) was in fact a caption given to his picture by Punch magazine.

No entries in the records, referring to the Bhakkar mint, have been found, so the evidence at present relies mainly on the coins. The mint at Bhakkar, which had been a Moghul mint, then Durrānī and then local mirs for many years, continued to issue coins and therefore falls into the category of a transitional mint from 1843 onwards. One type shows a lion, which is believed to represent the fact that the British had taken control, but the longest-lived type has a selection of floral ornaments amongst the Persian inscription.

# Broach & Jambusar Mints

The port of Broach (Bharuch) on the river Narmada is a town of great antiquity and was an important centre of trade and commerce for a considerable time until superseded in importance by Sūrat. Broach was never a mint of the Moghul emperors. In the eighteenth century it was part of the private estate of the Governor of Gujarāt.

A mint was established at Broach during the time of the second Nawāb, Nek 'Ālam Khān II, by permission of the emperor, Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur (1748-1754). In 1772 the Nawāb of Broach was deposed by the East India Company, whose army took the city, the belief being that the Nawāb was in alliance with the Gaikwars, who had designs on the Company's territory.

In 1782, by virtue of the treaty of Salbye, the Company made over the port of Broach to Sindhia of Gwāliār.

Jambusar, a few miles to the north of Broach, was occupied by the British from 1775 to 1783 and contained a mint that issued coins during this time 80.

Coins struck at Broach between 1772 (AH 1186) and 1782 (1197) fall into the British series but later coins, up until 1803, belong to the Marathas 81. Coins may have been issued from the mint at Jambusar during the time it was occupied by the British but whether or not they were also issued from a mint in Broach, itself, is not clear.

In 1803, after the treaty of Bassein, Broach once again became a possession of the EIC, who did strike coins there at this time.

# **Silver Coins**

A rupee dated AH 1173 issued in the name of Ālamgīr II, regnal year 6, is known. However, no direct reference to mints operating in Broach under the British, during the period 1772-1782, has been found in the EIC records and no coins are known. However, there is a tangential reference in a record dated 1781 82:

The President acquainted the Board that there is a quantity of private silver on the island [Bombay] brought by the freight ships from the Gulf of Mocha and that it would be of the highest benefit to the place if such an advantage could be held out to the proprietors as would induce them to continue their bullion upon the island & convert it into Bombay currency, otherwise that they will as usual export it to Surat and Broach where it will yield a larger return from the mints.

Although Jambusar features quite often in the EIC records, there is no mention of a mint operating. However, rupees have been reported with this mint name and dated RY 22 (1780/81) 83. Kulkarni pointed out that this date could be fictitious and that the coin might be a Mahratta coin of a different time. The coins have a distinctive symbol in the *seen* of *julūs* on the reverse 84.

In 1803, the Company took over the mint at Broach and continued striking rupees and fractions (halves and possibly quarters) and copper coins. The coins formerly struck by the Nawābs had a flower as the predominant mark but the Company changed this to the cross of St. Thomas. Although the mark is often present on the coins, very few will be found with clear regnal years as they are almost always off the flan.

In a letter to the Bombay Government dated 31<sup>st</sup> October 1814, the Collector reported the value of rupees produced at Broach for each year from 1787 to 1803 under the control of Sindhia and then the value of those produced each year under British control 85. This seems to clearly establish the years in which silver coins were produced at the Broach mint under EIC control with the silver mint being closed in 1814. A petition from local people to issue more silver rupees in 1820 was rejected by Government 86.

Date	Value of Rupees(Rupee. Quarters)
1803	959,686
1804	1,469,700
1805	1,837,597
1806	355,686
1807	662,228.2
1808	-
1809	<i>24,283</i>

Mintage of silver coins at the Broach mint, 1803-1809

# **Copper Coins**

In 1820 a decision was taken to produce copper coins at Broach and to fix the exchange rate of pice at 64 to the rupee 87. By April of 1820 the Collector at Broach was able to report that he had received a response to his advertisement for a contract for a copper coinage and he sent examples of the pice to Bombay for examination by the Bombay Government 88. The assay master at Bombay reported that the coins weighed 139 grains 15 dwt each and their manufacture was 'wretched in the extreme' 89. The Collector at Broach was ordered to stop their production immediately. However, in 1821 the Broach authorities were informed that they could restart the coinage of copper provided that the quality of coins was improved 90.

In 1824 a contract for the production of 7,000 rupees worth of pice was granted to 'Chocksee Pranwallub Gokooldas, Ruseeckbhaee Bhugwandass, Khooshall Purmanund and Jugdees Mungul Pahruck on similar terms to those of 1821' 91. However, too many pice had been produced in the Southern Concan 92, and a decision was made to ship these 'Bankote' pice to Broach to meet the need for copper coin, and the Collector was asked to withdraw from the contract that he had made. This he succeeded in doing, and the need for copper coin at Broach was met by the Bankot pice for the next few years.

By 1827, there were no further pice left in the treasury of the Southern Concan and the Collector at Broach was instructed to issue a contract for the production of pice locally, again, under the same terms as those used in 1821 93. In 1828 the production of a further 10,000 rupees worth of pice was sanctioned 94.

In 1830 the Collector reported on the number of pice struck in the preceding three years 95:

1827	May 31st sanctioned 15,000 rupees-worth
1828	April 14 <sup>th</sup> sanctioned 10,000 rupees-worth
1829	April 11th sanctioned 10,000 rupees-worth

Value of copper pice produced at Broach

A further 25,000 rupees-worth were authorised for production in 1830 96, but with the opening of the new Bombay mint, the activities of the Broach mint were ordered to be stopped on 14<sup>th</sup> February 1831 97.

An interesting reference to the copper coins of Broach is found in a petition from the shroffs of Sūrat to the Bombay Government dated 1824 98:

When a dispute arose sometime back, at Broach, concerning the pice of that place, Mr Prendergast ordered the pice of Broach to be stamped with the mark of the Sirkar, and from that time all disturbances concerning them ceased, and they were received as current.

This implies that at least prior to 1824 some of the coins of Broach bore the 'mark of the Sirkar', probably the balemark of the Company.

Jan Lingen has reported the existence of copper coins of Baroda (not far from Broach) over-stamped on coins with the Company's balemark on both obv. and rev. One of these coins is dated 1244 (1828/29), a date that fits very well with the production of coins at Broach earlier in the century.

Pridmore reported a copper coin bearing the Company's balemark on both obverse and reverse (Pr. 300) and he assigned it to the Malabar Coast. Given the quote above, the fact that the copper coins of the Concan (bearing the Company's balemark) were so readily accepted at Broach, and the existence of Baroda coins over-stamped with the balemark of the Company, it seems reasonable to reassign this coin to Broach, with a probable date of issue sometime during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

# Nasik & Chandor Mints

Nasik became a stronghold of the Marathas in the mid-eighteenth century. Their first rupees were struck in the name of 'Ālamgīr II, and these were followed by coins with the name of Shāh 'Ālam II.

The old Moghul name of Gūlshanābād was retained on the coins, although the name Nasik seems to have been used in all other matters once the Marathas had charge of the district. Coins were struck with the Shāh 'Ālam legend until 1818 (AH 1233) when the city fell into the hands of the British at the conclusion of the third Maratha war. Wiggins stated that the mint continued production of the same type of rupee and its fractions until AH 1249 (AD1833), when it was closed down 99.

In contradiction to this last statement, in 1823, the Commissioner for the Deccan stated that 'The only other mint in this part of the Deccan [apart from Poona] is that of Chandoor' 100, implying that, by 1823, only the mints at Poona and Chandore were operating in the Deccan.

So, what about Chandore? The Bombay Gazetteer of 1880 101 states that:

the Chandore rupee coined at the Chandore mint in Nasik (this mint started about 175 years ago was closed soon after the British conquest) was current at the beginning of British rule, but it has now disappeared.

Although this was written fifty or sixty years after the event, it does imply that the mint in Nasik (presumably in the Collectorate of Nasik) might have been located at Chandor, not in the town of Nasik itself. This, together with the previous quote about the Chandor mint, suggests that there was a mint at Chandor and this was the only mint in the Deccan other than Poona.

There are therefore two possibilities. Firstly there may have been two mints operating, one at Nasik and one at Chandor, or secondly, there may have been only one mint, at Chandor, producing the coins identified as 'Nasik' type (Jaripataka) rupees. The first possibility seems to be the more likely for several reasons. Firstly, if the mint was in Nasik when the British took control, it seems unlikely that it would have been moved from that place. If it had been moved to Chandor, then the type of rupee produced would most probably have been the Chandori type rather than the Jaripataka type, which was strongly associated with Nasik. The Jaripatakas are known to exist with dates down to AH 1249 (1833/34, see later). Finally, reference to the table originally published in 1821 by the assay master at the Bombay mint (see apendix), reveals that the 'Chandore' rupee was coined at Chandor and that the 'Jeereeputka' rupee was coined at Nasik 102, although the table does not give the dates when the rupees were struck. None of this provides conclusive evidence, but it does seem to point to the existence of a mint at Nasik from about 1818 to about 1834 (see catalogue) and another at Chandore sometime early in this period, at least.

This conclusion is confirmed by a letter from the Collector of Ahmadnagar to Bombay, dated 4<sup>th</sup> November 1833 103:

With reference to your letter dated 4<sup>th</sup> May last regarding the custom of stamping coins in subordinate treasuries and directing me to prohibit such a practice in all the treasuries in this zillah, I have the honor to annex, to be laid before Government, copy of a letter from Mr Andrews, 1<sup>st</sup> Assistant Collector at Nassick, detailing his proceedings in

consequence of these instructions.

I apprehend Mr Andrews has misunderstood the instructions of Government by stopping the mints at Chandore and Nassick, but I beg to solicit the instructions of Government on this point.

The Chandore rupee is coined at Chandore and the Jerryputka at Nassick, and both are in circulation in this zillah, as well as in other parts of the Deccan, and some inconvenience will, I imagine, be experienced by the deficiency in the circulation which will be created by these mints being stopped.

The Chandore mint coined last year 183,928 and the Nassick mint 69,383 and yielded a revenue to Government of 1358.2.66.

There is also a mint for coining copper at Chandore which coined 27,050 rupees and yielded a revenue to Government of 103.-.64 last year.

The Bombay Government replied (in 1833) 104:

The mints at Nassick and Chandore, I am directed by His Lordship in Council to state, should be reopened, as otherwise inconvenience may arise from the want of Chandore and Jurreeputtee rupees in Candeish and Gungthurree.

The same entry in the records shows that both mints appear to have been working in 1820, because the author refers back to an event when W. Wilkins wrote to Captain H. Pottinger (Collector of Ahmednuggur) 105:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant with an enclosure from the Commissioners calling upon me to report whether the mints of Nassick and Chandore were under our immediate control or farmed out for a stated period.

In reply I beg leave to state that the mints of both places are not farmed out, but the business of coinage is entrusted to natives who pay a percentage to Government upon the number of rupees coined, and consequently the operations at both these mints can be suspended whenever it is the pleasure of Government to have recourse to that measure, and I should conceive that there could not be any inconvenience whatever in placing the mints under the control of the Committee in Bombay provided any benefit is contemplated by that arrangement.

The only control exercised at present by Government over the mint master is that whenever the operation of coining takes place, one of the Carcoons of the Kumavisdar's establishment with a peon or two is present to take an account of the number of coins which are struck during the day and who, when the day's work is over, locks up the dies and the keys are deposited with the Kumavisdar.

Thus, despite some inconsistencies, the records provide good evidence that two mints were operating, one at Nasik and one at Chandore, throughout the 1820s and into the early 1830s. The mint at Nasik produced the Jaripataka rupees, which were identified by Maheshwari and Wiggins 106.

The design of any coins issued from the Chandore mint is not known but may have been of the standard Chandori type of rupee. The quote above also indicates that there was a significant output of copper coins from the Chandore mint in 1832 at least. Again, the identity of these coins is not certain (but see Lingen ONS Newsletter 152 for a copper coin with mint name Gulshanabad).

Other mints may have been operational after 1823, because there is an entry in the records that shows the number of coins struck on average, annually, in various places during the period 1823 to 1833107.

Mint	Number	Comments
Candeish	80,000	
Ahmednuggur & Nassick	205,000	Chandore rupee

Average annual coinage for 10 years prior to 1833/34 at the Presidency and subordinates.

# Khandesh

Khandesh (or Candeish) was a district to the north of Nasik but exactly where in this district a mint might have existed is not clear. The assay master's report of 1821 states that the Chandor rupee was the standard coin of Khandesh (see p. 318) so it seems likely that any mint in Khandesh would have produced the Chandor rupee. Indeed, the table above might even be referring to the mint at Chandor, which is not far from Khandesh. Alternatively, the table may refer to the number of coins shipped to the

treasuries at Khandesh rather than the number produced there. If coins were produced at a mint in Khandesh, there is currently no information known about the design of the coins.

#### **Poona Mint**

Rupees were first struck at Poona during the Moghul occupation at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. They bear the name of the emperor Aurangzeb and the mint name of Muhiabad *urf* Pune. The Marathas had a firm hold in Poona by the middle of the eighteenth century and coins were struck there in the name of Muḥammad Shāh, the Moghul emperor. Regular and systematic minting of coins by the Maratha government started about 1760 at Poona and several different types were issued there, namely the *Hali sikka*, the *Ankusi* and the *Pharasi sikka*. These coins were struck until 1818 when, during the third Maratha war, Poona was taken by the British following the battle of Kirkee. On the annexation of the Peshwa's territory, the EIC took over the mint at Poona and continued to issue the *Hali sicca* and the *Ankusi* in much the same form, but they were properly dated in the Fasli era on the reverse 108. That the mint was kept in operation is confirmed in a record of the receipts and expenditure for the territories conquered from and ceded by the Peshwa in 1818/1819, wherein are found the costs of running the Poona Mint (Rs 2569-3-89) for 1818/19 and an estimate of the costs for 1820 (Rs 2500-0-0) 109.

The coins were issued by the Tanksale or mint master family of Deshasth Brahmans under the supervision of British officers and they were apparently allowed to add ten percent copper alloy to the silver coins as their profit 110.

In 1820 the mint	establishment at	t Poona v	was cited by	Captain (	Gibbon as	111	:

	Rs
2 Hammermen	12
1 Stamp Holder	9
2 Billow Boys	30
3 Coolies	18
1 Smith	9
1 Bhistee	10
1 Engraver of Stamps	22
5 Peons	30
2 Carkoons	35
Sundries	25
Rs	200

Establishment of the Poona mint in 1820

# **Silver Coins**

Prior to 1820 the EIC records contain references to coining of copper coins at the Poona mint, but little on the coinage of silver.

Shortly before August 1822 the Poona mint was closed for some time owing to the discovery of frauds. The reason for the closure was outlined by the Commissioner for the Deccan in a letter to Government in 1823 112:

...The mint farm was knocked down to him for the year [for 1821/22] at a public auction as the highest bidder and he entered into security for the payment, and the faithful performance of his engagement. The weight and assay of the coin to be struck were particularly specified, and for every deviation from the standard he was to be fined 500 rupees. The contractor adhered to the conditions of his agreement until the month of May 1822 when he was found out mixing up more than the prescribed quantity of alloy in the coins. The extent to which this deterioration had been caused not being known, some decisive measures became necessary to check the evil and the mint was accordingly shut up and the Farmer placed in jail to stand his trial for the fraudulent breach of contract. In the examination which followed, it was discovered that he had sent a considerable quantity of depreciated money into circulation, and being found guilty of the charge brought against him was sentenced to pay a fine of 3700 rupees, double the amount which he gained by debasing the coin and indemnifying Government for the loss sustained by the closure of the mint – which was 3637 rupees.

The closure of the mint caused great inconvenience due to the shortage of circulating coin and it was reopened, although, exactly when this happened is not clear 113.

In 1823 the assay master at Bombay reported on the outcome of tests he had conducted on *Hali Sicca* rupees lately coined at Poona <sup>114</sup>:

	Weight Toucl			Value of 100	
	Grs Decls	Pct	Grs Decls	In B'bay Rupees	
No 1	175	97.75	171 – 06	103 – 87	
No 2	175	97.75	171 – 06	103 – 87	
No 3	175.25	97.50	170 – 86	103 – 75	
Av. of 17	175	97.75	171 – 06	103 – 87	

Assay of Hali Sicca Rupees by the Bombay assay master (Decls = Deciles)

These coins were presumably sent to Bombay for assay after the mint had been reopened, implying that the mint must have been open by March 1823 115. The contractor who had been responsible for the mint prior to its closure was Appajee Muckajeesett who, in 1824, sent a petition soliciting the remission of an indemnification to Government for the loss sustained from the mint at Poona having been closed on account of his breach of agreement. The Bombay Government rejected his petition, as they did a second petition from him 116.

In 1826 the Collector at Poona asked for advice on whether or not he was allowed to accept an offer for the mint contract that was not the highest in cash terms but was made by a person who had been responsible for keeping the mint in operation for the previous two years. This letter states that 117:

During the last two years the farmer (who is the person that has offered the least sum this year) has sustained considerable loss from the small number of rupees that have fallen from the mint...

From this it is apparent that not many rupees were struck during the years 1824 and 1825 (Fasli 1234 and 1235). Government confirmed that the Collector could choose whomsoever he considered most suitable for the contract and this he duly did at the rate of 3,200 rupees for *'the current Faslee'*.

By 1831 the new mint at Bombay had begun operation and the Collector at Poona wondered if he should issue a contract for the mint for that year 118. He was informed that he should issue a contract for silver only and that the new Bombay mint would provide copper coins 119.

The Poona mint was still producing rupees in January 1834 because the Collector informed Bombay that 120:

...two silver coins continue to fall from the mint of Poona both having the Fusly year "1243" stamped upon them. These are called the one "Hallee Sicca" and the other "Ankoosee". The Poona mint not having been ordered to be stopped...

However, by September 1834 the mint appears to have been closed121.

The EIC records confirm the dates observed on the coins themselves. These range from Fasli 1230 to 1244 (AD 1820 to 1834).

# **Copper Coins**

In 1819 the Commissioner of the Deccan asked for copper coins to be supplied to Poona from the Bombay Mint. However, the mint committee replied that they had never had any intention of supplying copper coins to the Deccan from Bombay, but that they did have a supply of copper that could be sent to Poona for coining locally 122. Initially the price of copper was too high for the authorities at Poona 123, but as the price fell they asked for a sample to be sent and half a ton was duly dispatched 124. The trial showed that to produce pice at the rate of 64 to the rupee, given the cost of the copper, would result in a loss to Government. By 1820 the cost of the copper had fallen, and the mint committee at Bombay was insistent that any pice produced at Poona should be exchanged at 64 to the rupee even if this meant a slightly lower weight 125. This rate was consistent with the rate that the mint committee had asked both Broach and the Southern Concan to achieve and they were obviously trying to establish a standard throughout the Presidency. This did not pose a problem for the authorities at Poona126, and presumably minting of the coins started in that year, since specimens exist dated Fasli 1230. As has been stated above, the Collector at Poona was instructed not to renew the contract for copper coins in 1831 and thus pice dated Fasli 1240 (1830) are the last to be issued by the Poona mint.

The copper pice bear a Nagari inscription and can be identified by the presence of the Fasli date on the obverse. However, a contemporary quote reveals that pice struck at Poona were identical to those struck at Satara so these two cannot be differentiated (see chapter 8)

# Rahimatpur Mint

The only coins identified as having been issued from the Rahimatpur mint are those rather crude copies of the 1820/21 copper coins issued by the British for use in the Southern Concan. These copies are dated 1828 and 1829. A letter to the Bombay Government dated 1830, reveals the source of these copper coins 127:

The profit on a coinage of this weight is so great that a spurious pice very nearly resembling the original has been brought down in considerable quantities from the distant town of Ruhimutpoor in the Putwurdhun's territory. These counterfeit pice are not quite so well executed as the Bankote coinage. The copper is of a little inferior quantity [quality?] and there is a very slight difference of weight.

This quote, written in 1830, appears to establish that the coins dated 1828 and 1829, were not a second official issue of pice for the Southern Concan, but were, in fact, imitative pieces produced outside of the collectorate and sold for a profit. Usually copies of this nature would closely follow the design of the original coin, but these 1828/29 pieces have a slightly different design, and obviously bear different dates. This fact misled Pridmore into believing that they were a later official issue, albeit rather more crudely struck.

# **Surat Mint**

When the British first arrived at Sūrat in 1612 there was no mint operating in the town. EIC commerce was conducted in foreign gold and silver coins for the first few years that the Company resided there 128. In fact, their first factory was established in what had previously been the local Moghul mint and which had been closed before the British arrived. However, in August 1618 the Company was obliged to move from this site because the mint was to be re-opened 129. Henceforth, commerce had to be conducted using local mohurs and rupees and imported coin had to be converted in the Moghul's (and later the Nawāb's) mint. In 1759, the British captured Sūrat and for the next forty years occupied the fort leaving the Nawāb in nominal charge of the city. However, increasingly, the British took more and more control of the town as well as the fort until, in 1800 they took complete control of the place 130-131.

Treaty with the Nawab of SuratArticles of Agreement between the Hounourable East India Company and their successors and the Nawab Nuseer-ood-Deen Khan, etc. etc., and his heirs and successors, for the better administration of the Government of the City of Surat and its dependencies, concluded on the 13th May 1800, or the 19th of Zilhuj 1214 of the Hegira.

Whereas the Hounarable the English East India Company have been subjected to a heavy expenses for the protection of the city of Surat, and whereas the existing system of internal government in the said city has been found inadequate to the protection of the persons and property of the inhabitants; and whereas the Right Honourable the Earl of Mornington, Governor-General of the British possessions in India, and the Nawab Naserooddeen, etc., are mutually desirous of providing more effectually for the external defense of the city of Surat, and for the security, ease, and happiness of the inhabitants, the following Articles of Agreement are concluded on behalf of the Honourable English Company and their successors, by the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, vested with full powers for that purpose by the said Governor-General on the one part, and by the Nawab Nuseerooddeen, and his heirs and successors on the other part: -

Article 2: The Nawab Naseerooddeen agrees that the management and collection of revenues of the city of Surat, and of the territories, places, and other dependencies thereof, the administration of civil and criminal justice, and generally the whole civil and military government of the said city and its dependencies, shall be vested for ever entirely and exclusively in the Honourable English Company.

Article 3: It is agreed that the Nawab shall be treated on all occasions with the same respect and distinction as his predecessors.

Article 4: The English Company agree to pay to the Nawab Naseerooddeen and his heirs, out of the revenues of Surat and his dependencies, in four equal quarterly payments, one lakh of Rupees annually, which shall be considered to be the first charge payable from the said revenues. The Company also engage to pay to the said Nawab and his heirs, in addition to the above mentioned lakh of Rupees, a proportion of one-fifth of the annual revenues now arising, or which may hereafter arise, from the said city and its dependencies, after deducting the said lakh of Rupees, the sum payable to the

Mahrattas, and the charges of collection. The residue of the revenues, after the forgoing reductions, shall be at the disposal of the said Company.

Article 5: In order that the Nawab may at all times have full satisfaction in respect to the revenues of Surat and its dependencies, he, the said Nawab, shall be at liberty to inspect all the accounts thereof from time to time, or to station a vakeel or accountant, at his own expense, in all or in any of the offices of collection, for the purpose of taking and transmitting to His Excellency copies of all or any of the accounts of the said revenue.

Based on this it would seem that the EIC took control of the Sūrat mint in May 1800 132. However, several entries in the records seem to show that there was a British mint master much earlier than this. In 1800 John Church wrote 133:

...I observe in the year 1789 on my receiving charge of the mint I found the proportions of standard silver to be 508 rice of pure silver with 44 of alloy agreeably whereto the rupee weighing 548½ rice contains 43.72 rice of alloy or 7.97 per cent of its weight, at which rate I have sedulously endeavoured and I hope successfully to maintain it...

and even before that the EIC appears to have been able to issue orders concerning the mint (see earlier section).

# **Regnal Years**

As previously discussed (see chapter 4) the coins issued from the Bombay and Sūrat mints are dated RY 46. However, KM records Sūrat rupees dated RY 49, 51, 52, 53, 54 and 6x (KM 76) under French India. This seems an unlikely attribution and whilst these rupees might have been produced somewhere other than Sūrat itself (for instance at Bhaunagar, which has been suggested by Jan Lingen as a place that forged Sūrat rupees 134), it is also possible that they might have been produced in a local mint, perhaps controlled by the Nawāb, in defiance of the British. Assuming the coin dated RY 6x represents the posthumous year 60 of Shāh 'Ālam, this equates to 1815 when the Sūrat mint proper was closed by the British (see below).

There nevertheless are strong arguments against the Nawāb being responsible for the issue of these coins, not least the treaty signed in 1800 (shown above). However, there can be no doubt that the Nawāb was receiving an income from a mint, whether his own or that of the EIC, between 1808 and 1815, because an entry in the records dated 1816 shows the amount of revenue derived from the mint of Surat by the Nawab as about 1193 rupees p.a. 135

# **Gold and Silver Coins**

Minting of silver coins had started by June 1800 because an entry in the records shows the number of coins struck from 100,000 dollars during June and July 136:

June 26 <sup>th</sup>	22,996.2
June 27 <sup>th</sup>	10,999
July 1st	17000
July 3 <sup>rd</sup>	10000
July 7 <sup>th</sup>	17000
July 9 <sup>th</sup>	22000

These produced at 216.3.24 per [...] dollars: 216801.1.31 rupees. Exactly when the minting of gold began is not known.

# **Management of the Mint**

The usual method of managing the provincial mints in the Bombay Presidency was for the Collector to contract the mint work for an annual fee to a local person. At the Sūrat Mint, however, a full-time mint master was appointed. The first of these was John**Error! Bookmark not defined.** Church 137, who by 1806 had been replaced by C. Wren 138. Wren was followed, in 1807, by Thomas White 139, who was, in turn, replaced by John Morison 140.

Date	Mint Master
1800 to ~1806	John Church (George Brown was acting mint master in July 1800) 141
~1806 to July 1807	C. Wren
August 1807 to December 1809	Thomas White
January 1810 to 1815	John Morison

In order to ensure the quality of the coins, on the 9<sup>th</sup> December 1801, the Judge & Magistrate at Sūrat was instructed to go to the mint and select a few coins randomly to send to Bombay for Assay. This he duly did on the 29<sup>th</sup> September 1802, the next time that a coinage took place 142. Obviously the mint was not very active during the first 9 months of 1802. The coins were found to be satisfactory 143.

Having produced his report, but before sending it, he obtained copies of the mint records of Sūrat and added a postscript to his report. This reviewed the entries relating to the standard of the Sūrat rupee over the preceding twenty years or so. He found that the Sūrat rupee had contained less silver then that of Bombay in 1765. When the Sūrat rupee had first been issued it was meant to contain 2.18% alloy but this had gradually increased until by 1772 it was supposed to contain about 5%. Even then, this standard was not adhered to and the coins contained even more alloy and this continued throughout the years 1780 to 1784:144

PS Since writing the above I have received and read over the Surat diary of the mintage. It commences in 1762 and concludes in 1790 but several parts of it have been lost. From the diary it appears that in 1765 the Surat rupee was worse than that of Bombay by 5.5 per cent.

In November 1771 the Chief and Council write to the Court of Directors "that they had with the Nabob fixed the standard of the rupee at an alloy of 22 rice which makes it 2½ per cent superior to the Bombay mint". Hence the Surat rupee contained 4 per cent of alloy & the Bombay rupee only 1¾.

In 1784 they write to the Bombay Government "that on the establishment of the Surat mint the standard was 538 rice pure silver and 12 rice of alloy", that is the alloy was 2.18 per cent. Only the same was continued during Hyder [Konle] Khan's time. In the time of [Jikhbeghkan] it contained, they say, 526 rice pure silver & 24 rice of alloy. This amounts to 4.36 per cent alloy.

In 1772 I see a further change was made on the fineness of the rupee for the standard was now fixed at 514.5 rice of pure silver 35.5 rice of alloy. This is an alloy of 4.956 or 5 per cent nearly. But the Surat mint in its actual coinage never kept even to this standard, for by assays of its rupees for 7 years viz: 1773, 80, 81, 82, 83 and 84 (sic) the alloy had increased above the standard from 1569 to 3364 [I'm not sure what this means].

In 1775 the Court of Directors tried to intervene to re-establish the standard and in 1789, someone called "the chief" tried to fix the amount of alloy at about 6.5% but all these efforts were in vain:

In 1775 the Court of Directors recommended the rupee to be of the same fineness that it had been in 1767. That is to say that it should be of the same fineness that it had been in the time of Hyther Coolie Khan, or that it should contain no more than 2.18 per cent of alloy (see regulation by the Surat Committee in August 1767). This, like all other repetitions for the standard of the Surat mint seems never [to have] taken place. I do not observe that such rupees were ever coined either in 1767 or after the Company orders in 1775.

Last of all I observe that in February 1789 the chief fixes that standard of fineness for the Surat rupee at 35.5 rice of alloy or 6.454 per cent. This is the latest regulation for standard that this diary contains. Like the rest it appears not to have been put in execution.

What the present [regulation] is for fineness I do not know but it is very necessary to get this information from Surat when no rupee that shall in future be coined either there or here should exceed it by the smallest fraction. With regard to the weight of the rupee the diary contains no information but I imagine it is the rupee of the Mogul of 178.314 grains.

The judge and magistrate went on to speculate about why control of the fineness of the Sūrat rupee had been so difficult concluding that it was largely political for monetary gain. The fineness should finally be fixed at the then standard, whatever that was:

The diary of the mint of Surat might furnish abundant materials for reflection and shows in many respects the danger of speculating in a political matter of so great difficulty & delicacy. A good state of the coinage is at once the interest of the sovereign & the people, nor does it appear to me to be possible consistently with the welfare of either to make [...]. The mintage was at once a source of revenue to the King of Dilhi, the Company, the Nabob & the Mahrattas. Under those circumstances we constantly kept pressing the Nabob to make his coinage very pure but still insisting on our portion

of the profits of it. It surely was forgotten during a period of 30 years that it is only from the alloy of a coinage that any profit whatever can arise. We tried to get the advantage undiminished from him while at the same time we endeavoured to take away the very means that produced it.

I think it would be advisable to keep at present to the standard now fixed for the Surat rupee whatever that may be, for all changes are attended with loss or inconvenience. The complaints of the shroffs and merchants on this subject are often short sighted or interested. They are fearful at one time (surely without reason) that a pure coinage would be bought up by the neighbouring mints, at another time they complain that the coin is not sufficiently good for the purposes of commerce or exchange. I image it is not difficult to see on which side of the question the real cause for apprehension lies.

I have had but a few hours to consider this Surat diary which I hope will plead my excuse if any error should afterwards appear in what I have said.

# Change of Management, 1806-1807

The cost of producing coins at Sūrat began to come under scrutiny in 1806 when the mint master at Sūrat wrote to Bombay about the matter 145 and the mint and assay masters at Bombay wrote a joint letter to Government in July of 1806 146:

In reply to your secretary's letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> ultimo, accompanying copy of a letter from Messrs Bruce Fawcett & Co to Government of the 27<sup>th</sup> of January on the subject of the returns of silver from the Surat mint for bullion sent to it for coinage, we have to observe that there is no kind of doubt but that the Surat mint does not deliver the number of rupees to the holder of bullion which it ought to do and that it is, and long has been, the practice of that mint to keep back a greater sum than the expense of coinage, together with the Company's duties [amount to].

It is evident (for example) that 100 dollars contain silver enough to make very nearly 227 Surat rupees. Something is lost by the melting and refining. The expense of coining is 2 per cent and the Company's duty ½ per cent. Our mint contractor here has delivered for 100 dollars, as far as 220 Surat rupees, but he complains that he suffered a little loss and we may perhaps be obliged to be satisfied with a fraction of one rupee less on 100 dollars. With this however, he will be quite satisfied. Nor can we see any reason why such conditions should not be very satisfactory to any fair minter, either here or at Surat.

We have had repeated conversations with the mint contractor with regard to his coining the Surat rupees, at Surat, on the above mentioned conditions. With the conditions he is perfectly satisfied, but he tells us that he foresees that at Surat he will meet with great opposition from the shroffs and others who have an interest to keep the Surat mint on its present footing. He further says that his absence would materially interfere with his engagements at Bombay. These difficulties however, may be got over by Government assuring the contractor at Surat of their full support against the combinations of individuals. On such terms we have no doubt but our mint contractor will get one of his own family to carry on the Surat coinage at Surat, or men will be easily found there to do so, when they are sure of receiving the protection of Government. The resistance from interested individuals is the only difficulty that can arise in such a case. Resolution

Ordered that copy of the preceding report be referred to the mint master at Surat with intimation that Government expect he will reduce the expense of coinage at Surat to the same standard as at Bombay or to report the obstructions he may experience in carrying the same into effect, being authorized for this purpose to correspond with the mint master at Bombay, who is to be directed to communicate with Mr Wren the expense of coinage in the Bombay mint.

In November they sent a more detailed letter: 147

According to the order conveyed to us by you we have attentively considered the mint master of Surat's letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> ultimo and the following reflections have occurred to us:

It is, we conceive, the intention of Government that a percentage be levied on the coinage at Surat by which the expenses of the coinage shall be fully paid in the first place, the remainder going to Government. After the payment of this percentage the bullion holder is to receive back all that remains of his silver, not a grain of which is to remain unaccounted for.

On this principle we are not yet satisfied with the offer [of] the Surat mint master of 220 rupees for 100 dollars as expressed in his letter, for a good deal of the silver he receives would remain entirely unaccounted for.

To make this perfectly evident let us examine his proposals.

The expenses of making the coins at Surat are no more than 1½ per cent but the Surat mint master states in his letter of 15<sup>th</sup> July that the use of a lead instead of a copper alloy creates an expense of ½ per cent. If therefore a copper alloy be adopted at Surat the expenses of minting will be but one per cent

100 dollars gross produce Rs 266

The Surat mint master returns Rs 220 Leaving rupees 6

Now, 6 rupees equals to per cent 2.2.60

Deduct Government customs as

Stated by the mint master -.2.-

Leaving 2.-.60

If the mintage costs 1½ per cent, the

usual rate he would have to pay for it 1.2.-.2.60

or nearly 34 per cent which seems to be entirely unaccounted for

If however the adoption of a copper alloy saves him on the mintage ½ per cent as he states then there remains in his hands no less then Rs 1.-.60 or nearly 1¼ per cent of which he gives no account. This is above twice as much as he proposes paying to Government.

We now beg leave to recommend that the Surat mint master be called upon solumnly and upon honor to declare at what rate per cent he can conduct his coinage, 1 with a lead alloy and, 2 with a copper alloy. When we know this we know as well as they can do at Surat what return they ought to make to the bullion holder & what should go to Government. In Bombay the deduction from the bullion holder is 3 per cent. If Government choose to make the same deduction at Surat it is evident that the Honble Company ought to receive 2 per cent clear, instead of half a per cent as stated by the Surat mint master, The bullion holder will get in that case the same return from both mints.

The Surat mint master offers to return 220 rupees for 100 dollars, observing that the Bombay mint returns only 219.80 (he should have said 219.88). That is to say he offers to return a little more than 1/3 of one per cent above the return of the Bombay mint. The reason is evident.

We pay our mint contractor per cent 2.2

He pays for his mintage at the most 1.2

Hence he gains per cent on

Making of the coin

His is at one the secret of an offer that has the superficial appearance of advantage. It may be asked why the Surat coins can be made so much cheaper than those of Bombay. We answer that it chiefly arises from the great difference of expense of labour and also in part from the constitution of their mint which as we shall presently see is defective in this very respect. Our mint contractor positively refuses even with a copper alloy to abate more than a few reas of this percentage. It may be seen that not a grain of silver is left unaccounted for here if anyone should choose to make the inquiry.

The mint and assay masters considered that the Sūrat mint had been badly run for the previous 30 years and, in particular, noticed that in order for people to get their silver minted they had to negotiate with people called 'Bhurteahs' and there was no direct access to the mint. These Bhurteahs somehow made money out of this process but it was very opaque. They considered that this practice should be stopped although they wanted to make sure that the Bhurteahs did not starve so they proposed that the mint contractor should support them:

We have long considered the constitution of the Surat mint and we think it is radically wrong. No mint master there however great his knowledge or however just his intention can protect the public at all times from fraud. Accordingly for 30 years past with an exception of a few years of late, it has exhibited, as the records of Government abundantly show, a scene of disorder. It has given rise to a most disordered state of the coinage both here and there. The cause of the evil still remains altho' it has ceased for a time to operate so extensively. This great cause, of which we so much complain is the employment of men called Bhurteahs, who exclusively are authorized to bring the silver of individuals to the mint. They have no acknowledged profit but it cannot be believed

that they labour without profit. They are permitted against all the ordinary practices of Government to bargain with individuals who have bullion for return in rupees, which they will agree to make. Thus the bullion holder is left (as the former returns from the Surat mint will prove) to their mercy. We anxiously recommend that the office of Bhurteah [must] cease forever & that individuals may be allowed to carry their silver to the Surat mint whenever it suits their conveniency.

Instead of Bhurteahs we advise that a mint contractor may be employed to make the coin at Surat. He should be a man of character & give security in a large sum for his honestly both with regard to the public and individuals. Such a man would certainly not make the coins for 1 or perhaps even 1½ per cent. He ought to have a reasonable & an open profit for his office is most important. From such an office we should have a great degree of security & his avowed and honorable allowances would support some of the Bhurteahs whom we wish not (so far as is possible) to deprive of their bread. Until this regulation is adopted we confess that we do not expect to see the Surat mint on that footing which is so desirable unless those who make the coins are bound by penalties and held by heavy responsibility. It is impossible that any mint master can protect the public or Government in the coinage of Surat.

We conceive that 3 per cent collected on the coinage of Surat would in this way amply reward a mint contractor besides paying a mint master & affording a certain revenue to Government.

We do not say that this last proposal from Surat keeps back much more of the silver from the bullion holder than may be absolutely necessary to pay the contractor & the other demands in a well regulated mint, but we complain that this silver is kept back there from the bullion holder secretly without an avowed object & (as we conclude) that it must be absorbed by the Bhurteahs without answering any good purpose. Men will never labour without reward in any situation, but to employ men in a mint without any open and avowed means of living is of all systems the most ruinous.

Should Government be pleased to adopt our suggestion with regard to placing a mint contractor in the Surat mint, we should think it proper that this person should pay a visit to the Presidency that he may be made fully to comprehend our systems and that an agreement in all respects may be established between the two mints intimately connected as they are. Until this is done we recommend that the Surat mint may be stopped altogether.

We shall at a future time take the liberty of recommending a further system of check on the Surat coinage for it cannot go materially wrong without damaging both our gold and silver and producing as it did for many years both loss & inconveniency to Government & the public.

The specimens sent us of the Surat coinage with a copper alloy is unexceptionable. No objection would be made to it here but before it is adopted by Government (and it would be very desirable to have it adopted) it should be ascertained at Surat if it would be willingly received there. We still think that such objections would be unreasonable and ill-founded.

# Resolution

Ordered that a copy of the preceding report be forwarded to the mint master at Surat for such remarks as occur to him respecting more especially the manner in which the Bhurteahs derive their emolument and the expediency of dispensing with their services as above proposed. Another copy to be sent to the chief at Surat for his final opinion in the question suggested in the last paragraph as to the currency of the Surat rupee if coined with copper alloy

Accordingly, in 1807 the mint master was directed to change the management of the mint. Up until then five Bhurtiahs had overseen the operation of the mint. Three very young ones were descended from those who had served in the mint for half a century, and two who had recently transacted the business of the mint by themselves, and whose ancestors had been doing it for upwards of 75 years 148. Henceforth, the Bhurtiahs were to be replaced by a Superintendent reporting directly to the mint master and paid by the Company as a salaried employee. The then current Bhurtiahs were allowed to become contractors if they chose, and would receive half a percent for the contract. If they refused then the mint master was to consult the Chief and Collector of Sūrat as to the next steps to be taken 149. The Bhurtiahs were not happy with this and would only agree to continue to operate the mint on a three-month trial 150. These problems appear to have been resolved and the mint continued in operation. However, by the time that John Morison took over in 1810, the mint buildings had fallen into a state of dilapidation

because the mint contractors could not afford to maintain the buildings, as they had done in the past, with their lower income 151.

In 1813 the capability of the mint at Sūrat was again being questioned and the mint master was asked to show how many coins had been produced during the previous year. He replied that between 1<sup>st</sup> May 1812 and the 28<sup>th</sup> February 1813 the mint had produced just over 40,000 rupees-worth of silver coins and a mere 272 mohurs-worth of gold coin.

The ability of the Sūrat mint to produce rupees of the same standard as those produced at Bombay continued to be questioned, with the Sūrat mint master claiming that he did not have the necessary equipment to conduct assays as accurately as those performed in the Bombay mint 152.

Eventually the Bombay Government deemed it necessary to issue a proclamation declaring that the Bombay and Sūrat coinages were of the same standard 153:

Proclamation issued 1st July 1813.

Notice is hereby given that the coinage of the Bombay and Surat mints being in all respects of the same standard and purity, and received as such in all the public treasuries at the Presidency and subordinates, the payments from those treasuries will be regulated on the same principle'

However, the criticism continued throughout 1814 with an ex-employee of the mint claiming that the standard achieved was not high enough 154 even though these were clearly refuted by the mint master 155.

Finally, in 1815 the Bombay Government discussed the subject of the Sūrat mint and came to a decision to close it. The Bombay mint master saw three benefits in this 156:

- 1. That it is under no efficient control from the want of an European gentleman on the spot duly qualified to conduct the department of assay.
- 2. That it enables the Surat shroffs to establish a fraudulent exchange by making a distinction between the Bombay & Surat rupee to the disadvantage of the former.
- 3. That it deprives this mint [i.e. Bombay] of profit that would otherwise accrue to it, and which would enable Government without incurring a greater expense, to put the mint here on a more respectable and efficient footing.

The Governor in Council agreed with this and ordered that the Sūrat Mint should be abolished from the 1<sup>st</sup> November 1815. The following advertisement was therefore issued:

The Right Honorable the Governor in Council is pleased to announce for general information that the mint at Surat will be abolished from the 1<sup>st</sup> of the ensuing month of November and that the whole of the coinage under this Presidency will in future be conducted at the mint at Bombay.

There were petitions from the local traders 157 and from the Nawāb of Sūrat 158 but all to no avail 159 and the Sūrat mint was duly closed for the production of gold and silver coins.

#### **Copper Coins**

For some reason, Pridmore excluded the copper coins of Sūrat from his catalogue but events surrounding various coinages of copper pice at Sūrat are recorded in the EIC archives.

At the end of 1802 and the beginning of 1803 a copper coinage amounting to 18,000 rupees-worth was undertaken, but this was insufficient to meet demand and more copper was requested and sent from Bombay 160. The size of any coinage undertaken, as the result of this copper being sent, has not been identified.

Another coinage took place when the Sūrat mint master asked Bombay to send him enough copper and lead to strike 20,000 rupees-worth of pice 161. Although he made the request in 1812, the delivery took some time and the coinage actually took place in 1813 162.

A further copper coinage probably took place in 1815 when the Sūrat mint master asked for lead to be sent to him to enable him to coin copper that remained in the mint 163:

I beg the favor of your obtaining permission from the Right Honble the Governor in Council to direct the Warehousekeeper at the Presidency to send me up by the first [Cnuzir] 110 Surat maunds of lead for the purpose of coining the copper now remaining in this mint into pice.

The warehousekeeper was ordered to comply with the request.

On the 9th June 1818 164 the Sūrat shroffs sent a petition to Bombay asking for more copper coins to be produced. Bombay reluctantly agreed to Sūrat producing more copper pice, but believed that copper coins were being hoarded by the shroffs, and that, after a small number of new pice had been produced, the shroffs would release their coins onto the market 165. However, this coinage appears to have gone ahead without the adverse consequences that the Bombay Government predicted.

The Sūrat mint had been closed for gold and silver coinage in 1815 but obviously the capability to produce copper coins continued. Whether this activity was undertaken in a mint directly supervised by a British official, or was farmed out to local native manufacturers, is not clear. The latter seems most likely.

In 1824, when Sūrat found, again, that there was a shortage of pice locally, some of the excess pice produced in the Southern Concan were shipped to Sūrat to meet this need 166. However, the local inhabitants did not like the coins and in 1826 asked for permission to strike pice locally as they had in 1818 167. This petition was rejected and more pice were shipped from the Southern Concan 168. However, in 1828 another request to produce the coins locally was accepted because there were no further pice available from the Southern Concan 169. In 1831 a further offer to produce a copper coinage was made by Vrizbhookhundass Nagurdass 170, but by then the new Bombay mint was in operation and all future coins for Sūrat were supplied from there.

The type of copper coins issued from the Sūrat mint is not known. Copper coins issued before 1800 (i.e. before the British took control) are known (specimen in the Ashmolean Museum, shown on p.316) and perhaps this was the style adopted by the British as they had adopted the earlier style of gold and silver coins.

# **Appendix**

Coins in circulation in the Bombay Presidency in 1820 171.

Assay Report shewing the mint standards of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and England, and the weight, purity and intrinsic value, by assay, of all the coins, either current in the Hon'ble Company's territories under the Presidency of Bombay, or imported as bullion.

# **Gold Coins**

Туре	Weight grains, decimal	Touch % decimal	Pure Metal grains, decimal	Value of 100 in Bombay Rupees (Rupees, quarters, reas)	Comments	
Bombay Mohur	179	92	164.68	1500		
Calcutta Mohur	204.71	91.66	187.65	1709.2233	In the coins of these mints, 1 part of gold represents 15 of silver	
Madras Mohur	180	91.66	165	1502.914	Trepresents 13 of sliver	
English Guinea	129.5	91.66	118.70	1081.187	1 part of gold represents 14.281 of silver	
Venetian or sequin	53	99.25	52.60	479.011	Full weight 54 grains	
Gubber or Dutch Ducat	53.25	98.25	52.31	476.500	Full weight 531/4 grains	
Joaneese or PortuguesePortuguese Dollar	220.75	91.50	201.98	1839.805	Full weight 222½ grains Imported as bullion	
Persian Toman	73.50	97.25	71.47	651.06		
New Ekairee Pagoda	52.85	84	44.39	404.390	This coin was struck by Kishun Raj Wadder, Rajah of Mysore in the mint at Mysore. It is chiefly current in the Mysore and Southern districts of the Carnatic	
Old Ekairee Pagoda	52.62	84.38	44.40	404.452	This coin was struck by Rajah Boodee Bussapa at Biddanoor	
Bhol Ekairee Pagoda	52.69	84.50	44.52	405.50	Current in the Southern Mahratta country	
Bhoolpuddee Pagoda	52.77	85	44.85	408.585	This coin denominated Bhoolpuddee or head of the idol is of the same coinage with the stamp a little different.	
Bahandry Pagoda	52.72	84.50	44.54	405.768	This coin was struck by Hyder ally about 50 or 60 years ago at Seringapatam	
Funokee Pagoda	52.80	84.63	44.68	407.037	This coin was struck by the Sultan about 30 years ago	
The above six coins are usually received into the Poona treasury from the districts of Rannee Biddanoor, Koda Bunkapore, Savanoo						

Gudduck, Dummull Kanghulla,	Andoor Kanigu	II & Nowlagund e	etc		
Guddapuddee Pagoda	50.97	76.38	38.93	354.625	These coins were struck by Esajee Ram Mumleeder of the Paishwa, about 60 years ago at Darivar and Nargoond, bu
Fudduck Pagoda	50.77	76.38	38.77	353.234	
Kudvanajee Pagoda	50.75	76.38	38.76	353.095	
Hallee Sicca Pagoda	50.90	76.38	38.87	354.139	the coinage has been discontinued for at
Modapuddee Pagoda	50.55	75.25	38.038	346.500	least 25 years.
Rajaram Ekaire Pagoda	52.80	84.13	44.42	404.632	These coins have little or no currency in
Bhatoree Pagoda	50.50	75	37.87	345.003	this province, but as they are circulated in
Tomancien ½ Pagoda	26.12	84.63	22.105	201.359	the camp bazaar to a small extent, they are inserted in the list
Bangalore pagoda	52.82	84.25	44.50	405.363	This coin was struck during the government of Hyder in the mint at Bangalore. It has no very general circulation, but is occasionally received from individuals in payment of revenue.
Mahomed Shaie Pagoda	51.50	78.75	40.55	369.431	These coins have little currency in these
Ventrataputkee Pagoda	51.50	76.38	39.33	358.313	provinces. Their exchange has now been
Herponbillee Pagoda	50.75	77.50	39.33	358.272	fixed with reference to the rates of the Ballaree treasury and to their estimated value by the shroffs
Pavan Tharokee Pagoda	52.89	84.38	44.62	406.496	
Nagar Tharokee Pagoda	52.90	85.13	45.03	410.186	
Gharava Tharokee	53.85	85.25	45.18	411.543	
Pagoda					Received for assay from the Collector in the Doab. Current in the Southern
Bhut Padee Pagoda	52.90	84.75	44.83	408.355	Mahratta country
Baha Tapee Pagoda	54	84.75	45.76	416.853	
Joona Elaye Pagoda	52.50	84.38	44.29	403.500	
Navee Ekee pagoda	53	84.50	44.78	407.92	
Centeroy Fanams	5.82	59	3.43	31.278	
Sultana Fanams	5.87	58	3.40	31.012	

# **Silver Coins**

Type	Weight	Touch	Pure Metal	Value of 100 in	Comments
Турс	grains,	% decimal	grains,	Bombay	Comments
	decimal	70 000000000000000000000000000000000000	decimal	Rupees	
	acomiai		acoma	(Rupees,	
				quarters, reas)	
Bombay Rupee	179	92	164.68	100	
Calcutta Rupee	191.916	91.66	175.923	106.827	
Madras Rupee	180	91.66	165	100.194	
English Crown	436.36	92.5	403.63	245.101	
Spanish Dollar	415.02	89.38	370.95	225.25	Full weight 416 grains
German Crown	430.25	83.38	358.74	217.84	Full weight 433 grains
Ankoos or Chinsoree	172.50	91.75	158.26	96.105	Standard coin at Poona Current
Rupee					throughout the Deccan & the Northern
					and Southern Concan
Chandore rupee	172.25	<u>91.50</u>	157.608	95.705	Coined at Chandore, and is the standard coin of Candeish passes
					equivalent with the Ankoosee Rs.
					Current also in the Northern Concan
Thoora rupee	170	91.50	155.55	94.425	Current at Candeish
Jeereeputka Rupee	171.6	91.25	156.58	95.083	Coined at Nassuck; bears a discount of
					8 & 12 annas per cent; current in the
					Northern Concan and Candeish
Belapooree rupee	171.82	<u>85</u>	146.04	88.685	Coined at Bellapore; current at Poona
Batoree Rupee	171.3	87	149.03	90.495	Ahmadnuggur, the Concan etc.  Coined at Bhatoor near Ahmednuggur:
Batoree Rupee	1/1.3	01	149.03	90.495	current in the Deccan; is inferior to the
					Ankoosee one per cent.
Shree Sicca Rupee	172	91.50	157.38	95.567	Coined formerly at Poona and is
•					esteemed better then the Ankoosee
					rupees by one per cent
Hallee Sicca Rupee	174.75	<u>96.25</u>	168.19	102.128	Coined at Poona for mercantile
Waubgaum Rupee	172.55	91.50	157.88	95.872	purposes  Coined at Waubgaum, bears a discount
Waubgaum Rupee	172.55	91.50	137.00	95.672	with the Ankoosee of 8 annas per cent
Purkee Rupee	178.88	94.25	168.59	102.376	Current at Candeish Coined by Scindia
					and is perhaps the same coin as
					assayed under the name of
	474	0.4.75	444.00	00	Berhanpoor sicca
Chambagoondee	171	<u>84.75</u>	144.92	88	Coined at Chambagoondee and bears a discount with the established
Rupee					a discoult with the established

					Ankoosee of two per cent
Mullarshie or Bagulcota rupee	172.3	89	153.34	93.118	Coined at Bagulcota; current in the Doab, Malwan etc
Shapooree rupee	174	<u>87</u>	151.38	91.924	Coined at Shapoor and produces 102 Ankoosee per cent at Poona
Kittoor Shapooree rupee	174	86.25	150.07	91.013	This coin was struck originally at Kittoor; this mint has continued the coinage during the last 25 years; it is current in the district of Bettikerra, Belgaum and Padshapoor
Ongien Rupee	173	90.25	156.13	94	Coined at Ongein and Chullemaishwar. Passes in Poona at a premium of two per cent for Ankoosee rupees. Current throughout Malwa
Indore Rupee	174.50	92.50	161.41	98	Coined at Indore; current throughout Malwa
Govind Buksh Rupee	171.16	<u>78</u>	133.50	81.066	Coined at Aurangabad; is issued in payment to the troops at 120 for 100 Company's rupees
Nagpore Rupee	166.73	<u>86.5</u>	144.22	87.575	Coined at Nagpore, and is inferior at Poona to the Ankoosee rupee by four per cent
Broach rupee	177.5	87.62	155.52	94.440	The only currency at Broach Current also at Kaira, Surat etc.
Old Broach Rupee	177.06	<u>94.25</u>	166.88	101.335	Coined formerly at Broach Now disappearing
Cambay rupee	179.50	<u>81.88</u>	146.97	89.247	Current in the Nabob's districts, Kaira etc.
Babasye Rupee	177	84.88	150.75	91.540	
Walkersye Rupee	177.39	87.75	155.65	94.532	Coined at Baroda also current at Kaira
Ashasye Rupee	176.50	86.5	152.68	92.705	— etc
Mukunsye Rupee	176.62	87.5	154.54	93.842	
Wullubsye Rupee	175.56		150.07	91.217	<del>- </del>
Ahmadabad sicca	179.92	<u>85</u> <u>84</u>	151.13	91.772	Coined formerly at Ahmadabad
rupee New Ahmadabad Sicca Rupee	180.75	<u>85</u>	153.63	93.292	Present currency there, current also at Anjar and throughout Cutch
Hallee Ahmadabad Sicca Rupee	174.77	<u>96.25</u>	168.21	102.147	Coined at Ahmadabad current within the walls of the city
Cutch Kowrie rupee	72.15	60.75	43.83	26.615	Coined at Anjar, current throughout Cutch
Porebunder Kowrie Rupee	74.50	<u>69.75</u>	51.96	31.553	Coined at Porebunder
Persian Rupee	159.12	94.50	150.36	91.309	Imported as bullion; current in the Persian Gulf
New Persian Rupee	141.3	94.50	133.52	81.083	ditto
Goa Rupee	168.50	86	144.91	87.995	Imported as bullion
Mysore or New Holker Rupee	173.56	94.25	163.58	99.390	Coined formerly at Mysore now disappearing
Mulkapore rupee	173.2	<u>71.75</u>	124.27	75.461	Coined at Mulkapore and bears a discount of 12 per cent with the Ankusi
Meritch Hookaree Rupee	172.6	<u>84</u>	144.98	88.039	Coined at Meritch, bears a discount at Poona of 5 per cent
Narrainpet Rupee	172.5	80.50	138.86	84.321	A species of Hyderabad rupee coined at Narrainpet, but little known at Poona Rate uncertain, from 9 to 12 per cent discount
Timbourne Rupee	171.3	85.50	146.46	88.936	ditto, coined at Timbourne by the late Sadaser Monkaiser. Is inferior to the proper Ankoosee rupee
Waye Sicca Rupee	171.8	89.50	153.76	92.760	ditto. Coined at Waye, & bears a discount in Poona of 1 per cent
Jumkundee Rupee	175	92	161	97.765	Coined at Jumkundee and passes at a discount of 2 per cent
Berhanpoore Rupee	178.8	94.75	169.41	102.87	Coined by Scindeah in Candeish
Phoolsheree Rupee	171.7	91.50	157.10	95.397	A species of Ankoosee rupee, coined at Phoolsherh, but inferior to the
Pertabghur Rupee	170.40	87.25	148.67	90.278	regular Ankoosee by 8 annas per cent  Coined at Pertabghur, a species of Ankoosee rupee but 19 per cent inferior to it
Emaumee Rupee	175	95.50	167.12	101.484	The Emaumee coin was struck by the Sultan, but is not current in this province, and is seldom received by the

					shroffs or sabookars
Rajah Pondicherry Rupee	176.16	94.75	166.91	101.354	This coin was struck at Mysore during Poornya's administration. It is current, but not generally, in the Ranee Biddanoor district
Punlee Old Rupee	170.60	<u>63</u>	107.47	65.264	This coin was struck by Karweekur Maharaj at Panallee about 50 or 60 years ago. The mint still continues. The coin has very little currency in these districts.
Nepanee Perkanee Rupee	173	<u>75.75</u>	131	79.548	This coin was by Sidowjee Row Naik Nembalkur at Nepanee about 15 years ago. It is current in the districts of Padshapoor and that vicinity
Semboo Perkanee Rupee	172.75	<u>79.75</u>	137.76	83.658	Current in the Southern Mahratta Country
Moodholee Perkanee Rupee	173	<u>57.50</u>	99.47	60.405	This coin was struck by Malajee Row Modholkur about 30 years ago. It has very limited circulation.
Old Semboo Perkanee Rupee	174	<u>89.75</u>	156.16	94.829	This coin was struck by the Bhosla family of Sawartawdt about 200 years ago. It is but little current
Toragull Nelkantee Rupee	170	<u>62</u>	105.4	64	This coin was struck by Bhalasaheb of Toregull Synakhurga (about 50 years ago). It is but little current, not very generally.
Tokoshaie Rupee	173.16	<u>94</u>	162.77	98.84	Current in Ahmednuggur districts
Jyenuggree Rupee	172.68	<u>90</u>	155.41	94.37	
Mannashie Rupee	169.50	<u>90</u>	152.55	92.634	
Delhi Rupee	174.50	<u>97.65</u>	170.57	103.578	
1820 Perkanee Newest Rupee	177.9	<u>88.75</u>	157.88	95.875	Coined in Sawant state; received for assay from the political agent there
Spanish Independent Dollars	420.5	<u>89.50</u>	376.34	228.532	Coined at Chili in 1817, by the Independents

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- 140 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/344/19, p. 7808, 8th December 1809. Minute
- 141 Bombay Public Consultations. IOR P/342/43. p. 1520. Letter from the acting mint master at Surat (George Brown), dated 21st July 1800
- 142 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/342/57, p. 3242, 8<sup>th</sup> October 1802. Letter from the Judge and Magistrate at Surat to Government dated 30<sup>th</sup> September 1802.
- 143 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/342/57, p. ?, 15<sup>th</sup> October 1802. Letter from the assay master (Mr Scott) to Government, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1802.
- 144 Bombay Public Consultations. IOR P/342/44. p. 2282. Letter from Bombay Assay Master (Scott) to Government, dated 12th November 1800.
- 145 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/343/34, p. 3631, 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1806. Letter from the mint master at Surat (Mr Wren) to Government, dated 15<sup>th</sup> July 1806.

168 Bombay Consultations IOR P/408/65, 12<sup>th</sup> April 1826. 169 Bombay Consultations, IOR p/409/5, 20<sup>th</sup> February 1828. 170 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/411/50, 30<sup>th</sup> November 1831.

146 Bombay Public Consultations. IOR P/343/31. p. 1469. Letter from Charles Watkins (mint master) and Helenus Scott (assay Master) to Government, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1806 147 Bombay Public Consultations. IOR P/343/38. p. 6302. Letter from Charles Watkins (mint master) and Helenus Scott (assay master) to Government, dated 28th November 1806 148 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/343/42, p. 742, 13th February 1807. 149 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/343/48, p. 6473, 21st August 1807. 150 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/343/49, p. 7456, 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1807. 151 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/344/23, 4th April 1810. 152 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/408/17, p. 502, 19th May 1813. 153 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/408/18, p. 716, 7th July 1813. 154 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/411/35, p. 92, 4th May 1814. 155 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/411/35, 29th June 1814. 156 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/411/36, 11th October 1815. 157 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/411/36, 20th December 1815. 158 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/411/36, 31st December 1815. 159 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/411/37 p. 1, 1st January 1816. Bombay Consultations, IOR P/411/37, 23rd January. 160 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/343/3. p. 155, 7th January 1803. 161 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/408/16, p. 881, 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1812. 162 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/408/17, p. 226, 24th March 1813. 163 Bombay Mint Proceedings. IOR P/411/36. p. 60. Letter from the sub-Treasurer to Government, dated 16th January 1815. 164 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/411/38, p. 135, 24th June 1818. 165 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/411/38, p. 169, 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1818. 166 See section on the Bankot mint. Also, Stevens P.J.E., ONS Newsletter 179. 167 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/408/64, 15<sup>th</sup> March 1826.

171 Bombay Consultations, IOR P/411/40 p. 32. Letter from the assay master to Government, dated 13th August 1821.

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